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CORVUS

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For Dean Osborne

The Society would like to dedicate this issue of *Corvus* to John Osborne, the Dean of Carleton's Faculty of Arts and Social Science. Since the inauguration of this Journal five years ago Dean Osborne has been an enthusiastic supporter of our endeavour to provide an academic opportunity to the College's Undergraduate students. John, thank you. We wish you all the best. *Ave atque Vale.*

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Adam Kostrich is a Carleton alumni (B.A. Honours, History and Philosophy, 2013) and recovering solipsist. When he's not admiring the books he owns but hasn't read he's thinking of ways to craft the world's longest footnote. In September he will begin an M.A. in History at the University of Victoria.

Matthew Robertson is a fourth year Greek and Roman Studies Student who is graduating this June. He has been involved with the Society and Corvus since 2011. This coming Fall he will be attending Western University for a Master of Library and Information Science.

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Hajar Tohmé graduated from Carleton University in 2014 with a double major in English Literature and Greek and Roman Studies with a minor in Anthropology. She is currently completing her bachelor of education at the University of Ottawa. She will be returning to Carleton University in fall 2015 to work on obtaining her master's degree in English Literature. Her area of interest is Arab history in the Late Antique period as well as the Phoenician civilization.

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Andrew Joseph Froh is a fourth year student completing a B.A. Combined Honours in Greek and Roman Studies & Linguistics. Through the professors that he has had the privilege of learning from at Carleton University, Andrew has found a passion for ethics, poetry, and viniculture. After graduating in the spring, he will be attending law school in either Ottawa or Western Canada.

Peter Knowlton is a fourth year History Major with a Minor in Greek and Roman Studies. His academic interests include all things medieval or classical. More specifically his interests include medieval European feudalism and kingship, the Normans of Southern Italy, and the Crusades. Next year he will return to

Carleton for a fifth and final year after which he hopes to go on to further studies with a M.A. in Medieval Studies.

A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

After five years of the Corvus Journal being published by the Carleton University Classics Society, it is easy to take for granted the hard work and dedication that goes into making this publication a success. There is so much effort invested into its creation that one does not necessarily recognize. Once again we have been extremely fortunate to have enough hardworking, dedicated individuals to aid in the process. Without the steadfast support of chief editors Matthew Robertson and Willem Pereboom, this volume would not have come to fruition. Co-editors Rafael Finn and Adam Kostrich also deserve special consideration.

A special thanks also needs to go out to our treasurer Andrew Beatson and coordinators Sheri Kapahnke and Petra Hohenstein. Without their dedication and commitment we would not have been as successful. Without the continued support of Dr. Greg Fisher and the College of the Humanities none of this would be possible. Thank you!

Without all individual contributions there would simply not be a journal to publish. We unconditionally extend our gratitude to all who sought involvement in this part of our community. We hope to continue to receive such great support, hard work, and dedication to Greek and Roman Studies, Corvus Journal, and the Carleton University Classics Society in the future!

Fawn Leslie
CUCS President

WHO'S THE KHAGAN? DETERMINING THE CHARACTER OF NOMADIC CONFEDERATIONS IN LATE ANTIQUITY

CHARLES CARABINE

Understanding the relationships between civilizations in the Classical and Late Antique periods requires explaining the justifications for conflicts and treaties between major powers from the perspectives of all the parties involved. This has led to studies of the diplomatic relations between the Roman and Persian Empires, showing that although they were rivals they also had common concerns and interests to protect, especially the issue of mutual defense against the nomadic tribes that lived on the periphery of their respective empires.[1] But despite the important role the nomadic tribes played in shaping both Byzantine and Persian foreign policy, nomads have received little attention in English academic research. An excellent study of the central Asian nomads and their relationship with the Chinese Empire has been undertaken by Thomas J. Barfield; this essay will attempt to apply some of his theories about nomadic political units in the east to the nomads in the West in order to shed light on the inner working of nomadic society.

The nomadic society was based on its pastoral economy, which was focused on raising cattle, horses, and sheep. The basic social unit was an extended family, related by various degrees to a common ancestor, who worked the herd as a piece of communal

[1] Beate Dignas and Englebert Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity Neighbors and Rivals* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 2007) pg. 2-3.

property. These animals formed the backbone of the economy, providing both agricultural products and commodities such as leather, wool, and felt. The large expanse of the Steppe made it difficult for any particular leader to impose his will on other tribes because those tribes could simply move to new pasturage further away from their enemies.[2] The power of nomadic leaders was therefore based on their ability to create a secondary revenue stream based on exploiting the resources of a sedentary power, either through: raiding, payment for service, or tribute that he could then redistribute to other nomadic groups to gain social standing. After a leader proved his ability to provide rewards, other tribes would agree to follow him and these tribes would form the core of a nomadic confederation. The officers of the confederation would be selected from the relatives of the leader, who then managed local tribes that were not related to the Confederacy directly.[3] Members of this kind of confederation would receive gifts from the leader that were indicative of their status as an officer in the nomadic government. Archaeological evidence of this type of social system can be seen in the artifacts of the Avar civilization which includes a large number of belt buckles and covers that were used to display of social status within Avar culture. These goods were fabricated and distributed to Avar officers as symbols of their authority. Belts were produced in gold, silver and iron depending on the individual's rank and golden earrings and sword scabbards found in, what were likely noble's graves, are examples of goods given to individuals of higher ranks.[4]

One of the confusing issues when trying to write about the history of nomadic groups is determining which terms were used by ancient historians to describe which peoples. Byzantine historians used blanket terms such as Scythians or Huns to

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[2] Thomas J. Barfield, The Perilous Frontier (Basil Blackwell, Cambridge Mass.: 1989) pg. 36-41

[3] Ibid., 24-26

[4] Istvan Erdeyli, *L'Art des Avars (Editions Corvinna, Budapest: 1966)* pg. 32-34.

describe smaller groups of nomads. They could not determine many differences between the varying nomadic groups. In the *Secret History*, Procopius described the dress of the Green and Blue factions as being in "the Hunnish style". This leads to the conclusion that by the sixth century the term "Hun" referred generally to nomads than to any particular tribal or political group.[5] Furthermore Procopius describes the Hepthalites as "White Huns" in the *Persian Wars* because they resembled the Huns in style of dress and lives, but not in their racial features.[6] Likewise Eastern historians confuse terms just as often as Byzantine ones. Al-Tabari, writing in Baghdad in the ninth century, and Ferdowsi in Northern Iran in the tenth century, also projected anachronistic references to most historic nomadic groups as Turks and to the area outside of Iran as Turkestan, making it difficult to differentiate between individual groups in the eastern histories. In both eastern and western histories particular tribes rose to political prominence within their relations with the sedentary culture that would refer to the whole confederacy by that name, confusing the exact identity of the tribe with whom they were interacting.

Additionally the distinctions amongst nomadic confederations and other barbarian groups were only made clear by ancient historians when the group had a relationship with their Empire. This means that when a Byzantine or Arab source referred to a tribe they were usually referring to the political confederacy that the tribes belonged to and not that tribe's specific cultural or ethnic background. This is the case with the Heruls who are described by Procopius because of their role as client of the Byzantines and frequent involvement in battles during the reign of Justinian I (527-565 CE).[7] Another example is the description of the origins of the Otigurs and Kotigurs in the *Chronicle of*

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[5] *Procopius, the Secret History Ch. VII* trans. G. A Williamson (Penguin, New York: 1981)

[6] Procopius, *History of the Wars, The Persian War Bk. 1 Ch. 3,* trans. Cameron Averil (Washington Square Press, New York, 1967.

[7] Procopius, *The Gothic War Bk. II, Ch 14*.

Theophanes the Confessor. The historical narrative explaining the origin of these tribes became relevant as the Bulgars established a state in the Carpathian Basin after replacing the Avars as the rulers of the confederation.[8] History for nomadic groups was written by the historians as they grew in power to explain the current political order and they therefore imagined their contemporary nomadic confederations as being the modern extension of powerful past nomadic groups.

It has been pointed out that diplomatic relations between the Persians and Byzantines became more complex as both powers faced pressure from nomadic groups.[9] Byzantine interactions with nomadic tribes centred on their territory surrounding the Black Sea, and the main urban centre of Byzantine influence was the city of Bosporos in the Crimean Peninsula. It was an important trading hub and seems to have been inhabited by a mixed population consisting mostly of settled peoples with a minority of Greeks. At this point in time Scythia was a province of the Roman Empire; within which many Scythians were integral to administrative structures. One such notable Scythian was Hermogenes, who helped to negotiate the end to hostilities between the Byzantines and Persians and is mentioned in John of Malalas as being exceptionally educated.[10] The Sabir Huns, the Utigurs and the Kutrigurs lived on the eastern side of the Black Sea. The Sabir Huns were the most powerful of these three groups and were involved in Byzantine politics in CE 512 during the reign of Emperor Anastasius I (491-518 CE). In that year the *magister militum per Thraciam*, Vitalian, rebelled against the Emperor following his exile of the Patriarchs. According to John Malalas

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[8] Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor* trans. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1997) AM 6171, 356-360

[9] Menander the Guardsman, *The History of Menander the Guardsman,* trans. R.C Blockley (Francis Cairns, Liverpool: 1985) Frag 4.2.

[10] John Malalas, *The Chronicle of John Malalas* trans. Elizabeth Jefferies, Michael Jefferies and *Roger Scott (Nation University of Australia, Melbourne, 1986) Book 18. Ch. 445-448*

Vitalian's army was made up of mostly Goths, Scythians and Huns. It is interesting to note the difference that is drawn between Scythians, who were still technically residents of the Empire, and the Huns who would have been steppe outsiders.[11] This may be an indication of early stages of Byzantine influence and sedentary influences on some of the formerly nomadic peoples. Vitalian's failure to take Constantinople by sea ended his hopes of seizing power but began a long period in which nomadic tribes living around the Black Sea opportunistically intervened in Byzantine politics as the Byzantines expanded into the region.

On the south eastern shore of the Black Sea, the Caucasus mountains formed the natural barrier between the sedentary and nomadic peoples; defending this position was then of interest of both the Byzantines and the Persians. The Byzantines began fortifying Cappadocia after a Hunnic invasion in CE 515, and the threat of nomadic raids may have helped to encourage the Lazi to seek the aid stronger military powers for protection. The Lazi tribe held power on the southern side of the Caucasus Mountains and had been subject to the Persian authority despite being Christians. The religious situation forced tensions to a tipping point in 522CE when the Emperor of the Lazi declared that he was suffering persecution from the Persian Emperor, Kavad I (488-496/499-531 CE) ,because of his Christian faith, and asked the Byzantines for assistance. At this point the Byzantines decided to provide protection for the Lazi; they would send Sittias to Armenia as the first a *magister militum per Armeniam*, incorporating the area more officially into Byzantine territory. These actions would cause renewed hostilities with the Persians.[12]

These nomadic groups assisted both the Byzantines and the Persians during this stage of the conflict between the two empires, especially in the years 528-529CE. According to Procopius their presence on Persia's northern border was one of the primary reasons for an early Persian withdrawal from

[11] Malalas, *The Chronicle of John Malalas Book 16, ch. 402-406*
[12] Ibid., *Book 18, ch. 427.*

hostilities.[13] Both the Byzantines and the Persian employed various nomadic groups as auxiliaries; the Byzantines relying in particular on the Sabir Huns, to whom they sent gifts and imperial raiment.[14] Because of the power that the nomads possessed the Byzantines sought to convert their leaders and further integrate them into the Empire, but the nomads were initially unreceptive to Christianity. The Hunnic King who converted to Christianity was overthrown by his brother with the support of the Hunnic priesthood. This particular event demonstrates how the nomadic leader's control in domestic affairs was limited, and he instead relied on a redistribution resources acquired from sedentary people to encourage other nomads to follow him.

Their relationship with the Byzantines allowed the Sabir Huns to increase their power, which allowed them to threaten the the Byzantine Empire; an invasion was repelled in CE 534 by Moundos, the *magister militum per Illyricum*. The Byzantines encouraged the various groups to fight against each other as well, a strategy that proved successful until the Avars arrived in Europe in 557 CE and brought with them a more advanced and aggressive political structure. The Avars were likely a member of the Ju-Juan confederation that had been destroyed five years earlier by the ascending Turkish confederation led by Tu'men (?-d.553 CE) and his brother Sizabul (?-d.576 CE)[15]. According to a quote from Istemi in the *History of Menander the Guardsman*, the Avars had been the subjects of the Turks, but had rebelled and done damage to the Turkish property in Central Asia and then fled West.[16] Although the last Ju-Juan Khagan committed suicide; the Avars likely only represented a member of their confederation who did not want to stay under the political control of the Turks.

After arriving in the west the Avars were able to build their power base; subjugating the Sabirs Huns, the Kutrigurs the Utigurs and the Antae, a sedentary but rural Slavic tribe. Avar

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[13] Procopius, *The Persian War Bk. 1, Ch 21,* trans. Cameron Averil.

[14] John Malalas, *The Chronicle of John Malalas Book 18, Ch. 427-431*

[15] Also known as Istemï.

[16] Menander, *The History of Menander the Guardsman,* Frag 4.2

diplomats had been introduced to the Byzantines in 557CE through the King of the Alans, a Byzantine client tribe in the Caucasus region. The Avars negotiated with Justinian and received tribute and a promise of land in exchange for becoming allies of the Byzantines and fighting against the other nomadic tribes.[17] Justinian had planned to settle the Avars in Pannonia and to use them to fight against the Lombards, who had risen up and taken control of that area. However the Byzantines learned from an Avar diplomat that the Avars planned to betray Justinian and invade the Byzantine Empire. After this the Byzantines stopped paying friendly tribute to the Avars.[18]

After losing his subsidies from the Byzantines, the Khagan launched two raids into Frankish territory, and in 567CE defeated and captured the East Frankish king Sigebert I(561-575 CE) and extracted tribute from him.[19] They also helped the Lombards destroy the Gepids and as a part of the agreement with the Lombards they demanded ten percent of the Lombards livestock, a demand that the Lombards were forced to accede to.[20] These actions seem to further conform to Barfield's model of the nomadic confederacy as relying on the ability of its leader to extract tribute. As soon as they arrived in Europe the Avars subjugated as many other nomads as they could and attacked two settled powers forcing them to pay tribute in an attempt to build a imperial confederacy along the same lines of the Turkish and Ju-Juan confederacies.

The Avars were now the dominant military force in Europe and this fact was recognized by the Byzantines, who used them against the Slavs that had settled in Thrace and Scythia during the previous decades.[21] The Avar military relied on their heavy cavalry which was the first force in Europe to be outfitted

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[17] Ibid., Frag. 5.1
[18] Ibid., 5.4
[19]Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks,* Vol. II Book IV Ch. 2 (Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1927)
[20] Menander, *The History of Menander the Guardsman,* Frag. 12.2
[21] Ibid., Frag. 21

with stirrups for their horses. The description of how to equip a force of heavy cavalry from Maurice's *Strategikon,* written during imprecise date between 575 and 628, gives examples of why the Avars were so successful in battle and how influenced the Byzantines.

> The horses, especially those of the officers and the other special troops, in particular those of the front ranks of the battle line, should have protective pieces of iron armor about their heads and breast plates of iron and felt, or else breast and neck coverings such as the Avars use. . . . attached to the saddles should be two steps (stirrups) . . . . The men's clothing especially their tunic, whether made of linen, or goat hair, or rough wool, should be broad and full, cut according to the Avar pattern, so they can be fastened to cover the knees while riding and give a near appearance. . . . each squad should have a tent, as well as sickles and axes to meet any contingency . It is well to have a tent of the Avar type which combines practicality with good appearance.[22]

It seems clear that the writer of the Strategikon was impressed not only by the Avar's military ability but as well by their style, aesthetics, and demonstrates the influence that the culture was having on the Byzantines.

An additional problem the Byzantines faced was fighting the Avars and the Persians on two different fronts, leaving them unable to use aggressive tactics against the Avars. Aggressive tactics were successfully used by the Chinese Empire against the

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[22] Maruice, *Strategikon,* trans. George T. Dennis (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1984) pg. 13

Jeon-Ju and against the Turks because the nomadic people had to disperse across large distances for pasturage which prevented them from reacting to foreign attacks. The Byzantines began to have success against the Avars in 588CE after the general Priscus returned from the war against the Persians, re-capturing most of Thrace and Illyria from Avar control by the year 599. Priscus' army was encamped on the north side of the Danube in order to launch quick strikes against the Avars in any direction. These kinds of attacks had been used by Chinese dynasties and the strategy was often successful in keeping the power of nomadic confederations in check because nomadic armies were scattered while they pastured their animals.[23]In that year they had successfully raided parts of the Avar territory and member tribes of the Confederation began to defect to the Byzantines, demonstrating the success of these kinds of attacks in breaking up nomadic invading forces before they could become organized and gather in large numbers.[24]

However the army was experiencing morale issues because it had camped on the northern side of the Danube with a large amount of loot taken from the Avars, leading to conflict between the administrators in charge of the campaign; Comentiolus, Priscus, and the Emperor Maurice's brother Peter, and the officers in the army including the future Emperor Phocas. Afraid of being exposed to Avar attacks over winter the army decided to march to Constantinople and overthrow Maurice, placing their own commanding officer, Phocas, on the Imperial throne. The inability for the Byzantines to maintain their offensive strategy ended the greatest period of success against the Avars before the reign of Heraclitus, and their inability to succeed militarily against the Avars.[25]

As the Khagan succeeded in negotiating tribute from the

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[23] Barfield, *Perilous Frontier,* pg. 123

[24] Theophylact Simocatta, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta* trans. Michael and Mary Whitby (Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1986) viii, 5.8-6.1

[25] Ibid., viii. 6.2

Franks and the Byzantines, through diplomacy or violence, his forces increased in size. After the Persian invasions of Byzantine territory in the Middle East, the Avars became a secondary concern to Heraclius, who tried to make peace with the Avars in order to be free to fight in the East. However his concessions to the Avars simply allowed their forces to grow, helping their aggressive strategy that had no reason for a permanent peace if a larger subsidy could be acquired through threats. The Avar confederation was weakened by their failure to capture Constantinople in 626 but they had destroyed Byzantine power in the Balkans and were replaced by the Bulgars and the Slavs. The change brought on by the arrival of these tribes can be seen by the geographical language used in the *Chronicle of Theophanes* which makes references to Sklavinia, an area encompassing the former Byzantine provinces of Illyria and Thrace, which was now considered a foreign geographical region.[26]

In the east the Persian Empire also had problems with nomadic peoples that lived on their eastern frontiers; the Oxus River or north of the Caspian Gates. The Oxus had been formally recognized as the eastern border by the Sasanids during the reign of Bahram Gur (420-38 CE), who is credited with erecting a pillar there at the request of a nomadic group, after Bahram defeated them in a battle.[27] On the other side of the Oxus the cities of Balkh and Samarqand along the Fergana valley was inhabited by Sogdians, a sedentary people of Iranian linguistic heritage. The Sogdians were ruled by the nomadic Hepthalites beginning in the middle of the fifth century and after the destruction of the Hepthalites were the subjects of the Turks. The Hepthalites exercised a considerable amount of influence within the Persian state beginning in the middle of the fifth century, helping Bahram's son Peroz (459-84 CE) defeat his brother, Hormozd III (457-459 CE), in a war for succession, in exchange for Peroz

[26] Theophanes, *The Chronicle of Theophanes* AM 6149, 347

[27] Al-Tabari, *The History of Al-Tabari; The Sasanids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids and Yemen,* trans. C. E Bosworth (State University of New York Press, Albany: 1999) Vol. 5 ch. 865.

paying them tribute. However the Hepthalite alliance with Peroz ended quickly and Peroz began trying to free himself from paying them tribute; launching two failed expeditions across the Oxus River, he was killed during the second after falling into a trap laid by the Hepthalite King. The story is told differently by varying sources including Al-Tabari, the *Strategikon*, Malalas, and Procopius, but all agree that Peroz died when he fell into a hole dug by the Hepthalite King in a clever ambush.[28] The *Strategikon* makes a point of warning commanders about the nomads' tendency for alternative strategies, especially false retreats, and the tactical ingenuity of the nomads was another one of the reasons they consistently defeated their sedentary opponents.

The territory beyond the Oxus was a key part of the overland route of the Silk Road and the economy of Sogdia depended on selling silk and other eastern products to the Persian Empire. The Turks took silk from the Chinese as tribute and in turn sold it to the Sogdians who exported it to Persia and other foreign markets. Persian trade was controlled by the royal bureaucracy who bought the silk themselves at a fixed price, applied a percentage tax to it, and then sold it to the Greek or Roman buyers.[29] In a passage of the *History of Menander the Guardsman*, Khusro I burned the Sogdian's silk in front of their eyes as a message that he would not allow them to sell it freely in his territory.[30] The Persians were concerned that the Turks might create a monopoly in the silk trade that they would lose economic power compared to the Turks. They were also just as concerned that nomadic tribes might try to export silk to the Byzantines directly. These kinds of trade missions also occurred when nomadic embassies visited Constantinople and large quantities of silk came along with the Turkish embassy sent by the Khagan Sizabul to Byzantium and when the Zemarchus returned from the

[28] Ibid., Vol. 5 Ch.. 879.
[29] Dignas and Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity Neighbors and Rivals,* pg. 200-201.
[30]Menander, *The History of Menander the Guardsman* trans. R.C Blockley Frag 10.1

embassy at Khagan's mobile court in the Altai Mountains, in modern day Turkestan, after negotiatiating an alliance between the Byzantines and the Turks.[31] The Turkish destruction of the Hepthalites was therefore in part an economic move by the Turks who wanted more direct access to markets to sell their silk, and the Sogdians looked to the Byzantine markets when trade with the Persians was unfavorable.

The alliance between the Turks and the Persians may have also upset tensions inside the Persian Empire. As part of the agreement a daughter of the Khagan was given to Hormozd as a bride and according to Sebeos this is the mother of Hormozd IV(579-590 CE).[32] However Al-Tabari claimed that after Peroz's death his harem was captured, and the Hepthalite King took a daughter of Peroz's as a concubine and according to this interpretation this concubine would allegedly be the mother of Hormozd IV.[33] The Turkish heritage seems more credible and it would like wise fit chronologically. Some textual evidence for his Turkish lineage comes in the *Shahnameh* when Bahram Chubineh addresses Hormozd and insults him because of his Turkish heritage.[34] If the alliance was sealed with a marriage to either Sizabul or his brother Tu'men, it would have occurred in the 550s and Hormozd would have been between twenty and twenty five years of age when he came to the throne in 579.

The *Shahnameh* includes a story where an advisor is sent to the Emperor of China to fetch a princess for Khusro II and returns with a bride who becomes the mother of Hormozd.[35] This may be Ferdowsi's poetic interpretation of a marriage that was intended to seal the alliance between the Turks and Persians before

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[31]Ibid., Frag 10.3

[32] Ps. Sebeos, *The Armenian History attributed to Sebeos* trans. Time Greenwood (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool, 1999) pg. 160-161

[33] Al-Tabari, *The History of Al-Tabari*. Vol. 5 ch. 879 pg. 119 (see n. 307)

[34] Abol Qasem Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh, trans. Dick Davis, (Penguin, New York, 2006)* pg. 766.

[35] Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh,* pg. 694-698.

their joint destruction of the Hepthalites. The title "Emperor of China" that Ferdowsi gives to Saveh Shah could be explained because at this time the Chinese Empire paid tribute to the Turks and was technically a subject of the Khagan.[36] This seems to be confirmed in other places of the Shahnameh where Hormozd's Turkish lineage is mentioned as a negative trait of his character. This is interesting because it coincides chronologically with the end of the Turkish-Byzantine alliance and the beginging of Turkish attacks against Byzantine territory in the 570s and 580s. The breakdown of the Byzantine alliance with the Turks may have been because of the family connection between Hormozd IV and the Turkish nobility. The alliance between the Turks and Byzantines was broken by Sizabul's son, Tardu (576-603 CE), in 576 and the Turks captured Bosporos and Byzantine territory around the Black Sea who may have felt the need to prove himself as a military leader and that he capable of replacing his father as leader of the tribe.[37]

The narration which the *Shahnameh* gives of the events of this period is fantastical but does give useful information. During Hormozd's reign the Persian Empire is attacked by a figure called Saveh Shah, who is again called the Emperor of China. Exactly who this individual represents historically is unclear, but it is interesting to that Saveh Shah's intention in the *Shahnameh* is not to attack Persia itself, but instead to move through Persia to attack the Byzantines.[38] In any case this Saveh Shah's army was destroyed by Bahram Chubineh, who took an enormous amount of loot from Saveh Shah. [39] However Hormozd believed that Bahram kept part of the treasure for himself and sent Bahram women's clothing as an insult, leading Bahram to distribute treasure to his army and prepare for an invasion of the Persian

[36] Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier*, pg. 133
[37] Menander, *The History of Menander the Guardsman,* Frag 19.1
[38] Abol Qasem Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh,* pg. 737.
[39] This is the Persian spelling of his name, as it appears in the *Shahnameh*, in Arabic sources he is refered to as Bahram Chobin.

Empire.[40] The fantastical narration of the Shahnameh has backing in western histories which assert Bahram forged documents asserting that Hormozd wanted to stop giving his soldiers their entitled wages, enraging the army.[41] In either case Bahram won over his soldiers with the promise of wealth and rewards, just like the leaders of nomadic confederations, and nomads served in Bahram's army together with its Persian elements.[42]

From the wealth of evidence available in primary sources Barfield's model for relations between nomadic confederacies and sedentary powers is applicable in the Western parts of the Late Antique World as it is in the Eastern parts with a few subtle differences. Viewing the ancient world as a binary power struggle between Persians and Romans creates the illusion of a Dark Age after the fall of Classical civilizations and the rise of medieval kingdoms, because the reader is more likely to ignore the rise of the Arabs, Slavs, Franks, Bulgars, and Turks as individual peoples on the periphery of these civilizations. In addition to raiding and gaining tribute as outlined by Barfield nomadic tribes the Byzantines and Sasanids were both allied with the Avars and Turks to destroy mutual enemies. The Avars and Turks were thus willing to work within the established power structures to further their goals in addition to acquiring resources through raiding and intimidation. More than despotic barbarians and destroyers of civilization, nomads had their own culture and political organization suited to fulfilling the needs of their lifestyle.

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[40] Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh,* pg. 760.

[41] Theophylact Simocatta, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta,* iii, 18.14

[42] Ibid., v, 10.13-10.15

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POST-EMPIRE, POST-COLONIAL: THE ROMAN-FRANK COLONIAL RELATIONSHIP

DAVID ELLIOTT THOMSON STANTS

Clovis received an appointment to the consulship from the emperor Anastasius, and in the church of the blessed Martin he clad himself in the purple tunic and chlamys*, and placed a diadem on his head. Then he mounted his horse, and in the most generous manner he gave gold and silver as he passed along the way which is between the gate of the entrance [of the church of St. Martin] and the church of the city, scattering it among the people who were there with his own hand, and from that day he was called consul or Augustus.*

— Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*

When Gregory of Tours discussed the ceremonial gifting of a consulship to Clovis, we see a blurring of categories – this is the action that a proper Roman would take. But Clovis was not a Roman; he was the Frankish King. Under Clovis, the Franks would be Romanized by taking on elements of Roman culture: a similar background mythology and Catholic Christianity.[1] In fact, the Franks are just one of the 'colonial' relationships that the Roman Empire had with various barbarian groups. Engaging with the post-colonial theory of Homi Bhabha in his essays "The other question: Stereotype, discrimination and the discourse of colonialism", "Of mimicry and man: The Ambivalence of colonial discourse" in *The Location of Culture* and Edward Said's "Travelling theory reconsidered" in *Reflections on exile and other essays*, I will show that Rome was a colonial empire whose changing colonial relations was one of the factors that resulted in

[1] Edward James, *The Franks* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 235.

the disintegration of the Western Empire. Out of that, the post-colonial Franks would supersede the Romans as the 'new Western Empire.' Before I examine the colonial relationship between the Franks and the Romans, I will outline the theoretical lenses employed to analyze this relationship.

In "The other question: Stereotype, discrimination and the discourse of colonialism," Bhabha explains that the concept of "fixity" is an important feature within colonial discourse of the colonial stereotype, representing both order and disorder. Productive ambivalence strengthens the colonial stereotype of the Other: "its repeatability in changing historical and discursive conjunctures; informs its strategies of individuation and marginalization; produces that effect of probabilistic truth and predictability which, for the stereotype, must be always in *excess* of what can be empirically proved or logically construed."[2] If one reads the colonial stereotype in terms of fetishism, or as a "disavowal of difference," it allows access to the contradictory beliefs of an identity that are both sexual and racially grounded. The colonial stereotype as a complex knowledge becomes the "desire for originality that is…threatened by differences of race, colour, and culture."[3] It is an ambivalence that creates multiple beliefs towards the colonized that are contradictory, requiring other concurrent colonial stereotypes to mask it. This ensures that the colonial stereotype has a fixed and phantasmal quality. "This racist stereotypical knowledge . . . inscribes a form of Foucauldian governmentality that is informed by a productive splitting in its constitution of knowledge and the exercise of power."[4] Thus the stereotype then becomes the knowledge that is used as the necessity for the legitimization for the authoritarian colonial control.[5]

In "Of mimicry and man: The Ambivalence of colonial

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[2] Homi Bhabha, "The Other question," in *The Location of Culture* (2004; repr., Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2008), 94-6.
[3] Ibid., 106-7.
[4] Ibid., 110-8.
[5] Ibid., 118-9.

discourse," colonial mimicry is "the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*."[6] In this we can see the idea of hybridity – the not quite, not white. Mimicry both makes the Other appropriate, as it visualizes power, and inappropriate, as it is a threat to that 'normalized' system of knowledge and power.[7] It is a discourse between the appropriate and the inappropriate that reveals its threat by the unconcealed "double vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority."[8] The desire for colonial mimicry has the strategic objective called metonymy of presence: "an erratic, eccentric strategy of authority" through which the "repetitious slippage of difference and desire" leads to the questioning of authority by the contradictory status of the colonized as both the object of regulatory power and the subject of racial, cultural, and national representation.[9] The ambivalence of mimicry presents the colonized as "an insurgent counter-appeal" that problematizes the dominant idea of the Other.[10]

By engaging with these post-colonial theories in a colonial Roman context, we must engage with travelling theory. Bhabha examined the idea of cultural hybridity and ambiguous and ambivalent colonial identities, a slippage between the colonizer and the colonized, in the last five hundred years. When I look at Rome, I see a colonial power that influenced all who came in contact with it. This essay extends Bhabha's ideas by bringing into late antiquity; his ideas do not lose their power because of this transfer of location. What we see an affiliation between the experience of the Franks and the various colonized

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[6] Homi Bhabha, "Of mimicry and man: The Ambivalence of colonial discourse," in *The Location of Culture* (2004; repr., Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2008), 122
[7] Ibid., 123
[8] Ibid., 126-128
[9] Ibid., 128-9.
[10] Ibid., 129-30.

groups of the present.[11] In order to show this relationship, I will look at the Romans' ambivalent attitude toward the Franks in the context of conflicting Roman attitudes toward barbarian groups in general and the Frankish mimicry of Roman values as seen in Clovis.

The Franks were a German-speaking people from the northeastern part of Europe who raided the romans in the 3rd Century AD.[12] In 286 the Roman Emperor Maximian defeated Gennobaudes, the first known Frankish king, settled the Franks with property of their own, and integrated them into the roman military and political institutions.[13] By the mid-fourth century Franks were settled within the Roman Empire and were in high positions of military and civil authority. A Frankish epitaph reads, "I am a Frankish citizen, and a Roman soldier under arms."[14] Thus the Franks became insiders and made their way through the ranks to become military and political players. Many Franks were working with the Roman Empire as *Foederati*, free soldiers allied to Rome. This reminds one of the colonial relationship between the Indian *Sepoys* and the British during the Great War.[15] One example of the high level of Frankish integration in the Roman system can be seen with Merobaudes, the *magister peditum,* or, "Master of the Infantry," for the emperor Julian from AD 375–88 and three-time consul — a great honor.[16] While the Franks were integrated into the Roman military and political hierarchy, they were differentiated from Romans in other ways. The strange hybridity of Frankish status is exemplified in the Frankish epitaph

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[11] Edward Said, "Travelling theory reconsidered," in *Reflections on exile and other essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 436-52.
[12] James, *The Franks*, 6.
[13] Ibid., 38-9.
[14] Ibid.,, 42.
[15] See George Morton Jack, "The Indian Army on the Western Front, 1914–1915: A Portrait of
Collaboration," *War in History* 13, no. 3 (2006):329-362.
[16] James, *The Franks*, 42.

quoted above. Franks could be admitted quite deeply into the institutions of Roman society. Nevertheless, their Frankish identity could never be completely ignored.

One of the many ways in which the Romans responded to the cultural threat of the various 'barbarian' groups was through the creation of the Roman and the Other, "*Romania* and *barbaria*." This served to defuse the threat to aristocratic self-assurance posed by 'barbarians'.[17] Barbarians were regular literary fodder, whose naming in Roman works may reflect the power of naming something in order "to be able to control it."[18] An example can be found in Silvanus, the *magister militum* who was named 'traitor' against emperor Constantius; he was the barbarian who was supposed to be put in his place. Being 'barbarian' or having a 'barbarian' wife was frowned upon in the fourth and fifth centuries. These ideas strengthened a sense of distance between *Romania* and *barbaria*. The Poet Claudian mocked a Praetorian prefect for his 'barbarian' dress, an attack on Roman values.[19] While the Romans saw the *barbaria* as an existential threat to Rome itself, the Other could also be of value as seen in their use as *Foederati*. It was also a feel-good story for Romans when the *barbaria* would admit Roman superiority and emulate their customs.[20] This can also be seen in a letter sent from the Roman bishop Sidonius Apollinaris to Arbogastes, the Frankish count of Trier. Apollinaris labelled Arbogastes 'civilized,' writing, "the words you utter are those of the Tiber."[21] Such attitudes would be seen with Clovis who would take on many Roman customs and practices. It is in this that we can see Bhabha's mimicry in action. Before Clovis, the Franks were pagans: this was directly linked to

[17] Ralph W. Mathisen, *Roman aristocrats in barbarian Gaul: strategies for survival in an age of transition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 39.
[18] Ibid., 39-41.
[19] Ibid., 41-2
[20] Ibid., 43-46.
[21] Brian Campbell, *The Romans and their world: 753 BC to AD 476* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 236.

their foundation myth of Merovech, the father of Childeric whom was "the off-spring of a sea-monster."[22] That birth came in the seventh-century *Liber Historiae* Francorum, but in his history we see the importance of his relationship and affiliation to Rome through Aetius. Merovech, a real man, was an ally of Rome till the death of Aetius; after which he broke the alliance to Rome.[23] Fredegar presented in his chronicle a Frankish version of Virgil's *Aenied,* with the 'Trojan prince' Francion as their heroic ancestor. Following the Greek sack of Troy, Francion's ancestor Frigia came "came westwards" and the tribe would later to the Rhine under the Trojan prince Francion.[24] By creating this mythic background, the Franks could state that they were equal to the Romans in dignity.[25] This created the space for a common mental universe for the Franks and the Romans.

Fear of the un-Romanized Frank can be seen if we compare the Gallo-Roman historian and bishop Gregory of Tours' treatment of King Childeric with that of his son Clovis. During his rule, Childeric sacrificed horses and worshipped stones and trees. For Gregory, Childeric's private life was "one long debauch."[26] While Childeric stopped his debauchery early in his rule because of the threat of assassination, he later took Basina, the wife of the King of Thuringia, for his own. We see the concept of the colonial stereotype with Childeric as the debauched sexual Other who stole the another king's wife, but who knew well not to breach the boundaries of Roman Soissons.[27] While Childeric was seen as the 'uncivilized barbarian,' Clovis was seen as the 'civilized' and heroic Frankish leader.

Under Clovis, the Franks had their first Catholic leader who was "daring, ambitious and unscrupulous;" using any tactic

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[22] James, *The Franks*, 162-3

[23] Katharine Scherman, *The Birth of France: Warriors, Bishops, and Long-Haired Kings* (New York: Random House, 1987), 101-3.

[24] James, *The Franks*, 235

[25] Ibid., 235-6.

[26] Quoted in Scherman, 103.

[27] Scherman, *The Birth of France*,103-7.

necessary to unify the "autonomous and discordant Frankish tribes."[28] Due to the work of Gregory of Tours, Clovis has been seen as "the founder of Frankish power in western Europe: the king who united the Franks under his rule, led them in a series of largely successful campaigns against other powers, and brought them to Catholic Christianity."[29] As Clovis built up Frankish power, he sided with the Romans to contain Visigothic expansion and acquired land at their expense and the death of their king Alaric II. Clovis would have gone further in expansion against the Visigoths, but he was stopped with the intervention of Theodoric Strabo from the Eastern empire as the Franks were becoming too much of a threat to Italy. Again, Clovis receded from his activities in Southern Gaul.[30] While Clovis was becoming Romanized, his ambiguous identity as neither totally Roman nor wholly Other could be seen as a threat to Roman power.

Before Clovis, the Frankish kingdom was 'pagan'. Yet with Clovis, the Franks would become members of a Catholic Christian commonwealth which smoothed over the relationship between Roman power and the Franks. Likely influenced by his Catholic Burgundian wife Clotild, Clovis finally converted during a battle against the Alemanni in AD 496; which "suspiciously parallels the conversion of Constantine, the first Christian Emperor."[31] While there has been contention over whether Clovis was Arian Christian before AD 496 or baptised in AD 503, ultimately Clovis did turn to Catholic Christianity.[32] Turning to Catholicism had its benefits: "the entire Gallic clergy now favoured him," including Saint Geneviève.[33] In Rheims on Christmas Day in AD 503, Clovis was baptised by the Bishop Remy. He would become a vigorous supporter and subject of the Roman church: Clovis had links to Catholic bishops, like Avitus

[28] Ibid.
[29] James, *The Franks*, 78.
[30] Ibid., 120-2.
[31] Ibid., 110-21.
[32] Ibid., 122-3
[33] Scherman, *The Birth of France*, 113.

of Vienne, for whom Clovis' conversion to Catholicism was "our victory", as the Franks became members of a Christian commonwealth.[34] For Gregory of Tours, Clovis was a new Constantine. Clovis acted in the manner of a proper Roman emperor: a warlord, dispenser of patronage, object of awe, and employed the Roman titles of *dux*, *comes*, *consul*, and *Augustus*. This is clearly shown by Gregory of Tours when he described the Eastern emperor Anastasius conferring the title of consulate to Clovis at the conclusion of successful campaigns against the Arian Visigoths. Thus in Tours, "like a good Roman, [Clovis] rode along the way from St Martin's to the cathedral showering gold and silver coins on the populace."[35] While Clovis was not technically under the rule of Anastasius, this investiture was of symbolic importance as it was a show of legitimacy for his subjects, many of whom considered themselves Roman. Because of the importance of linkages to Romans, past and present, Clovis moved his capital to Paris, the winter headquarters of Emperors Julian the Apostate and Valentinian I.[36] Despite the move to Roman power, Clovis was still a Frank and never fully became Romanized. Never attempting to make his kingdom a Mediterranean power, Clovis was a "brutal and unscrupulous conqueror, paying lip service to a Christ who was to him but a more efficacious war god, cleaving the skulls of enemies with his own ax, employing perfidy to encompass the downfall of other foes."[37] Almost, but not quite Roman, Clovis was a successful ruler who made the Franks mighty under the diminishing gaze of Roman oversight.

In the end however, Clovis asserted his own power against the Romans. We see this in his *Lex Salica,* a transfer of traditional Frankish oral law into a Romanized style. Written by a team of Gallo-Roman lawyers and clerics, this law code "is a landmark in the history of Frankish Gaul" as it now showed the king as

[34] Ibid., 114-5.
[35] James, *The Franks*, 86-7
[36] Scherman, *The Birth of France*, 122-3.
[37] Ibid., 123-33.

supreme judge.[38] One significant line in the introduction deserves mention: the Franks were a "powerful people who, by fighting, shook from its neck the hard yoke of the Romans."[39] This is the power of the ambivalence of mimicry. The Franks can be seen apprehensive toward the Roman status of the colonized as both "the object of regulatory power" and "the subject of racial, cultural, [and] national representation."[40] The Franks turned their gaze onto the Romans and saw themselves now as their own masters, but in practice were still linked to the vestige of Roman power in the Catholic Church.

The Franks, under the gaze of the Romans, had to tread a fine line between achieving their goals and not angering the Romans. Bhabha's theory does travel back in time to the end of the Roman Empire. Hybridity is not a product of modernity: while Bhabha wrote on the intersection of colonialism and globalism in a modern context, but one that occurred well before the age of the great European empires. The Roman gaze was powerful: it could reward or it could destroy. By working within the framework of the colonial stereotype and Othering, the Franks had to take on the Roman identity to survive. Changing their foundation myth and their religion made the Franks less of a threat to Roman power than other groups. Thus we see that Bhabha's theory is applicable to historical examples of colonialism. By understanding the Romans as a colonial empire, we can better comprehend the relationships that it had with various 'colonized' barbarian groups. Through this understanding, we may be able to catch a glimpse of the inheritance of Roman colonial values and their impact through the middle ages to the present.

[38] Ibid., 125-30.
[39] Ibid., 125
[40] Bhabha, "Of mimicry and man," 128-9.

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PHYLO'S TALE

Serving the *megaron* of Menelaus,
I hear his firm footfall throughout his palace.
Furrowed brow darting eyes on golden tresses,
Bird within a guilded cage my *hellene* queen.

Bronze flames dancing melodies on umber walls,
Electrum reflections glow in hallowed halls.
Hypnotic lyre lulling minstrels enthrall all,
Rhythmic feather flutter lashes of my queen.

Fragrant *Helen* from her bath of sweet perfume,
Her scent wafting drifting gently through the room.
Mellow limbs she floats and melts into the tune,
Winged words sing oh so softly of my queen.

Lark song calling radiant *rosy fingered dawn,*
Nimble digits working deftly with the yarn.
Fine spun net to keep sweet *Helen* safe from harm?
Olympian Zeus remote father of our queen.

Sometimes she sobs weeping deeply in the night,
Haunting terrors in *Troy's* towers, lovers' plight?
Serene by day visage calm and free from fright,
Sorceress *Helen* mixing potions for the queen?

Sky above an eagle soared away on high,
She screeched "*Hermes*! Brother lend me wings to fly!"
Teardrops bubbled from the brims of bright blue eyes,
Pain and power in my precious Spartan queen.

— Colleen Dunn

ARAB IDENTITY IN LATE ANTIQUITY

HAJAR TOHMÉ

Today, the word 'Arab' eludes an easy definition.[1] However, it appears to revolve around three important elements: political alliances, the Arabic language, and religion. Interestingly, these components of Arab identity find their origin in numerous issues that arose during the late antique period. Alliances with Rome and Persia divided Arab groups according to allegiances with each empire.[2] Additionally, the Arabic language and religion play a role, especially following the rise of Islam.[3] Because these issues are still discussed today when analyzing factors of Arab culture, it is clear that issues from the late antique period remain relevant to contemporary concerns.

When discussing identity and culture in any form, it is vital to understand the terminology that is associated with the field of study. According to ethnolinguist Philip Riley, identity is defined as a "close affinity of a group of people based on assigned similarities."[4] Identity is thus based on common associations that are agreed upon by members of a particular group. What then is 'culture'? Culture is defined as "[an] accepted knowledge of commonality among peoples that are passed down for generations." [5] Again, it appears that culture is centered on similarities. Defining 'Arab', however, is particularly difficult. According to M.C.A. Macdonald, the term served as a metaphor in ancient times because it was sometimes connected by both

[1] Stephen Sheehi, *Foundations of Modern Arab Identity* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2004), 127.
[2] R.B. Serjeant, *Studies in Arabian History and Civilization* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), 128.
[3] Sheehi, 128.
[4] Philip Riley, *Language, Culture, and Identity* (London: Continuum, 2007), 115.
[5] Ibid, 21.

insiders and outsiders within various cultural activities and occupations.[6] Furthermore, any residents of the Province of Arabia, including Romans, might have considered themselves to be Arabs after 106 AD.[7] In this way, Macdonald attributes the word as an identifier for "a loose complex of language and culture."[8] However, conventional contemporary usage of the term 'Arab' compromises both language and culture. Please note that for the purposes of this paper, I will be referring to Arabs in the late antique period as 'groups' rather than as tribes or kingdoms because the classification of these people was more akin to principalities than anything else.[9] The term 'kingdom' corresponds only very imperfectly to the reality of the systems of control among the Arab groups, which were centered more on notions of leadership rather than monarchy.[10] Furthermore, the term 'group' avoids any overt political, ethnic, and linguistic connotations.

Modern Issues

There are many modern issues relating to Arab identity that trace their origins to the late antique period. Contemporarily, alliances and political affiliations are important factors in defining the identity of certain Arab groups (e.g. The Arab-Israeli conflict).[11] Today, some Arab states are in open debate over whether peaceful affiliation with Israel is beneficial. The open criticism Syria has laid against countries (i.e. Egypt and Jordan) who have sought to

[6] M.C.A. Macdonald, "Arabs, Arabias, and Arabic Before Late Antiquity," *Topoi* 16.1 (2009): 283.
[7] Ibid, 291.
[8] Ibid, 283.
[9] Christian Julien Robin, "Les Arabes de Ḥimyar, des « Romains » et des Perses (III^{e}–VI^{e} siècles de l'ère chrétienne)", *Semetica et Classica* 1: 193.
[10] Ibid., 194.
[11] Martin Kramer, "Arab Nationalism: Mistaken Identity", *Daedalus* 112.3 (1993): 171.

establish agreements with the state of Israel is one such example;[12] Syrian officials assert that there must be a collective 'Arab' force to counter Israeli actions in Gaza and the West Bank.[13] This is analogous to the alliances that various Arab groups established with the Roman and Persian empires in Late Antiquity. Rather than seeking to form stable alliances amongst one another, these groups fought and killed each other for the sake of loyalty to foreign empires. Not only does this lack of unity in the late antique period suggest that there was no collective 'Arab' identity, but it also indicates that political affiliation and alliances with other powers have long been a dilemma among Arabs and have likely prevented them from cementing an identity devoid of political influence. A modern day example would be the Sunni and Shi'a divide prevalent among Muslim populations in the Middle East. This issue is perhaps reflected in the tensions that existed between Christian Roman Arabs and polytheist Persian Arabs in late antiquity.[14]

Another current topic worthy of note is the Arabic language. Muslims who speak Arabic retain a sense of pride due to the fact that they believe that it is a holy language (as God revealed the Qur'an in Arabic).[15] Some Arabs who are not Muslims, however, claim that the Arabic language is not and has not been constitutive of Arab identity.[16] In support, they argue that there are various other languages in the Middle East that have been spoken longer and that by emphasizing Arabic, one disregards the role of those other languages in the area.[17] Furthermore, it is important to note that Arabic became a prime indicator of Arab identity during Ottoman rule, influencing modern ideas about its role in delineating group identity. It was an attempt for Arabic

[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., 172.
[14] Sheehi, 82.
[15] Ibid., 46.
[16] Kramer, 175.
[17] Ibid., 176.

speakers to distinguish themselves from Turkish occupiers.[18] In this way, Arabic did not constitute Arab identity, but was merely used as an indicator of it.

Similarly, this is the way that Arabic may have been utilized in Late Antiquity, as speakers of various other languages surrounded Arabs.[19] While some scholars such as Robert Hoyland claim that Arabic is the prime component of Arab identity, some believe that it was merely one signifier out of many. It was not until after the rise of Islam that Arabic became considered an important component of Arab identity.[20]

Because the rise of Islam changed notions regarding Arab identity, it remains a relevant issue. Although many residents of the Middle East are indeed Muslim, one should not ignore the fact that Christianity and Judaism also began in the Middle East. Furthermore, other religions in the region, such as Zoroastrianism, are found amongst certain populations.[21] As such, the absence of Islam in contemporary Arab identity is reflected also in Late Antiquity.[22]

Roman Alliance

The relationships between Arab groups and powerful states are relevant to any discussion of Arab identity in the pre-Islamic period. In turn one must look to the relationships that the Arabs maintained with large and powerful empires. There are three small but distinct Arab groups that feature in the fifth and sixth centuries, and each was allied with different empires. The Jafnids, for example, were allied with the Romans, and the Nasrids were allies to the Sasanians. The third group, known, as the Hujrids, were client rulers rather than allies of the kingdom of

[18] Ibid., 184.
[19] Serjeant, 118.
[20] Sheehi, 54.
[21] Kramer, 176.
[22] Sheehi, 61.

Himyar that were pressured by the Romans and the Sasanians.[23] The fact that these groups were family dynasties rather than stable kingdoms or polities might have influenced their decision to ally themselves with empires that maintained more power in the region.[24] Still, these alliances, as well as interactions with other peoples, could possibly explain how Arabs constituted and projected their own identities.[25]

The Jafnids were allied with the Roman Empire from approximately 500 to 585.[26] Due to their interaction with the Romans, there are a number of inscriptions that mention the Jafnids. After the Jafnids emerged as leaders in regions of Syria, their prominent position allowed them to seek a potential alliance with the Romans. The Jafnids would eventually become the principal Arab allies of the Roman Empire in the sixth century.[27] Procopius of Caesarea, who wrote extensively about Justinian, mentions the Jafnid phylarch Arethas (Al-Harith), and comments upon the nature of the Roman alliance with the Jafnids. Procopius states that Alamoundaras (Al-Mundhir), leader of all the Saracens in Persia, proved to be a difficult opponent for Justinian. Procopius continues to explain, "For this reason, the Emperor Justinian put in command of as many clans as possible Arethas, the son of Gabalas, who ruled over the Saracens of Arabia, and bestowed upon him the dignity of king, a thing which among the Romans have never before been done".[28] Here, Procopius clearly outlines the way in which Justinian's conflict with Al-Mundhir prompted him to establish an alliance with the Jafnid leader. In turn, because Justinian sought help from the Jafnids, he probably honoured Al-Harith with 'the dignity of king' in order to offer him recognition

[23] Greg Fisher, "Kingdoms or Dynasties? Arabs, History, and Identity before Islam", *Journal of Late Antiquity* 4.2 (2011): 245.
[24] Ibid., 248.
[25] Riley, 22.
[26] Fisher, 261.
[27] Ibid., 262.
[28] Procopius, *History of the Wars,* trans. Dewing (Cambridge: 1914-1928): 1.17.43-8.

for his assistance against Roman enemies. Furthermore, it is possible that this honorific title might have also featured funding to support his position.[29]

Although one has to recognize the honour that was bestowed upon Al-Harith as a mark of a beneficial alliance, it is also important to consider that there may have been more involved in this decision. The emperor might have used it as an opportunity to agitate the Sasanians, who through the Nasrids were attacking parts of Roman territory in Arabia. In this respect, the Jafnids presented an opportunity to turn Arab allies against Sasanian interests in a different, eastward sphere, in conjunction with efforts to the south.[30] In this way, the system of alliances between the Arabs fueled further tension among Arab groups that were allied with conflicting empires.

Figure 1: Frontier Between Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity

Another important factor to consider is Al-Harith's reaction to Justinian's recognition of him. During the establishment of the alliance, the Jafnids were already a prominent power in the Syrian region. The fact that they were willing to ally themselves with Justinian against other Arabs gives insight to notions of association. The alliance suggests that Arab groups at the time did not have shared notions of history and culture where alliances with foreign powers were concerned. In turn, there was no collective Arab identity that would discourage Arab groups from turning against other people of a shared culture. The Jafnid alliance with the Romans demonstrates that Arab groups did not see themselves united in either culture or identity and were thus prompted to form alliances

[29] Fisher, 262.
[30] Ibid.

based on what suited their own autonomous groups. Despite the fact that scholars are unsure whether or not Justinian's recognition of Al-Harith as a king among his people was also recognized by other Arabs, the Roman support helped the Jafnids advance among their own group. The Jafnids were able to implement political power in their assembly due to the fact that they were involved with the religious, political, and militaristic aspects of the Roman Empire.[31] Once again, this suggests that an alliance with a foreign and more powerful force was more beneficial to the Jafnids for acquiring power than forming ties with a regional group. Still, it is important to recognize that there is no record that a Jafnid ever held a permanent civilian post or formal military positions for the empire. This contrasts with other allies of the Romans, such as the Germanic tribes, who were able to infiltrate into the Roman hierarchy and maintain reputable military roles.[32] A notable example is Mallobaudes, a fourth century Frankish king who was appointed second-in-command of the army in Gaul in 378 AD by Gratian upon his defeat of the Alemannic tribes.[33] Considering the fact that the lack of Jafnid involvement in the Roman military is unusual in comparison to the empire's relationship with other allies, the explanation for this might lie in the fact that the Romans were unable to accept a group of people whom they saw as fully barbarian to participate in Roman society.

After discussing the initial alliance between Al-Harith and Justinian, Procopius explains the efforts that were made to stop Al-Mundhir:

> However Alamoundaras continued to injure the Romans just as much as before, if not more, since Arethas was either extremely unfortunate in every inroad and every conflict, or else he turned traitor as

[31] Ibid., 263.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1960), 421.

> quickly as he could. For as yet we know nothing certain about him. In this was it came about that Alamoundaras, with no one to stand against him, plundered the whole East for an exceedingly long time for he lived to a very advanced age.[34]

Procopius suggests that the alliance with Al-Harith did not prove to be beneficial to the Romans because Al-Mundhir still gained territory for the Persians. Furthermore, it is worthy to note that the failure to stop Al-Mundhir has ultimately been blamed on the Jafnids. Procopius takes on a condescending tone when addressing Al-Harith; his implication that Al-Harith could have been a traitor conveys typical Roman views at the time regarding the consideration of barbarians. Al-Harith is blamed for the Roman failure to stop Al-Mundhir from acquiring more territory in the East. Notably, however, Procopius rehabilitates Al-Harith after he succeeds in killing Al-Mundhir in 554, once again demonstrating the fact that the alliance was based mostly on what the Jafnids could offer to the Romans and not vice versa.[35]

While it appears that the Jafnids benefitted from their alliance with the Romans, especially in relation to the implementation of power and stature among the own group, it appears that it did little to enhance notions of a shared Arab identity among other Arab groups. It is reasonable to assume that their relationship with the Roman Empire placed them in a difficult position because they still needed recognition from their own people. In addition, the fact that the Jafnids never assimilated into the Roman Empire on a civil level and were only concerned with maintaining a powerful role among their own people proved problematic for them later on.[36] Furthermore, the early conversion of the Jafnids to Christianity, as well as their support of

[34] Procopius, 1.17.50-6.
[35] Ibid., 1.17.73-8.
[36] Fisher, 264.

Miaphysites[37] suggests an attempt by them to strengthen their ties with the Roman Empire.[38] The Roman emperor eventually decided to turn against the Jafnid leader Al-Mundhir, the son of Al-Harith, and although they did attempt to fight back, the Jafnids ultimately lost. After a brief period of resistance and defeat, the Jafnids disappear from Roman records at the end of the sixth century.[39]

It is clear that the Romans only chose to support the Jafnids as long as they proved useful to Rome's pursuits in Syria and the Arabian Peninsula. The Jafnids became too reliant on Roman power for survival and legitimization for authority. This reliance eventually led to their inability to maintain their control even after the Romans withdrew their support. Thus, rather than seeking alliances among themselves, small Arab groups at the time became overly reliant on empires. In this way, imperial ties did little and most likely prevented the Arab groups from establishing a common notion of identity among themselves.

The Arabic Language

Another important element in considering Arab identity lies in the Arabic language itself. Prior to the rise of Islam throughout Arabia, it appears that Arabic remained a predominantly oral language. Although Arabic was employed by non-literate peoples, those who spoke Arabic still preferred to write in scripts usually associated with other languages.[40] In turn, because pre-Islamic texts that are written in Arabic are so rare, Hoyland believes that commissioning them appears to have been a conscious and deliberate choice. It appears that the commissioner of the text had

[37] Miaphysites: Believers in the single nature of Jesus Christ as divine and human.
[38] Fisher, 263.
[39] Ibid., 264.
[40] Robert G. Hoyland, "Epigraphy and the Emergence of Arab Identity", *From Al-Andalus to Khurasan: Documents from the Medieval Muslim World* (2007): 234.

the intention of making a statement about ethnic and cultural affiliation with Arab identity.[41] Still, most people in the region, especially newcomers, chose to write official texts in languages that were associated with prestige, notably Greek and Aramaic. Because of the fact that Greek and Aramaic were the recognized languages of authority and power, it is reasonable to assume that the decision of the authors of Arabic texts to write in their own native language countered the prevailing linguistic tradition of the time.[42] Moreover, their utilization of Arabic in their texts suggests that they associated a sense of worth with their language. Furthermore, Hoyland claims that the fact that these authors wrote in their native language binds the Arabic language with their identity and self-perception.[43]

Although Hoyland is justified in his view that the commissioning of Arabic texts was rare and must have been done purposefully, one should focus on the underlying assertion rather than the language itself. He has not considered the possibility that Arabic might have been employed as a testament to Arab stature. Furthermore, a society that produces work of an artistic quality conceptualizes itself and defines itself through its art.[44] Hoyland also discusses the Nemara inscription, a text that serves as an epitaph for Imru' al-Qays ibn 'Amr, which states, "He dealt gently with the nobles of the tribes, and appointment them viceroys, and they became phylarchs for the Romans. And no king has equaled his achievements."[45] While this inscription is intended to glorify a dead king, Hoyland and Macdonald emphasize that the text is written in what can clearly be recognized as the Arabic script. It is reasonable to assume that the focus of the inscription is not to establish identity through the use of the Arabic script. In fact, as

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[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Serjeant, 122.
[45] Translation of Nemara Inscription used here is trans. by A.F.L. Beeston, in "Nemara and Law", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 42.1 (1979): 1-6.

Hoyland states, Arabic was a language that was spoken in areas where other languages such as Aramaic and Greek were more prominent.[46] As a result, since language was an indicator that could separate Arabs from other groups in the region, the commission of texts in Arabic such as the Nemara inscription is a testimony to the stature of the group rather than a mere self-identification.

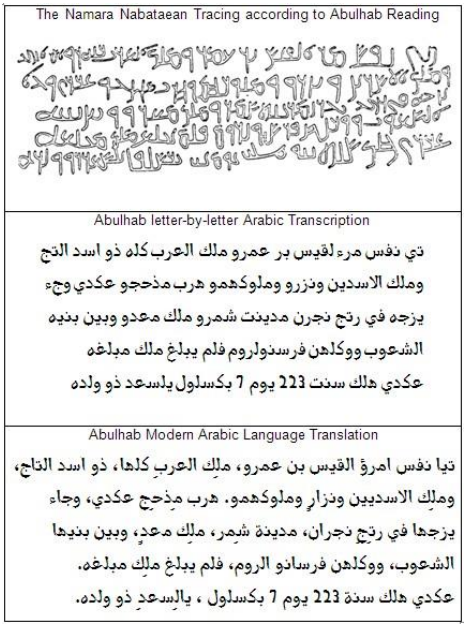

Figure 2: Arabic Translation of Nemara Inscription by Saad D. Abdulhab

Aside from the assertion of identity through writing in Arabic, it is important to note that the constant writing of Arabic in the Nabataean script led to changes in the script itself. Scribes introduced changes and modifications to simplify the ambiguities in the script. These changes gradually developed into the distinctive Arabic script.[47] Although Hoyland's claims for the development of the Arabic script are speculative, it seems plausible that the frequent practice of writing Arabic texts in Nabataean Aramaic resulted in the establishment of the Arabic script itself. Regardless of the precise origins of the Arabic script, the main assumption lies in the notion that it was ideas of Arab identity and pride in culture that essentially contributed to the implementation of the Arabic

[46] Hoyland, 237.
[47] Ibid., 236.

script along with the vernacular that was already widely in use. In other words, as Arabic became more widely used, a distinct script became essential.

The most insightful component of the relationship between Arab identity and the Arabic language lies in Arabic poetry. Pre-Islamic Arabic poetry emphasized wisdom.[48] Moreover, most of the pre-Islamic poetry that survives was transmitted orally until the eighth century and thus genuinely derives from the pre-Islamic period.[49] The important role of Arabic poetry in Arab culture is further stressed in the idea that this form of literature helped "nurture a sense of Arab identity."[50] "It prompted and inculcated an ideal of Arabian virtue (*muruwwa*), for generosity to the needy, courage in battle, fidelity to covenant and loyalty to kin are championed and advocated in almost every poem."[51] In this way, poetry contributed to the establishment of the ideal type of virtue in Arab culture. The second contribution of Arabic poetry lies in its role for laying the foundation for a sense of Arab community. For the most part, the poetry of pre-Islamic Arabia asserted an invisible bond among clans while still stressing the importance of blood ties. Furthermore, it is important to note that because the diction that was present in Arabic poetry transcended dialects, its broad linguistic capacity allowed many speakers of Arabic to comprehend the words and meaning of the poetry. In this way, there was a communal understanding of Arab morale that was conveyed through Arabic poetry.

Along with the concept of shared morality, poetry served as a tool of collective memory.[52] Poetry graffito from Mecca that belongs to the pre-Islamic era attests to this concept. "Every nation

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[48] Michael S. Zwettler, *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry: Its Character and Implications* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978), 64.
[49] Hoyland, 236.
[50] Ibid., 237.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

relies on one means or another to preserve and protect its glorious deeds, and the Arabs strove to immortalize theirs by means of poetry which constituted their public archive."[53] The idea of poetry serving as a tool for collective memory lies in the subjects of Arab poetry. Many battles and notable events in Arab tribal history are recorded in pre-Islamic poetry. Furthermore, the frequent re-telling of this historical poetry created a common historical narrative for all Arabs who felt that the stories that were told through this poetry was their history as well.[54]

While scholars hypothesize the stance and role that the Arabic language maintains in the development of Arab identity, it appears that Hoyland believes that it is one of the most if not the prime indicator of Arab culture. His focus on the development of the Arabic script emphasizes the belief that many writers saw Arabic as their cultural identifier. In turn, they saw the need to utilize their language, which served as their cultural identifier, in their writing rather than in Aramaic or Greek. Still, Hoyland's main argument in upholding the Arabic language as constituting Arab identity is debatable. It was poetry and oral tradition, rather than the language itself, which set the standard for notions of Arab virtue and established a sense of a common narrative among Arabs.

A testimony to the importance of poetry in Arab culture lies in the fact that oral poetry from the late antique period was preserved until it was recorded after the rise of Islam.[55] It was preserved because it fossilized genealogies and cultural morals.[56] In this way, although the contributions of poetry are difficult to quantify, it is perhaps the most important reflection of the use of the Arabic language that contributes to Arab identity during the pre-Islamic era. This is due to the fact that Arabic poetry is arguably the only venue that conveys 'Arab culture' of the late antique period to modern scholars that is devoid of Roman and

[53] Ibid.
[54] Zwettler, 114.
[55] Ibid., 74.
[56] Ibid., 77.

Sasanian forced influence.[57] In this way, Arab poetry and oral tradition transcended Arabic dialects, contributing to Arab identity during Late Antiquity. Arabic as a language would not come into prominence as a signifier of Arab identity until after the rise of Islam when the Qur'an, the holy text of the religion, was written solely in this script.[58]

Religion

It is important to note that Christianity was entrenched among many Arab groups during the late antique period. The Jafnids recognized the political opportunities that came with being Christian. Although the Jafnids converted to Christianity, they still stayed relatively "tribal", in other words, adhered to many of their previous cultural practices.[59] Moreover, the fact that the Jafnids chose to support the monophysites corresponds to the time that Rome had a pro-Monophysite emperor, Anastasius.[60] Furthermore, Al-Harith gained political prestige in 542 when he asked the Empress Theodora for Monophysite bishops for Syria.[61] In this way, the "Christianization" of the Arabs between the third and sixth centuries changed the status of the Arab groups as well as the figures that led them. The fact that the Jafnids were Christians allowed them to participate in Roman issues as mediators and conduits and thus allowed them to bring benefits to their group.[62] In turn, monotheism in the form of Christianity connected the rural communities of Arabia.[63] As a result, the adherence of these groups of Arabs to Christianity could possibly

[57] Ibid., 114.
[58] Ibid., 116.
[59] Greg Fisher, "From Mavia to al-Mundhir: Arab Christians and Arab tribes in the late antique Near East.", *Religious Culture in Late Antique Arabia* (forthcoming), 1.
[60] Ibid., 13.
[61] Ibid., 14.
[62] Ibid., 25.
[63] Ibid., 1.

have contributed to the spread of another monotheistic religion that was born in Arabia, Islam.[64]

After the rise of Islam, it appears that notions of Arab identity begin to change. Many changes occurred under the Umayyad caliphate. During this time, the concept of the "pure" Bedouin became romanticized. Noble families would send their children into "the desert" to learn what they considered to be "pure Arabic."[65] The fact that the Bedouins were held in this high esteem by the Umayyad caliphate indicates the notion that Arab Muslims saw Bedouins as a link to their past.[66] Their nomadic lifestyle somehow encompassed the traditions of their ancestors. Furthermore, the fact that the Bedouins were credited with maintaining an untainted version of the Arabic language thus suggests how important Arabic becomes in determining Arab identity after the rise of Islam.[67] Perhaps the main reason for this is the Qur'an, which is written in Arabic. Also, all prayers in the Islamic religion are recited in Arabic, regardless of the individual's language of origin. In this way, Arabic became a *lingua franca* among Muslims who thus identify themselves as Arabs.

Another aspect of Islam concerns itself with unity through lineage. Muslim Arabs claimed Abrahamic descent through Hagar and her son Ishmael.[68] Ishmaelite identity and the Arabs is attested as far back as the seventh century.[69] One of the earliest examples comes from Josephus, who circulated the idea of the descent myth as an explanation for the prevalence of many Jewish customs in

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[64] Ibid., 26.
[65] Greg Fisher, *Between Empires: Arabs, Romans, and Sasanians in Late Antiquity.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 162.
[66] Serjeant, 217.
[67] Sheehi, 128.
[68] Fisher, 165.
[69] Josephus, *Flavii Iosephi,* trans. William Whiston in *The New Complete Works of Josephus* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1999).

that of the Islamic faith.[70] Furthermore, Jerome's commentaries claim that the word *Saraceni* was derived from the name Sara, the first wife of Abraham. Still, Jerome's suggestion is problematic because he accuses the Saracens of falsely utilizing Sara's name in order to attach themselves to a noble descendent rather than claiming origin from Hagar, who was a slave and hand maid to Sara.[71] Still, these notions of descent from matriarchs that were the wives of Abraham have proven to be complicated. Due to the number of issues and different interpretations regarding descent, it is clear that after the rise of Islam, questions of Arab descent become important, especially in relating Arabs to other monotheistic faiths such as Judaism and Christianity through a common ancestor, Abraham.

Abrahamic descent became a phenomenon that was internalized and appropriated by the Arabs as their own during the rise of Islam.[72] While a connection to the Jews and the Christians was known prior to the rise of Islam, it was not until after conversion that the Arabs themselves asserted their Abrahamic descent.[73] Interestingly, Patricia Crone speculates that the Arabs' use of the Abrahamic story was a method of countering imperial pressures, most notably those that were brought on by the conquests of the Sasanians in the seventh century.[74] In this way, the claim to an Abrahamic descent might have been an attempt to unite Arabs not only through the Islamic faith, but through lineage as well. Furthermore, because lineage and descent were important in Arab culture even before conversion to Islam, the emphasis on a shared ancestry among Arabs throughout the Middle East was most likely an attempt to encourage people to convert to a

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[70] Ibid, 1.12.4.

[71] Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum,* trans. W.H. Fremantle in Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, eds., *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 6,* 2.7.

[72] Fisher, 166.

[73] Ibid., 167.

[74] Patricia Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 246.

common religion while discouraging alliances with foreign empires.

During the rise of Islam, the military conquest of the Near East by Muslims encouraged the development of language and identity.[75] In this way, a society that was evolving through the adoption of a new religion was able to look back and consider cultural aspects through stories and poems. This was an effective approach because while it recognized that Muslim Arabs had a common past prior to the rise of Islam, it also asserted that they would continue to have a common culture in the future through their relationship as Muslims. The preservation of stories and poems by Muslims asserts the belief that oral history was what constituted a large portion of Arab identity. This dichotomized concept proved to be effective because it recognized a shared past while anticipating a continued degree of unity in the future through conversion to Islam. Furthermore, the assertion of common Abrahamic descent among various Arabs throughout the Middle East must have also strengthened these notions since, as mentioned earlier, lineage and ancestry were important in Arab culture even prior to the rise of Islam.[76] Consequently, lineage through a common matriarch became important among Muslim Arabs as well.

There are many components of Arab identity that both remain the same and change after the rise of Islam. As mentioned, lineage and the importance of ancestry are elements that remain the same; however, the stance of the Arabic language changes. While it was previously mentioned that writers might have used Arabic to convey status in a region dominated by foreign powers, Arabic itself became even more vital to Arab identity after the rise of Islam because it became the common language of the religion. However, the most notable change that took place after their general conversion to Islam was through their relationships to imperial alliances. While it appears that Arabs were mostly divided due to their ties with conflicting empires, the adoption of

[75] Fisher, 171.
[76] Serjeant, 115.

the Islamic religion suggests that imperial allegiances became less important than maintaining ties among other Muslims throughout the Middle East. In this way, the adoption of this faith not only altered some cultural practices, but political affiliations as well, since Muslims sought to ally themselves with other Muslims against outsiders of the faith.[77]

Between issues of Arab identity, there are many similarities that emerged during the late antique and contemporary periods. Political alliances in Late Antiquity defined allegiances in the same way that they do today. The Roman and Persian empires formed alliances with Arab groups in the same manner that many powers seek to make settlements with Arab countries today for various reasons (viz. mainly for natural resources).[78] These alliances do not contribute to a collective identity among Arabs because they cause conflict over political affiliation rather than unity through common culture. The Arabic language also plays a similar role: Arabic throughout late antiquity and present day has remained a marker for distinction rather than identity. The reason that Arabic is not the prime component of Arab culture is due to the fact that various other languages are spoken in the Middle East. Finally, religion in Late Antiquity did not necessarily constitute Arab identity because Arab groups adopted many faiths. Some, like the Jafnids, were Christian while others, such as the Nasrids, were polytheists[79] until 594. After the rise of Islam, Arab culture quickly became associated with Muslims. Once again, this generalization neglects Arabs of different faiths. As a result, it is reasonable to suggest that there is no single definition for Arab identity because no single component, such as language, constitutes the entire culture. As such, this concept remains as complex today as it was in the late antique period.

[77] Sheehi, 56.
[78] Kramer, 180.
[79] Serjeant, 114.

Appendix of Images

Figure 1

The Frontier Between the Roman/Byzantine and Sassanid Persian Empires in Late Antiquity. The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars (Part II). Brussels: 1999.

Figure 2

Saad D. Abdulhab Tracing and Reading of the Namara Nabataean Inscription. DeArabizing Arabia: Tracing Western Scholarship on the History of the Arabs and Arabic Language and Script. New York: 2011.

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SOLDIERS AND STOREHOUSES: GRAIN'S CENTRAL IMPORTANCE TO ROMAN MILITARY EXPANSION

BRIANNA MERCER

In the past, much of the historiography of the Roman Empire focused on the empire's political history – on the actions, lives, and behaviour of emperors and their direct influence the flourishing of the Empire and its inhabitants. Consequently, popular historical narratives continue to be dominated by imperial politics and military campaigns. More recently, historians have shifted their focus to the minutiae of daily life. Social and trade networks, material culture, and variations in diet, belief, custom, language, and climate across space and time are increasingly central to our understanding of what it was like to be a Roman citizen.

Food is a great example of an oft-overlooked but essential bit of the past. Most Romans were less concerned with imperial politics than they were with the day-to-day struggle of feeding themselves and their families. When examined in detail, however, food reveals itself to be central not just to the life of Roman citizens but to the larger political, social, and economic concerns of the Empire itself. This paper places food, specifically grain, at the centre of both Roman military life and the larger political concerns of the empire itself. It argues that grain distribution and trade influenced the character and direction of imperial expansion and, importantly, shaped political borders to accommodate the flow of grain.

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Though grain was the basis of Mediterranean diet for most of antiquity, it was especially important to Romans because it was by

far the cheapest source of calories for urban-dwelling Romans.[1] Nonetheless, both the Republic and the Empire were plagued by food shortages throughout their history. Although the primary reasons for grain shortages were climatic, including drought or long-term climate change, a myriad of other, human factors determined each year's yield.[2] Wars, civil strife, piracy, poor sailing conditions, bureaucratic mishaps, and disruptions to trade routes and relations were consistent problems.[3]

Yet according to Peter Garnsey, historian of famine in Roman history, it was uncommon for the whole of the Mediterranean to have been affected by any of these things at the same time. Thus, he argues that food crises were primarily problems of distribution, not production – they were caused by some form of human error.[4] He writes that we can see how food shortages were caused by human error if we consider how frequent and widespread they were through Roman history. He claims that "in Rome between 509 and 348 BC at least one year in nine, and between 123 and 50 BC about one year in five, were affected by shortages in consequence of war, civil disorder, disease, and climactic irregularities."[5]

Not surprisingly, food shortages became increasingly important to the politics of the city of Rome, the Republic, and the Empire as time wore on. As more and more Roman citizens flocked to large urban centres, city-dwellers' demand for grain outstripped the capacity of local farmers to supply it. This was not only a consequence of over-population; the formerly fertile

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[1] G.E. Rickman, "The Grain Trade under the Roman Empire" in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 36 (1980): 261-75, 262.

[2] Peter Garnsey and C.R. Whittaker, eds. *Trade and Famine in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1983), 56.

[3] Garnsey, Peter. *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 13.

[4] Garnsey and Whittaker, eds., 60.

[5] Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World*, 13.

Roman countryside was soon occupied by aristocratic villas which produced perishable fruit and vegetables if anything edible at all. Rome's poor, therefore, but constant pressure on political authorities to provide them with sustenance. At times this pressure was magnified by external political events. According to Garnsey, Rome's food supply "was frequently disrupted," with increasingly dire consequences, throughout Republican history – especially during the Second Punic War, the civil wars of 49-31 BC, and the ensuing rule of Augustus.[6]

Entire political offices were shaped by food crises in the Republican era. *Aediles*, originally created as assistants to the tribunes of the people in 494 BC, were partially responsible for the *cura annonae,* or grain supply of the city. In 440 BC, the Roman Senate appointed a *prafectus annonae* – an office which oversaw grain distribution with extensive powers. The long run of food crises in Republican life eventually led to social upheaval and political reform. The Gracchi brothers famously agitated against high grain prices and, in 123 BC, Gaius Gracchus passed a law which subsidized grain distribution for Rome's poor. From this, more populist measures followed – in 58 BC Clodius Pulcher pushed through the *Annona*, a program which gave free grain to Rome's poor (at considerable state expense).[7] This program was later reformed and rolled back by Julius and then Augustus Caesar.

The Empire's principal response to the grain problem was to conquer and occupy surrounding grain-producing regions, including the Nile Valley in Egypt, Val di Chiana in Etruria, and Leontini in Sicily. Expanding the Empire's reach in pursuit of grain was a double-edged sword: one the one hand by expanding their borders, Rome held more territory and thus more potential economic power, as well as non-Roman populations to develop and trade resources. However, this also meant that there were quite literally many more mouths to feed. This led to the development of extensive grain-trading routes and networks throughout the Empire. In some cases, these routes flowed alongside existing

[6] Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World*, 13.
[7] Garnsey and Whittaker, eds., 61.

routes which facilitated the trade of other goods.[8] By examining these grain-trading routes, especially those used by the army, we can see incentives for expansion which might have remained hidden if we considered expansion to be driven by purely political motives.

According to C. R. Whittaker, scholars ought to use physical, archaeological evidence left from past Roman settlements to see how soldiers on the Roman frontier lived, and determine the state's motives for expansions, as it were, from the frontier backward to Rome. From this, he argues, it follows that all frontiers are different and were developed and pursued for different reasons.[9] Whittaker is supported by John Mann, who argues that there was never a coherent plan for expansion such as a "frontier policy" – instead, military actions resulted from internal political circumstances and material needs of the Empire and evolved along with it.[10] Mann argues that because the Roman Empire could control its territory through social and economic regulations just as well as it could with military force, its frontiers make much more strategic sense when evaluated based on their contribution to trade.

Some historians have used Whittaker's method to compare the military campaigns of Caesar and Augustus and explain the correlation between military expansion and grain distribution. For instance, we know much more about how and why military expansion worked at the frontiers of Empire during the Augustan period because more material evidence exists – this was the first instance in which the Rome shipped grain regularly to the army.[11] This method has its limits. In the mounds of material artefacts left behind by classical Mediterranean peoples it is, for example, very difficult to differentiate between those left by the occupying Roman army and those left by the local inhabitants.

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[8] Garnsey and Whittaker, eds., 80.
[9] Ibid., 110.
[10] Ibid., 113.
[11] Michael Fulford, "Territorial Expansion and the Roman Empire," *World Archaeology* Vol. 23, no. 4 (1992): 294-305, 296.

This is complicated further by the fact that we have little information of the exact co-ordinates of the army's presence. Only at permanent settlements or areas with dense material and archaeological evidence corroborate the army's presence can we effectively differentiate between military and local occupation.[12]

Still, it is clear from these sites and from other documents that, during Augustus' reign, the state did indeed ship grain to frontier armies to ensure their loyalty. This does not mean that the military no longer had to work to find their food elsewhere. This was always one of the army's many extracurricular responsibilities. Numerous studies have shown that soldiers were not "just" soldiers, but were farmers, blacksmiths, merchants, engineers, and so on.[13] Importantly, though, before the army received consistent payments of grain, the onus was on army members to obtain resources themselves from the surrounding area through trade, farming, or requisitions. This burden hindered the army in at least two ways. First, it was time consuming; it diverted the army's energy from other, more pressing tasks and responsibilities. During the winter months, soldiers often split up into smaller groups, in the hopes of finding enough food for everyone. This made the army vulnerable open to attacks.[14] Second, more intrusive means of gathering food through requisition and pillaging resulted in violent retaliation by locals.[15] Grain shipments from the capitol gave those soldiering on the frontier a modicum of stability, and thus not only reinforced the strength and presence of the Roman army on its borders but was crucial in the military's evolution toward a professional and effective fighting force.

When grain is placed at the centre of our historical analysis, the Empire's borders themselves take on a different character. Some historians, including Michael Fulford, argue that

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[12] Garnsey and Whittaker, eds., 76.
[13] See, for example, Macmullan Ramsay's *Soldier and Civilian in the Roman Empire* (1970).
[14] Fulford, 296.
[15] Ibid., 302.

the extent and impetus of Roman conquest is best understood when we think of it as driven by the ease of producing and shipping grain to or from occupied territories. Fulford notes that Rome's reach never extended past the Rhone and Rhine rivers. At first, he suggests that this was because these areas consisted of smaller and more dispersed villages, not large cities, and therefore were much more difficult to maintain military and political control over.[16] However, he states that this was not the case in the north of Spain and the south of England. Both of these areas were conquered by the army but prove to be similar to the northern parts of Gaul; small and dispersed rural settlements.[17] At the end of his work, he concludes that Rome's decisions had little to do with military expansion, but were driven by the practical feasibility of transporting grain.[18]

G. E. Rickman makes the same claim in his work, *The Grain Trade under the Roman Empire*. He comments that Roman conquests hugged the shores of the Mediterranean because, "As A. H. M. Jones showed in a famous calculation from evidence in Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices, it was cheaper to ship grain from one end of the Mediterranean to the other than to cart it by land some 75 miles."[19] Fulford makes a similar claim – that the conquest of northern Spain and southern Britain were made economically and practically feasible by their proximity to the ocean (including rivers leading inland, like the Thames). By the same token, conquests went no further than the Rhone and the Rhine in northern Europe because of the difficulties and expenses of transporting grain and goods by land.[20]

Other scholars have investigated the army's influence on building and maintaining successful trade routes in Europe. Paul Middleton has stated that the Roman army is responsible for expanding the empire, not only geographically, but also culturally

[16] Ibid., 295.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid., 302.
[19] Rickman, 262.
[20] Fulford, 301-2

through what is often termed Romanisation.[21] He argues that Romanisation occurred primarily because of artefacts and customs which the army brought through occupied territories via trade (as opposed to co-ordinated or intentional attempts to impose Roman culture and customs on occupied territories). Using archaeological evidence, mainly the fine ware pottery and wine amphorae, Middleton studies two distinct possibilities. First, that civilian trade overshadowed what was actually military movement during this period; second, that civilian and military trade were independent of each other. Middleton argues that, on account of the sheer number of men in the army, and so the necessarily large shipments sent to them, military grain would have made up a large percentage of the overall goods shipped to Gaul. However, he writes that other commodities were shipped through these same trade routes because the army's presence created such a large demand: "The relationship between army supply and long distance trade is clearly seen in this episode: the requirements of the army for bulk supplies transported over long distance (in this instance wine from Italy) created a traffic onto which could be attached a civilian trade…".[22] The development of these trade routes provided the army with a more constant supply of grain and with other goods.

Much like other resources, however much the grain trade motivated and in some ways sustained Roman expansion it was partially responsible for its collapse. As Whittaker states, "Availability of resources, therefore, and trade or economic needs may offer a more comprehensive explanation both for the logic of frontier formation and for the eventual collapse."[23] In other words, although the pursuit of more grain and goods for consumption drove and facilitated Roman expansion, it ultimately proved unsustainable. Through constant expansion, Rome eventually became too large to be able to support itself, even with all the resources obtained from its vast empire. Whittaker argues that, by

[21] Garnsey and Whittaker, eds., 75.
[22] Ibid.,80.
[23] Ibid., 110.

the second and third century CE, the empire could no longer expand in a way that was economically beneficial: "The very process of stabilization had created dependent but expanding politics beyond the frontiers which were bound to destroy the conditions for their own existence."[24] The lack of resources beyond Rome's borders, he hypothesizes, led outside tribes to cross into the Empire searching for sustenance. Whittaker then suggests that the reason that the barbarians, especially the Goths and Huns, attacked Rome was not for military purposes, but because the Emperor denied them land for agriculture.[25] The sack of Rome is a popular academic topic, but Whittaker argues that it was, for these barbarian groups, a matter of survival.

When examined further grain proves to be integral to the health, course, success, and fall of the Empire. The government's importation and distribution of grain allowed the population to increase and helped Rome to become a more stable base from which the Empire could grow. The regular shipments of grain to the frontiers were decisive in the success of the army. These shipments allowed for more peaceful relations with conquered populations, helped the army be more productive and efficient during its campaigns, and it influenced the development of a professional army. The military's need for grain further allowed the trade routes to expand into these areas because of the demand the army created and thus, trade routes shaped the Empire's expansion. In this way, the frontier expansion can be understood to be based on economic need as opposed to just territorial advantage. Eventually the Romans needed more land to obtain more resources and, as a result, the larger they became the more that need grew. The grain trade in some cases even hindered expansion when transportation of grain was too expensive. The basic necessity of food was not only fundamental to the development of Rome the city, but Rome the Empire – in both micro- and macrocosm.

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[24] Ibid., 117.
[25] Ibid., 121.

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TEA AND TOAST WITH MR. WHEELOCK

Mr. Wheelock he dropped by today and though I mustn't boast,

He tutored me in Latin while I served him tea and toast.

"*Salve, discipula*", *inquit*, he was eager to begin,

"Hello? Hello?" I mumbled back as Latin panic settled in!

"You really must begin to think of verbal conjugations,

The macron on the macron off will aid deliberations."

The first, the second, third and fourth paradigms to master

Once in place *participia* won't be complete disaster!

"Now, now speak up, *amica mea*, for Latin is *amare,*

I won't *umquam* laugh at you for I am here *laudare.*

Monere is my quest in life where Latin is concerned,

Undone *Exercitationes* will leave Latin left unlearned!

Ago, egi, actum will not lead you far astray

But don't forget *agere, tenere* ignorance at bay!"

And so we moved to *–io* verbs, *capere* them I fear

At, it will help, per *Capvt X,* remembering *audire.*

Nunc adjectives appear, *autem*, along *cum* noun declensions

And all the tea and toast in town can't calm my apprehensions!

Mr. Wheelock bids *"Vale" mihi* postponing chapters drastic

Sed he'll be back another day with *passive periphrastic*!

For I have crossed the *Rubicon*, *Vocabvla* in hand

Et Virgil, Nepos, Caesar call to me from Roman lands.

With *stylus* nose to grindstone *wax* I strain my brain to focus

But gosh I wish I could learn this with *unus* hocus-pocus!

— *Colleen Dunn*

DOMITIAN THROUGH TACITEAN EYES

SCOTT WINGES

Only two of the five works in the Tacitean corpus are relevant to those attempting to paint a portrait of the emperor Titus Flavius Domitianus (81-96) viewed through the lens of the historian (Publius?) Cornelius Tacitus (c.56/57- after 117).[1] The subject matter of his *Dialogue on Orators* (102?) and his ethnographic monograph, the *Germania* (98?), precludes any explicit references to Domitian.[2] Similarly, Domitian was beyond the scope of Tacitus' *Annals* (begun after 113?), which was concerned with the narration of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.[3] What remains are the historian's biographical monograph, the *Agricola* (c.97-c.98), and the *Histories* (begun c.107) - the product of his first major foray into historical writing.[4] Unfortunately, the *Histories* does not

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[1] Oliver concludes that his *praenomen* was in fact Publius and not Gaius nor Sextus nor Quintus (Revilo P. Oliver, "The Praenomen of Tacitus," *American Journal of Philology* 98, no.1 (Spring,1977), http://www.jstor.org/stable/294003 (accessed Aug. 1, 2013), 64-70); Birley echoes this sentiment (Anthony R. Birley, "The Life and Death of Cornelius Tacitus," *Historia: Zeitschrift fur Alte Geschichte* 49, n.2 (2nd Qtr., 2000), 231). NB: All regnal and birth and death dates are A.D. unless stated otherwise and are taken from M.C. Howatson and Ian Chilvers, *The Concise Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

[2] The dichotomy in style between the *Dialogue on Orators* and Tacitus' other works as well as its manuscript being devoid of his nomenclature have been cited as arguments against Tacitean authorship. However, it is the consensus of the majority of contemporary scholars that he did in fact write it (Tacitus, *The Agricola, Germany, and Dialogue on Orators,* trans. with an introd. and nn. by Herbert W. Benario, rev. ed. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.), 7-8).

[3] Tac. *Ann*.1.1.

[4] The speculative compositional dates are provided by A.J. Woodman

survive intact. This is even more unfortunate when creating a portrait of Domitian since the sections of the *Histories* which were allotted for the narration of his reign are no longer extant, thereby leaving a comprehensive portrait of the Tacitean Domitian beyond our grasp.

That the *Histories* did in fact include the reign of Domitian is proven by Saint Jerome's (c. 347-420) assertion in his commentary of Zacharias, in which he stated that Tacitus had written a total of thirty books on the Caesars from the end of the reign of Augustus (*i.e.* the starting point of the *Annals*) to the death of Domitian (*i.e.* the end of the *Histories*).[5] Jerome did not indicate whether a facsimile of the work still existed during his lifetime and the earliest extant manuscript of the *Histories,* the Second Medicean, dates to the middle of the 11th century A.D.[6] Consequently, at some point between the life of Jerome or even before and the copy made by the Benedictine monks at Monte Cassino, seven books and three quarters of an eighth were lost.[7]

Despite the void created by this textual loss, the *Histories* still shines light on a young Domitian. Furthermore, the deficiencies of this work are somewhat mitigated when utilized in conjunction with the *Agricola*. Since the characterization of Domitian is consistent throughout these two works, it would be surprising if the missing books of the *Histories* deviated from it.

(A.J. Woodman, "Tacitus and the contemporary scene,"In *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus*, ed. by A.J. Woodman, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 31).

[5] Jer. 3.14.1-2; R.H. Martin, "From manuscript to print," In *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus*, ed. by A.J. Woodman, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 241).

[6] R.H. Martin, "From manuscript to print," 241. The Second Medicean consists of Books 11-16 of the *Annals* and all that remains of the *Histories* - the first four books and a quarter of the fifth. The first six books of the *Annals*, survive in what is known as the First Medicean, which is presumed to have been made by the Benedictine monks at Fulda in the mid-ninth century A.D. (242-4).

[7] It is believed that the *Histories* originally consisted of twelve books, the *Annals* sixteen (R.H. Martin, "From manuscript to print," 244).

As a result, a fairly satisfactory mosaic of Domitian can still be pieced together. Nevertheless, a rather gnawing question remains. How accurate is Tacitus' portrait - that is, does it represent reality - insofar as reality is possible? The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, it will strive to present a Tacitean portrait of Domitian. Second, it will investigate possible biases that might have affected this portrait as well as their consequences.

Who was Domitian in the eyes of Cornelius Tacitus? One must bear in mind Tacitus' disclaimer in the *Histories* which promised to eschew impartiality.[8] However, he also confessed that Domitian was responsible for the advancement of his career, a career which apparently had been initiated by Vespasian and advanced by Titus.[9] It would be helpful to discern what he meant exactly by these statements. It is commonly held that by "*...a Vespasiano incohatam...*" ('Begun by Vespasian'), Tacitus meant that Vespasian had bestowed the broad stripe (*latus clavus*) upon him, thereby enabling him to pursue a senatorial career.[10] Both Syme and Birley conclude that "*...a Tito auctam...*" ("Advanced by Titus") referred to the quaestorship which inducted Tacitus into the senate.[11] It is believed that Tacitus was quaestor in either 81-

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[8] Tac. *Hist*.1.1.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.; Sir Ronald Syme, *Tacitus Volumes I & II,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 63; Birley, 'The Life and Death of Cornelius Tacitus', 237. Due to the recent discovery of a funerary inscription belonging to Tacitus, Birley has posited that by 'begun' Tacitus might have been referring, instead, to a post in the vigintivirate (237).

[11] Tac. *Hist*.1.1; Birley, "The Life and Death of Cornelius Tacitus", 238; Syme, *Tacitus*, 652. Before the discovery of that funerary inscription, there was no evidence that Tacitus held the quaestorship. This inscription confirms that he was not only quaestor, but one of the two quaestors, who was assigned to the emperor (Birley, 'The Life and Death of Cornelius Tacitus', 238). According to Syme, the Augustan quaestorships were usually the prerogative of patrician Romans, however it was not impossible for a *novus homo* to hold the position (65, note 1). After all, Pliny the Younger was one at some point in the late 80s A.D (75).

82 or 82-83.[12] Although Titus died in 81, he could have designated Tacitus quaestor for the year 82-83 before he died. [13] If it was the latter, Domitian would have been responsible for confirming Tacitus' appointment, consequently making him just as much the benefactor of that office as Titus. If it was the former, then the quaestorship was the terminus point for Tacitus' promotions under Titus.

From this point forward (or starting with the quaestorship), the offices, which Tacitus acquired, had the blessing of Domitian - "*...a Domitiano longius provectam...*" ('Further advanced by Domitian').[14] Tacitus' recently discovered funerary inscription indicates that he held the plebeian tribunate. The *Annals* informs us that he was praetor in 88.[15] Birley postulates that he held some position between these two standard offices, perhaps that of legate to proconsul Sextus Julius Frontinus in Asia.[16] An indication of Domitian's special favour is illustrated by Tacitus' inclusion into the membership of the board of fifteen for sacred rites (*quindecimviri sacris faciundis*) before or upon his assumption of the praetorship. This was usually the prerogative of men of consular rank.[17] From his praetorship in 88, no other posts of Tacitus are recorded until his suffect consulship in 97. However, it is known that he was absent from Rome for over three years (89/90 -93) and there is conjecture that he held a legionary command on the Rhine or Danube in his absence. This, in turn, might have been succeeded by the governorship of a praetorian

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[12] Birley, "The Life and Death of Cornelius Tacitus", 238; Syme, *Tacitus*, 652.
[13] Syme, *Tacitus*, 652.
[14] Tac. *Hist*.1.1.
[15] Birley, "The Life and Death of Cornelius Tacitus", 237; Tac. *Ann*.11.11.
[16] Birley, "The Life and Death of Cornelius Tacitus," 238.
[17] Ibid., 234. According to Birley, entry into any of the priestly colleges usually required consular rank (234). Syme adds that this appointment was also an indication that future offices were forthcoming (66).

province from 94 to either 96 or 97.[18] Finally, although Tacitus' consulship fell in the year after Domitian's assassination, it is possible that he was designated consul elect in 96 for the following year.[19] Taking into account conjecture and speculation, his career seems to have flourished under Domitian's reign. As a result, one is inclined to anticipate his portrait of Domitian to be rather complimentary in spite of his assertion to eschew adulation and maintain impartiality.[20] Paradoxically, nothing could be further from the truth.

In the third book of the *Histories,* one discovers the only extant examples of Domitian prior to his designation as Caesar or Emperor. We find him in Rome with his uncle Flavius Sabinus, the urban praetor, caught up in the chaos that had erupted as a result of Vespasian challenging Aulus Vitellius' right to rule.[21] There are two references to him at this point in the narrative and they are only cursory. Therefore, they might prove to be insufficient indicators of the actual character of Domitian. In the first reference, he displayed either courage or perhaps impetuosity.[22] In the second of the two, he appears to have acquitted himself in a much more submissive or even cowardly fashion.[23] At this point, his contradictory behaviour might be more a reflection of the chaotic circumstances in which he found himself, rather than any accurate reflection of his nature.

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[18] Birley, "The Life and Death of Cornelius Tacitus", 235.

[19] Ibid.; Syme, *Tacitus*, 70.

[20] Tac. *Hist*.1.1.

[21] Ibid., 3.59.

[22] Tacitus writes, "According to many accounts, Flavius Sabinus and Domitian had a chance to escape too…Domitian had the spirit to act…" (Tac. *Hist*.3.59).

[23] According to Tacitus, some of Vespasian's partisans in Rome along with Sabinus and Domitian had occupied the Capitol after being attacked by the Vitellians. A siege ensued and after the Capitol had been breached, Tacitus states that Domitian "…had hidden himself in the house of the caretaker of the temple. Then, prompted by an ingenious freedman, he put on a linen mantle and escaped recognition by mingling with a crowd of worshippers (Tac. *Hist*. 69-74).

Consequently, Tacitus' portrait of Domitian remains a blank canvas.

A much clearer portrait of the Tacitean Domitian emerges after he is acclaimed Caesar. Tacitus asserts that Domitian was impetuous, enthusiastic and aggressive - all of which is attributed to his youthfulness.[24] This youthfulness likely accounts for his apparent immaturity as well.[25] However, he also relates multiple examples of disturbing behaviour, pointing to a youth already corrupted long before he became emperor. He is portrayed as sexually depraved, power-hungry, unruly, immodest, and perhaps worst of all, possibly disloyal to his own father and brother.[26] His behavior drew the attention and concern of Vespasian's *consigliore* Gaius Licinius Mucianus as well as Vespasian's relative and general Quintus Petilius Ceralis Caesius Rufus, and Vespasian himself.[27] Domitian was compelled to reform his ways. However, according to Tacitus, the reformed personality that Domitian adopted in response to increased scrutiny was nothing more than an affectation.[28] Evidently, the youthful Caesar had not inherited the old Roman virtues that were the hallmarks of his ancestral homeland, the Sabine country.[29]

Domitian apparently did not change for the better once he was emperor. At this juncture, one needs to refer to the *Agricola* for details, wherein Domitian's character is revealed through his interactions with Agricola and the leading men and women of the state. According to Tacitus, Domitian maintained his kindly façade, although in reality he was envious, insecure and as a

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[24] Tac. *Hist*.4.68.
[25] Ibid., 4.2.
[26] Ibid., 4.2, 39, 40, 51, 85. At 4.68, Tacitus mentions that Mucianus feared "…Domitian's ungovernable passions…", but he does not expound on them. Presumably, he is referring to his behaviour in 4.2, 39, 40, 51.
[27] Tac. *Hist*.4.51 68, 85.
[28] Ibid., 4.86.
[29] Syme, *Tacitus,* 43, 616.

natural extension of the former emotions - immensely paranoid.[30] Tacitus explicitly states that Domitian mistreated Agricola because the former was "...savage...hostile to excellence...inclined to evil...inclined toward anger... [and] a bad emperor".[31] Domitian's relationship with Agricola also illustrated his lack of propriety by means of his feigned sadness at the death of Agricola in 93, a loyal subject of Rome. In fact, Tacitus did not fail to include that there were rumours circulating concerning Domitian's complicity in Agricola's death, thereby implicating him as a murderer.[32] Nor did his character improve after Agricola's death in 93. Within the same year, it appears that he finally laid aside his affected disposition, which he had adopted as a young Caesar, and gave free rein to his true nature. He revealed to the world that he was cruel, oppressive and bloodthirsty.[33] According to Tacitus, Domitian's character had become so unbearable that he expressly thanked the gods for sparing his father-in-law from such pandemonium.[34]

On the basis of Tacitus' *Histories* and *Agricola*, it would seem that he loathed Domitian. To put it plainly, the Tacitean Domitian was wholly evil - and this evil does not appear to have been something that was nurtured and cultivated over years, but was rather intrinsic to his very nature, as evidenced by the misdeeds of his youth. The emperor was a monster, worthy of joining the ranks of Caligula and Nero. In the words of Juvenal, "...Rome was in thrall to a bald Nero".[35]

Tacitus' portrayal is made more credible in light of his severe censure of Domitian's reign and character despite the many honours and offices he received from Domitian. His portrait certainly does not bear the unpleasant odour of adulation, a charge

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[30] Tac. *Agr*.39-43.
[31] Ibid., 39-43.
[32] Ibid., 42-43.
[33] Ibid., 2-3; 44-5.
[34] Ibid., 45.
[35] Juv.4.38.

which he leveled at many of his predecessors.[36] However, it was also Tacitus who stated in the *Histories* that, "...although the reader can easily discount a historian's flattery, there is a ready audience for detraction and spite. Adulation bears the ugly taint of subservience, but malice gives the false impression of being independent".[37] Tacitus' portrait may not 'bear the ugly taint of subservience', but one should not dismiss the possibility that it could 'bear the ugly taint of denigration'. Thus, it is necessary to investigate whether it is plausible that the portrait of Domitian was in fact affected by Tacitus's biases, and, if so, what possible misrepresentations might have occurred as a result.

Many may assume that ancient and 'modern' ideas on the causes of bias are synonymous. Perhaps they are similar. There does, however, appear to be contrary evidence, which, if correct, exposes a significant and admittedly bewildering dichotomy between ancient and modern views on the causes of bias. This evidence is given further weight in that it offers an explanation as to why Tacitus would adamantly claim in the disclaimers to his two historical works that he would be writing without bias, and how could do so in good faith.

From a modern perspective, the causes of bias are many and diverse. For instance, contemporary scholars will discuss the 'political bias' of Xenophon of Athens or the 'chauvinistic bias' of Fabius Pictor and Cato the Elder, or even the 'provincial bias' of Ephorus.[38] A search of a university library database will furnish

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[36] In his *Histories,* Tacitus says of the Flavian historians: "the historians of the time who wrote accounts of this war during the Flavian dynasty have referred to 'concern for peace' and 'patriotism', twisting their explanations for the sake of flattery (2.101).

[37] Tac. *Hist*.1.1.

[38] Carolyn Dewald, "The Construction of Meaning in the First Three Historians," In *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography Volume I*, edited by John Marincola, (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2007), 96; John Marincola, "Universal History from Ephorus to Diodorus," In *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography Volume I*, edited by John Marincola, (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2007),173; R.M. Ogilvie, *Roman Literature and Society*, (New

the student of bias with a plethora of examples. Books and articles have been written about cultural, religious, partisan, media, beauty, pluralism, gender, ethnic, judicial, academic, and military bias and the list continues. Some scholars prefer to organize the causes of bias into narrower categories. For example, McCullagh recognizes both cultural and personal biases.[39] Under the umbrella of personal bias, he places political biases, which he then further delineates into specific political views, such as liberal or socialist.[40] Consequently, the degree of specificity with respect to the categorization of the causes of bias is arbitrary. It is clear, then, that regardless of one's method of categorization, modern scholars recognize an abundance of causes for bias.

That such abundance exists is supported by contemporary definitions of bias. Within the context of history, Trevelyan defined biased as "…any personal interpretation of historical events which is not acceptable to the whole human race.[41] Trevelyan, however, did not provide any restrictions on the catalyst of that biased personal interpretation, *i.e.* the cause of that bias. Thus, this definition allowed him to illustrate that the causes could vary, citing political, religious and racial beliefs as examples of the culprits of bias.[42] McCullagh posited that bias existed in history only if the historian consciously and purposely manipulated historical evidence to further his own purposes. If historical evidence was genuinely misunderstood, it should not be considered biased, but only wrong.[43] As in the case of Trevelyan's

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York: Penguin Books, 1991), 89.

[39] C. Behan McCullagh, "Bias in Historical Description, Interpretation, and Explanation," *History and Theory* 39, n.1 (Feb., 2000), http://www.jstor.org/stable/2677997 (accessed Jan. 20, 2014), 41.

[40] McCullagh, "Bias in Historical Description, Interpretation, and Explanation," 40.

[41] G.M. Trevelyan, "Bias in History," *History* 32, n.115 (Mar., 1947), http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/doi/10.1111/j.1468-229X.1947.tb00181.x/pdf (accessed Jan. 20, 2014), 2.

[42] Ibid., 11, 14.

[43] C. Behan McCullagh, "Bias in Historical Description, Interpretation, and Explanation," 40 - 41.

definition, this definition provides no limitations on the cause of the historian's 'purposes', thereby allowing for variety in causation.[44]

Ancient perspectives on the causes of bias were apparently much more limited. According to Luce, in the minds of the ancients, the root cause of bias in the work of a historian resulted from the historian having personally benefited from or having been injured by a person or country about whom or which they were writing.[45] This in turn, resulted in either adulation or hatred towards that person or country, which in turn caused bias.[46] For the ancients then, if a personal connection was lacking, there was no possibility of injury or benefactions and consequently there was no bias.[47]

The implications of this are far-reaching. If this truly was the ancient view on the cause of bias, it would shed new light on Tacitus' disclaimers in the *Annals* and the *Histories*. In the case of the *Annals,* Tacitus' assertion that " I shall write without indignation or partisanship: in my case the customary incentives to these are lacking" would be entirely true, since the lack of a personal connection with any of the Julio-Claudians would preclude him from the charge of impartiality.[48] In the same way, his claim to impartiality in the *Histories* with regards to Galba, Otho and Vitellius - "As for myself, Galba, Otho and Vitellius were known to me neither as benefactors nor as enemies," would also be truthful, since at the time of their reigns in 69, he had been

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[44] For examples of the different causes behind a historian's bias see C. Behan McCullagh, "Bias in Historical Description, Interpretation, and Explanation," 40 - 41.

[45] T.J Luce, "Ancient Views on the Causes of Bias in Historical Writing," *Classical Philology* 84, n.1 (Jan., 1989), http://www.jstor.org/stable/270041 (accessed Jan. 13, 2014), 20-21.
[46] Ibid., 17, 18.
[47] Ibid., 20.
[48] Tac. *Ann.*1.1.

too young to have had any personal relationship with them.[49] In fact, by ancient standards, concern over bias in Tacitus was only justifiable with respect to his accounts of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, with whom he himself admitted to having interacted: "My official career owed its beginning to Vespasian, its progress to Titus and its further advancement to Domitian".[50]

Although this view on the cause of bias is in itself comprehensible, it is certainly in conflict with modern perceptions on the causes of bias. That ancient historians actually believed they could write completely impartial works seems fantastical from a contemporary standpoint.[51] Nevertheless, Luce's observations about the ancients' views on the cause of bias are likely accurate, as evinced by the historian Josephus' confusion over why certain historians writing about emperors before their time were writing with such hatred. For if there was no chance of personal injury or benefit, how could hatred or adulation appear, and in turn produce bias?[52] Herein lies a flaw in the ancient perspective regarding the cause of bias. Surely such hatred can only be explained by broadening one's conception of the causes of bias to include catalysts that go beyond being the object of personal benefits or injuries.

The cause of bias according to the ancients also runs into difficulty when dealing with the Tacitean portrait of Domitian.

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[49] Tac. *Hist*.1.1.

[50] Ibid.

[51] It is the consensus of modern scholars that the complete elimination of bias is unattainable. Trevelyan concluded that bias was "inevitable" (3). E. H. Dance, echoed this sentiment, asserting that objectivity in history was an impossibility (E.H Dance, History the Betrayer, A study in bias, (London: Hutchinson & CO. LTD, 1960), 9- 10). McCullagh also conceded that the complete absence of bias can never be certain, however he remained more optimistic than his colleagues in that he believed that bias (especially what he termed personal bias) could be significantly reduced (56).

[52] Joseph, *AJ.* 20. 154-55; T.J. Luce, "Ancient Views on the Causes of Bias in Historical Writing," 25.

Tacitus' portrait seems to betray signs of *ira* (hatred).[53] However, there are no indications from Tacitus that he was personally harmed by Domitian. In fact, his career seems to indicate the opposite. Some might invoke the characterizations of Domitian in Cassius Dio Cocceianus and Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (besides Tacitus, the only two main sources for Domitian's reign) as evidence that Tacitus' portrayal was not really affected by *ira,* since these two have very similar portraits of Domitian.[54] Therefore, Tacitus might only have displayed justifiable criticism. However, this is a somewhat tenuous argument. Since Tacitus' *Histories* and *Agricola* were likely the first works to document Domitian's reign, it would be surprising if Suetonius did not avail himself of them as sources of information when writing his biography of Domitian, perhaps sometime after 130.[55] Dio, who wrote his narrative of Domitian over a century later (c. 217), could have also used Tacitus' *Histories* and *Agricola* when he wrote his account.[56] As a result, both of these could heavily reflect Tacitus' own account, thereby explaining the similar Domitian manifested in their respective works.

Others might point to Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus' (Pliny the Younger) *Panegyric*.[57] However, the reader should

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[53] Tac. *Agr*.1-3, 39-45.

[54] Dio Cass.67.1-18; Suet. *Dom*.1- 23. Unlike Tacitus and Dio, Suetonius does point out a few positive qualities of Domitian (Suet. *Dom*.7-9).

[55] Syme, *Tacitus*, 119; On Suetonius reading the *Histories,* see A.J. Woodman, "Tacitus and the contemporary scene," 36). On the composition of Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, see Michael Grant, *The Ancient Historians,* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1970), 330.

[56] Dio himself stated "I spent ten years in collecting all the achievements of the Romans from the beginning down to the death of Severus" (73.23.5). Exaggeration aside, he likely knew of Tacitus' works and might have made use of them. On the possibility that Dio used Tacitus' *Histories,* see Syme, *Tacitus,* 215, note 4. On the date of the composition of Domitian's reign see, Fergus Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 194.

[57] Plin. *Pan*.1-95.

recall that Pliny was a friend of Tacitus and along with him witnessed the downfall of friends under Domitian.[58] It is plausible then that as friends, he and Tacitus shared common sentiments and possibly similar biases. In that case, Pliny could be guilty of *ira* as well.[59] Consequently, these alternative works might not exempt Tacitus from the charge of *ira*. Although the ancient view concerning the cause of bias cannot resolve this paradox (that of Tacitus being guilty of *ira* when his career appears to have flourished under Domitian), potential solutions for this hatred arise if one expands the scope of the causes of bias. The inability of the ancient view on the cause of bias to account for Josephus' bewilderment, as well as for the problem of the Tacitean portrait of Domitian, are reason enough for such a view to be jettisoned in favour of more contemporary views.

If one accepts the view that Tacitus' portrait might suffer from *ira,* as well as a more modern view about the causes of bias, it remains to be investigated what the possible causes behind this hatred were and how the resultant biases might have affected the Tacitean characterization of Domitian. It is my contention that the catalysts behind the *ira* exhibited in the portrait of Domitian were of a personal (*i.e.* family and friends), political (*i.e.* the senate) and moral nature. In turn, the *ira* that these catalysts produced gave birth to four biases: a familial bias, friendship bias, senatorial bias and a moral bias. If these biases did exist, a re-evaluation of the portrait of Domitian may be in order, or, at the very least, the Tacitean portrait of Domitian must be taken with a degree of skepticism.

That Tacitus harboured a familial bias against Domitian on account of his father-in-law Agricola certainly seems plausible.

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[58] Plin. *Ep*.3.11.

[59] In fact, the case of Pliny rather coincides with the dilemma of the Tacitean Domitian. Although Domitian was strongly censured by Pliny in the *Panegyric* , his career under the former's reign was quite prosperous. He held the posts of Augustan quaestor, tribune of the plebs, praetor and prefect of the *aerarium militare* (Syme, *Tacitus, 75-*77).

To state that Tacitus adored Agricola would almost be an understatement; he idolized him.[60] The absence of parental references and the decision to compose a laudatory biography on his father-in-law's life implies that Agricola was at least more influential if not more dear to Tacitus than his own parents.[61] Agricola not only embodied all the proper and traditional Roman virtues, but he did so under the rule of a 'bad' emperor.[62] Nonetheless, he did not fare well under Domitian. He was recalled from Britain before being able to complete his conquest of the highlands. He entered into early retirement and never attained the prerogative belonging to any senator, especially one so distinguished - the distinction of governing either the senatorial province of *Asia* or *Africa*. Even when Rome was undergoing a series of military crises and the people cried out for Agricola (according to Tacitus), Domitian did not avail himself of his services, but kept him in retirement. What had bloomed into a very successful career under Vespasian and Titus, had evidently withered under Domitian.[63]

Consequently, it is difficult to believe that Domitian's treatment of Agricola would not elicit any resentment or hatred on the part of Tacitus. This was his beloved father-in-law, a man whom he greatly respected and admired. His treatment also likely affected Agricola's daughter, who by all accounts was not only close with her father, but also dear to Tacitus. They appear to have been devoted to one another, perhaps partly through their mutual affection and devotion to Agricola.[64] It would be suprising then that what troubled her did not in turn bother Tacitus. If all of this did engender hatred on the part of Tacitus and give rise to a familial bias against Domitian, then he might not have revealed the whole truth concerning Domitian's behaviour towards Agricola.

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[60] Tac. *Agr*.3-46.
[61] On the closeness of his relationship with Agricola, see Tac. *Agr*.3, 45.
[62] Ibid., 5-9, 19, 29, 42.
[63] Ibid., 40-43; For Agricola's career, see Syme, *Tacitus,* 19-29.
[64] Tac. *Agr*.9, 45.

According to Tacitus, Domitian was immensely envious with regard to Agricola's military achievements in *Britannia* and with his resultant popularity. It was on account of these emotions that he orchestrated the early retirement of a loyal servant of Rome. It was due to his paranoia and jealousy that Agricola was not given any further posts or the nominally significant governorship of *Asia* or *Africa*. That throughout his maltreatment Agricola maintained a modest and respectful attitude only served (ironically) to infuriate Domitian further. Tacitus even hints at the possibility that Domitian had a hand in the death of Agricola.[65] Nevertheless, there does seem to be evidence for other possible reasons for Domitian's actions against Agricola, reasons which were neither unjustified nor motivated from a debase nature, reasons which Tacitus' bias for his father-in-law could have willingly obscured.

Let us turn firstly to Agricola's governorship of *Britannia*. He was appointed to this position by Vespasian in 77 only relinquishing it in 84 - an impressive and unprecedented tenure at the time for a Roman governor.[66] Since the conquest of the island under the emperor Claudius (41-54), Rome's hold on *Britannia* was tenuous at best. The most recent incident was the insurrection of Queen Boudicca in 61, which almost resulted in the complete removal of the Roman yoke.[67] Tacitus does not reveal what Vespasian's mandate was for Agricola as the governor, however, as McDermott and Orentzel state, the Flavians seemed to have had a preference for consolidation rather than expansion.[68] It is likely, then, that Agricola was tasked with organizing and solidifying Roman controlled territory. However, Agricola embarked on no less than seven campaigns, some of which involved incursions

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[65] Ibid., 39-43.

[66] Syme, *Tacitus,* 22; William C. McDermott and Anne E. Orentzel, *Roman Portraits, The Flavian-Trajanic Period*, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1979), 53.

[67] Tac. *Ann.*14.29-37.

[68] McDermott and Orentzel, *Roman Portraits,* 51.

into new areas and subsequently acquisitions of new territory.[69] In light of this, perhaps, Domitian was concerned by the expansion undertaken by Agricola.[70] That Agricola had a passion for glory and conquest is even revealed in the *Agricola* itself.[71] These expeditions might have been perceived as manifestations of uncontrollable ambition on the part of a subordinate.

It was also pointed out in the *Agricola* that his achievements in *Britannia* earned him popularity with the masses so much so that when the state was besot with successive military crises, they looked to him for deliverance.[72] It would be well within the rights of the ruling emperor to be suspicious of someone who was immensely popular with the army and with the people. If the man had imperial ambitions, Domitian would have a civil war on his hands. Domitian was not a mind reader; he could not perceive Agricola's inner thoughts. For all he knew, Agricola's modesty was a façade. Domitian's suspicions concerning Agricola could even be considered judicious if Agricola had exceeded the parameters of his mandate while he was in *Britannia*, since this implied that he was untrustworthy and overly ambitious. Concern over Agricola's ambitious nature and what it could lead to might also explain Domitian's reneging on the alleged promise of *Syria* to Agricola.[73] If he was dealing with a potential usurper, Domitian would be unwise to allocate the province of *Syria* to him. The governor of that province had access to vast resources and Domitian only had to recall his own father's revolt which had its epicentre in the East and the role that *Syria* had played in it.[74]

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[69] Syme, *Tacitus,* 23, 122.

[70] See McDermott and Orentzel, *Roman Portraits,* 53.

[71] Tac. *Agr*.4-5. Tacitus states "Certainly his lofty and talented nature yearned for the beautiful ideal of great and noble glory with greater passion than caution. Soon the discernment of age calmed him down…" (4). However, based on Tacitus' comments in Tac. *Agr* 5, it seems that Agricola's thirst for glory never dissipated.

[72] Ibid., 41.

[73] Ibid., 40.

[74] Ibid., 2.74-84.

Agricola's ambition might even account for Domitian's pressure on Agricola not to take up the governorship of *Asia* or *Africa*.[75] Why would he allow someone he did not trust to take up positions of authority? A man of such a character would be just too dangerous for further commands.

Although admittedly speculative, this illustrates that either there might have been other factors involved in Domitian's handling of Agricola, thereby mitigating the cruel and envious nature of the emperor, or possibly that Domitian's treatment of Agricola was not the result of envy, cruelty and paranoia. Instead, it was based on strategic political manoeuvrings. If, however, Tacitus was inhibited by a familial bias, he either chose not to consider these other plausible explanations or was blind to them. Perhaps then, this might cast some doubt on the overall villainy of Domitian.

From here it is sort of a natural extension of familial bias to investigate whether Tacitus had been susceptible to a 'friendship' bias, which might have distorted his portrait of Domitian. Unfortunately, information on Tacitus' circle of friends is rather scarce. In the introduction to the *Dialogue on Orators*, Tacitus addresses the work to a certain Fabius Justus. Perhaps, because of this, Justus was a friend of the historian.[76] However, regardless of the nature of their relationship, there is no mention of this man by Tacitus in connection with Domitian. As a result, the possibility of a friendship bias against Domitian on Fabius Justus' account is impossible to ascertain.

Next, we have Tacitus' friend Pliny the Younger. Here again, the presence of a friendship bias is questionable, since Pliny appears to have flourished under the reign of Domitian.[77] Nevertheless, a lot more is known about the composition of the circle of friends of Pliny and it is not implausible that some of the members of that circle were also on amicable terms with Tacitus.

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[75] Ibid.,42.

[76] Tac. *Dial*.1. Syme asserts he that he was either a close friend of Tacitus or his best friend (476).

[77] Syme, *Tacitus, 75*-77.

Among the friends of Pliny, appear certain members of the so-called 'stoic opposition'.[78] Tacitus' complimentary attitude towards one of the members of the group- Arulenus Rusticus, in his *Histories* might betray a possible friendship.[79] The *Agricola* adds further credence to the conjecture that he was friends with members of the stoic group. Near the end of that monograph, Tacitus related the horrors of the last years of Domitian's reign and stated "…the senate house [was] under siege and the senate ringed by arms and, in one and the same massacre, [there was] the murders of so many men of consular rank...soon our hands led Helvidius [the Younger] to prison; the sight of Mauricus and Rusticus dishonored us, and Senecio drenched us with guiltless blood".[80] The fact that the senators Tacitus chose to single out belonged to the 'stoic opposition' seems to point to amicable ties with those members. If he was friends with some or all of these senators then he might have developed a friendship bias against Domitian on account of them, since they were executed or exiled by the emperor.[81] As their friend, Tacitus might have ignored

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[78] Plin. *Ep*.1.5, 14; 2.18; 3.11; 6.14.

[79] Tac.*Hist*.3.80. Further indications of the existence of a friendship might stem from Tacitus' decision to single out in his narrative, a certain Verulana Gratilla, who happened to be the wife of Arulenus Rusticus (3.69, note 80).

[80] Tac. *Agr*.45.

[81] Brian W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian*, (New York: Routledge, 1992), 186-7, 189. Indeed, the bond between Tacitus and the stoic group might have even extended into the realm of kinship. In the most recent study of the life of Tacitus, it was the conjecture of Anthony Birley that Tacitus might have had two extra names, Caecina Paetus. If so, his mother could very well have been the sister of Aulus Caecina Paetus or Gaius Caecina Paetus ("The Life and Death of Cornelius Tacitus", 232). The leader of the stoic opposition, Publius Clodius Thrasea Paetus married the daughter of Aulus Caecina Paetus and Arria the Elder, Arria the Younger. He in turn was the father-in-law of Helvidius Priscus the Elder, the future leader of the opposition (Pliny the Younger, *The Letters of the Younger Pliny,* trans. with an introd. by Betty Radice, (New York: Penguin Books, 1969), 21-22). If Tacitus'

justifiable reasons for their executions and exiles, believing that it was solely due to the savage, cruel, paranoid nature of Domitian.

There was no lack of precedents for Domitian to draw on in order to justify any wariness towards the stoic group. Aulus Caecina Paetus, (*suff. cos.* 37), the father-in-law of Publius Clodius Thrasea Paetus, had joined the uprising of Lucius Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus against the emperor Claudius in 42.[82] Although Tacitus presents Thrasea Paetus as an independent spirit and not an extremist or demagogue, his 'subtle' stands of defiance could have aroused suspicion from bad and good emperor alike.[83] One scholar even argued the view that Thrasea did urge the overthrow of the principate of Nero.[84] Helvidius Priscus the Elder, who married the daughter of Thrasea, Fannia, was also quite the independent spirit, apparently an attribute he obtained from his father-in-law.[85] However, even Tacitus seems wary about his defiance in the senate.[86] In addition, Helvidius the Elder maintained an insolent attitude even towards the emperor Vespasian - an emperor traditionally considered 'good' and ostensibly one who Tacitus states was amicable toward the former.[87] It would seem that Helvidius the Elder was determined to be a thorn in the side of the emperor regardless of whether the emperor was good or bad.

This then was the pedigree of the stoic opposition, a group which at the time of Domitian consisted of Helvidius Priscus' son and namesake, Helvidius Priscus the Younger as well

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mother was the sister of Aulus, Aulus would have been Tacitus' maternal uncle and Arria the Younger his first cousin. Thus, he and Thrasea would have shared familial ties.

[82] Barbara Levick, *Claudius,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 61; Syme, *Tacitus,* 559, note 3.

[83] Tac. *Ann.*16.21-35.

[84] Syme, *Tacitus, 5*59, note 6.

[85] Tac. *Hist.*4.5.

[86] Ibid.,4.6

[87] Ibid., 4.7; For Vespasian's relationship with Helvidius Priscus the Elder, see also Suet. *Vesp.*15.

as Herennius Senecio and the siblings - Quintus Arulenus Junius Rusticus and Junius Mauricus.[88] They belonged to a group that had caused significant friction with the emperors, some of whom were deemed bad, others good. Domitian had seen firsthand the troublesome nature of this group, when as a young man he witnessed the vehement debates between Helvidius the Elder and Eprius Marcellus.[89] He might have also witnessed Helvidius Priscus' demeaning attitude towards his father Vespasian. If Helvidius Priscus the Younger was imbued with any of the animosity that consumed his father, he might have been a serious problem for Domitian or was at least perceived as such. The emperor's concern over Helvidius Priscus the Younger and the other members of that opposition group was likely reinforced by the experience of Lucius Antonius Saturninus' revolt in 89,[90] which likely shook his faith in the senatorial body in general and especially in a group that was known to be at odds with the principate. Nor would the group's literary tributes to former troublesome 'members' reassure Domitian.[91] In the end, this group may have caused Domitian genuine problems. As a result, the potential for other legitimate reasons behind their executions or exiles are not inconceivable or far-fetched. However, if Tacitus had a 'friendship' bias, he might not have seen, or have chosen to ignore them, blinded once again by his bias. If this was the case, the extent of Domitian's evilness is called into question.

Tacitus, his father-in-law and his possible friends did share at least one definite feature - they were all members of the senatorial order and from the *Agricola,* it is manifest that Domitian was in Tacitus' eyes no friend of the senate.[92] Therefore, it is

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[88] Syme, *Tacitus,* 82-83, 559.
[89] Tac. *Hist.*4.43-44.
[90] Brian W. Jones, *Domitian and the Senatorial Order, A Prosopographical Study of Domitian's Relationship with the Senate, A.D. 81-96,* (Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1979), 30.
[91] Tac. *Agr.* 2.
[92] Ibid., 2-3, 45.

logical to investigate whether a senatorial bias was possible. At first, it seems as though this might not be the case. Tacitus is not at all hindered from criticizing senators or the senate as a whole. On multiple occasions, he points out their shortcomings and vices - excessive sycophancy, constant in-fighting and cowardice.[93] In fact, he is so often critical of that political body, one might believe that he despised it. However, his criticisms of that body are reserved for the people that made up the institution, never the institution itself. Consequently one might conjecture that he did admire the institution and was proud to be part of something so august and, once, austere.[94] Furthermore, criticism aside, one should not discount the possibility that Tacitus saw any death or persecution of a senator, regardless of their faults, as an affront.[95] If this was the case, then it is not unrealistic to suppose that anyone who showed any hostility towards that institution and its members might have engendered the hatred of Tacitus, thereby giving rise to a senatorial bias. In the eyes of Tacitus, Domitian was certainly guilty of this. He accused the emperor of having "…the senate house under siege and the senate ringed by arms" and of murdering "…all the most capable (presumably senators)…[and] so many men of consular rank…."[96] His motivation for doing so - his savage, cruel nature.[97] However, it is conceivable that if

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[93] Tac. *Ann.*1.7, 11-13; 2.32, 35; 3.47, 57, 65, 69; 4.74; 5.6; 6.45; 12.41, 53; 14.64; 15.23; 16.4.

[94] Tacitus seems to betray his true feelings about the institution in Tac. *Ann*. 3.60: "Tiberius, while he tightened his control by this conferment on Drusus, allowed the senate a shadow of its ancient power by inviting it to discuss provincial petitions...It was a splendid sight, that day, to see the senate investigating privileges conferred by its ancestors, treaties with allies, edicts of kings who had reigned before Rome was a power, even divine cults; and it was free, as of old, to confirm or amend."

[95] After all, Tacitus himself acknowledged that he was guilty of some of the faults he often leveled against individual senators or the senate as a whole (Tac. *Agr*.2).

[96] Tac. *Agr*.2, 45.

[97] Ibid., 2, 45.

Tacitus possessed a bias for the senate, he might have exaggerated the situation or did not present all the possible reasons behind Domitian's actions.

There were certainly precedents for distrusting the senate. There was the 'stoic opposition', mentioned above, a constant source of anxiety for any emperor, but especially for one as insecure as Domitian. He might have recalled that the Pisonian conspiracy of 66 had involved senators or that all the contenders for the throne in the civil war of 69 had been senators.[98] He had witnessed firsthand the nonsensical bickering of senators as a youth and had to deal with ambitious and glory-seeking generals.[99] Most significantly, under his own reign in 89, he had faced an imperial contender of senatorial rank.[100] Perhaps, his persecution of the 'many men of consular rank' was a result of suspected plots and not cruelty.

Tacitus did not list in the *Agricola* the 'many men of consular rank' that were murdered, but Suetonius provides one.[101] On the basis of Suetonius' list, it seems as though Tacitus was exaggerating somewhat. The picture Tacitus paints is one of mass slaughter of ex-consuls, however, only twelve men of consular rank are listed as being killed by Domitian.[102] This seems to pale in comparison with Claudius, who executed 35 senators and 300 (or 221) knights.[103] According to Suetonius, some of the senators were charged with trivial offenses, however, it is possible that Suetonius was not able to relate all the reasons for their deaths.[104] Perhaps Domitian truly believed these men were guilty of seditious activities - something not so far-fetch when one considers all the revolts or conspiracies in which senators had

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[98] Tac. *Ann.*15.48; Tac. *Hist.*1.1, 9, 10, 13.
[99] Tac. *Hist.*4.44.
[100] Jones, *Domitian and the Senatorial Order,* 31-2.
[101] Suet. *Dom.*10. Perhaps Tacitus expounded on this issue in the lost sections of the *Histories.*
[102] Jones, *The Emperor Domitian,* 188.
[103] Ibid., 192.
[104] Suet. *Dom.*10.

been involved. As Jones states, "at least some of the ex-consuls may have been guilty of conduct any autocrat would interpret as treasonable."[105] In any case, the picture of mass slaughter which Tacitus created is at least questionable.

Domitian might very well have been overly suspicious or paranoid, however, bearing in mind this aforementioned information, innate cruelty and envy might not have been the only motivations (or motivations at all) for his actions against the senate. That he was simply looking to vent his rage on them or that he was intrinsically evil is somewhat questionable. Tacitus' bias for the senate might have led him to exaggerate the situation or once again hinder him from perceiving other reasons behind Domitian's actions, reasons that went beyond pure vindictiveness. If this was the case, the Tacitean portrait of Domitian might be somewhat inaccurate.

The previous three biases of Tacitus have stemmed from indirect sources. It is likely that his portrayal suffered from a fourth bias, one that was more personal in its inception and tied to Tacitus' psyche. I am speaking of the potential existence of a moral bias. That morality coloured the works of Tacitus is attested by scholars. In A.M. Gowing's discussion of the first Roman historian, Fabius Pictor, he stated that "[Fabius] favoured a history that was, as Badian has put it, 'morally and politically committed', a phrase that describes well Tacitus' own work".[106] According to Luce, for the ancient historians, the imposition of one's moral views on a narrative was encouraged and actually expected.[107] Digressions on the decline of Roman morality pepper Tacitus'

[105] Jones, *The Emperor Domitian,* 188.
[106] A.M. Gowing, "From the annalists to the Annales: Latin historiography before Tacitus," In The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus, edited by A.J. Woodman, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 19.
[107] Ibid., 19; T.J. Luce, "Ancient Views on the Causes of Bias in Historical Writing", 21.

works, something he may have taken over from Sallust (85-53), who seems to have been the first to have really pressed the issue.[108]

Tacitus seems to have placed profound stock in an individual being honourable, honest, just, modest, frugal, courageous, disciplined, and industrious.[109] Even if there was some truth to Domitian's vices, that might have been enough to incense Tacitus and encourage him to not only focus and expand on those faults, but also exaggerate them either in light of what happened to his family and friends or solely because he despised those characteristics. In the case that Tacitus purposely vilified him on account of what had happened to his father-in-law, his friends and the senate, his moral bias might only have served to increase that vilification. In any event, the possibility remains that the Tacitean portrait of Domitian might have been affected by a moral bias, which in turn aided in misrepresenting Domitian.

The previously mentioned events might have caused the *ira* that is evident in Tacitus' discussion of Domitian, which in turn manifested itself in these four biases. Yet a further problem arises if one attributes some of these biases to Tacitus. If the historian was so close to Agricola and was friends with members of the stoic opposition, why did he seemingly flourish under Domitian's reign?

For some, the successful career of Tacitus might be evidence enough that he could not have been on friendly terms with the stoic opposition. However, as illustrated earlier there seems to be evidence to support the contrary. Furthermore, even if one were to concede that Tacitus was not a friend of this group, there would still remain the curious case of Pliny the Younger. His correspondence with Mauricus, in addition to his explicit statement that the members of the stoic group were '*mei amici*' ('my friends') ought to remove any doubt as to the nature of his relationship with them and yet he appears to have flourished under

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[108] Ogilvie, *Roman Literature and Society,* 91; For examples of Tacitus' moral digressions see, Tac. *Ann.* 1.1-4; 3.25-28

[109] Tac. *Agr*.5-9, 19, 29.

Domitian's rule.[110] It would seem then, that friendship with the stoic group did not necessarily result in condemnation.

If this were the case, not only does it make possible Tacitus' friendship with the stoic group, but it would also be quite telling of Domitian's character. It calls the extent of his paranoia, envy and cruelty into question. An individual with such a disposition would likely have removed any friends of the stoic group as well, if only to prevent any future conspiracies. In turn, the exclusion from punishment of the stoic group's companions might add further credence to the view that he punished the members of the group as a result of his firm belief that they posed a threat to him, rather than doing so for the sake of cruelty. His seemingly circumspect and specific application of punishment certainly coincides with the statement of Suetonius, that "the emperor's administration of justice was careful and conscientious".[111] Perhaps, then, the trivial charges which led to the death of three of them- Helvidius, Senecio and Rusticus - do not reveal the whole story.[112] Of course, this does not indicate that Domitian was always correct in his condemnations, yet at the same time, his condemnations should not necessarily be seen as undeniable proof of a Tacitean Domitian.

If the former scenario was possible, then it is not inconceivable that Tacitus could be close to his father-in-law and yet still have a successful career under Domitian. Perhaps Domitian did not punish him out of a fear of resentment

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[110] Plin. *Ep*.1.5, 14; 2.18; 3.11; 6.14. Granted, in one letter Pliny did claim to have been in danger (3.11), however, this statement might be the victim of exaggeration. Domitian's reign continued for approximately three more years after the stoic group purge of 93 (Jones, *The Emperor Domitian*, 187), plenty of time for him to remove Pliny on some charge of collusion with the stoic opposition and yet he survived. Furthermore, if he was in such danger, it would not really explain his new appointment soon after the events of 93 (Syme, *Tacitus,* 77). Instead, this statement might be a manifestation of his own personal guilt and shame over surviving his *amici*.

[111] Suet. *Dom*.8.

[112] Jones, *The Emperor Domitian,* 187.

retaliation. However, one must not dismiss the possibility that Domitian continued to promote Tacitus because, as with the stoic group, he only punished those whom he truly perceived to be a danger or threat to himself. If the latter were the case, it would once again call into question the extent of Domitian's apparent vices of cruelty, envy and paranoia. Consequently, when one reads the portrait of Domitian, one must navigate it with caution, keeping in mind not only the apparent cruel and vindictive acts carried out by the emperor, but also the potential biases which might taint their depiction.

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LIVY'S MORALS: HANNIBAL AND SCIPIO

JENNIFER BATE

Titus Livius Patavinus, more commonly known as Livy, was the author of *A History of Rome*. He took upon the grueling task of creating a series of books accounting for a large portion of the history of Rome. Livy creates his narrative by characterizing different historical figures through the use of couplets. Livy's portrayal of both Hannibal and Scipio Africanus in book 30 is the specific couplet that will be analyzed. Other historical figures will be touched on for emphasis, but the main focus should be on Hannibal and Scipio. Livy portrays Hannibal and Scipio as contrasting characters so as to reveal the morals which Livy found important to Roman society and to identify Roman virtue. The intention of this paper is not to discuss whether or not Livy gives an accurate account for the history of Rome, but rather to discuss the reason he constructed his narrative in this way.

Before a comparison of Hannibal and Scipio Africanus can be conducted, the initial characterization Livy gives Hannibal must first be analyzed. In book 21, when describing the beginning of the Second Punic War, Livy provides a seemingly positive characterization of Hannibal. He claims that Hannibal was put in charge of the Carthaginians because he displayed the greatest confidence, courage, and was extremely daring. He was fearless and always ensured he completed his tasks, all while enduring the same harsh obstacles of warfare as the rest of his army.[1] In this initial characterization, it appears as though Livy is glorifying the admirable qualities he thinks Hannibal possesses as a war leader. This implies that Livy sees virtues in Hannibal which he would

[1] Livy, "A History of Rome," in *Livy: A History of Rome Selections*, trans. Moses Hadas and Joe P. Poe (New York: The Modern Library, 1962), 21.3.

encourage people to possess. This seems appropriate because regardless of Hannibal's aims against the Romans, he was undoubtedly a great general. Through further analysis it will be seen that his character is far more complex than this initial characterization.

Martin Foulkes offers an excellent analysis of Livy's depiction of the character Hannibal. He claims that Livy presents "a charismatic, brave, and tireless leader, quick on his feet in a tight spot, but perhaps too ready to dash into danger and lacking deeper wisdom and moral weight."[2] Foulkes suggests that Livy draws the reader's attention to these virtues but provides an incomplete characterization of an inspirational leader and fails to maintain consistency of this characterization in the narrative. While it is true that the initial depiction of Hannibal is incomplete, it seems more appropriate to claim that Livy provides an underdeveloped characterization to provide room for character growth throughout the narrative. This would account for the inconsistency in characterization because the character develops with the progression of the narrative. It can be seen through various parts of book 21 that Livy accounts for other positive attributes Hannibal possesses, but to express all of these qualities at the beginning of the book would be cumbersome and ineffective.

Almost immediately after Livy accounts of Hannibal's positive attributes, he discounts them by pointing out his faults, causing an inconsistency in the historical figure's characterization. He claims "his enormous faults were as great – inhuman cruelty, faith worse than Punic, no scruple to truth or sanctity, no fear of gods, no respect for oaths or religion."[3] When Livy points out these negative qualities he claims Hannibal possesses, he is actually expressing the qualities which he thinks are essential to Roman virtue. A respectable Roman would be kind, pious, truthful, and adhere to the demands of the gods. Because Hannibal

[2] Martin Foulkes, "Livy's Characterization of Individuals and Races in Book 21," Histos 3 (1999): 71.
[3] Livy, *History of Rome*, 21.4.

does not possess any of these qualities, he is no longer viewed as a great general, but rather a barbaric man with no morality.

In contrast to Foulkes argument, Mary Jaeger also accounts for the seemingly bizarre elements within Livy's narrative. She suggests that the sequencing, inconsistencies and presentation of character are not the result of incompetence or carelessness on Livy's part, but rather, they are purposely implemented. Jaeger claims these elements "arise from Livy's determined insistence on a worldview that makes morality and moral explanation paramount, a worldview, which accordingly, asserts the primacy of the gods in the correct conception of historical causation."[4] The reason that Livy switches from an initially positive characterization of Hannibal, to a then negative characterization is to place focus on the morality of the Romans during the time period. The characters are used specifically to express morality and are subject to the virtues Livy is attempting to point out.

So far, the narrator of the work has been addressing the characteristics of Hannibal. This, however, is not the only literary technique Livy uses to characterize the historical figures. Livy also creates speeches for the characters so that they can reveal their own characteristics through dialogue. When Hannibal and his men are preparing for the first battle of the Second Samnite War against Publius Scipio, Hannibal says:

> Here you must conquer or die in your first combat with the enemy. But the same fortune, which places the necessity of fighting upon you, places before you rewards for victory greater than any which men dare hope for – even from the hands of the immortal gods. (…) Come, then, take arms and with the help of the gods

[4] Mary Jaeger, "Livy and Hannibal," *The Classical Review* 62 (2012): 168.

earn this rich reward.[5]

There are multiple interesting aspects of the excerpt that need be examined. Firstly, it is important to note that the content is being delivered through a speech, rather than a narrative.

A narrator allows the author to make his message explicit, whereas with a speech, the reader must interpret the information the author is trying to express. In addition to the changed literary technique, this speech also adds to the characterization of Hannibal. The leader in emphasizing bravery, mentions that the Carthaginians are fighting for their country, but also claims that the battle can be justified through the material goods that they will acquire. This speech expresses both positive and negative attributes of Hannibal. While he is showing admirable qualities a warlord should possess, it is also suggested his greed is his main objective for participating in the war. However, the significance of this passage is not complete without the speech provided by Publius Scipio to act as a contrast and fully express the message Livy is intending to convey.

The speeches Livy creates for his characters are put into full effect when he provides a complimentary or contrasting speech to get his full point across. The speech Hannibal gives to his army is coupled with a speech that Publius Scipio gives to the Roman soldiers. Rather than emphasizing the benefits that will come from the war, Scipio focuses on the mercy that the Romans have shown the Carthaginians and claims:

> "In return for these kindnesses they have come following an insane youth to wage war on our country. (…) Let him not consider his own domestic cares alone, but let him recall again and again that today the senate and the Roman people are depending upon our right hands. The fortune of that city and of the Roman

[5] Livy, *History of Rome*, 21.44.

> Empire will be as secure as we are strong and courageous."[6]

This focus of this speech is different in comparison to the speech given by Hannibal. Through Scipio's speech, Livy is able to express the importance of the Republic to the Romans. This entire excerpt focuses on how the Roman army was fighting a noble cause for the Roman State. Because Hannibal's speech is coupled with this speech, his character becomes vilified. The Romans' reason for fighting is far more admirable and directly related to Roman morality whereas the Carthaginians, however brave, fight for the material possessions they will gain.

In an anthology of the major writings of the historians of ancient Rome, Ronald Mellor writes a brief description of Livy's general approach to writing his history. He suggests that Livy wrote with a poetic literary style with exciting narratives, which brought history alive. More importantly, however, is his claim that Livy "does resort to rhetorical character-types, so that many historical figures are one-sidedly good or evil".[7] This generalization of Livy's writing is far too simplistic of an analysis of Livy's characters, but is not absolutely incorrect. It may appear that characters are either cast in the category of good or evil. I would argue, rather, that they possess more characteristics of either good or evil. That is, they may possess multiple negative qualities, but Livy does not portray them as whole-heartedly evil. The characters are different enough so they can be coupled together for contrast, but no character can be so simply characterized as either good or evil, especially when considering Hannibal and Scipio.

Hannibal is arguably one of Rome's greatest enemies, and naturally cast into the role of the villain because of this. However, in book 21, Livy explains that after a harsh winter Hannibal generously divided up the booty he had acquired and paid up all

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[6] Ibid.,, 21.41.

[7] Ronald Mellor, ed., "Livy," in *The Historians of Ancient Rome*. (Routledge: New York, 1998) 147.

wages so as to secure the good will of his soldiers.[8] Although cast into the role of the villain, Livy makes sure to show some of Hannibal's positive qualities, which means he cannot be defined as truly evil, as Mellor suggests. While Mellor's claim is not entirely wrong, to make such a general statement is detrimental to the reading of Livy because it suggests that Livy's writing is far more simplistic then it actually is. This could cause some readers to overlook the important details of the writing.

Interestingly enough, he opens this book by accounting for Hannibal's multiple achievements during the Second Punic War. He talks of the Carthaginian army enduring unbelievable hardships and how many battles they have won; where they killed praetors, generals, and consuls.[9] Even though these achievements were made through the detriment of the Roman army, the language Livy uses does not suggest he is condemning Hannibal for these achievements. It is almost as if he is impressed by Hannibal's achievements in the battlefield, despite the fact he is the enemy to the Romans.

In contrast, Livy also offers a characterization of Scipio Africanus. After being informed that the Roman army occupied the country around Carthage, Hannibal had sent out some scouts who were captured by Roman guards and taken to Scipio who let them inspect his camp with no fear of the result.[10] Livy claims that Hannibal was disturbed by the confidence of the enemy. It is interesting that Livy should depict Scipio in this way. Rather than choosing an admirable achievement and glorifying Scipio's actions, Livy rather chooses to show a negative quality which Scipio possesses. Livy is emphasizing a negative quality of the leader to act as a warning of the dangers of hubris. It appears that Livy is actually favouring Hannibal over Scipio because he chooses to highlight an achievement of Hannibal, and then contrast this by highlighting one of Scipio's negative attributes.

Livy takes the contrast of his characters one step further

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[8] Livy, *History of Rome*, 21.5.
[9] Ibid., 30.28.
[10] Ibid., 30.29.

by actually placing the characters into dialogue with one another. Andreola Rossi provides an analysis on Livy's coupling of the characters Hannibal and Scipio, with a focus on this infamous speech between the two characters. She suggests that Livy fashions the characters Scipio Africanus and Hannibal as parallel lives to reflect on issues prominent in later political discourse, which are exemplary of the shift from Rome's past *virtus* and later decline.[11] It becomes evident that Livy is addressing concerns he has with the Roman Republic through Hannibal's speech. Hannibal begins his speech by addressing Scipio's accomplishments and then claiming:

> The vicissitudes of life have taught me to prefer to follow reason rather than fortune. I fear both your youthfulness and your constant success; both are likely to be impatient of calm consideration (…) What I was at Trasumernnus and Cannae you are today. When scarcely old enough to be a solider you received a command, and in even your most reckless ventures fortune has never deserted you (…) But in a single hour fortune can destroy all glory you have won and that you hope for. If you make peace everything will be in your power. (…) If in victory Marcus Atilius Regulus had granted our fathers' request for peace he would have been a unique illustration of virtue and prosperity. But he set no limits to his happiness, and refused to curb his mounting aspiration; the higher he had climbed, the higher was his fall.[12]

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[11] Andreola Rossi, "Parallel Lives: Hannibal and Scipio in Livy's Third Decade," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 134 (2004): 359.

[12] Livy, *History of Rome*, 30.30.

Hannibal has drawn direct parallels between his own life, and the life of Scipio. It is suggested that Hannibal has seen the fault of his ways, and is now warning Scipio of the dangers of living a life where fortune is the only aim. Livy incorporated this into the narrative in order to address the problems he had seen with the Roman Republic. Eventually, the Republic's demise would occur due to the greed of politicians of the state. Livy saw this, and expressed his concern through Hannibal's speech.

Livy also addresses some of his concerns with the Roman Republic in other books of the text. In a speech before a battle, Hannibal claims the Romans are "a proud and cruel race, and consider all the world their own. They claim the right to decide with whom we may make war, with whom we must have peace. They crib and confine us within the boundaries of rivers and mountain ranges, beyond which we must not go; yet they do not observe their own limits."[13] If Livy's aim was to simply compile a history of Rome, it is unlikely that he would include a speech like this. This speech points out issues that Livy had with the Romans because they began to go against their own morals. It is not within Roman morality to be proud or cruel. It was especially unjust to go against treaty conditions set by the Senate, but many politicians were becoming corrupt and breaking these rules anyways.

Livy initially uses Scipio's character to reflect the problems he saw within the Roman Republic. However, he then shifts his portrayal of Scipio to express his views on Roman morality and virtue. This is evident through Scipio's response to Hannibal's speech. Scipio claims that Hannibal:

> Did not deserve the conditions you received before, and now you are seeking to benefit from your treachery. (…) You were the aggressors in both instances. Then it was the danger threatening our

[13] Ibid., 21.44.

> allies the Mamertines which aroused us to arms as right and duty demanded; this time it was the destruction of Saguntum. You yourself acknowledge that you were the aggressors and of this the gods are witnesses. They granted to us the righteous victory in that war, and shall grant us victory now.

To be the aggressor was unacceptable according to the Roman Constitution. There needed to be probable cause to initiate any warfare under the Roman State. Hannibal, however, was the aggressor for the Second Punic War. This causes his character to become re-vilified, regardless of the initial glorification of some of his accomplishments. Even though it seemed at first that Livy admired Hannibal, because Hannibal went against Roman moral code, he can no longer be held in a positive light and is cast into the role of the barbaric, deceitful, greedy Carthaginian. By pointing out Hannibal faults, it is suggested that Scipio does not possess these attributes. Thus, Scipio becomes the embodiment of Roman virtue and morality.

Through this analysis of *The History of Rome* by Livy, it can be seen that he structured his narrative by comparing and contrasting characters in couplets. His complex characterization of characters, more specifically Hannibal and Scipio Africanus allowed him to reveal and identify Roman virtue as well as express his growing concern for the activities of the Roman Republic. It is through his books that Livy forewarns the reader of the challenges Rome will face due to the corruption of the Roman political leaders, whose origins began with the historical figures portrayed in this narrative.

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I POUR THE WINE

Chained by winding ivy twine to the son of *Semele* and *Zeus,*
Snared from my land across the sea,
I pine for home and liberty.
Every day I pour the wine.
Like a mountain lion I crouch close awaiting revelry,
A critical and crucial task,
Dare not delay when *Bacchus* asks!
Steady paw I pour the wine.
My master and his friends returned from *City Dionysia*,
Grinning happy hungry thirsty,
Entertained with sandals dusty.
Eyes downcast I pour the wine.
These Greeks speaking wondrous *skene* scenes I strain to hear each word,
Of *Bacchus* dressed in *Stranger* guise,
Of *Pentheus* with pride unwise,
In women's garb meets his demise!
Thrilling tales! I pour the wine.
Bromius do you know my name? Roar and wave your *thyrsus* high,
Send me to spy the stories told,
And hear the choral odes unfold.
Dionysus!
To honour you I pour the wine.

— *Colleen Dunn*

THE TIDES OF EROS: THE IMPORTANCE OF EROS IN LONGUS' DAPHNIS AND CHLOE

ANDREW JOSEPH FROH

Throughout Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* characters refer to the god Eros as an underlying force that propels the titular couple together. While it is clear that Daphnis and Chloe's sexual desire deepens as the story progresses and evolves in response to obstacles of plot and circumstance over the course of the seasonal narration, it is worth asking outright to what extent Eros drives this sexual maturation and self-discovery. Bruce MacQueen has posited that the novel's contemporary Greek audience may well have viewed it as an allegory of initiation into the cult of Eros, with the plot forming the liturgy.[1] Keeping this interpretation in mind, this paper has two goals. The first is to argue that Eros is the unseen force which drives couple's attraction and eventual consummation. In other words, the god sanctions and protects Daphnis and Chloe's love both by manifesting as an actual character in the novel and through other characters – one might even say through the plot itself. Second, this paper attempts to use these different manifestations of Eros within *Daphnis and Chloe* as a window into Hellenic Greek sexuality.

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Before delving into the story we ought to assess the historical context in which the novel was written. More specifically, we ought to consider how Eros was represented and how Greeks thought him at the time of the novel's creation. Longus is presumed to have written during the second century AD and to have been born on the island of Lesbos, where the novel takes

[1] Bruce MacQueen, *Myth, Rhetoric, and Fiction: A Reading of Longus' Daphnis and Chloe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 5.

place. According to Giulia Sissa, Platonic and Stoic philosophy warned against the desires of the body at this time, and various ascetic schools, both Stoic and Christian, were prime features on the cultural landscape.[2] This is important, for proper attitudes towards love, sex, and marriage feature prominently in *Daphnis and Chloe* and other moral narratives of the period – something to which I will return below.

Eros took many forms from many authors. From his first description in Hesiod's *Cosmogony* to the Roman Cupid, Eros has been portrayed as a violent and arbitrary force,[3] a primitive essence that brings despair to the resolve of both man and the gods,[4] and a beast which human beings are incapable of resisting. Consistent through all this is the idea that Eros is a mover and driver of human actions and a shaper of the human will.

It is clear that Eros was primarily seen as a mover and shaper of human beings if we look at differing definitions and representations of eros across time and space. Eros refers not only to the god, but to *eros*, without personification – a sort of appetite or yearning often suffered by Homeric heroes.[5] Classical Greek philosophers often distinguished between different modalities of eros, from sexual passion to *philia*, or affection. The former can be moderated through what Anastasia-Erasmia Peponi calls kinetic passions of desire and static awareness of beauty – the latter is, at any rate, closely tied to Plato and other philosophers' elevation of aesthetic and intellectual over bodily pleasures.[6]

This elevation of aesthetics and the intellect over "lower,"

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[2] Giulia Sissa, *Sex and Sexuality in the Ancient World,* trans. George Staunton (Cornwall: Yale University Press, 2008), 1-6.
[3] Marilyn Skinner, *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 29.
[4] Marguerite Johnson and Terry Ryan, *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Society and Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 34.
[5] Skinner, 4.
[6] Anastasia-Erasmia Peponi, *Frontiers of Pleasure: Models of Aesthetic Response in Archaic and Classical Greek Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 19.

bodily pleasures is in fact central to Longus's novel. The author appeals to novels as a universal form because it allows the reader to find an equilibrium between art and nature, or between fiction and truth. This is because Longus believes that the novel can not only allow readers who have experienced *eros* to relive those experiences but give the un- or under-initiated a model by which they can control their desire so that they can experience *eros* in the proper measure.[7] This latter, moral imperative is clear from the erotic nature of the narrative, which intentionally threatens the reader's self-control so that the author can use the story to emphasize and elevate the moderation of desire. In this sense, the story is a prayer to Eros that the reader may become "instructed, edified, and healed" through the *mythos* of the protagonists.[8] With this in mind, we are ready to dive into the novel itself.

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Throughout the novel, Longus emphasizes the important of seasonal change to show how, in romance, it is human nature to imitate the natural world.[9] Book One sees Daphnis and Chloe fall in love in the spring, a season which, here as elsewhere, is associated with fertility. The lovers' parents have prophetic dreams in which Eros instructs them to offer their children to him. Eros is not directly alluded to but is instead referred to as a "cocky, good-looking little boy."[10] Some commentators have suggested that this is because the plot hinges on Daphnis and Chloe's discovery or Eros, and therefore the author cannot give too much away; rather, he must draw out their journey of sexual revelation.[11] Already, then, Eros appears as a significant figure. Yet his role as a prime mover is, at this point, veiled.

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[7] Skinner, 19.
[8] MacQueen, 30.
[9] Richard Hardin, *Love in a Green Shade: Idyllic Romances Ancient to Modern* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 13.
[10] Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, trans. Christopher Gill (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), 1.7.
[11] John Robert Morgan, *Longus: Daphnis and Chloe.* (Oxford: Oxbrow Books, 2010), 155.

The couple shepherd together and are immediately drawn to each other by the pastoral setting. Chloe's beauty attracts the attention of another herdsman, Dorcon, whom Daphnis involuntarily describes when speaking on the nature of herdsmen when under Eros's spell, "Oh, the wolves are more cowardly than the foxes: they haven't grabbed those [noisy goats]."[12] Whatever Darcon's intentions may be at this point, Daphnis and Chloe are blissfully innocent. In one early scene, they gaze upon each other's naked bodies and, though aroused, are unable to articulate their adoration for one another.[13] This erotic ignorance is rooted in the fact that neither character can name their sickness (or, alternatively, their desire) and therefore neither can cure (nor consummate) it. In keeping with the book's moral agenda, Longus uses this scene to illustrate that there is more to sexuality than the act of procreation.

In Book Two – summer – we meet Philetas, who offers our protagonists some insight into their feelings. He who informs them that they are caught in the works of Eros and that, consequently, they are under his safeguard. The cure for their illness, he says, is to kiss, embrace, and lie down naked together. Importantly, Longus uses this moment to directly acknowledge Hesiod's description of Eros as omnipotent – Philetas says that Eros has "more power than even Zeus" and that he controls the "primal elements" of human nature and of nature itself.[14] Daphnis and Chloe lie together, as instructed, but feel no real satisfaction because they are so ignorant of Eros's workings that they do (or can) not have intercourse.

At this point, Chloe is abducted by Methymnaean hunters. In his intense grief, Daphnis denounces the nymphs which Longus so closely associates with Chloe. The nymphs console Daphnis and introduce him to Pan, a divine being to whom the couple has

[12] Longus, 1.25. This foreshadows a later plot development in which Darcon, dressed in a wolf skin, "preys upon" Chloe, so unable is he to control his passions.
[13] MacQueen, 36.
[14] Longus, 2.7.

paid little attention in their initiation into Eros. Pan is the closest to a physical manifestation of Eros that we see in the novel. He serves as a reassurance that Eros is not only benevolent but also powerful.[15] Longus depicts Pan as a mediator between the divine world of Eros and the mortal world of Daphnis and Chloe – he personifies a paradox of love as altogether spiritual and bestial.[16] Once the couple is reunited, Daphnis and Chloe hastily make an oath with each other that they should be together indefinitely and in chastity of each other.

Winter settles in at the beginning of Book Three. Daphnis and Chloe are presented with a new reality that prevents them from freely engaging in the fields. Over the first two books they learn Eros's name, are exposed to his divinity (via Pan and the nymphs) and see his works in action (in, for example, the lust Chloe inspires in Darcon). In the third book they learn more of Eros by encountering his antithesis: Death.

Daphnis makes a long trek to see Chloe in the dead of winter. Once spring arrives, he (predictably) is overcome by erotic longing. To satisfy himself, he is schooled in the ways of Eros by Lycaenion. She claims to be able to initiate Daphnis into the workings of Eros, and also claims that the nymphs themselves had instructed her to do so. The narrator, however, informs us that she had long lusted after Daphnis. It is probable, then, that she is lying to him. It is not important that Eros may have instructed Lycaenion to "teach" Daphnis the workings of Eros; what is important is that her actions are motivated by eros. Here, Longus makes a significant departure from other Greek novels of the genre, where the chastity and fidelity of the couple is upheld and, indeed, elevated. Daphnis clearly breaks his oath to Chloe; but as readers, we are not particularly moved. Perhaps this is because we are led to see that this tryst is part of the sexual education Daphnis requires to properly consummate his love for Chloe. At any rate,

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[15] MacQueen, 54. Significantly, some myths define Pan as a servant of the will of Eros and even prone within his own mythology to succumb to lust. See Morgan, 191.

[16] Ibid., 55.

while it is true that Daphnis is now aware of the physical component of love, he remains ignorant of its social component: mutual exclusivity in marriage.[17] Lycaenion's role mirrors that of Philetas from the previous book. Philetas offered the protagonists the name and solution of their ailment, but only Lycaenion offers the rest of the lesson.[18] In fact, she openly opposes Philetas's notion of Eros as sex: "These [works of Eros] are not [merely] kissing and hugging and such things as the rams and the billy goats do."[19]

After this scene summer arrives for the couple. Daphnis entreats Chloe's foster-parents for marriage. We have now reached the climax of the narrative: Longus can go no further without having Daphnis and Chloe consummate their love. Clearly he felt obligated to show that any physical and / or symbolic harmony must be tempered by social convention, namely marriage.

For Daphnis to legitimately have Chloe he must supplicate her foster-parents with the proper means. This brings about a realistic rather than romanic portrayal of love and marriage that permeated ancient cultures. To the lovers it is out of desire that they seek each other, but it also implicates the lovers and their families in a variety of financial and legal obligations, to which I will return below.

The final and fourth book reads in a distinctly different fashion than the rest, but culminates in Daphnis and Chloe's marriage. Before the couple consummates their love, however, Longus must reveal their true natures. The master of the land and the pastoral setting itself is Dionysophanes, a nominal manifestation of the god Dionysus. Here we see another god often attributed to fertility join the divine triad that worked continuously

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[17] Janelle Peters. "The Spring as a Civilizing Mechanism in Daphnis and Chloe," lecture presented at ICAN, Emory University, 2008. Accessed 12 Nov. 2013 via Academia.edu. http://www.academia.edu/658251/The_Spring_as_a_Civilizing_Mechanism_in_Daphnis_and_Chloe_Draft

[18] MacQueen, 74.

[19] Longus, 3.16.

to oversee both Daphnis and Chloe's sexual maturation. It is Dionysophanes's role to ordain the couple, which he willingly does so once their royal heritage is unveiled. Here it is revealed that that Daphnis is the son of the nominal Dionysus. Upon their marriage the couple are led to their new quarters alongside the procession of the wedding to a bedroom in which they consummate their marriage. Thus the entirety of the plot leads to sexual intercourse sanctified by both the foster-families and the divine triad.

Before we see the narrator finish, he projects into the couple's future and foretells that they will perpetually worship the nymphs, Pan, and Eros as their gods. Not only do they raise their children as they themselves were raised, but they erect an altar to Eros as a shepherd and provide Pan a home within the cave of the nymphs. This euphoric scene tells the audience that Daphnis and Chloe faithfully worship Eros as having delivered them both to and from their affliction. The novel closes with Chloe realizing that what she and Daphnis had enjoyed in the fields was nothing but "shepherds' games."[20] This openly erotic finish allows for interpretation from the reader, but perhaps most apparent is the metamorphoses that the couple has now undergone: Chloe has a new and now distant view of her past life in the fields as a shepherdess and this illustrates her transition from virgin to wife.[21] The work of Eros is most visible at this point, for he has guided the couple as a shepherd might; he has ensured the continuation of the pastoral community just as Daphnis had ensured the safety of his own flock.[22]

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With this brief recap and analysis of the novel in mind, we can wield it as a window into the world of Hellenic Greek sexuality. As stated above, the novel takes place on the isolated island of Lesbos (significantly, this isolation mirrors characters' ignorance of Eros). Longus's decision to choose the island is itself an indirect

[20] Ibid., 4.40.
[21] Morgan, 249.
[22] Ibid., 249.

reference to the erotic poetry of Sappho and the island's temple to Dionysus.[23] It is, in other words, grounded on real-world perceptions of Lesbos as both an exotic and erotic locale.

The novel's emphasis on personal relationships, including erotic trysts outside the bounds of marriage, underlines a drastic shift in Hellenic consciousness. Within the structure of the classical *polis*, civic institutions such as marriage, kinship, and state represented the love between sexes.[24] Classic Greek art and attitudes took these formal bonds to be central to love itself – it saw all love as a symbiotic relationship between equal (or mutually constitutive) partners. Longus undermines this convention throughout his novel. At first, the lovers experience *Eros* in a similar, co-dependent, and innocent way. Longus even has them speak in the first person plural as though they were one being: "people who are in love feel pain, and so do we."[25] This symmetrical rapport is soon broken by Lycaenion. He introduces the couple to an urbanized form of love, and suggests that Daphnis take Chloe to the woods where her screams of pain will not be heard.[26] Not wishing to hurt his love, Daphnis abandons the city and, in doing so, he and his love symbolically reject civil conventions. This rejection is also present in the couple's decision to remain humble shepherds even upon marriage. They live in exuberance to Eros and raise their family in isolation from the outside world echoing upon the theme of idyllic love.

Another major theme in this novel is, as alluded to above, the temperance of the passions. This is especially clear in Daphnis's case, which symbolizes a shift from Classical to Hellenic attitudes. In the Classical period, male lust was seen as the arousal of the body through external stimuli; an uncontrollable physical reaction which held no conscious intention.[27] In much the same way, Daphnis experiences sexual arousal before he is conscious of his

[23] MacQueen, 160-1.
[24] Skinner, 171.
[25] Longus, 2.8.
[26] Ibid., 3.19.
[27] Sissa, 20.

lovesickness. Other male characters and their behavior – Dorcon's attempted rape of Chloe, the pirates' unpredictable arrival, and Lampis's erratic destruction of the garden – all put this "uniquely male trait" on display. By writing about male eroticism this way, Longus draws attention to arousal's origins within the body and juxtaposes it against convention in order to forward the claim that moderate or right eroticism demands self-reflection.[28] To do this, he has Daphnis attempt to rationalize his feelings for Chloe and show some self-restraint by not kissing his sleeping lover so as not to wake her.[29] By the end of the novel, he has learned that marriage is a sexual transaction that requires discipline and not a suppression of one's sexuality.[30] His innocence both aids and impedes his sexual growth to the point that he requires the help of teachers to shed the Classical attitudes which shape his character early in the novel.

Whereas Daphnis's journey begins in self-ignorance and culminates in self-discovery, Chloe begins the novel with some self-knowledge. Early in the novel, she is more sensitive (or astute) than Daphnis to the nature of her emotions – she is, for example, able to articulate her lovesickness before he is.[31] Her self-perception is still limited, however. She, like her lover, is ignorant of sex in the beginning, and she is wholly indifferent to sexual assault.[32] Importantly, and in line with the above statements about the nature of Hellenic male sexuality, Longus portrays Chloe as so beautiful that she inspires uncontrollable lust in a majority of the male characters. He does this primarily to posit a harmony between different aspects of Eros, casting her as a sensual feminine counterpoint to the in aggressive masculinity we

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[28] Ibid.
[29] Longus, 1.25.
[30] MacQueen, 89.
[31] Longus, 1.13.
[32] Vichi Ciocani, "Longus: Defining Chloe." Department of Classics, University of Toronto, 2012. Accessed 12 Nov. 2013 via Academia.edu. <http://www.academia.edu/1325303/Longus_Defining_Chloe>

see in Darcon and others.[33] By doing so, Longus writes a novel that is not explicitly pornographic like other works of Greek romance.[34] Instead, he shows his audience that literature and the romance genre especially are capable of giving the audience an insight to the ambiguity and subtleties of human love. Chloe's mystical, otherworldly beauty draws the protection from both her lover and from the gods who guide the lovers' journey.

Throughout the novel, Longus blends the divine and the natural to argue for the temperance of the passions. He does this primarily by having the divine (i.e. rational, ideally human) and the bestial (i.e. instinctual and impulsive) aspects of Eros intermingle with one another. Nowhere is this confluence of this dichotomy more apparent than in Pan and his nymphs, divine creatures which govern the couple's passions at critical junctures in the novel. The line between divine and natural is blurred, too, in descriptions of Chloe's transcendent beauty, which is often compared through simile to the natural world. The fusion of divinity with the bestial is the very name of temperance; without it, we are left with the Methymnaean hunters behaving "like starlings or jackdaws", Lycaenion lusting after Daphnis as a "she-wolf", or Lampis violating the garden "like a pig."[35] All this indicates that Classical Greeks viewed raw sexuality as an element of the natural world which could be destructive if left unchecked; only the moderating effects of culture and reason could temper and cool Eros in a way that was both positive and pleasurable.

Eros's role as a shaper and mover of plot, character, and theme in *Daphnis and Chloe* is, in a way, a statement about human nature. Descendants of the Greek philosophical tradition – a tradition which invented formal logic, gave birth to certain forms of asceticism, and informed Christian and other rejections of the body – we postmoderns are well-versed in the idea that passion, though destructive, is necessary and can be tempered by reason.

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[33] Sissa, 130.

[34] Here I have in mind the phalluses auspiciously displayed by satyrs within Greek comedies.

[35] Hardin, 13.

What Longus does, however, is turn this line of thinking on its head. Although he believes that the passions can be tempered in this way, he also hints that Eros is a fundamental aspect of human nature, something we cannot ignore or downplay. He warns us that sex is older than humanity itself, and so holds more sway over our reason and our conventions than we should ever like to admit.

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THE NEGOTIATIONS OF CHARLEMAGNE'S KINGSHIP

PETER KNOWLTON

The coronation of Charlemagne in Rome on Christmas Day 800 by Pope Leo III as Holy Emperor of the Romans set a startling new trajectory for the development of Europe and its surroundings, although the same cannot be said of Charlemagne's kingship itself. It is this kingship that this paper seeks to examine, primarily using the theories of theocratic and populist power of Walter Ullmann. This kingship, and numerous other European medieval kingships, were the blending and culmination of Roman, Christian, and Germanic archetypes. Medieval kingship was not the harmonious result of these three distinct political ideals, but rather the result of several hundred years of tumultuous negotiating on behalf of each constituent party. In this paper it will be shown that Charlemagne's kingship is the result of the metamorphosis and blending of these three distinct models of monarchy and rulership.

After a brief chronological summary of Charlemagne**'s** life, I will identify the elements of his new kingship in the order that they exerted themselves on his former native Frankish rule. Thus first the Germanic element shall be examined followed by the Romano-Christian element. Although it is possible to identify separate Roman and Christian elements of rulership throughout late antiquity (e.g. during the reign of Constantine**)**, by the early Middle Ages and the time of Charlemagne this distinction is made impossible. Because of this blurring and eventual merging of Imperial and Christian conceptions of rulership**,** they shall be examined together as the Romano-Christian element of Charlemagne's kingship.

The Imperial conception of rulership was absolute and awe-inspiring in its power. Under Augustus and his successors the Roman Republic was transformed into the Roman Empire. At the

head of this Empire stood the Emperor, surrounded by all the pomp and splendour of contemporary oriental courts, assuming a superhuman persona. Furthermore, the Emperor was the head of all branches of the Roman government. This model of rulership had a religious element: since Augustus, the Roman religious office of *pontifex maximus* was incorporated into the office of Emperor. Thus the Emperor was also Rome's highest priest and the head of the Imperial cult.[1]

Before the conversion, the Emperor's capacity as *pontifex maximus* had existed with only implied theocratic sanction; afterwards he reigned with the explicit grace of God. Constantine cast himself as God's appointed regent on earth. Therefore, from then on disobeying the Emperor was considered not just treason but also sacrilege. It was during this period that the theocratic theory of power exerted itself on the hearts and minds of Romans. The theocratic theory stated that all power originated from God.[2] Thus all power on earth was delegated by God, first to the Emperor, and downwards after that. Constantine and other Roman Emperors after him strengthened the office by closely associating it with Christianity: first, by establishing various forms of political influence within ecclesiastical structures, and second, by instituting material transformations in the society itself. This was done in obvious ways such as calling and convening over Church councils and in more subtle ways such as government buildings being built in the shape of a cross. Constantine lavished wealth and endowments on the Christian clergy and they became immensely wealthy as a result.[3] They were only too happy to return the favour to Constantine and his successors and a reciprocal relationship was formed between the two groups.[4] It

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[1] Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC – AD 337),* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Ca. Ltd, 1977), 359-361.
[2] Walter Ullmann, *A History of Political Thought: The Middle Ages* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1965), 13.
[3] Timothy Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2011), 84.
[4] Ullmann, 20.

was this inclusion of the Romano-Christian tradition of rulership that was co-opted by the Germanic warlords during the dissolution of the Western Roman Empire in an effort to legitimize themselves.

The concept of the Germanic warrior-ruler ethos is the most difficult of the three to examine because it is the least documented. Most of the best sources on it were written from the perspective of a Christian examining the lives and culture of pagans; Tacitus' *Germania* is an excellent example.[5] Despite this, Tacitus' *Germania* provides an admirable exposition of the warrior code and ethos upon which the *comitatus* (the following of military warriors) stood upon. This ethos is nowhere more evident than in the *Germania* of Tacitus where he describes the motivations the Germans have during battle: "the chieftains fight for victory, the entourage for the chieftain… one would not maintain a large retinue except by violence and war."[6] Thus the Germanic social institution of the *comitatus* not only supports the subordination of warriors to a single military strongman but also the conflicts and wars necessary to support this band of warriors.[7] Radically different from the Roman conception of authority, however, is the Germanic populist theory wherein the Germans elected a military leader for the season's campaign. This election is significant for several reasons: first, because the leader was elected for a specific amount of time, those following the war-leader only surrendered their rights for a specified limit of time; second, because the leader was elected, resistance was an inherent right rather than treasonous and sacrilegious (as in the theocratic theory).[8]

Rather than being concerned with making war and meting out justice as was the case in its later manifestations, leadership in

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[5] David Herlihy, *The History of Feudalism* (New York: Walker and Company, 1970), 69.
[6] Tacitus, *Germania,* trans. Herbert W. Benario (Warminster: Aris & Phillips LTD, 1999), 27-29.
[7] Herlihy, 81.
[8] Ullmann, 12.

pre-migration Germanic society was composed of two individuals, *thiudans* and *reiks*. The *thiudans* were primarily religious leaders while the *reiks* were primarily military leaders. During the Germanic migratory period the need upon Germanic society was for strong military leaders who could lead their people through the troubled times. The *reiks* thus absorbed the role of *thiudans*, assuming a quasi-religious function in a similar way that the Roman emperors did upon their absorbing of the office of *pontifex maximus*.[9]

Charlemagne was crowned, along with his brother Carloman, on Sunday 9th October 768. On that date he ascended to the then-shaky office of Frankish kingship. Charlemagne was only the second generation of Carolingian kings; his father Pepin the Short had dethroned the last Merovingian king. This recent deposition meant that the institutional ground which the office of Carolingian kingship stood upon was unstable indeed, not that kingships were ever truly institutionally secure. Charlemagne's father had begun a relationship with the Bishop of Rome in order to provide legitimacy for himself and his dynasty who were at this point not kings but merely Mayors of the Palace.[10] Thus the kingship which Charlemagne inherited was neither static nor stable. The Germanic and Romano-Christian elements of the Merovingian kingship were constantly being buttressed by further religious elements as Charlemagne became more and more involved as the protector of the Bishops of Rome.

Charlemagne's reign was characterized by incessant campaigning. Ruling from 768-814, almost every year included a campaign against a neighbouring people which had the effect of expanding Frankish power and hegemony.[11] Charlemagne pushed the boundaries of Frankish power past the Pyrenees into Spain, south across the Alps into Italy, and east against the Saxons and

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[9] Myers, 4-6.
[10] Ibid., 107.
[11] Roger Collins, *Charlemagne* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 43.

Avars.[12] Many of Charlemagne's conflicts, notably the conquest of Saxony, had a religious dimension. The conquest of Saxony was accompanied by mass baptisms almost as often as it included mass executions.[13] Furthermore, the more Charlemagne rode to the Pope's aid and fought the Vatican's battles the more he came to be seen as the secular head of Christendom,–formalized on the Christmas Day coronation of Charlemagne as Holy Emperor of the Romans. What exactly this new title entailed was not known at the time. The negotiation of rights and obligations between the Pope and Holy Roman Emperor would never truly be settled until Napoleon's dissolution of the title in 1806, although it would cause severe friction between Pope and Emperor long before then.

While at first glance Charlemagne's reign is only reminiscent of the Germanic warrior-leader figure, his kingship does contain many Romano-Christian elements as well. Indeed, the majority of kingship elements concerning royal authority and the formal legal authority of the sovereign are Romano-Christian, while only those concerning the military ventures and role of the king are Germanic. The annual springtime assembly of Charlemagne's reign where judicial matters would be discussed amongst Charlemagne's most powerful ecclesiastical and lay magistrates is one such Germanic carry-over.[14] The most important aspect of this meeting was of course its military function. At this meeting of great lords Charlemagne would deliberate and discuss where the army would head that season. The degree to which these meetings were democratic (where lords could voice their displeasure at the king's choice) is unfortunately not known. It is, however, important to note that in Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* it is written that upon the death of Charlemagne's father Pippin "the Franks called a solemn public assembly, and elected both of them [Charlemagne and his brother Carloman] to

[12] Chris Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 378.
[13] Collins, 56-57.
[14] Ibid., 18.

be kings."[15] This seems to suggest that the Frankish nobility did exercise a significant degree of power in these assemblies. However, whether or not this power was limited to approving or disapproving the monarch's actions is not evident. Furthermore, upon the death of Carloman, Charlemagne "was made sole king with the consent of all the Franks."[16] This form of succession whereby a ruler needs to obtain consent from his subjects is, in essence, very Germanic. Whether or not the assembly ever actually rejected a candidate for the kingship is irrelevant. Through the formal process of giving consent and electing their king, Charlemagne's vassals gave themselves the legal right to resist him if they felt their king was neglecting or abusing his power. This is a perfect example of how Charlemagne's kingship occupies an ambiguous position between the theocratic and populist theories of authority. In theory, at least since Charlemagne was elected to his kingship, he could be lawfully resisted, but first as king and then as an emperor who claimed to derive his royal authority from God himself, he was unlikely to see it this way. Charlemagne's relationship with the Church and Papacy can be viewed in this light as well. By strengthening his relationship to the Church, Charlemagne attempted to transform his kingship from one deriving authority democratically to one derived through God himself.[17]

Although all of the primary sources written about Charlemagne attribute intense personal piety in his monetary donations to the Church, the calculative political benefits of this act cannot be overlooked. By strengthening the ties between himself and the Church Charlemagne was allying himself with the learned and intellectual elite of the time. This gave him the support he needed to run the increasingly complex administrative positions of his kingdom as he continued to transition from a Germanic peripatetic kingship towards one based around cultural,

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[15] Einhard, *The Life of the Emperor Charles*, tr. A. J. Grant (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, INC., 1966), 11.
[16] Ibid., 12.
[17] Ullmann, 54-55.

economic, and political capital. This would be accomplished to some degree when Charlemagne settled towards the end of his life at Aachen.[18] By making Aachen his capital Charlemagne centered the cultural life of his empire within one location, but it was never more than that. Due to limitations in communication and transportation it was impossible for Aachen to be a center of political and economic life, in a way analogous to Rome in the former Roman Empire.

Of all of Charlemagne's actions, none were more reminiscent of the Roman Empire than his capitularies.[19] Through promulgating and enforcing laws Charlemagne was beginning to enforce the concept that his subjects had a commonality of interests. Although this commonality would be completely destroyed in the civil wars of Charlemagne's grandsons and the Viking invasions occurring at the same time, his commitment to this ideal cannot be discounted. In the administration of his empire Charlemagne used royal agents, or *missi,* to supervise and act in the king's name throughout his territory. Although the *missi* would often be drawn from the local nobility in the area they acted in, they answered directly to the emperor.[20] The use of *missi* was clearly an attempt to break the chokehold that his great landed magnates had in local affairs. The dominance of these great and powerful men in local affairs wherein the word of an absent emperor held little sway was the reason why Charlemagne's empire was nothing more than a massive and unwieldy oligarchy.[21] With an empire so vast, and lines of communication and travel so weak, royal authority extended only so far as Charlemagne's sword.

Because Charlemagne was forced by necessity to execute his campaigns with an army raised through an annual feudal levy, the nature of his conflicts were primarily Germanic. This meant they were waged for a limited duration of time and were waged

[18] Wickham, 383.
[19] Ibid., 385.
[20] Ibid., 389.
[21] Ibid., 388.

with correspondingly limited objectives. However while the execution of Charlemagne's campaigns was significantly more Germanic than Roman, the reasons for several conflicts (i.e. the Saxon Wars) were Romano-Christian. Unlike a Germanic campaign wherein the primary objective is plunder, Charlemagne's Saxon Wars had the additional aim of spreading Christianity. Where a Germanic chieftain would have only devastated the land of a defeated people, Charlemagne built churches and created new vassals through the endowment of freshly conquered land. Additionally, wintering his army south of the Alps in Italy was an ambitious action for Charlemagne. Rather than waging war as a Germanic chieftain, it is a key example of him attempting to do so on the scale of a Roman emperor.

Of all the Roman and Christian elements of Charlemagne's kingdom, some he consciously adopted during his lifetime whereas others had long since been elements of Frankish kingship. Beginning almost as soon as the Franks entered the geo-political arena of the Western Roman Empire, the Franks began to adopt elements of Romano-Christian rule in an attempt to legitimize themselves. This was originally done to solidify the chieftainship in an effort to make the position hereditary but soon spread to all aspects of rulership. Thus the shift from Germanic chieftainship to feudalism represents in most cases a move towards greater royal authority and increased centralization in the territorial domain of the ruler. The power and influence wielded by a Germanic ruler would always be localized because of the technical limitations in the west during the post-Roman Empire period.

Therefore, an argument can be made that although Charlemagne inherited a primarily Germanic kingship, he (just as his father and grand-father before him) introduced Romano-Christian elements into it in an attempt to strengthen the foundations upon which Frankish kingship stood. This adoption of any and all elements of rule which supported the theocratic theory of authority in place of populist theory did far more for the strength and security of Charlemagne's kingship than his coronation as the Holy Emperor of the Romans.

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