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Peer

Sparagmos and Omophagia as Representations of Cultural Inversion in Dionysian Ritual and Myth

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No single Greek god even approaches

> Scholars tend to forget, or deny, that it is Dionysus, and not the maenads, who takes pleasure in this bloody diet. The Dionysus who hunts, kills, and devours his victims raw is the same Dionysus whom Alcaeus knew as -raw eater and who seems to underlie a divine ILJXUH RI *UHHN P\WK ZKRZQ DV =DJUHXV ³W JUHDW KXQWHU´ 'HVSLWH LWV REVFXULW\ WKH Milesian inscription hardly allows the interpretation that the omophagios was eaten by the priestess or other participants in the public sacrifice.[19]

In emulating the Zagreus myth the Maenads hoped to communicate with Dionysus, which Naiden considers to be the most important goal of any sacrificial act.[20] But we must remember that, while ³UDZQHVV´ LQKHUHQWO\ EOXUV WKH OLQH EHWZHHQ PDQ DQG beast, there are practical reasons to stay within those bounds. Ekroth suggests that the presence of a raw offering acted to underscore the sheer power in the divinity, since the offering could be consumed by the god with ease, but by humans with deeply negative health consequences.[21] While several scholars dismiss the omophagia in a variety of ways (by VWDWLQJ WKDW LW GLGQ¶W KDSSHQ WKDW LW ZDV D PLQRU I of worship, or that it was just another strange form of sacrifice), it should be acknowledged that the participants of the act likely attached a deeply

Dionysus not only emulate the Zagreus myth (and, some scholars have proposed, adopt the power and fertility of the god by consuming his flesh), but also shatter their place in civilized society; they run to the mountains with him, becoming beasts themselves.[32] Their celebration outside of the polis reinforces this, and physically removing themselves from markers of civilization removes them ideologically. Further problematic is the type of animal the Maenads covet for their omophagia. The emphasis on the tearing apart of wild animals over domestic ones further acts to remove them from the state-sanctioned, acceptable Olympian cultic paradigms. In traditional rituals, wild animals were almost never offered to the gods. There are two types of animals: those reared for human consumption and use, and those hunted down for the harm they can cause. In consuming the latter, the Maenads disregard the DQLPDOV WKDW ³H[LVW ZLWK WKH JRRG RI PDQ LQ PLQG´[33] The maenadic process involved spontaneity around seizing the wild animal from the wilderness like a hunter instead of going through the slow and UL JRURXV SURFHVV RI SLFNLQJ D ³FKRLFH´ GRPHVWLF animal from a selection.[34] This was at odds with the idea that the only animals man should consume are those that they can control the reproduction of, to reassert their position in the hierarchy between beasts and gods. Wild, just like raw, denotes a certain measure of distance from the domestic and from the GRPLQDQFH RI WKH ³FLYLOL]HG´ As described above, this rawness was in ³GHILDQFH RI DOO *UHHN and DOLPHQWDU\ FRGHV´[35] was the motivation behind the refusal of unpolished Promethean sacrificial norms? In worshipping Dionysus (both the great civilizer and the great destroyer of civility), participants subvert civic expectations and, in the same motion, reinforce them. Through their use of their own hands for tearing the animal, they show the importance of tools; in the eating of raw flesh, they show the sophistication of the cooked; in eating of wild animals, they show the benefit of domestication; in becoming human. The hypothetical purpose of the state-sanctioned ritual of sparagmos and omophagia was to communicate these social boundaries and provide a sense of order and unity in defining the boundaries WKH\ ³WUDQVJUHVV -DQ]HQ DUJXH WR convince [participants] that one way of looking at the organization of the cosmos is superior to others, and... because the world is this way, they should act in DFFRUGDQFH ZLWK WKH PRUDOLW\[36] While many of the Olympian sacrificial ri sta RI LF

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[32] Otto, Dionysus: Myth and Cult, 105-106; Segal, ³7KH 5DZ DQG WKH &RRNHG´

[33] 'HWLHQQH ³&XOLQDU\ 3UDFWLFHV´

[34] For an example of the process involved in picking a GRPHVWLF VDFULILFLDO DQLPDO VHH ³5HOLJLRXV &DOHQGDU &RV mid-IRXUWK &HQWXU\ Greek Sacrificial Inscriptions: 404-323 BC, eds. P. J. Rhodes and Robin Osborne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 292-303.

[35] Goff, Citizen Bacchae, 271.

> ...both men and women are more or less satisfied; neither sex loses face and the official ideology of male supremacy is preserved. From this perspective, the tolerance by men of periodic, but always temporary, assaults on their authority by women appears as they have to pay to maintain their enviable position.[47]

Once the indulgence is over, the dominant members of society can comfortably reassert their position in the hierarchy because they have not allowed the ritual to progress too far into a state of permanence, but only far enough as to allow the women to experience a temporary release from the shackles of societal expectations. The women eventually return home to their previously held positions, and the discomfort of the inversion is accepted for a period of time because it is necessary to preserve the status quo.

Where does this leave us? Even if the maenadic cult did not actively careen through the forest, tearing beasts apart and devouring their flesh, imagining the act provided Greeks with some uncomfortable, if necessary, reassessments of the symbolic and ideological issues inherent in their society. The purpose of this work has not been to assess whether or not omophagia or sparagmos actually occurred historically (although this was addressed), but rather to assess what it means that the Greeks imagined that it did. So many of the processes involved in the ritual tested the boundaries of civilization, and examined how fragile they truly were. In addressing the ritualistic consumption of raw flesh, they addressed the anxieties and binaries that were integral to the formation (and decay) of their civilized society. In rejecting the Promethean sacrificial paradigm for that of the Zagreus myth, the position of man in the hierarchy between gods and beasts was identified, questioned, and solidified. The maenadic orgia effectively highlighted the binaries between raw and cooked, bestial and civilized, wild and domestic that the rest of society worked so hard to distance itself from. Vital to the ritual was the freedom from subjugation that female worshippers

Hesiod, Works and Days. Trans. by Hugh Evelyn-White. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914.
Hippocrates, Collected Works I: On Ancient Medicine. Trans. by W.H.S. Jones. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1866.
Homer, The Iliad. Trans. by A.T. Murray. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924.
Janzen David. Social Meanings of Sacrifice in the Hebrew Bible. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019.

scholars in the contemporary world, this does not equate with it being unique or atypical in the ancient world. It is more than possible that rules like those found in Andania were often followed in religious circumstances without being written down. For this reason, scholars can find evidence of similar practices and even written regulations which reflect the complex interplay of social rules as they applied to ancient dress.

In this first argument, the sixteen lines which regulate dress in the Sacred Law of Andania will be discussed by type of clothing regulation and compared to a collection of 12 other religious clothing regulations from the ancient Greek world. Two graphics will provide background to this

them on this section.[11] 0 H \ H U ¶ V W U D Q V O D W H [3] W K H P H Q Z K R D U H L Q L W L D W H G stand barefoot and wear white clothing, and the women are to wear clothes that are not W U D Q V S Whereas Meyer[12] translates it this way, 0 L O O V W U D Q V O D W H V W K L V O L Q F R P S O H W L Q J W R E G P \ D Z H U Q W L [13] E H L Q J L Q [14] P H Q D V L Q 0 H \ H U ¶ V W U D Q V O D W L the women to wear coloured clothing. This would have had a very different social connotation since coloured clothing is not a117(no20.74 7(no)5(t)-1f7l)-2(

Figure 2: Clothing Regulations in Ancient Greece

Colour and Transparency in Clothing

In the Sacred Law of Andania, all of the initiates are to wear white clothing and women are not to wear transparent fabrics. Three English translations have been consulted on the clothing regulations in this text and there is some discrepancy between

6 R F L D O & R Q V W U X F W L R Q D W $ Q G D Q L D ´

W K D W * D Z O L Q V N L D Q G & X O K D P ¶ V W U D Q V O D W L R Q V D U H F R U U H because the wearing of white was common in Greek religious rituals for both men and women. The concern here appears to be one of ritual purity. Other religious clothing regulations may not call for white clothing, but require clothing to be clean for ritual purity.[19] Gawlinski comments that white would have stood apart from daily clothing to mark that it was a festival.[20] If all the initiates wore the same colour, it also would have contributed to the visual conformity of the initiates, especially during the procession which had a performance-like nature to it.

Transparent clothing was restricted for women at Andania. Transparent clothing was made of silk which gave it the appearance of transparency.[21] Andrew Dalby discusses a connection between transparent fabrics and hetairai, a prostitute of the higher classes. In his discussion, he gives an example of a law from the city of Lepreae in which adulteresses were to wear a transparent dress for eleven days in the marketplace as punishment.[22] While transparent dress may have been worn by hetairai, the fabric must also have been worn by other women or else it would not be explicitly proscribed in Andania. Later in the inscription, transparent clothing is once again forbidden to the sacred daughters in the procession, but this is specified to the himation only. The himation was worn over the chiton, and perhaps transparent himations were fashionable yet still modest since they were worn over another garment. The purpose of this regulation would appear to be modesty,

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The Myth and Reality of Homeric Seafaring

BRANDON FRANCIS

O G \ V V H X V ¶ H S L F M R X U Q H \ K R P H I U R P 7 U R \ K D V fascinated readers and Homeric scholars for centuries due to its fantastical setting, mythological creatures, and fictional technologies. Throughout the epic many recurring themes appear but predominant among them are hospitality and loyalty. Though + R P H U ¶ V Odyssey has many such themes, the sea, µ . 1 a ¶ seafaring underscore the entire poem. 7 K H H S L F Q D U U D W H V 2 G \ V V H X V ¶ R E V W D F O H V Z K L O H V D L O L Q J Ultimately, it is the unpredictability of the weather at sea which triggers his wanderings throughout the

practices, structures, and beliefs of both worlds; the P\WKLFDO SDVW DQG +RPHU¶V FRQWHPSRUDU\ W %HIRUH H[DPLQLQJ +RPHU¶V GHVFULSWLRQ RI VKLSV LW is important to look at Late Bronze Age archaeology to better understand what seafaring was like in the Aegean. The archaeology for this period reveals a world extensively connected through commercial trade. The Ulu-Burun is one of the earliest

When the tools, stages, and construction method are considered, the type of vessel Homer describes

The scene depicted is only part of a larger scene which shows a man standing on a bird-head ornament of a large ship.[23] The ship depicted on this shard is more elaborate in decoration than Homeric ships. Homer describes a more basic prow solidly SDLQWHG VXFK DV WKRVH GHSLFWHG RQ WKH µ#.)Œ!ó!"¶ mean bird-stemmed ships did not exist in the era which Homer is drawing on. Homer may have[24] Although this does not FKRVHQ WKH µ#.)Œ!ó!"¶ HSLWKHW VLPSO\ EHFDXVH

leading her by[38] The type of ship seems similar to the ships illustrated on a relief from the Temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, which depicts a sea battle between the Sea Peoples and the Egyptians (Figure 7).

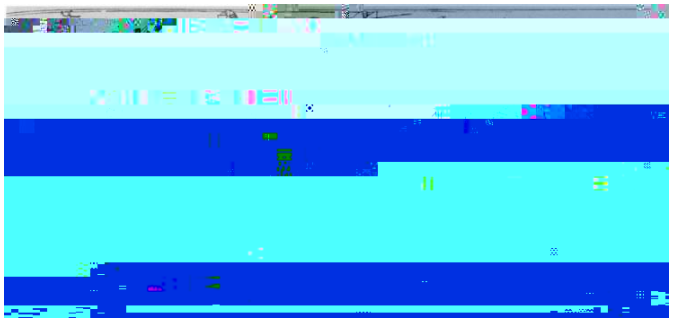

Figure 7: Battle between Egyptian Forces and the Sea Peoples from a relief in the Temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. (Raban).

2G\VVHXV¶ VKLS FDQ UHDVRQDEO\ EH GHGXFHG WR EH D 50-oared galley by the number of men Homer GHVFULEHV LQ KLV FRPSDQ\ GXULQJ D FRXQFLO RQ &LUFH¶V LVODQG [3], FallX qyW strong-hearted companions into two divisions, and appointed a leader for each, I myself taking one, while godlike Eurylochos had the other. Promptly then we shook the lots in a brazen helIhook llho055004C>ullhook 0003 [(then)-6ddn>ullho 000M-w6anere-ed Eurylochos angut.s enenton ithC>u3819ThlIho, yad compae and hHoe lerre, mni(ng)]TJ /C2_0 12 Tf T* [<0045004F>-2<00460052001100B4>]TJ ET q 0.001 -0.061 6 mTaki(ng -5231din39(to)5231cionvi)-3dheon 5249six, companionswhchC>u160(ham)4( )514((een)161slay(ed)514(by)598ok 0003 [(59(Cycp)6(on39peis)]TJ T* [Poly) 2G\VVHXV¶ ee0M-w6a5234(isphi)-4r(ed)532[(frr)-3um)8w6a5234ok 0003 [(523450)-0[0-oared ssrlsIho,

Herodotus the Scientist

NICHOLAS GILL

indicative of his knowledge of Hippocratic medicines:

> Herodotus is at least using the technical vocabulary of the Hippocratics and accepting their preoccupations with the adverse effects of mucus[22] in the head . . .On the Sacred Disease, for instance, sees phlegm flowing from the brain as a main cause of epilepsy. [Airs, Waters, Places] talks about cities ³H[SRVHG WR KRW ZLQGV´ FDXVLQJ PXFXV LQ WKH head, DQG ODWHU GHDOV ZLWK ³SKOHJP GHVFHQGLQJ from the brain because of moistness of (phlegmatic) constitutions. Later in [Airs, Waters, Places], in fact, we find the Scythians attributed with a similar practice of cauterization because of the moistness of their FRQVWLWXWLRQ 6R +HURGRWXV¶ UHPDUNV DERXW WKH Libyans express the type of preoccupation with phlegm that is t.P <han2(e)30((of)oufind)-22main e3(a516yin)-1((gm)edcti)-2a4(l)]TJ EMC /P <</MC t 5-6 1(is 5-226(a)taut)-(tributed 5-6 1(in)-12ano(at)-he(ar)-2(524(wogm)rk,ed 5-6 6([])]TJ EMC /P <</MCI3825 >

animals in his account; a notable example is a giant worm that drags other animals into the Indus River to devour them.[31]

Despite the fact that Aristotle was a critic of Herodotus, he LQFOXGHG PDQ\ RI +HURGRWXV¶ observations in his own works,[32] including unexpected ones, such as the flying serpents of Arabia.[33] :KHQ $ULVWRWOH DJUHHV ZLWK +HURGRWXV¶ observation, as is the case with the flying serpents, he does not name his source, but the opposite occurs if Aristotle disagrees with +HURGRWXV ³)LVK HUP repeated WHOO WKH VLOO\ RIW story about the conception of the fish, which we find in Herodotus the fable teller as well, how fish conceive by swallowing the milt; they do not perceive that this LV LPSRVVLEOH´[34] Aristotle harshly criticizes Herodotus here;[35] KHUH KH LV D #) " D ³IDEOH WHOOHU´ ZKLFK VKDUSO\ FRQWUDVWV ZLWK KLV purpose of B12 ! . ³KLVWRULFDO QDUUDWLYH´ RU ³LQTXLU\´

After Aristotle, ancient authors treat Herodotus with more respect. Pliny, for example, follows +HURGRWXV¶ REVHUYDWLRQV XQOHVV WKH\ FRQWUDVW ZLWK Aristotle. Pliny notes that a Herodotean story about lion reproduction is common knowledge in his time.[36] +H VWDWHV WKDW ³, VHH WKDW PRVW SHRSOH WKDW WKH lioness gave birth to a cub since her womb was lacerated by its sharp claws. Aristotle tells a different version, and since I think he ought to have first say in these matters I intend to follow him for the most SDUW´[37] Aristotle, unsurprisingly, was the foremost biologist of antiquity, but Smith argues that Pliny suggests that Herodotus is a close second:

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[31] Phot. Bibl. 72.49a.

[32] Such as the crocodile (Hdt. 2.68–69; Arist. Hist. an. 492b24; 502b35–503a4; 503a8–14; 558a17–25; 612a20–23), and the hippopotamus (Hdt. 2.72; Arist. Hist an. 302a9–15).

[33] Hdt. 2.75–76; 3.107–9; Aris. Hist. an. 490a6–490a12.

[34] Arist. Gen. an. 756b5–16. Trans. Stephan Michael Smith.

[35] 6PLWK ZULWHV ³+HURGRWXV¶ GRHV QRW SUHVHQW KLV PDWHULDO least his material on the spawning of fish, as a folk tale or fable; he believes it himself and asserts its truth, thus inviting harsh criticism from Aristotle . . . Herodotus is therefore considered by Aristotle to be . . . dangerous . . . because he SUHWHQGV WR EH ZULWLQJ IDFWV DQG QRW PHUH ¶µVWRULHV¶´ 6PLWK 1992, 163.

[36] Hdt. 3.108.

[37] Plin. HN. 8.43. Trans. Stephen Michael Smith.

he is quite familiar with Persian lands and customs.[41] Herodotus's descriptions are generic and schematic. When Herodotus speaks about India, Arabia, Scythia, and Libya, he has fantastic observations: India is home to giant gold digging ants,[42] Arabia to the aforementioned frankincense guarding flying serpents,[43] Scythia to werewolves,[44] and Libya to the Lotus-Eaters.[45]

The Histories has four main zoological digressions: Book II includes a discussion of the fauna of Egypt,[46] Book III contains an overview of India and Arabia,[47] Book IV contains two digressions: the first is on Scythia,[48] and the second on Libya.[49] In addition to these major discussions, Book I also contains several scattered digressions on different faunas centered on the Ionian coast. I begin my examination with Greek, Persian, and Lydian in Book I, and move outwards to Egypt, before I end at the frontiers with India, Arabia, Scythia, and Libya.

The fauna of Greece receives hardly any attention from Herodotus. In general, however, the Greeks are often associated with fish or other sea creatures[50] because of their sea power, which stands in contrast with Persian land power:

> As soon as the Lydians had been conquered by the Persians, the Ionians and Aeolians sent messengers to Cyrus at Sardis to convey their wish to be subject to him on the same terms on which they had formerly been subject to Croesus. Cyrus heard their proposal and responded by telling them a story. There was a flute player, he said, who saw some fish in the sea and played his flute to them, thinking they would come out onto the land. But when his expectation proved to be mistaken, he took a fishing net, caught a great number of fish in it, and pulled them out of the sea. Then, watching the fish writhe and quiver on the ground, he said to them, 'Stop dancing now, since you refused to come out and dance before, when I played my flute to you.' Cyrus told this story to the Ionians and Aeolians because they had refused to obey the messengers he had sent to them asking them to rebel, so since he had completed the Lydian affair without their help, he was quite angry that they should now be ready and willing to obey him.[51]

Herodotus explicitly implies that the Ionians are represented as the fish in this passage, and that Cyrus told them this story to demonstrate their behaviour to him. The Ionians did not revolt from Kroesus when Cyrus asked them to, just as the fish did not dance. When, however, Kroesus was conquered, the Ionians went to Cyrus and began to cooperate with him again, like the fish, which began to dance once they were dragged ashore. This passage also highlights the land power of the Persians; the piper represents Cyrus himself, and he conquers the Greek sea power with land power by dragging them onto the land with his net.

Persian land power is represented through a variety of animals, and most notably the horse. Not only of Persian military power but of their land power in particular. The antithesis between Persian land power and Greek sea power was obvious to Herodotus and consequently we need not search for further symbolism which emphasizes this association. As he says, the horse is most often associated with the Persians, and demonstrates their land power – but there are other instances where it performs the exact opposite. For example, Cyrus fears the cavalry of Kroesus because the Lydians are known for their excellent horsemanship.[52] This

[41] Wiesehöfer, "Persians," 162–185. Malden: Blackwell, 167–8.

[42] Hdt. 3.102–5.

[43] Hdt. 2.75–6; 3.107–9.

[44] Hdt. 4.105.

[45] Hdt. 4.177–8; Od. 9.82–104.

[46] Hdt. 2.66–76.

[47] Hdt. 3.98–114.

[48] Hdt. 4.17–36.

[49] Hdt. 4.168–99.

[50] Aelian's dolphin is a curious instance here. The animal seems to be associated with Greece and/or Italy, but its benevolent nature contrasts that of the Corinthians. Perhaps the dolphin is therefore a deus ex machina.

[51] Hdt. 1.141.1–4. Trans. Andrea L. Purvis.

[52] Smith, "Horse," 8–9; Vise, "Anatomy," 124–6; Nicolai, "Stud," 1–2.

[53] Hdt. 1.80.

audience as a means to underline this aspect of

degrees of barbarism in accordance with the Greek

6 P L W K 6 W H S K H Q 0 L F K D H O 8 V H R I + H U R G R W X V $ / L W H U D U \ (W K Q R J U D S K L F D Q G = R R O R J L F D O 6 W X G \ ´ ' R F W R U D O Thesis, The Ohio State University.

Thomas, Rosalind. 1999. Herodotus in Context: Ethnography, Science, and the Art of Persuasion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wieseh| I H U - R V H I ³ * U H H N V D Q G 3 H U V L D Q V ´ , Q Companion to Archaic Greece, edited by Kurt A. Raaflaub and Hans van Wees, 1-12. Malden: Blackwell.

Ambrose and the Aftermath of the Battle of Adrianople

During the \HDUV RI *UDWLDQ V UHLJQ $PEURVH¶V favor of Gratian played a pivotal role in Ambrose's rise in social status and respect within the empire. In ERRN , , RI $PEURVH¶V Hexameron, he writes a remarkable passage regarding the implications of the battle and the character of the current emperor:

> "But enough already, omnipotent god, have we absolved the deaths of confessors, the exiles of

ZLWK 9DOHQV¶ GHDWK WR GUDZ FRQFOXVLRQV DERXW ZKDW happened to the emperor. In understanding whether Ambrose was referring to Valens in his De Fide passage (2.141142), the way in which Ambrose attributes Valens' death to be divine intervention becomes apparent.[22] Ambrose, however, was not the only author to imply that divine intervention was the cause of his death. Ambrose used the word ³DEVROYHG´ LQ UHIHUHQFH WR 9DOHQV DQG VWDWHG WKDW ³WKRVH ZKR YLRODWHG WKH IDLWK FDQQRW EH VDIH $V such, Ambrose appeared to be using the death of Valens and the events leading up to his death as a way to warn subsequent successors of the divine punishment accorded to those that did not support Christian beliefs.

Writers from the period of Valens' death report two differing versions of the event, both of which appear in the early writings directly following the battle. The first story was that he died on the battlefield and simply disappeared, and the second WKDW KH ZDV FDUULHG WR D QHDUE\ SHDVDQW¶V FRWWDJH which was soon after burned to the ground by Goths. At the end of Book 31 Ampo6p319(the)]TJ T* 6t

Laeti: A Revaluation

JOHN STEVEN MOONEY

6HWWOHPHQWV RI µEDUEDULDQ¶ WULEHV E\ WKH 5RPDQ Empire had long been an established tradition by the fourth century A.D. Because of the need for labour ±both agricultural workers and soldiers -- a strong institutional method had been established to exploit foreign peoples for the purposes of the Roman state. 6FKRODUV KDYH ORQJ IROORZHG 'H 6WH &URL[¶V interpretation of migrants into the Roman Empire.[1] In an attempt to understand the methods employed and the outcomes of late Empire settlements, many different perspectives have been offered.

These statuses could range from slaves or the similarly understood coloni (i.e., tenant farmers tied WR D ULFK OD QGRZQHU¶V estate) to LPSHULDO ODQGV Sarmatians were deemed by Constantine after they entered as supplicants.[2] This method was one of the most common for the Roman government and most agreeable, as it gave them unlimited reign in the placement and number of peoples for each region, as well as augmenting any destitute areas with new, hereditary labour. It is critical to understand that these people were humiliores, the less privileged of later Roman society, as well as deditcii (conquered people) ±a truly deplorable lot.[3]

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with those of other groups in similar positions barbarians entering the Roman Empire for military service. As will later be addressed and argued, the position of the laeti were quite favourable to both parties (those receiving this status and the Roman government), and appears to be a successful method of settlement that was eventually eroded by the expedients of Adrianople. Primarily, this SURFHGXUH ZLOO EH FRQVLGHUHG IURP D µERWWRP approach by focusing on the consequences for the

of these points. As for soil exhaustion, the laeti were settled primarily on agri deserti which, lying fallow before their settlement, was likely reinvigorated. As shown through the sources, the territories of Gaul still seemed productive until the late fifth century and WKXV WKH µH[KDXVWLRQ RI WKH VRLO¶ GRHV QRW IROORZ E\ put aside. In addition, as Rosenstein shows, having a missing (serving in the military) family member generally helps agricultural subsistence.[22] These were the exact circumstances of the laeti, as their obligation to send one family member to the army may have helped overall agricultural production. The burden of taxation is not applicable to the laeti (although in a broader sense military service was a sort of tax), since by this period veterans were exempt from the general tax dated to the reign of Constantine.[23] Since all laeti were soldiers, and thus eventually veterans, these communities were almost entirely exempt from traditional taxation methods (though new families were not). Therefore, based on this evidence the laeti seem to have been excluded from the general distress that other farmers, landowners, and peasants were facing. However, the archaeological record needs further expansion for a clearer picture.

Now I would like to turn to the obligations the laeti had. The focus will be on their hereditary status of serving as soldiers. Though this seems oppressive, it does not seem exceptional compared to other settlement statuses. An excellent starting point is to mention that the laeti were serving in either the scholae or at the very least among the comitatenses ±both positions of relative privilege in the Roman army structure.[24] These soldiers, serving under their Germanic chief, would have access to the court and emperor.[25] The social position of these soldiers should not be understated, as not only are they not paying taxes, but rarely did they face opposition which could completely threaten them.[26] In other words, Adrianople was one of the only battles in ZKLFK WKHVH UHJLPHQWV ZHUH GHIHDWHG RXWVLGH RI E war. In comparison, the status of a soldier serving during the Roman Republic was likely more difficult, with higher casualty rates.[27]

The next point of discussion, and the most ideologically motivated (interpreting the past to present a political DJHQGD LV WKH F cohesion of the laetic settlements. Regarding the overall prospects of the settlement system, the traditional interpretation has been largely negative. 5DPVH\ 0F0XOOHQ from Z1 such Hallen WKDW enclaves must certainly have radiated cultural forces long undiminished; into such enclaves Roman manners could penetrate only with difficulty. Surely some traces of them must remain for the DUFKDHRORJLVW[28] To JLVW Müllen writes appears ideologically driven. However, this view is a natural conclusion (in my opinion) when reading source material and having a sympathetic view of Roman position.

The philosopher and cultural critic Slavoj Zizek warns us of this dangerous projection unto the past WKDW 0F0XOOHQ¶V mistakes Slavoj Zizek writes that these views can ³VXVWDLQ contemporary vision of the need to defend the secular and civilized West against the barbarian Third World onslaught, and warns against harbouring any illusions about their peaceful LQWHJUDWLYH[29] Zizek explicitly mentions Ward-

[22] 5RVHQVWHLQ 1DWKDQ ³:DU DQG WKH /LIH &\FOHV RI)DPLOLHV 7KUHH 0RGHOV RI :DU Rosenstein, War: Farms, Families, and Death in the Middle Republic (Chapel Hill: University of North Caroline Press, 2004), 68-106. I acknowledge that this study LV XVHG IRU WKH µ0LGGOH 5HSXEOLF¶ EXW WKH FRPSDUDWLYH HYLGHQFH utilized by Rosenstein still, I believe, provides an excellent new interpretation of the position laeti may have had with a missing family member i.e. the patriarch serving in the military.

[23] CTh 7.10.3.

[24] Ammianus Marcellinus 20.9.1-3. Laeti are presumed here to be severing personally under the emperor Julian and offered as a bargain to Constantius II.

Looking atthe historical record, especially that of Ammianus Marcellinus, we see the distinct loyalty and fighting spirit of the Germans serving in the Roman army. For example, the tribal groups that entered Roman territory and settled were now considered Roman and could not access the social networks from the other side of the Rhine or Danube. The story of Mallobaudes, who was killed during a usurpation of power, sheds light on the reliance that the settlers had on Rome. The µ) U D Q N L V K ¶ J H Q H U D O V against the J K W Y H U \ K D U V K O \ Alamanni and Goths, and not least against their own tribal brothers. But this was not the reason the path Mallobaudes had taken was closed to them; rather, as consuls and members of the pagan and Christian upper class they had cut themselves off completely I U R P W K H L U U R R W V [30]

> the draft and who ought to be enlisted in Our most excellent legions should obtain a testimonial letter conferring the rank of honorary imperial bodyguard or any high rank whatsoever, or if he should obtain those testimonial letters that are sometimes granted on the authority of the counts, he shall be given training in the recruit camps, so that he may not hide away.[37]

these groups are likely being actively sought after, as this period of stability brought a massive increase in WURRS QXPEHUV GXH WR 'LRFOHWLDQ (nearly doubling the army)[43]. Therefore, it seems that space was created for negotiation. This allowed immigrant Germans to have say in their legal position.

Germanic elites were entering the Empire during this period (the fourth century) to serve in the military, as the example of the Frankish king Mallobaudes demonstrates. These people and their retinues needed a status that was more generous than coloni. Another area of scholarship that we can turn to argues that Germanic tribes entered the Roman Empire peacefully in certain circumstances. This is entirely agreed upon. As such, Liebeschuetz says WKDW ³LQ YLHZ RI WKH VRFLDO VWDWXV RI WKH tribes it is likely that chieftains would be followed in the imperial army by considerable numbers of followers. German officers and perhaps German soldiers too had very good prospects of promotion, especially if they entered guard units (scholae) and became personally known to the emperor, and indeed to court—VRFLHW\ DV WKH *HUPDQ chiefs were likely negotiating status with the emperor or his court and in terms of settlements rather than being settled with no representation. When writing about Julian, Libanius mentions that PDQ\ µEDUEDULDQV ¶ ³DVNHG WR form part of his empire, judging it better to dwell beneath his sway than in their own country. They asked for land, DQG WKH\ JRW LW[45]. The text implies a voluntary agreement and one which serves the tribal group a better position than their pervious one.

When the Roman Empire began collapsing, this privilege that the laeti had through their connections in the army allowed them to provide for themselves. During the fifth century, the overall central authority lost its power in regions such as Gaul and the µEDUEDULDQ¶ JURXSV WRRN dating from 399 shows the system beginning to crack:

> Since persons of many nations seek the felicity of the Romans and have betaken themselves to Our Empire, and since laetic lands must be furnished them, no person shall obtain any of these lands except in accordance with Our special annotation. Since some men have either seized more land than they obtained from Us, or by the collusion of the chief 'HFXULRQ RU RI WKH [46]

Clearly, the ability for self-determination is not lost on the laetic people as their obligations to the Roman Empire are frayed. It is difficult to reconcile this passage with the previous one regarding their loyalty, though they are not exceptional by conducting such subversion. Rather, they are one of the symptoms that radically altered the Roman Empire.

Overall, the legal and social status of laeti was a stable method of settling soldiers who fought for the Roman Empire in the fourth century. The importance they had in defending the territories of the Empire and their close connections to patronage helped allow them to play a key role in society without eroding the larger social order that a position like foederati may have. Furthermore, comparisons of settlements outside of the Roman Empire allow stronger contextualization and assessment of the laeti as a stable policy that was mutually beneficial to the government and the laeti themselves. Comparisons such as this allow us to distance ourselves from the idea of Völkerwanderung and its baggage (consistently treating German settlements as separate, and unique). For example: Roman soldiers elsewhere in the Empire had dual identities, but German settlements are still seen in their own specific category. The laetic settlement was a long-term orientated policy that the Roman government employed for settling soldiers, and therefore we can ask ourselves: why did they slowly disappear? This perhaps is for another paper, as I am not wholly GRQYLQFHG WKDW WKH %DWWOH RI $GULDQRSOH (378 CE) or other economic and social factors.

Table 1.0 – Tribal Names of laeti, their Modern City Name, and the Ancient Province

Laetorum	Teutons, Chartres, Lugdunensis II

[43] Jones, Later Roman Empire, 57.

[44] Liebeschuetz, Barbarians and Bishops, 23.

[45] Libanius 18.75.

[46] Codex Theodosius

Laetorum Batavi and gentilium Suevi, Bayeux and Coutances, Lugdunensis II
Laetorum gentilium Suevi, Le Mans, Lugdunensis III
Laetorum Franks, Rennes, Lugdunensis III
Laetorum Lingones, diversa disersorum, Belgica I
Laetorum ??? (Astores), Carignan, Belgica I
Laetorum Nervii, Fammars, Belgica II
Laetorum Batavi, Arras, Belgica II
Laetorum Batvai, Condren and Noyon, Belgica II
Latetorum gentilium Suevi, Reims and Senlis, Belgica II
Laetorum Tungri, Tongres, Germania II
Laetorum gentilium Suevi, Clermont-Ferrand, Aquitania I

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ancient sources often speak of emperors planning

protect Roman-controlled territory better while threatening that of Persia.[14] The control of northern

frontiers before, inserting religious clauses in treaties made with the Goths and Sarmatians. One of his objectives might therefore have been to secure freedom of worship and proselytization for Christian inhabitants of the Persian Empire, as Constantine viewed himself the protector of Christians everywhere.[50] It is possible that he wished to repeat the successes of emperors in the second and third centuries by capturing Ctesiphon, the Sasanid capital. None of these emperors had attempted to annex southern Mesopotamia permanently (except for Trajan, who soon reneged and established a Parthian client king in Ctesiphon), so it is unlikely that the savvy and experienced Constantine would have attempted this clearly impractical feat. Despite this, to achieve security of the East against an entity as powerful as Sasanid Persia, Constantine had to plan an impressive show of force to cow them into submission. It is unknown whether he would have been successful in achieving a lasting settlement, as he died in 337 on his way to the East.

Constantius II: Facing Limitations

&RQVWDQWLXV¶ PLOLWDU\ SROLF\ KDG IHZHU UHVRXUFHV for an aggressive defense than that of his father, since Constantius faced constraints that Constantine had not. Constantius had been in the East since 335, when, as Caesar, he had held overall command to defend against the Persians.[51] After the death of Constantine in 337, the empire was divided among his three sons. This naturally entailed a division of the military forces of the empire, reducing &RQVWDQWLXV¶ VKDUH that had WKH ODUJH ILHOG DUPLHV EHHQ XQGHU &RQVWDQWLQH¶V FRQWURO PHDQLQJ WKDW DQ reinforcement from outside his sphere of control would require the cooperation of his brothers.[52] However, the three Augusti were rivals and did not trust one another, so, far from receiving reinfo UFHPHQWV &RQVWDQWLXV¶ PLOLWDU\ PDQSRZHU ZDV further drained, as he had to ensure the security of his internal borders.[53] 7KHUHIRUH &RQVWDQWLQH¶V SODQ for a large-scale invasion of the Persian Empire was abandoned. In support of the idea that Constantius was probably forced to make this decision due to an inadequacy of military resources, as opposed to any voluntary change in policy, it is worth noting that between the death of Constantine and the reign of Tiberius II only Julian would attempt a full-scale invasion of the Persian Empire, and he was one of the few emperors reigning during that period with the undivided resources of the Roman Empire at his command.[54]

Despite the restriction in resources with which he could fight offensive wars, it seems that Constantius ZDV GHWHUPLQHG WR FRQWLQX aggressive defense in the East as well as he could. First, since the full-scale invasion of Persian Mesopotamia hTiberius II IIt6us

[50] Blockley, East Roman Foreign Policy, 11-12.
[51] Julian. Or. 1.
[52] Blockley, East Roman Foreign Policy, 13.
[53] Blockley, East Roman Foreign Policy, 14.

with his internal borders in the Balkans and North Africa, Constantius was likely wary of committing what mobile forces he did have available in the East, and potentially suffering irreplaceable casualties in H Q J D J H P H Q W V E H \ R Q G 5 R P H ¶ V E R U G H U V , Q

in Cilicia, supposedly naming Julian, the last male member of the Constantinian dynasty, as his heir in his will.

Julian: Return to the Offensive

Having gained control of the entire Roman Empire in 361, Julian faced none of the constraints that had plagued Constantius when the latter had EHJXQ KLV UHLJQ 7KDQNV WR -XOLDQ¶V HIIRUWV LQ *DXO the Rhine frontier had been pacified, and he was popular with the soldiers. He was the last surviving member of the Constantinian dynasty, and Constantius had legitimized his claim to the throne by naming him heir in his will (or so the official story went). Constantius had also apparently succeeded in rebuilding the Roman field army after the devastating losses during the civil war with Magnentius. Julian was therefore free from the issues of limited military manpower, troubled frontiers in his rear, and the potential of usurpation, at least at this early point in his reign.

-XOLDQ¶V GRPHVWLF SROLFLHV UHSUHVHQWHG D UDGLFDO departure from those of his predecessors, but he was faced with the same challenge of an aggressive Persia in the East, and he chose to respond in the same way ²direct confrontation whenever possible. 7KH PRWLYDWLRQ IRU -XOLDQ¶V LQYDVLRQ RI 3HUVLD remains muddled by the rhetoric that surrounded it, hearkening back as it did to the conquerors of old, DQG VWHHSHG LQ 5RPH¶V WUDGLWLRQDO LGHRORJ\ RI universal empire.[66] $PPLDQXV VWDWHV WKDW -XOLDQ¶V motivations for war were revenge for the past misdeeds of Persians and a desire for glory.[67] As Caesar in Gaul, Julian had enjoyed great success in taking offensive against the Germanic tribes across

222 3: K H U H D U H W K H) U [illegible] The Roman Army RZ "´ , Q in the East, edited by David L. Kennedy, 25-42. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Cushing-Malloy Inc., 1996.

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)URP 3LJV WR 3OHRQH[LD $Q ([DPLQDWLRQ RI -X

HEATHER POECHMAN

Introduction

'HVSLWH 7KUDV\PDFKXV¶ FKDUJH DJDLQVW 6RFUDWHV DQG $GHLPDQWXV GHFODUHG 66RFUDWHV¶ DUJXPHQWV ¶ WDFLWO\ DFNQRZOHGJH WKH QJ nature of justice insufficient and wished to renew the debate with him in Book II. Both Glaucon and Adeimantus desire an account of justice that will prove it an intrinsically valuable virtue. Without WKLV WKH\ DUJXH M X V W L F H fa Z exceeds in badness the good of rewards and popularity which come from a good UHSXWDWLRQ´ D WKXV P D Q ndifiable to come to an valuable and its virtuous status vulnerable. Socrates SODFHV M X V W L F H ³« L Q W Kis Id of man as a selfish beast to be welcomed both for itself and for its consequences by any man who is so blessed with KDSSLQHVV´ D *ODXFRQ ZDUQV 6RFUDWHV WKLV LV not a popular opinion, and so he will need to provide an account of justice that proves its intrinsic value. Although Glaucon and Adeimantus do not themselves believe that justice is only valuable extrinsically, they provide a compelling argument for the life of the unjust man over the life of the just man.

Socrates recognizes that he is faced with the enormous task of creating an account of the nature and origin of justice. To aid in this endeavor he employs the use of a metaphor, using the creation of political justice in the city as a map for his structure of human justice in the soul. If he succeeds, Socrates will have proved the intrinsic nature of justice by incorporating it into the very structure of VRFLHW\ 6RFUDWHV¶ LQWURGXFWLRQ RI WKH KHDOWK\ FLW\ creates a problem with his analysis. For the city metaphor to be valid the city must be a complete city. The healthy city is presented as fully formed; however, it is later expanded upon through the creation of the feverish city. My essay offers an examination of these problems and provides an LQYHVWLJDWLRQ RI 3ODWR¶V FRQFHSWLRQ RI WKH KHDOWK\ city to further understand his theory about the nature of justice.

Justice as an Extrinsic Value

Glaucon and Adeimantus set the stage for Socrates' arguments by tacitly acknowledging the popular opinion of human nature at the time. They say that to be wrongs is bad, but the suffering of injury so exceeds the good of inflicting wrong that men, when they have the power to do so, establish laws and covenants between themselves (359a). This view of human nature paints a portrait of man as a selfish beast who seeks to obtain only the best for himself without concern for the consequences caused to others. However, when men

Socratic Conception of the Healthy City

pigs and refers to this city model as such (372e). Glaucon's subsequent response to *ODXFRQ¶V REMHFWLRQV 6RFUDWHV UHOXFWDQWO\ UHPDUNV ³9HU\ ZHOO«:H VKRXOG examine not only the birth of a luxurious city. This may not be a bad idea, for in examining such a one we might very well see how justice and injustice grows in the soul´ H 7KH luxurious city is an extension of the healthy city; an imagined version where the citizens are given more than what is necessary for a good life. With these luxuries, the citizens become gluttonous and the city becomes fevered from greed. The following section will examine in further depth the accounts of both types of cities as well as further investigate 6RFUDWHV¶ FODLPV DERXW KXPDQ QDWXUH DQG MXVWLFH

The Healthy City Problem

In founding the first imagined city, Socrates begins with a very different view of human nature than was provided earlier. Socrates remarks to $GHLPDQWXV ³, WKLQN D FLW\ FRPHV WR EH«EHFDXVH not one of us is self-sufficient, but needs many WKLQJV´ F WR ZKLFK $GHLPDQWXV DJUHHV ,W LV from this very statement forward that Socrates begins to construct a view of humans in their natural state very different from the one provided by Glaucon and Adeimantus. As we saw earlier, the account of popular opinion provided by Glaucon and Adeimantus portrayed man as a selfish nature whose interactions with others required a contract of law and justice that would restrain their selfish nature in favour of social order. Contrary to this view, Socrates is suggesting that man is not self-sufficient as his citizens lack the greed necessary for this. Glaucon and Adeimantus suggested that the selfish nature was overridden due to a lack of power and a fear of retribution; however, Socrates appears WR GLVDJUHH 6RFUDWHV VD\V ³«SHRSOH PDNH XVH RI one another for various purposes. Then, gathering many associates and helpers to live in one place, and to WKLV VHWWOHPHQW ZH JLYH WKH QDPH RI FLW\´ F %\ referring to others as associates and helpers, Socrates is creating a social order based on interdependency (and, it seems, a rather comfortable one). He later refers to this association with others DV ³«WKH YHU\ SXUSRVH IRU ZKLFK ZH HVWDEOLVKHG WKH FLW\´ E DQG LW LV EHFDXVH RI WKHVH LQWHUDFWLRQV

VRPH ZD\ LI WKHLU FLW\¶V KHDOWKLQHVV LV WKH HQG JRDO
Yet Socrates presents the feverish city as an expansion of the healthy city, leading us to wonder if the healthy city was truly fully formed, or if the feverish city is meant to be a different city entirely. Unfortunately, neither of those two options solves the philosophical problem Socrates is faced with.
6RFUDWHV¶ GHILQLWLRQ RI D IHYHULVK FLW\ VHW WKH VWDJ
for the examinations of justice through a city model for the rest of the *Republic* and already we can see how starkly different the two societies are. These differences are expanded upon in later books for
RXU DUJXPHQW¶V SXUSRVHV ZH KDYH IRFXVHG RQO\ RQ
the differences in Book II.

The role of combined strengths and the guardians
FUHDWHV D SDUDGR[EHWZHHQ 6RFUDWHV¶ WZR PRGHOV RI
justice within society. Socrates makes the combination of physical and intellectual strengths only possible in the feverish city because of the need for war.[5] It would appear that the combined nature of the guardians is their function and they are considered better than the other categories as this difference in nature makes them fit to rule (as is seen in the later books of the *Republic*). The introduction of the army into the feverish city signifies a lack of security as well as greed amongst its citize<</MCID 33 >> l/MCIuho2(ir)-5(expande)3(ina)-3(r)-e 16(for)-1899(t)-1899adei205((aing)-1899ah8

better served his argument if he had chosen only one of the societies to examine without mentioning WKH SRVVLELOLW\ RI WKH RWKHU $W EHVW 6RFUDWHV¶ FKRL is an acknowledgement that such answers of justice are not so easily reached as society is far more complex than a group of comrades living peacefully together. At worst, it is a philosophical mistake that counteracts his account of justice within his Republic society. The statements each model of a

The Evolution of Ophidian Imagery: From Positive to Pejorative Symbolism

RACHEL BAITZ

One of the most commonly found symbols in religions, spanning countries, periods, and deities, is the serpent. Ophidian symbols exist in countless religions, often associated with knowledge and the binaries of life. Through an examination focused on a few examples of serpent imagery found in the ancient cult of Asclepius, texts taken from the Jewish and Christian bibles, and other ancient sources, one can see how the serpent became the ultimate symbol for medicine and healing, despite the changing connotations of the snake. The snake lends itself to various symbolic interpretations due to its physiological traits; however, these same traits can be manipulated into opposing understandings, suiting one interpretation over another. Such interpretations have changed over thousands of years, evolving from positive to negative impressions, which have lasted until modernity.

Snakes have unique and immediately recognizable physical attributes that separate them from other reptiles. Snakes lack limbs, they do not blink, and they shed their withered skin. Their prey is often larger than they are and is swallowed completely whole, and many are venomous. They live in bushes, and create tunnels underground. Serpents are undeniably powerful creatures. As a result of many of these traits, religions have long associated certain skills, meanings, and abilities with snakes. In various religious tales, snakes are represented as knowledgeable creatures, such as in relation to Asclepius, or in Genesis 3, where a serpent provides information that is both correct and previously unknown to humans. This trait of knowledge may have been derived from their physical appearances and abilities. It has been

as an anticoagulant in ancient medicine. Since serpents were associated with many symbolic meanings, archaeological realia often show other animals represented alongside a snake in order to emphasize certain characteristics of the snake over others. A snake pictured beside a scorpion was meant to emphasize the bite of the serpent, as well as the chthonic symbolism as a source of death; a bull HPSKDVL]HG WKH VHUSHQW¶V SRZHU SURWHFWLRQ DQG divinity; and a GRYH ³DGGHG WR WKH VHUSHQW¶V DELOLW\ WR symbolize a transcendence from the earth, an ascension into the heavens where Wisdom [seemed] to dwell, and perhaps the source of new and UHMXYHQDWH[8] W+aG bH Lassumed that the addition of these animals was to minimize negative associations with the serpent, and infer a more positive image of their relationship with humans. As a result of these traits, snakes have a history of revolting, amazing, and piquing the interest of humanity over millennia. As a result of the duality of these contrasting feelings, there are various myths

from grace and the introductions of sin, pain, suffering, and death.[13] The serpent presents the woman with the truth, which she chooses to act upon. The snake does not trick Eve[2] the text suggests that she willingly eats the fruit without the snake pushing her towards it physically or verbally.[14] The snake is represented as a wise being th

Incarnation of the World [3] $VFOHSLXV ZDV GHLI\ DPRQJ WKHP EHFDXVH KH SUDFWLFHG PHGLFLQH DQG IRXQG RXW KHUEV IRU ERGLHV WKDW ZHUH VLFN QRW IRU PLQJ WKHP KLPVHOI IURP WKH KDQGV RI *UHHNV DQG 5RPDQV ZDV attempt to combat the popularity of the Asclepian cult and its imagery, early Christians tried to change the perception of ophidian imagery. The imagery of Christ on the cross assumes the figure of a snake; the [3] 1HZ 7HVWDPHQW WROG WKDW &KULVW ZDV WR EH OLIWHG XS DV WKH &URVV WR FXUH PDQNLQG DV 0RVHV OLIWHG XS WKH VHUSHQW LQ WKH ZLOGHUQHVV VR PXVW WKH Son of Man be lifted up, that whoever believes in KLP PD\ KDYH HWHUQDO OLIH.[28] The connection being drawn between the healing action of Moses and the healings of Jesus, and the author was trying to remove the power of the snake from the narrative, to reassign that power to Jesus. In the first centuries AD, the symbolic substance of the serpent is redefined to be associated with the use of its poison or theriac in pharmacology.[29] The serpent became mostly associated with medicinal uses, and what had once been a positive and powerful image quickly became ambiguous and confused. As a result, around the fourth century AD, the symbol was either neutral or seen in a negative light. Some say that this was due to confusion caused by diverse meanings for the same symbol, which led many to brush it off entirely. Others claim that it is because of the growing influence and prevalence of the church, and its attempt to vilify the serpent in the face of previous religious cults, such as that of Asclepius.[30] Writers and commentators of the New Testament were making references that defined the VHUSHQW DV HYLO VXFK DV 3VDOP ZKHUH WKH ZRUG LV XVHG to denote liars,[31] and in Revelation, where an [3] DQFLHQW VHUSHQW LV FODULILHG WR EH WKH Devil and Satan, creating an obvious connection between evil and serpents. Followers of Christianity would have looked back upon Genesis 3 and seen the serpent from a new, hateful perspective, convinced that it pushed Eve toward the forbidden fruit and ultimately caused death, pain, and sin to be brought upon the world to come.

The attempts to remove Asclepius and the serpent from the hands of Greeks and Romans was primarily intended to convince people to join the Christian movement. By taking an already familiar image such as the serpent and manipulating its meaning for their benefit, the process of convincing citizens to join Christ groups would have been quite simple. Not only were familiar images shifted toward a Christian understanding, but the language used in the Greek New Testament was manipulated as well. There were 41 nouns in Greek to denote various snakes, 5 of which are used in the Greek New Testament.[32] By using language already associated with religion and healing in the minds of the Greek masses, it likely worked as a transitional technique to welcome converts to the new religion. However, those who considered joining Christian groups were met with issues involving the differences between the two healers. These differences were not simply about how, where, or who they healed, but ultimately revealed the differences in status and place in society between the two groups. As we have already seen, Asclepeions were a large part of the cult of Asclepius. Sick and unwell people travelled to these locations from all over, hoping to meet the healing god himself in a dream and be saved. One of the most important Asclepeions was in Epidaurus, mythologically linked to the birthplace of Asclepius. The necessary ID FWRU WR $VFOHSLXV ZDV D JHRJUDSKLFDO OLQN EHWZHHQ WKH ORFDWLRQ RI WKH WHPSOH DQG WKH 3DQKHOOHQLF GHLW\ 7KH LPSRUWDQFH RI WKH 7HPSOH DV WKH KHDOLQJ SODFH LV WKH story of Aratas:

> Aratas suffered from dropsy [edema] and her mother slept on her behalf in the abaton [of an Asclepeion]. She dreamt that the god performed an operation on her daughter. He cut off her head, turned her upside down, and in this way drained some fluid matter from her body. Thereafter he fitted the head back on to the neck. When the mother returned home, she found her daughter in good health. She had the exact same dream.[33]

[27] $W K D QDVLXV LQ WKH ,QYHQWLRQ RI WKH :RUOG ,, 49.2, as cited by Charlesworth, The Good and Evil Serpent, 370.

[28] $QWLQRX 7KH 5RG

[29] Ibid., 220.

[30] Charlesworth, The Good and Evil Serpent, 417.

[31] Ibid., 354.

[32] Ibid., 352–3.

[33] - RKDQQHV :ROPDUDQV $VFOHSLXV 2I

Clearly, one could send a representative of the patient in order to be healed, because the temple itself was important to the actual healing. On the RWKHU KDQG -HVXV¶ KHDOLQJV ZHUH ³ORFDOLVHG VRFLDOO\ resti[34]QJ ZLWK -HVXV DQG KLV RIILFLDO UHSUHVHQWDWLYHV ´ The importance of the social aspect of healing rather than a location was likely a result of the fact that early Christians did not have access to sanctuaries. Examples such as Acts 21:27-30 inform modern readers that the early Christian followers were rejected from Jewish temples and synagogues, forcing Christians to couple the healing presence of God to the person of Jesus and to his official representatives. The movement itself became the new place of God, localising the healing socially rather than geographically, or tying it to a specific healing place.[35] Furthermore, Asclepius healed those who had faith and were pure of mind, as seen in the

WKH VLJQLILFDQFH RI WKH VQDNH¶V SRLVRQ LQ FRQWHPSRUDU\ SKDUPDFRSRHLD DQG PHGLFLQH ´[46]

Today, the image of the snake still holds the negative meaning assigned to it by Christianity in

The Donatist Controversy: A Movement of Nationalist and Social Protest

Support for the Donatist party laid largely with the lower classes. This lower class was very large and it grew with the heavy taxation imposed on the province of Africa. Farmers were becoming weary of all these taxes, especially when they changed from a monetary tax to taxation in form of annona. Taxation in form of annona was tax in kind, effectively taking away large parts of the harvest of farmers. This heavy taxation destroyed the African middle class, creating a greater economic divide between classes whilst also creating a larger lower class. In fact, Constantine praises tax collectors for their work in Africa in 313, but that same year is when the Donatist controversy broke out.[7]

Additional Donatist support was not only limited to the province of Africa. Large support also came from the less Romanized areas such as Numidia.[8] Furthermore, most Donatists were Punic or Berber speaking. Some had varying levels of knowledge of the Latin language, but some only knew the local dialect of their region.[9] Needless to say, local elites could speak Latin and would most likely have done business with even higher officials, such as the bishop or proconsul of Carthage, in Latin. The economic divide between lower and upper classes and their struggle seems to suggest the Donatist controversy may have been a social movement. However, this tendency to have Donatist supporters speaking local dialects, such as Punic or Berber, suggests a nationalist movement. Both these interpretations have their charm and merit, and I will support that they are equally correct and that the Donatist controversy seems to be both a movement of nationalist and social protest.

Another feature of the Donatist movement that could be seen as nationalist protest is recorded in 2SWDWXV 2SWDWXV JLYHV XV 'RQDWXV¶ OHWWHU WR WKH emperor in response to the decision of the Roman emperor, who favored a Catholic bishop in Carthage over a Donatist one. In his letter, Donatus advocated for the separation of Church and State, questioning the role of kings or emperors with Christian dealings.[10] This episode reR U G H G L Q 2 S W D W written against Donatists, shows that the Donatists wanted to have an African church, separate from the

[7] Frend, The Donatist Church, 160-75.

[8] : + &)UHQG ³+HUHV\ DQG 6FKLVP DV 6RFLDO DQG 1DWLRQDO 0RYHPHQWV´ 6WXGLHV LQ &KXUFK +LVWRU\ 9RO &DPEULGJH Cambridge University Press, 1972), 36.

[9] A.H.M. Jones, 'Were Ancient Heresies National or Social Movements in Disguise?' Ed. P.A. Brunt (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974), 308-329.

figures such as creditors and rich landowners with violence. It must, however, be remembered that W H Q D Q W V G L G Q R W K D Y H V R P H V R U W R I Z R U N H U V ¶ X Q L R Q W R protect their rights or protect them from extortion, as was often the case for the province of Africa, which was heavily taxed. Therefore, the Circumcellion

7 K H U H I R U H W K H Z R X G & E H 2 O R R N H G G R Z Q upon in the acting community as the actor only

> received from them make it natural for you to jeer at the cowardice of those who have had no such experiences.[13]

This is a

Demosthenes works hard to paint Aeschines as an actor and not a political figure. He quotes the final lines of Aeschines' mimicked speech to convince the audience that although Aeschines holds oratory skill, he does not possess knowledge useful for the public.[22] The vivid imagery employed here by Demosthenes n[illegible] performer before he is a politician.

Demosthenes quotes Aeschines again immediately before he has the clerk read a list of his own public accomplishments.[23] These mock contributions to society, and draw attention to the performances. The use of verb[illegible] metaphor to the negligent advice Aeschines has presented to the public in the past.

Demosthenes wants the audience to imagine Aeschines as a fake—a faux-politician without any honorable intention. In an outburst, he goes as far to compare Aeschines to a fox and call him dishonest and a "counterfeit orator":

> A villainous thing, men of Athens, is the dishonest accuser always—villainous, and in every way malignant and fault-finding! Aye, and this miserable creature is a fox by nature, that has never done anything honest or gentlemanly—a very tragical ape, a clodhopping Oenomaus, a counterfeit orator![24]

In another scene of vivid imagery, Demosthenes paints Aeschines as an untrustworthy man with no right to be in the political sphere. Demosthenes is clever in his metaphors; if Aeschines is an ape of an actor, he is worthless to the audience.[25] The ancients often used monkeys and apes in comic settings because they seemed to directly mimic humans. Primates were often associated with imitation and deceptive persuasion. By comparing Aeschines to an ape in the theatre, Demosthenes describes him as a fraudulent caricature. Demosthenes consistently associates acting with powerful [illegible] ability to take on roles blurs the line between fiction and reality. Demosthenes wants to caution the [illegible] Aeschines is trained to take on roles and may imitate [illegible] de596 0 Td kr8 <Deatr9t<</i0d 3/wi3/ de616 0 Td k17M[illegible]

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[21] Demosthenes, On the Crown, ed. Harvey Unis, 184.

[22] See: footnote 8

[23] Dem. De Cor. 267.

[24] Dem. De Cor. 242. Trans. Sir Arthur Wallace Pickard Cambridge.

the two implied subjects in line 4, the addressed Catullus and puella, renders a mellifluous explication of Catullus' happiness as well as his idealized self, Lesbia being an organic part of Catullus. Moreover, line 7 and line 8 reverse the

In ³The Dramatic Monologue," Pearsall notes that the desire of self-fulfillment characterizes this genre, ³The majority of dramatic monologists are [«] only searchers after some transformation, whether spiritual, professional, or personal´ (73). Her argument sheds light on the correspondence between the dramatic monologist¶s discursive efforts for self-transformation and the subject´s efforts to attain the specular ´I´ through the Symbolic. This energy in Carmen 8 precisely unfolds itself through lines 9-11. Moreover, the speaker¶s poetic attempt to move from the old Imaginary to the new Imaginary is not only structural, but also syntactical and metrical. Greene mentions, ³[«] the imperative tone in the poem is reinforced by Catullus¶ uncharacteristic deviation from his usual practice of enjambment. This lack of enjambment produces a hard rhythm and keeps to the speaker's trying to whip himself into shape´ (79). Correspondingly, I would argue, the combination of the stressed long penultimate and the short ultimate (trochee) at the end of each line features the speaker¶s forceful attempt to finish his picture of a coherent self (Rebert¶s analysis of obdura epitomizes this metrical arrangement). In this way, the beginning of each line implies a failed attempt.

However, is Catullus¶ self-transformation or self-completion eventually successful? Based on the

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interaction, but it functions nevertheless to provide a climate for the potent performance of her patron's thoughts. Her discursive absence, amid his silent prolixity, leads to the attainment for the monologist of a pointed goal´ (74); and ³7 K&HD V W DnZ D \´ which the speaker Eulalie, looking back at her past, ³ Lw Well aware of her own self- G L Y L V Qand R Q´ repre.(06.06 Tj 84.04 0 0 3>>BDC (own)Tj EM80[(awa)5(IB0048>Tj EMC /P <</M8 /P <</MCsD 18 >>BDC 17

abnormal mental states[3]. A theme of transgression, or unwholesomeness, seems to have been characteristic of the genre from its inception´(73). Correspondingly, I would argue that the illusory vividness of lines 12-18, instead of the irregular repetition of the abstract, realistic obdura(t) (11, 12, 19), is the centre of the poem. For a brief moment, the speaker no longer represses his traumatized self, who disappears, but becomes whole in his imagined communion with Lesbia, attaining his specular I´. Carmen 8 presents many layers of self-searching. On the one hand, the coherent ring structures within the poem either refuse the speaker's entrance (3-8) into the Imaginary or bar the speaker (11-12; 12-19; 11-19) from an emotional liberation. On the other hand, the speaker constructs his perfect self through these ring structures. On the other hand, his breaking (12-18) of these ring structures enables him to approach his ideal self.

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The Temple of Isis and Sarapis in the Campus Martius: Building a Picture from a Million Pieces

ALEXANDRA ZMIKOWSKYJ

Although the pantheon of Greek and Roman gods is well known in modern society, scholars still debate about many other aspects of Roman religion, HVSHFLDOO\ ZKHQ LW FRPHV WR ³LPSRUWHG FXOWV´ 7KH WHUP ³LPSRUWHG FXOWV´ LV RIWHQ XVHG WR GHVFULEH WKH ZRUVKLS of Eastern deities like Mithras and Magna Mater as well as Egyptian divinities such as Isis and Sarapis. The focus of this paper will be on evidence of the worship of Isis and Sarapis in Imperial Rome, with emphasis on the Temple of Isis and Sarapis in the Campus Martius. (Figure 1) While the evidence of the temple on the whole is fragmentary, individual pieces of the puzzle will be studied for information that can give more insight into the worship of Isis and Sarapis, Imperial patronage, and the place of the deities in society.

Figure 1: Map of the Campus Martius, with Temple of Isis and 6DUDSLV ODEHOHG ³´ DQG ³´[1]

[1] Filippo Coarelli,Rome and Enviroel(me and E)5(4(schonatTf 6)-89(Mi)-2(thra54(o)-ai)-3(usica2 0 4(East)74.365300452rfar)-G14

during the reign of the Flavian Emperors, Sarapis started to become affiliated with the ruling class of Romans, as he had been with the Ptolemies in Egypt.[20] After a fire destroyed a part of the Temple of Isis and Sarapis in 80 AD, Domitian restored it to the state recorded on the *Forma Urbis Romae*. (Eutropius, *Abridgment of Roman History*, 7.23) Although the scale of the restorations carried out by Domitian is not known, he was pleased enough with his work to have a coin issued with an image of the temple on it.[21]

The exact location of the Temple of Isis and Sarapis is described in a number of literary sources and a representation of a portion is visible on the Severan marble plan of the city. The temple was also known as the Temple of Isis Campensis, directly named in relation to its location in the Campus Martius. (Aupleius, *Metamorphoses*, 11.26)[22] In the 6th century, Juvenal described a woman sprinkling water around the Temple of Isis in the Campus Martius, before she [illegible] (Juvenal, *Satires*, 6.527-9)[23] Frontinus also records the arcades of the "Qua Via Ducitur in Fronte Templorum Quae in Campo Martio Sunt" (Frontinus, *Aqueducts*, 1.22)[24] Putting these two literary pieces together we can turn to the *Forma Urbis Romae* to see what pieces of the structure may have looked like. (Figure 2) Four pieces of the marble plan have been identified as depicting the Temple of Isis and Sarapis: three depicting a long rectangular building with the words "SERAPEVM" and a fourth depicting a semi-circular building with columns running along the inner edge.

[20] Peter Aicher, *Rome Alive: A Source Guide to the Ancient City, Volume 1* (Wauconda, Illinois: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2004), 237.

[21] Brian W. Jones,

Figure 3: Diagram of the Temple of Isis and Sarapis.[27]

The problem faced by Price as illustrated in this diagram is that excavations around the area have been scarce, with Price himself going as far as V D \ L Q J ³ > Q R @ V D Q F W X D U \ R I , V L V L Q , W D O \ K D V E H H Q S U R S H U O \ H [F D Y D W H G D Q G S X E O L V K H G ´ R Q O \ reconstructed from partial finds at best.[28] 3 U L F H ¶ V statement has become obsolete since the time of publication, with a number of works being published on the Temple of Isis at Pompeii in the past decade and a half.[29] However, a comprehensive excavation of the Temple of Isis and Sarapis in the Campus

Pantheon (Figure 5) was excavated under the apse of the church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva.[35]

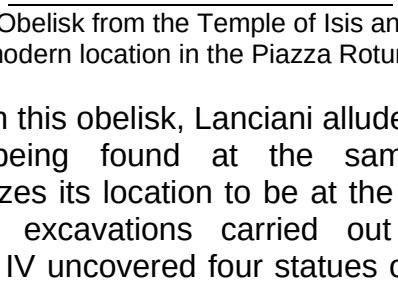

Figure 5: Obelisk from the Temple of Isis and Sarapis in its modern location in the Piazza Rotunda.[36]

Along with this obelisk, Lanciani alludes to a second obelisk being found at the same time and hypothesizes its location to be at the Villa Mattei.[37] In 1435, excavations carried out under Pope Eugenius IV uncovered four statues of lions: two at the time in the collection of the Vatican and the other two that were in the Capitoline Museum.[38] In addition to the objects mentioned by Lanciani there are a number of other objects associated with the Temple of Isis and Sarapis in the Campus Martius that lent names to the modern day streets of Rome overlaying the area once inhabited by the temple. (Figure 6)

Figure 6: Map of modern Rome where the Temple of Isis and Sarapis would have stood. Streets, monuments and buildings mentioned are labeled.[43]

Temple of the Isis and Sarapis in 1440, two reclining statues commonly referred to as the personifications of the Tiber (Louvre) and of the Nile (Vatican), are said by Lanciani to have been found in the area of the temple during the rule of Pope Leo X.[39] Furthermore, Lanciani records that a reclining statue personifying the Ocean was found in 1556.[40] The prominence of water imagery in the worship of Isis and Sarapis will be discussed further later. Excavations by owners of the houses in the area where the temple once stood in 1858 and 1859 continued to unearth various objects including a green granite Sphinx, a portrait of the Egyptian Queen Hatshepsut, numerous capitals and a column with reliefs depicting the procession of followers of Isis.[41] Lanciani concludes his discussion of the findings from the Temple of Isis and Sarapis in an account of his own request to excavate in the area in 1883, which resulted in the uncovering of numerous other objects including a black basalt Sphinx, an obelisk of Ramses the Great, a red granite crocodile and a second column with relief carvings.[42]

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A statue of what was thought to be a baboon, but has since also been hypothesized to be the god Anubis, was babo466(tere44( )32(babo)-4ch)-2(runt)3hTT0ndt

[35] Ibid
[36] Digital Image. Taken by author, March 2013.
[37] Ibid
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Lanciani,The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome, 501.

Figure 7KH ³&DFFR´ VWDWXH WKDW JDYH WKH QDPH WR WKH VWUHHW and church near where it was found.[45]

On the corner of the Via di Santo Stefano del Cacco and the Via del Pi• di Marmo is another piece of sculpture that gives its name to the latter street: a large marble foot. (Figure 8)[46]

Figure8: ³3LqGL0DUPR´ 7KH UHPDLQV RI D VWDWXH IURP WKH Temple of Isis and Sarpis.[47]

Although some scholars have interpreted this foot as being the only remains of a colossal cult statue of Sarapis,[48] there is the possibility that this foot is a symbol rather than a representation of Isis or

the reign of Augustus,[52] this area no doubt had this name before the temple of Isis and Sarapis in the Campus Martius was built. In the maps at the beginning of their book, Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, twelve locations were identified as being associated with Isis, Serapis, or both. (Figure 9)[53]

Figure 9 Map of Rome with locations of Egyptian cult sites marked (Temple of Isis and Sarapis is indicated with a yellow star and all other Egyptian sites marked with blue dots for clarity).[54]

No elaboration is given on the majority of the sites listed, but the location of the Isium Metellinum corresponds with Regio III. Even less is known about this temple in comparison to the Temple of Isis and Sarapis in the Campus Martius. In Richardson's *New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* he suggests that the remains of a small shrine decorated in the Egyptian style discovered in 1635 near the church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino is the most likely building to be the Isium Metellinum of the ones to have been excavated.[55] He continues to say that not much is known about the shrine in general or why it became so associated with the area to share a name with it.[56]

When examining the map in Beard, North, and Price it can be noted that the Temple of Isis and Sarapis in the Campus Martius is located a fair distance from other temples to the same gods. The lack of a temple to Isis and/ or Sarapis on the Campus Martius would be an easy explanation as to why its eventual location was chosen. However, there is another, less obvious reason for choosing to build in the Campus Martius as it is one of the areas of Rome most prone to flooding.[57] As mentioned in a previous paragraph a number of statues personifying bodies of water have been associated with the Temple of Isis and Sarapis in the Campus Martius, including both a statue of the Nile and of the Tiber. The prevalence of water imagery in an

[52] Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 358.

[53] Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome, Volume I: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), xviii-xix.

[54] Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome, Volume I: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), xviii-xix.

[55] L. Richardson Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 212.

affiliated Romans walking through the complex going about their daily business. When the city was hit with heavy rain, the followers of Isis would be among the few in the city who welcomed the overflowing waters of the Tiber. This scene was looked out upon by the large personification of 6DUDSLV EH LW DV D IXOO ERG\ UHSUHVHQWDWLRQ RU DV ³W)RRW RI 6DUDSLV´ D JRG DOLJQHG ZLWK UXOHUV LQ WZR different cultures, serving as a bridge between the Nile and the Tiber.

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