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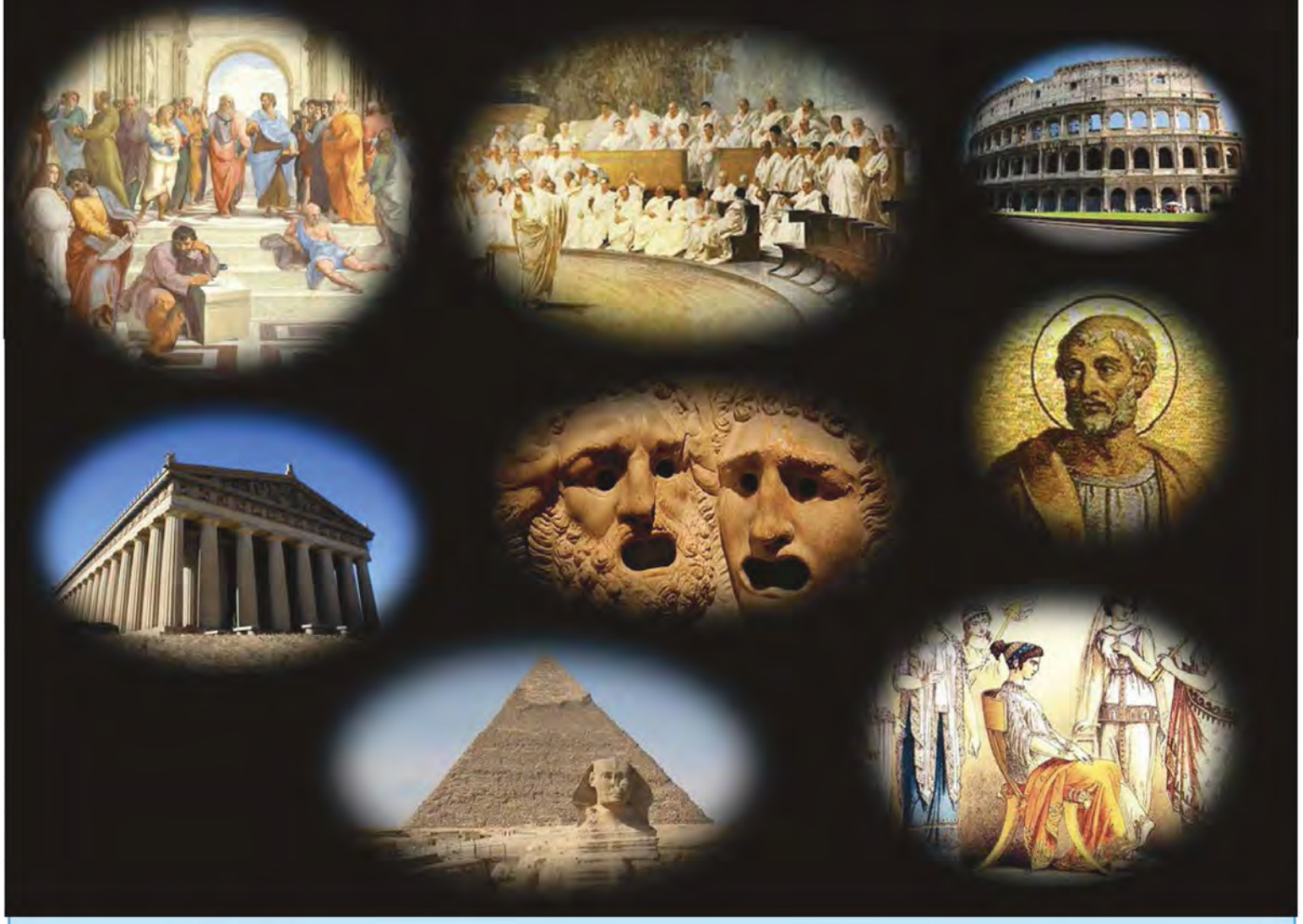
CLASURON

IDENTITY



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This journal features first class work by Swansea University students.

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About Us

Clasuron is an online student journal coordinated by a team of students from Swansea University, with the supervision of Dr Stephen Harrison (2018). It showcases some of the first class assignments from the students of the Department of Classics, Ancient History and Egyptology at Swansea University.

Our previous issues:

"Reception in action: student narratives about the ancient world" (2016)

"Roman theatre and spectacle" (2016)

"Alexander the Great" (2017)

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Contributors' Profiles

Skye Stewart

I am a second-year Ancient History and History student. Ancient history has always been my favourite part of history. I really like how the world back then can be considered very different in many ways to today, but at the same time they are both intrinsically linked. I find learning about and exploring the ancient world to be a fascinating and rewarding experience. As the Chief Editor of Clasuron, I hope that this issue showcases the talents of those who have contributed to it.

Olivia Davies

I am a third-year Egyptology and Ancient History student. My interest in ancient history lies within daily life and society. I think looking back at how people lived their lives and the comparisons that can be made to today's society is really intriguing and also is important for looking at how society can progress. As the Chief Designer of Clasuron, I hope that this issue is stimulating both visually and academically.

Adam Hendy

I am a second-year student in the Arts and Humanities department studying Ancient and Medieval History. I've enjoyed history for as long as I can remember and I am particularly interested in military history, which will be the subject of my third year dissertation. I think the study of the Ancient World is incredibly fascinating and I hope you enjoy reading my piece on Bede's Prose, Life of St. Cuthbert!

Shannon Higginson

I am a third-year Classical Civilisation student at Swansea. History in general has always been a passion of mine – the ancient world more so since it is so far removed, and yet so similar to our own! Doing a degree in this subject and having the opportunity to learn and research it in-depth has only boosted my appreciation for these eras, and I love the fact that now I can see a little of the ancients in everyday life.

Rachel Joseph

My name is Rachel Joseph and I am a second-year Ancient history student. I am captivated with the ancient world and all it entails; however, I am mostly interested in the social aspect. This is because, I enjoy learning about the differences and similarities of the ancient peoples in comparison to us. I believe that within this comparison, we can gain a new perspective of our own world, whilst appreciating the wisdom that those of the past provide us.

Aidan Kee

I am a second-year Ancient History student. I have always been interested in History as a whole, but I chose to specialise in Ancient History due to the different type of methodology it requires. I enjoy trying to piece together events from flawed sources and scarce evidence and the challenges that they present us with.

Aaron David Lowrey

I am a first-year Classical Civilisation student at Swansea University. My first memory of the ancient world is Disney's *Hercules*. From there, an interest in the worlds of gods and heroes and monsters and magic took hold of my imagination. As I've grown up these myths have always fascinated me. My interest in Classics lies within these stories and there timeless nature. Its a question I hope to have an answer to one day.

Peter Rose

I am a second-year undergraduate student studying Ancient History and Egyptology. I have been interested in history ever since learning about World War One in year eight, but now my focus is mainly on Egyptian history. I especially like studying Egypt in relation to other civilisations as this allows me to learn more about the ancient world.

Michael Wheeldon

I am a third-year ancient history student with an interest in interstate relations during antiquity. Studying at Swansea has given me the opportunity to explore this subject in some detail, be it concerning the interactions of city-states in Classical Greece or the power dynamics between conqueror and indigenous communities along the Roman frontiers.

List of Illustrations

*Links to images in blue

Introduction

The theme chosen for this issue of Clasuron is 'identity'. It is a broad theme that can relate to personal identity, or the identity of a wider community. In recent years this particular topic has become increasingly important for people who study the ancient world. The essays found in this issue are from a wide variety of modules from the Classical Civilisation, Ancient History and Egyptology department. These modules are:

> *Being Greek: Identity in the Ancient Greek World, Greek City States, the Heirs of Rome, Classics in Popular Culture, Of Gods and Heroes - Greek Mythology* and *Cultural Influences in Ancient Egypt.*

There are two 500 word critical analyses from the module 'Being Greek'. Rachel Joseph's responds to a section of Plato's *Laws* and discusses how the Ancient Greek hierarchy was used to justify the "ideal state" and that as a result, the identity of slaves was presented in a certain way by those with more power in order to support these philosophical ideas.

Aidan Kee's explores a part of Xenophon's *Symposium* and how it can be used to study the events of Athenian Symposia, which was a very important part of the identity of Greek men, as well as compare it to Sparta's. Furthermore he notes how Xenophon's motives to defend Socrates come through in the extract.

Shannon Higginson's contribution is in the form of a blog post about the novel *The Secret History* by Donna Tartt. The book is about how the love a group of classics students have towards their subject becomes warped, resulting in tragedy. Higginson compares the themes of the novel to those of Euripides' *Bacchae* and other Classical influences. It is from the module 'Classics in Popular Culture'.

The use of chariots in Bronze Age Egypt and China is explored and compared by Peter Rose, from the module 'Cultural Influences in Ancient Egypt'. He looks at the impact their introduction had on these two societies, such as how it created a new hierarchical structure and the importance of the chariot in the

activity of hunting.

From 'The Heirs of Rome' module, Adam Hendy writes about the importance of St Cuthbert. Hendy discusses how St Cuthbert was a religious role-model to his community and how religious identity was deeply rooted in society at that time.

Michael Wheeldon questions to what extent Greek city states could keep their autonomy, and so their identity. He contends that they were not able to stay autonomous, though some were more successful than others. Wheeldon also discusses the limitations one may have when answering this question, as well as how the Greeks would have defined autonomy. This essay is from the 'Greek City States' module.

From the module 'Of Gods and Hero's', the presentation of Herakles is examined in four Greek plays, *Alcestis* and *Herakles* by Euripides and *Women of Trachis* and *Philoctetes* by Sophocles, by Aaron David Lowrey. He argues that Herakles is indeed depicted as the traditional Greek hero archetype, though each playwright tends to focus on different aspects of the archetype; Euripides focuses on his human side whilst Sophocles shows how Herakles is god-like.

All in all, there are a great variety of ways in which people of the ancient world construed and engaged with their own identities, and the identities of those around them. The essays in this Clasuron volume demonstrate how social status, culture, material objects, religion, myths and heroism all had an impact on identity in the ancient world. To conclude, I would like to thank everyone involved in the making of this issue of Clasuron, especially everyone who has contributed one of their essays. Please enjoy their wonderful work!

Skye Stewart,

Chief Editor

Euripides' Secret History: Ritual and Theme in the Bacchae and Tartt.

Shannon Higginson

Fig. 1: Front Cover of the Secret History

The Secret History has taken a place among bestsellers and the hearts of those who study classics for good reason. The story follows a group of elite classics students, whose obsession with obtaining a true understanding of their subject leads to murder. The novel is replete with allusions to Greco-Roman culture, and its themes (such as beauty, what it means to lead a meaningful life, and the power of imagination) are reflective of the author's background in classics. Written by Donna Tartt, the setting is a mirror of her own university experience; although, it's safe to say, an extreme version, and features a hybrid of literature, from Plato to Dante.

Franfois Pauw describes *The Secret History* as "A Greek tragedy in novel form" and I am inclined to agree.[1] If it is, it is closest to Euripides' *Bacchae*, with which there is correspondence foremost in pages 181-191. Like the source, the passage recounts a tragedy, and I think there are many parallels between the characters and those found in *The Secret History*. The character of Henry Winter especially can be considered an equivalent to Euripides' Dionysus, and there are several moments in the 10 pages alone in which Tartt appears to transplant dialogue from Dionysus to Henry. One such moment comes when our narrator Richard expresses doubt at Henry's claim to have seen the deity. Henry responds with: "would you be able to recognise the real thing if you saw it? You don't know what Dionysus looks like".[2] This brings to mind Dionysus' words: "he who believes needs no explanation".[3] Furthermore, Tartt uses her description of Dionysus to portray him in his ancient epithet of Dionysus *polyeides* – of many images.[4] Simultaneously, Henry claiming to see Dionysus is an echo of the god's words: "Face to face... he (Dionysus) gave the rituals of possession".[5] Later, on page 188, Henry recounts how the group managed to get over several barbed-wire fences without remembering doing so, and admits he does not know how. I think the answer to this is found in the *Bacchae*, when Dionysus coolly asks: "Can gods not somersault over walls?"[6] In my opinion, here Tartt is clearly appropriating Euripides.

Yet, although Euripides' influence is heavy, he is not the only source of which Tartt creates a reception. "...we studied what Plato calls telestic madness? *Bakcheia*? Dionysiac frenzy?"[7] This reference to Plato is what Hardwick calls 'hybrid';[8] bringing direct references to Greek culture into the mix. Furthermore, Tartt goes beyond simply using literary materials. Henry's discussion of trying to recreate the ritual involves mention of the Pythia chewing laurel leaves; here Tartt shows her own knowledge in classical culture and its practices.[9]

[Fig. 2: Paestan vase painting, depicting the Pythia. Circa 330 BC]

However, these pages also portray the elitist tradition in classics; Richard is excluded from the main group's activities, left on the outside looking in, with only a few hints to try and form an understanding of their actions (until Henry enlightens him). Is this Tartt commenting on elitism in classics? Or simply adapting the theme of Greeks vs Foreigners found in the *Bacchae*? I think it is the former; however I also think this passage is not the most representative of this theme, which is explored more thoroughly in other parts of the book. In *A Reader's Guide*, Hargreave states that we do not learn from history, we repeat it– and that is precisely what Tartt does within these pages.[10] She successfully portrays an adaptation of the Dionysian Bacchanalia – retaining its authenticity yet placing it in the context of the modern world. For instance, on the usage of Chitons: "We made them from bedsheets, in Francis' attic".[11] In fact, I would argue that the group are an acculturation of ancient bacchantes; they worship an all-knowing figure (on the subject of Greek at least) Julian, with what has been regarded by readers as obsessive devotion.[12] And, like the bacchanal, their ritual is authentic - it takes place in "a primitive place" and consists of "a congregation in the open".[13] Furthermore, Tartt's description of the bacchantes aligns with that of Euripides'. "Her mind was gone -- possessed by Bacchus -- she could not hear her son".[14] This brings to my mind Henry's account of Camilla on page 189; like Agave, she is out of her senses and appears not to have heard "the doomed man".[15]

[Fig. 3: Athenian vase depicting Euripides' bacchantes and their frenzy]

Furthermore, on a surface level, the themes found within this passage reflect the themes found within the *Bacchae*. Disguise, illusions, mental frenzy and debate on perception are both evident in each text, and both revolve around the merciless nature of what Euripides would call the god; although *The Secret History* tackles this in a more abstract manner. And of course, in the end, the catalyst of both stories is a climatic murder. Just as Cadmus states shocked, yet matter-of-factly, "murder is what your tragic hands have done," this sentiment is echoed by Richard's partly rhetorical question. "You killed somebody, (...) didn't you?"[16]

As a piece of reception, I think *The Secret History* is one of the best current examples due to its distinct lack of foreignization. Invoking pastoral tradition, adaptations of ancient rites and customs - and what I would argue is authentic dialogue to classical literature, it cannot fail to both educate and entertain its audience. To quote Henry Winter: "It was heart-shaking."

Notes:

[1] Pauw, F. (1994) 'If on a Winter's Night', 149.

[2] Tartt, D. (2009) *The Secret History*, 187.

[3] Mills, S. (2014) *Euripides: Bacchae*, 427.

[4] Bookdrum. (2017) *The Secret History*.

[5] Mills, S. (2014) *Euripides: Bacchae*, 41.

[6] Mills, S. (2014) *Euripides: Bacchae*, 111-112.

[7] Tartt, D. (2009) *The Secret History*, 182.

[8] Hardwick, L. (2003) *Reception Studies.*

[9] Bookdrum. (2017) *The Secret History*; Tartt, D. (2009) *The Secret History*, 183.

[10] Hargreaves, T. (2001) *Donna Tartt's The Secret History*, 40.

[11] Tartt, D. (2009) *The Secret History*, 183.

[12] Kakutani, NY Times, Books of the Time; Students Indulging In Course of Destruction

[13] Tartt, D. (2009) *The Secret History*, 190; Mills, S. (2014) *Euripides: Bacchae*, 1.

[14] Mills, S. (2014) *Euripides: Bacchae*, 225.

[15] Mills, S. (2014) *Euripides: Bacchae*, 225.

[16] Mills, S. (2014) Euripides, 263; Tartt, D. (2009) *The Secret History*, 181.

How far does the figure of Herakles, as depicted in the plays you have met, meet the criteria to be called a traditional Greek hero?

Aaron David Lowrey

The idea of a traditional Greek hero, which differs from our modern definition of the word, was defined by the poets Homer and Hesiod. Homer, famous for the composition of the epic poems the *Odyssey* and the *Illiad*, described a hero as someone who performs great feats of the physical (like Herakles or Achilles) and mental kind (like Odysseus), someone who has a connection to the divine, and who is physically superior to the modern man.[1] Hesiod described *Four Ages of Man*, with the fourth being the Age of Heroes. According to Hesiod, a hero was a different race of mankind entirely. He describes the heroes in a way similar to Homer but with the caveat that the possibility of an immortal afterlife awaits them in a way it does not for a regular person.[2] In fact it's even a possibility that the figure of Herakles inspired the tradition for what a hero is supposed to be, as he was such a prominent figure and is spoken of with reverence by Homeric heroes as renowned as Achilles even. By taking the criteria of Homer and of Hesiod and applying them to the figure of Herakles, as depicted in the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles, it is possible to ascertain whether Herakles can really be called a "traditional" Greek hero.

The first criteria that needs to be met is the performing of great deeds. Herakles is most famous for his twelve labours with each one being a great deed in and of itself. The stories of these labours would have been widely known to the Greek audience watching these plays and so they are frequently mentioned in connection with the character of Herakles. Sophocles references the labours of Herakles in *Women of Trachis*. Deianira speaks of Herakles and his self-assurance during his labours.[3] The fact that Herakles believes he will succeed in these labours demonstrates his confidence in his ability to perform deeds that would have been deemed impossible for a normal human being. Furthermore, the fact he is still alive by the closing scenes of the play means his confidence is not unwarranted. Papadimitropolous suggests that Herakles' completion of his labours elevated him beyond the status of hero and into something of a force of nature, civilising and making the world safe.[4] This is a reasonable interpretation. Indeed, the labours aid the idea that Herakles is a traditional Greek hero, but there is also the suggestion he is even more than that as evidence does point to the deification of Herakles after his death in some versions of the tradition.

Herakles is also linked to his divine father, Zeus. Deianira describes Herakles as her rescuer in the very first speech of the play ("He arrived, Zeus and Alcmene's glorious son" line 18-19). From the very beginning of the play, Herakles is established as this divine hero figure, an interpretation supported by Papadimitropolous.[5] This ties in well with the notion of Herakles as a traditional Greek hero. Almost immediately, he is set apart from the rest of humanity, courtesy of his father Zeus, and plays up his divine nature, a running theme throughout the play.

A superior physical presence is also something associated with the Greek hero and Herakles was legendary for his strength. He demonstrates this (offstage) in the play by his murder of Lichas, as told by a Messenger ("the herald's skull was broken in splinters" line 780-781). Liapis, uses the death of Lichas as a way of demonstrating the propensity for savagery of Herakles.[6] The incredible strength necessary to throw somebody far out to sea, and still hitting a rock with a violent force is testament to the sheer physical prowess posessed by Herakles. This strength, according to the tradition, would qualify Herakles as a hero despite it being another example of more dubious behaviour.

Fig. 4: Farnese Hercules, copy by Glykon, original by Lysippos

The possibility of an afterlife is also hinted at. The grandeur of Herakles going to his death may speak to his own belief in his forthcoming apotheosis by fire. By burning himself alive, he may be hinting at his resurrection as a god afterwards ("The struggle will be hard but the end will be joyful" line 1262-1263). Holt, discusses whether or not we, as an audience, are supposed to believe Herakles has become a god by the end of the play.[7] Holt shows the arguments for both viewpoints and asserts Sophocles intended for us to think Herakles became a god. However, Sophocles may have left it deliberately vague, especially if the idea of Herakles as a god was not the widespread religious fact of the time. Nevertheless, there is an argument to be made that Herakles did achieve a glorious afterlife after the events of *Women of Trachis* which would satisfy the Hesiod criteria for recognising a hero— namely, a possible afterlife, in this case as a god, although this apotheosis is unique to Herakles and may again have been a way of elevating Herakles beyond the status of a mere hero.

Herakles also makes a fleeting appearance in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*. Even though Herakles in this play, functions as the *deus ex machina* his appearance furthers the debate of whether he can be considered "a hero". In *Philoctetes,* Herakles is very much a god, lives in the heavens and expects to be obeyed and honored (line 1408-1435). He still makes references to his labours as a mortal and so could be qualified as a hero, but as he is very much divine in this play it is likely that Sophocles intended to draw attention to his godhood rather than his heroic mortal deeds. On the other hand, the other tragedian, Euripides, treats Herakles differently to Sophocles, presenting Herakles from a different perspective. Herakles appears in a few of Euripides' plays and each time is characterised differently in accordance with the story.

Herakles is the central character of the tragedy of the same name by Euripides. The entire play is centred on him, and despite the diptych accusation levelled at it, both halves of this "broken-backed" play revolve around the figure of Herakles. This is due to his absence or his maddened state of mind, which immediately establishes him as the tragic hero of the play. There are multiple references within the play to the great deeds of Herakles and through the discussion of these it is possible to determine whether Herakles can be considered a

"traditional" Greek hero in this play. *Herakles* has an interesting perspective on Herakles' links to his divine father Zeus. Amphitryon spends much of the play putting himself forward as Herakles' father. Yet, however much Euripides tries to downplay Herakles' divine father, he cannot outright deny it as this would break the tradition and this was not done. Amphitryon admonishes Zeus for not being there for Herakles or Herakles' children (line 340-341). What this suggests is that Herakles may not have the best relationship with his divine father but nevertheless he does have a divine father, providing a relationship to the gods needed for heroic status. Additionally, another link to divinity Herakles possesses in *Herakles,* is the references by Iris and Madness to Hera's anger towards Herakles. Hera's feud with Herakles is another major link to the gods Herakles possesses although this is not a postive link. Hera is angry at Herakles' existence, as Iris points out ("He may realise how furious Hera is with him", line 840). Griffiths argues that Hera's anger at Herakles is a running theme of the play.[8] This would provide another explicit link to divinity—one that is an integral part of the tradition of Herakles— and is required for one to be considered a "hero", even if Herakles is not actively benefitting from this particular relationship.

Herakles, at the beginning of the play, is away. His capturing of Cerberus as one of his labours, is one of the many great deeds performed by Herakles during his labours and the audience knows he will survive this, even if the characters in the play do not ("My son is entering the black night of the Underworld", 45). The daring to enter the Underworld whilst still alive would have been considered a feat worthy of a hero.


Fig. 5: Hercules and Lichas sculpture by Antonio Canova

Herakles also displays tremendous physical power, more so than an average human, in this play, by destroying his house due to his madness (977-1000). Kamerbeek espouses this idea and discusses how Euripides may have even gotten the idea for this play from Herakles' physical power and how he uses it to murder his children.[9] This scene does not paint Herakles in a flattering light but it does reinforce the idea of his strength, him being able to tear apart a house with his bare hands, something heroes traditionally possess in greater abundance than non-heroes. Yet, interestingly there is little to no mention of the possibility of an afterlife for Herakles, something Hesiod describes as being a requirement for a hero. The characters seem to believe Herakles has died in the Underworld (line 146). This makes it appear that the characters in this play do not believe that there is any possibility of Herakles affecting events from the afterlife, as he does in *Philoctetes* for example. Herakles himself doesn't appear to think he has any afterlife, as he feels like he has to die to have faced proper punishment for his crimes ("Why do I spare my life?", line 1148). This means Herakles does not fit the criteria for a hero as defined by Hesiod but he would fit the idea of a Homeric hero, where the afterlife is not mentioned.

Herakles appears in another play of Euripides, *Alcestis*. This play presents a more carefree Herakles than the previous plays. Herakles is still quite clearly a hero however, and it is possible to apply the criteria from Homer and Hesiod to a Herakles that is less "heroic" in character than others. For example, Herakles appears in this play in the midst of his labours. This time he's going to tame the horses of Diomedes and stops at Admetus' palace along the way ("I'm going to fetch the four horse chariot..", 484-485). This labour, known to the audience at the time, is just another of Herakles' great deeds that would have solidified him as a hero. However, there seems to be no indication of an afterlife for Herakles here either ("Since we are mortal, adopt a mortal state of mind", line 799-800). Herakles' carousing is evidently inspired by what he sees as a limited time on Earth. This counts against his being seen as a hero, since he has no possibility of an afterlife or perhaps just doesn't know he'll have one. Nevertheless, Herakles does perform one act that would demonstrate his strength. He allegedly beats up the incarnation of Death to return Alcestis to life, as a disbelieving Admetus asks how Alcestis has returned ("You say you fought with Death?" line 1142.) This demonstrates not only physical power but his ability to perform deeds beyond the capabilities of normal people, since returning the dead to life just wasn't done in Greek mythology. Overall though, Herakles serves very little overall purpose in *Alcestis*, other than as a ***deus ex machina*** as Fitzgerald (1991) supports with his arguments that Herakles is less a character and more a plot device.[10]

To conclude it appears that Herakles certainly fits the mould of a traditional Greek hero. Herakles was unique in his apotheosis and in his portrayal in tragedy as a character who straddles the divine world more so than any other. In this aspect, Euripides is the tragedian who portrays Herakles as the more human hero, the one more grounded in the mortal world, whereas the Herakles of the plays of Sophocles fits the idea of a Greek hero but with far stronger overtones that perhaps Herakles should be considered more than just a hero and should be thought of as a god amongst mortals.

Notes:

[1] Homer, *The Iliad*, 5.303-310, 5.810-813, 6.145-150.

[2] Hesiod, *Works and Days* 155-169.

[3] Sophocles, *Women of Trachis* 160.

[4] Papadimitropolous (2008) 131.

[5] Papadimitropolous (2008) 133-134.

[6] Liapis (2006) 52.

[7] Holt (1989) 69-80.

[8] Griffiths (2002) 641-656.

[9] Kamberbeek (1966).

[10] Fitzgerald (1991) 86.

Fig. 6: The Apotheosis of Herakles oil painting by Peter Paul Rubens'

Compare and contrast the adoption of the chariot in Bronze Age Egypt with Bronze Age China.

Peter Rose

The chariot is believed to have arrived in Egypt around 1600 BC, during the rule of the Hyksos, and into China around 1200 BC, likely by the steppes, as steppes and Chinese chariots show striking similarities.[1] Until the Zhou Dynasty in China and dynasty XIX in Egypt, chariots had limited use on the battlefield; used instead as prestige items by royal families and high officials.[2] However, it is wrong to say that the chariot only affected the elite and kings, as many new and specialised jobs were created in both societies by the introduction.[3] It is therefore the purpose of this paper to answer the following questions: To what extent did the introduction of the chariot in Egypt and China impact society? Which classes were most affected and why? To answer these questions, this paper will initially look into the upper classes of China and Egypt to give context to the chariot's importance and early uses. It will then focus on the builders of the chariots, and how the chariot affected their lives as well as society as a whole.

During the dynasty XVIII, chariots were used by the pharaoh, his family, and officials for hunting, inspections of estates and official appearances.[4] Many of these can be found on scenes from private tombs such as that of Panehesi where Akhenaten and Nefertiti are depicted riding on a chariot, accompanied by high officials and princesses.[5] They can also be seen in the fragmented hunting scene from the tomb of User during the reign of Thutmose I, or the more complete hunting scene of tomb of Userhet during the reign of Amenhotep II. In this scene, Userhet is depicted standing in the chariot with the reigns tied around his waist, whilst shooting at fleeing desert animals.[6] When chariot use became more frequent during the reign of Ramesses II, they remained highly prestigious items. According to Ian Shaw, the chariot was used by an elite corps of the Egyptian military known as the 'Marryanu', and also the pharaoh, as an essential part of royal insignia.[7] There are many depictions of the pharaoh on the exterior walls of temples charging at the enemy in a chariot which Shaw believes is comparable to Pre-Dynastic and Old Kingdom scenes of kings smiting foreigners with a mace.

Fig. 7: Hunting from a Chariot, Tomb of Userhat

The evidence for chariot use during the Shang Dynasty in China is more open to interpretation than in Egypt. While only thirteen chariots have been found from New Kingdom Egypt, over one hundred Shang chariots have been discovered, meaning that there is little doubt that they played a significant role in Shang society.[8] The chariot burials at Anyang found in the palace district within five pits containing an extensive cemetery of fifty-one graves, along with many other large Shang tombs in China are believed to be royal in nature.[9] Within these tombs, rows of beheaded skeletons indicate frequent human sacrifice. Hsiao-Yun Wu, believes these beheaded men maintained the chariots and horses during life, though given the lack of written evidence supporting his claim, this theory cannot be verified.[10] Magdalena von Dewall suggests the beheaded bodies surrounding the chariot represent infantry, meaning that the chariot served as mobile, elevated platforms in battle, but for this to be true half of the chariot pits must be disregarded as they do not fit her description, and many that do, such as chariot pit M20 which contains tomb M22 and M23, are dated to the Zhou Dynasty.[11] Contrarily, Shaughnessy E, L believes that chariots had a limited role in Shang Society as they were associated solely with the king.[12] Although it is impossible at the current time to know all the activities these chariots were used for, to say they

Fig. 8: Three men riding in a Shang Dynasty chariot

had a limited role seems unsatisfactory considering the vast number found.

When looking at chariot use during the king's life, there is limited written evidence that can help in the form of divinatory inscriptions found on Shang Oracle Bones. In Wang Tao's article Shang ritual animals: colour and meaning Part 1, he splits the inscription into different sections.[13] One section, named the 'He group', covers the reigns of Wu Ding, Zu Geng, Zu Jia, Lin Xin, Kang Ding, Wu Yi, and Wen Ding. Two inscriptions from this long time period are helpful when looking at chariots, Heji 28196, and Heji 28195.[14] Both are concerned with the tameness of chariot horses. Heji 28195 is more concerned with who will be sending the chariot horses, "Shi-official sends in a male chariot horse, it will be tame not wild. Today the prince sends in a male chariot horse, Yi will be tame" The final part of the inscription concerns the colour of the horse, saying that Officer Gu will send a reddish, sturdy horse that will likely be tame and not wild. Heji 28196 is more concerned with the activities that the chariot was used for. "Hunting at Lin, the chariot-horses are yellow, and the reddish horse on the right side will be tame."[15] This shows that Egyptian and Chinese chariots were both originally used for hunting. The next useful Oracle Bone Group is the 'Hung group'.[16] In Heji 37514, it is said that the king may intercept a big rhino. It then goes on to advise the type of horse that should be used, emphasising that it should be black. Although the Oracle Bones are incredibly helpful when looking at the use of chariots, it must be remembered that they were written exclusively for the king and his family.[17] It should therefore be taken into account that the predictions and outcomes may be embellished. For instance, the king hunting a rhino from his chariot may be embellished, or even fabrication. It is possible that the king went hunting with many slaves and servants who helped him, and if this is true then the chariot would have been more for show, especially considering that at this time, chariots would not have been advanced enough for major use during battles as there are no direct Bone Oracle Inscriptions to them being used in such a way.[18]

Dubbed 'the chariot package', Stuart Piggott argues that an expensive set of skills were needed for chariots, including choosing the proper wood, training and taming horses, carpentry, and wood bending.[19] Although this means that horses could only be used by the elite, it also indicates that the elite would need people to work for them. Although his research was aimed mainly at the Chinese chariot, there is little doubt that the same would have been true in Egypt. This can be seen in the work of Ann Hyland, who explains that chariots in Egypt had their own hierarchy.[20] The chariot was administered by a 'Master of Horses' and horses were groomed and grazed by 'Stable Masters'. There is also little doubt that there would have been trainers. Regarding the horses, there are several parallels between China and Egypt. Before the chariot, there is no evidence of horses in either country. Ann Hyland states that they arrived in Egypt as tribute from Syria, the Hittites, and Libya.[21] According to Bagley, horses were not native to China but probably existed in Mongolia.[22] In both cases, the introduction of horses must have led to new jobs which would have meant the employment of people below the elite. The question that needs to be asked is which group of people were most affected by these new jobs in both societies.

According to the Shang Oracle Bones, the use of names and titles inscriptions such as Heji 28195 and Heji 945 suggest that only members of the military and elite were able to bring horses directly to the king.[23] Other Oracle Bones such as Heji 3411, Heji, 5729, and Heji 18271 give instructions on how white foals can be born.[24] This information confirms that, at least in the late Shang Dynasty, horses were bred in China as opposed to being bought in from outside. Smith B, and Weng W, G argue that under Shang rule,

social class became more defined and important.[25] The king and nobility ruled and waged war, craftsmen created artefacts, and farmers, labourers and slaves did the work. By this logic it would be the farmers, labourers and slaves who bred and looked after the horses. A more likely argument, however, is presented by Bagley, who suggests that more specialist professions would have been needed for the raising, supplying, maintaining, and training of horses, which must have led to horse traders, breeders, horse breakers and ostlers, especially considering that training horses to run in pairs requires expert handlers.[26] This means that even limited use of chariots would have led to trade with regions to the north, not only for horses, but, at least to begin with, for professionals as well. Therefore, at least for a short time after the introduction of the chariot into China, the farmers, and labourers may not have been greatly affected as experts would have been bought in from elsewhere. As for slaves, it is perfectly possibly that they would have known more about horses, as many of them were also from the same areas as the professionals and thus may have helped the professionals to a certain degree. This can further be seen by the fact that it was possible for a slave to rise up the ranks, to the point where one of King Tang's two chief ministers was a former slave.[27] This indicates that they had a way of proving themselves to the elite and maybe even the king himself.

During the New Kingdom, kings and high dignitaries began to breed horses themselves with the help of special stablemen.[28] This means, that much like in China, the lower classes may have remained relatively unaffected by chariots as even after their adoption by the military, socially they were ridden mainly by the pharaoh, his family, and high officials.[29] The chariot therefore seems to have been mainly for the elite. However, traders would still have served a vital role in the creation of chariots and for the supply of horses. Miriam Bibby agrees that in the ancient world as a whole, chariots would have either belonged to the king or the state and would have been used solely by the upper classes and the military.[30] She also suggests that horses may have been traded at exchange centres by independent traders, or representatives of the king or state. This would infer that the purpose of breeding horses wasn't entirely for chariot use but also as a trade good. Her argument can be backed up by the growth in large acreage sites in Palestine and Syria, mainly in the areas of Gaza, Qatna and Hazor in the second millennium BC. Bibby suggests these could be linked to chariot and horse testing as such activities would require a large area of land.[31] Even today, horses require many specialists when it comes to their trading and breeding, so there is no reason to believe that these traders would not have been part of a chain of production involving specialist breeders, trainers and horse traders.[32] By Ramesses II's reign, there is strong evidence that Egypt had started to breed and trade horses in such sites as Q 1 excavated between 1980 and 1987, near the modern-day village of Qantir. This has been identified as belonging to the royal chariotry of Ramesses II, not far from the site where royal stables were unearthed in 1990, site Q IV.[33] In the chariotry ground, northeast of the building complex, a workshop has been discovered where production benches are located as well as areas for working cold and hot metal. Items such as bronze knobs and gold suggest the building and decoration of chariots. The presence of the stables and chariotry ground points towards all areas needed for the breeding and training of horses, as well as the creation of the chariots.[34] The discovery of sites Q 1 and Q IV, gives evidence to the creation of a whole new social class linked to both the military, and the royal family within Egypt. This gives further evidence towards Bibby's theory that horse traders would have worked for either the royal family or the state, as the sites are located within royal palaces.[35] The sites also give evidence to Ann Hyland's theory of a hierarchy needed for the chariot.[36]

In conclusion, there are many similarities between the adoption of the chariot in both China and Egypt. More is known about the social activities for the chariot in Egypt. Quirke S and Spencer J explain that the Pharaoh, his family, and officials used the chariot for hunting, inspections of estates and for official appearances, citing scenes from private tombs such as Panehesi as evidence.[37] Although it is impossible at the present time to know all of the activities the Shang kings used chariots for, the one activity that can be proven beyond reasonable doubt thanks to the Shang Oracle Bone Inscriptions, is their use in

hunting.[38] More important than its immediate uses, was the effected that the chariot and horses had on both societies as a whole. As Ann Hyland and Stuart Piggott explain, the introduction of horses into a society leads to hierarchy based around a chariot package that involves new skills, and an increased demand of new materials.[39] This initially led to increased trade, in China with areas to the north, and in Egypt with areas such as Palestine and Syria, and in both areas eventually led to the breeding of horses both to be used for their own chariots, and for the purpose of trading.[40] Although it is unlikely that these horses would have directly affected the farmers and labourers in China or Egypt, they would have create an entirely new social class involving traders acting on behalf of the king and state, along with horse breeds, trainers, handlers, and stable masters.[41]

Notes:

[1] Quirke, S and Spencer, J. (1992) 187; Hsiao, Y. W. (2013) 4.

[2] Shaughnessy, E. L. (1988) 194.

[3] Bagley, R. (1999) 207; Hsiao, Y. W. (2013) 26.

[4] Quirke, S and Spencer, J. (1992) 187.

[5] Kopp-Junk. H. (2013) 133.

[6] Sabbahy, L. (2012) 191.

[7] Shaw, I. (2001) 60.

[8] Wu, H, Y. (2013) 1.

[9] Shaughnessy, E, L. (1988) 194.

[10] Hsiao, Y. W. (2013) 30.

[11] Magdalena, D. V. (1962) 175; Shaughnessy, E. L. (1988) 198.

[12] Shaughnessy, E. L. (1988) 199.

[13] Tao, W. (2007) 318.

[14] Tao, W. (2007) 350.

[15] Tao, W. (2007) 350.

[16] Tao, W. (2007) 365.

[17] Eno, R. (2009) 41.

[18] Shaughnessy, E. L. (1988) 220.

[19] Piggott, S. (1992).

[20] Hyland, A. (2003) 74.

[21] Hyland, A. (2003) 81.

[22] Bagley, R. (1999) 207.

[23] Tao, W. (2007) 350-329.

[24] Tao, W. (2007) 330.

[25] Smith, B and Weng, W. G. (1973) 29.

[26] Bagley, R. (1999) 207.

[27] Smith, B and Weng, W. G. (1973) 29.

[28] Strouhal, E. (1992) 143.

[29] Shaw, I. (2001) 60.

[30] Bibby, M. (2003) 16.

[31] Bibby, M. (2003) 16.

[32] Bibby, M. (2003) 16.

[33] Prell, S. (2012) 157.

[34] Prell, S. (2012) 166.

[35] Bibby, M. (2003) 16.

[36] Hyland, A. (2003) 81.

[37] Quirke, S and Spencer, J. (1992) 187.

[38] Tao, W. (2007) 318.

[39] Hyland, A. (2003) 74; Piggott, S. (1992).

[40] Bibby, M. (2003) 16; Strouhal, E. (1992) 143.

[41] Bibby, M. (2003) 16.

Saint Cuthbert and His Community: A Study in Identity

Adam Hendy

For the early medieval people, religious identity was of immense importance, for it governed every aspect of their lives and laid out the very fabric of the society in which they lived. The life of the Northumbrian churchman and saint Cuthbert, as recorded by the venerable monk Bede in c.721, can tell us a great deal about the religious communities to which he belonged, for his actions as an ascetic saint exemplified the actions of a true believer and demonstrated his "achievement of holiness".[1] Cuthbert was considered a model Christian by Bede, and a man for whom the episcopal community should seek to emulate. Bede's prose, *Life and Miracles of St. Cuthbert* and its careful analysis can tell us a great deal about the turbulent religious, social and political tensions that were prevalent in Bede's Northumbria, but also the role of the ascetic saint within his community. In studying a number of passages from Bede's work, I will attempt to show the importance of Cuthbert within his religious and social community.

Fig. 9: Illuminated manuscript of Bede's Life of St Cuthbert, showing the discovery of his Incorrupt Body

First of all, consider Bede's account of Cuthbert's life at the great monastery of Lindisfarne in chapter 16:

> "There were some brethren in the monastery who preferred their ancient customs to the new regular discipline. But he got the better of these by his patience and modest virtues, and by daily practice at length brought them to the better system which he had in view. Moreover, in his discussions with the brethren, when he was fatigued by the bitter taunts of those who opposed him, he would rise from his seat with a placid look, and dismiss the meeting until the following day, when, as if he had suffered no repulse, he would use the same exhortations as before, until he converted them, as I

> have said before, to his own views. For his patience was most exemplary, and in enduring the opposition which was heaped equally upon his mind and body he was most resolute, and, amid the asperities which he encountered, he always exhibited such placidity of countenance, as made it evident to all that his outward vexations were compensated for by the internal consolations of the Holy Spirit"

This chapter perfectly captures tensions over religious identity prevalent in seventh and eighth century Northumbria, in which Irish and Latin Christianity clashed and vied for dominance. Following the withdrawal of Rome from Britain by 410, the Christian observance of the people of Britain faltered, with churches and shrines falling into disrepair and neglect. In the sixth century, Irish missionary efforts were made to Pictland and Anglo-Saxon England, with Adrian reaching Lindisfarne in 635. These Irish missionary efforts were met with similar missionary efforts launched by the Roman church, with Augustine converting Canterbury in 597. The most prominent battleground of words and theology concerned the correct date for the celebration of Easter, settled in favour of the Roman Church at the Synod of Whitby in 664, in which the rival parties were led by Colman of Lindisfarne and Wilfrid of York, representing the Irish and Roman churches respectively. Cuthbert's lifespan, c.634 – 687, should be considered then against the political and religious background of the Northumbria he lived in. Bede puts Cuthbert forward as a model Christian who with great patience is trying to show the Irish Christians the error in their 'ancient customs'. Just as martyrs suffered violence and repression in the name of the lord, so too is Cuthbert presented by Bede as a defender of the faith, suffering 'bitter taunts' and sharp opposition. It is very likely given his upbringing on Farne (in the realm of Irish missionary efforts in the late 6th century) that Cuthbert himself was an Irish Christian and so this text demonstrates how Bede is shaping the events of Cuthbert's life in order to support his own theological views and "recasting it so as to fit into the larger framework of typical saintly and heroic deeds".[2] Just as one of the model saints of western Christendom St. Martin of Tours had been a vigorous opponent of Arian heresy in fourth-century Gaul, so too was Cuthbert presented as a driving force in reform of the formerly Irish church in Northumbria. In doing so, Bede is aligning his work with long-established hagiographical tradition in creating a saint worthy of emulation, and he is demonstrating quite effectively the turbulent nature of his world in which such importance was placed on the "correct definition of orthodox Christianity".[3] Bede's prose life was written for an ecclesiastical community and in particular, to be read by the monks of Lindisfarne who had commissioned the work. It is therefore plausible that the life of Cuthbert was written as a "theological corrective", aimed at facilitating the spread of Roman-style Christianity that had started with Augustine's mission to Canterbury in 597.[4]

It was, however, not just in his lifetime that Cuthbert provided a model for Christian behaviour for the people of Northumbria. The very fact that Bede wrote his *Life of Cuthbert* attests the development of a cult. Among the more celebrated stories in the life, moreover, is one that points to the same development:

"Now Divine Providence, wishing to show to what glory this holy man was exalted after death, who even before death had been distinguished by so many signs and miracles, inspired the minds of the brethren with a wish to remove his bones, which they expected to find dry and free from his decayed flesh, and to put them in a small coffer, on the same spot, above the ground, as objects of veneration to the people. This wish they communicated to the holy Bishop Eadbert about the middle of Quadragesima [i.e. Lent]; and he ordered them to execute this on the 20th of April, which was the anniversary of the day of his burial. They accordingly did so; and opening the tomb, found his body entire, as if he were still alive, and his joints were still flexible, as if he were not dead, but sleeping. His clothes, also, were still undecayed, and seemed to retain their original freshness and colour. When the brethren saw this, they were so astonished, that they could scarcely speak, or look on the miracle which lay before them, and they hardly knew what they were doing.[5]"

In stories such as this one of the posthumous miracles that Cuthbert's body performs, Bede underscores the saint's standing in ecclesiastical history and that of the prestige of the Northumbrian church. Nine years after his death, the brethren of Lindisfarne opened the tomb of Cuthbert and were startled to find him undecayed. The preservation of Cuthbert's body in death served to prove his piety in life, and in so doing strengthened the belief in him as an unassailable man of God and saint. This was not an isolated instance: around the same time, Aethelthryth, abbess of Ely, a saint and former Queen who died in 679, had been found in a similar perfect state of preservation; there was a "desirability of a similar honour for Cuthbert".[6] Furthermore, in the last chapters of the Life, Bede dedicates himself to recounting the miracles performed by the objects of Cuthbert and the area around which he was buried; all of this strengthened the status of Lindisfarne as a place of healing, as a shrine to St. Cuthbert and as the new "Jerusalem" for episcopal Northumbria.[7] In the mid-8th century, Bishop Acca of Hexham implemented plans to bring the bishopric of Lindisfarne to an end; forging Bernicia (modern-day Northumbria and Durham) into a single diocese.[8] It was against the background of this tension that Bede wrote his prose life, and it was under this very real threat that he compiled the Life and Miracles of St Cuthbert. The text should therefore also be considered in the light of such change and Cuthbert's continued miracles regarded as an attempt to stand up to the very real threat, Bede and the Northumbrian community felt Bishop Wilfrid of York and Acca of Hexham presented against their way of life.

Fig. 10: Lindisfarne Priory, where St Cuthbert became bishop in AD 684'

What then is Cuthbert's role within his religious community? Bede's Cuthbert is a model Christian and it is therefore very probable that his life is an attempt to teach and reinforce the values of Latin Christianity on the episcopal community. The identity of this community was a melting pot of Irish and Latin Christianity, and Cuthbert's life demonstrates the social and religious tensions prevalent during the time of Bede and how it affected the people of Northumbria. Cuthbert was the centre of his religious community acting as a preacher, mediator and healer; upholding his pastoral duty while ensuring his closeness with God. In many ways, this mirrors the role the Church would play in the early medieval world, in which it was the centre of everyday life, relationships and death. In death, Cuthbert remained a key part of his community with the monastery at Lindisfarne becoming the centre for the cult of Cuthbert and by extension the Christian Church in Northumbria. The monastery of Lindisfarne and indeed the Northern Church forged its identity around the cult of Cuthbert and the religious community owed many of its customs to the actions of this ascetic saint. The presence of Saint Cuthbert shows us the importance religion had on the identity of the early medieval world and the episcopal communities within it.

Notes:

[1] Humphries, M. (2017) 504.

[2] Rosenthal, J. T. (1988) 605.

[3] Humphries, M. (2017) 511.

[4] Foley, W. T. (1999) 115.

[5] Bede, 42.

[6] Kirby, D. P (1995) 392.

[7] Kirby, D. P (1995) 397.

[8] Kirby, D. P (1995) 397.

Fig. 11: Cuthbert of Farne sculpture by Fenwick Lawson at Lindisfarne Priory'

Could small Greek city states survive without giving up autonomy?

Michael Weeldon

> 'You know as well as we do that when we are talking on the human plane questions of justice only arise when there is equal power to compel: in terms of practicality the dominant exact what they can and the weak concede what they must.'[1]
>
> Extract from the Melian Dialogue –Thucydides

With the Melian Dialogue, Thucydides takes a break from his otherwise rigorous historical account to elucidate a major theme of his work. The (probably fictional) discussion takes place immediately before Athens' brutal destruction of Melos, and acts as a unique moment of blunt-talking which the Athenian embassy outlines the ideology behind their imperialist ambitions: that the 'dominant' are naturally free to dominate and exploit the 'weak'.[2] Thucydides, here, offers startlingly direct insight into the interstate dynamics of powr that characterised Greece during the Classical Period. Indeed, the fate of Melos epitomises these issues: a small, autonomous and neutral island *polis* in the Cyclades, abruptly ordered to submit to an immeasurably greater power under threat of total destruction. The image this portrays is of a world in which small *poleis* constantly found themselves between a rock and a hard place, begging the question: could small Greek states survive without giving up their autonomy? This is a topic fraught with inherent difficulty, largely owing to the scarcity of historical evidence for most small cities, as well as the difficulties of trying to establish criteria by which states can generally be judged to be 'small' or 'autonomous'.[3] That said, I hope to convincingly advance the argument that, for the most part, small *poleis* could not survive for long in the classical period without giving up some degree of autonomy, although the amount they had to concede varied depending on the arrangement in question. The importance of regional variables in determining the viability of a state being able to preserve its autonomy will also be discussed, along with the modern debates concerning the Greek conception of autonomy itself.

Fig. 12: Bust of Thucydides

Before delving into my arguments, however, it is necessary to address some of the problems associated with tackling this subject. Firstly, the ancient sources available for this period present a clear difficulty. Ancient historiographers tend not to mention smaller *poleis* in their accounts, as their focus was on describing important events, which were usually orchestrated by larger cities. This makes it particularly difficult to analyse the autonomy of small cities in the classical period, during which their circumstances and affiliations changed with unprecedented frequency. It is thus prudent to search widely across various

forms of ancient writing (such as inscriptions) and to accumulate the snippets of information they provide. However, the written evidence in general is unevenly focused, with most accounts predominantly describing events on the Greek mainland or around the Aegean, and the majority of extant inscriptions deriving solely from the city of Athens. This means that our knowledge of, for instance, the Peloponnesian *poleis* far outweighs that of Southern Italy. Regardless, since this essay mainly concerns narrative history, two historiographical works will constitute the backbone of this essay: Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* (which covers the *Pentekontaetia* and Peloponnesian War up to 411 BC) and Xenophon's *Hellenica* (which continues Thucydides' narrative up to 362 BC). While Thucydides is widely revered for the detail and general accuracy of his narrative,[4] Xenophon's account often suffers from overt bias and omission, and so should be regarded carefully (although many of his discrepancies can be uncovered via comparison with the writings of Diodorus Siculus and the Oxyrhynchus papyri).[5] Ultimately, the sources available provide enough information on individual *poleis* to at least attempt a broad analysis, albeit one somewhat narrowed in geographical scope.

Another problem posed by this topic concerns the exact criteria to be used for identifying a 'small city'. The population sizes for the vast majority of states are unknown, as no census data from the period or regions concerned are available to us.[6] However, we are able to construct a rough idea of the relative size of many states though lateral analysis of ancient evidence. The historiographical tradition of recording hoplite army sizes has proven particularly useful, as it provides an indication of both the military capability and citizen population of a *polis*. Herodotus, for instance, when listing the allied troop contributions for the battle of Plataea, records that 8000 hoplites came from Athens, while the small Chalcidian city of Potidaea sent only 300.[7] Also, as Lucia Nixon and Simon Price's notable 1990 study shows, the 5th century Athenian Empire's tribute lists can be used to give an idea of the relative size of the Aegean *poleis* through comparison of their tribute payments.[8] In 441BC, Thasos paid 30 talents to the Athenian treasury whereas 71% of the league states paid a talent or less, clearly demonstrating the prominence of Thasos as one of Athens' 'allies'. While these methods cannot provide precise figures for the populations and resources of the *poleis,* they do allow us to make rough comparisons, and so are inordinately useful. That being said, there are two major reasons to be cautious when using the information they provide. Firstly, the size of *poleis* could change dramatically over time, so a large and influential city at the start of the period may, through some calamity, have declined into a backwater by the end, or vice versa. One of the most extreme examples of such a change is that of Olynthus which, in the aforementioned tribute list, is recorded as having paid only two talents but, after a Macedonia-encouraged *synoecism,* swelled into prominence, becoming the leader of the newly formed Chalcidian League in 423BC.[9] Secondly, since the focal point of this discussion is the power dynamics between *poleis*, it is crucial to note that factors such as location meant that states didn't necessarily have to be large to achieve dominance over their neighbours. The tiny Peloponnesian *polis* of Kleitor, for instance, is claimed by Pausanias to have produced an inscription to the effect that they had imposed a

tithe on 'many cities that they had reduced by force'.[10] Thus, the size and power of a *polis* is only truly important for the purposes of this essay insofar as it compares to that of its rivals, although, as I will later discuss, the rise of hegemonic 'superpower' *poleis* over the course of this period meant that small cities across Greece became increasingly threatened.

One final issue that requires immediate settling regards ancient and modern conceptions of the word 'autonomy'. *Autonomia*, as the Greeks called it, was, until recently, considered to be a vital aspect of the Greek ideal of the *polis*. A recent scholarly movement, spearheaded by Mogens Herman Hansen, has dispelled this idea, suggesting that *autonomia* only really became an important concern over the course of the 4th century and, even then, never an intrinsic characteristic of the city state.[11] This has ignited a lively and renewed debate as to exactly which states were seen as autonomous. The difficulty, here, stems in part from the sheer variation in interstate relations that arose during this period. Virtually all *poleis* were involved with some form of league, alliance, or empire at some point and, in all such cases it can be argued that a degree of autonomy had to be sacrificed. Antony Keen, in his response to Hansen's 1995 article, astutely points to the inconsistency of the ancient evidence regarding the perceived autonomy of the Boiotian League states to make the point that there was no universally acknowledged dividing line between 'autonomous' and 'not autonomous'.[12] That said, there was certainly a widespread moral belief, particularly in the 4th century, that city states *should* be autonomous, and that the domineering deprivation of a *polis'* autonomy was inherently unjust.[13] Isocrates, for instance, in his *Panathenaicus*, condemns the Spartan rule over the *Perioikic poleis* in *Lakedaimon,* claiming that, having been conquered, they were apportioned the 'poorest land' and left with little to no 'power'.[14] The mere existence of such criticisms suggests that autonomy was a moral issue. However, this should not be taken as an indication that large city states ever went out of their way to altruistically protect the autonomy of their smaller counterparts. Recent scholars, such as Polly Low, have drawn attention to the use of *autonomia* as a tool of rhetoric in the classical period, during which it was advantageous for great powers to win over the support of smaller states.[15] This can be seen at the start of the Peloponnesian War, when Sparta took on the mantle of 'liberators of Greece', promising autonomy for all states willing to revolt against the Athenians.[16] After the war, however, many of the states that took the Spartan invitation allied once again with Athens as they now feared Spartan domination, suggesting that the promise was little more than a political tool.[17] Be that as it may, it can be said that the Spartan 'liberation' did present a momentary boon to their autonomy, as they were no longer forced by Athens to fight or pay tribute. Essentially, *poleis,* both great and small, unless compelled, acted out of their own interests, be it to expand their influence and power (as was more common with larger cities) or to simply ensure their own security and survival (a greater concern of the small). As for the definition of autonomy, given the inconsistencies of the ancient sources and modern scholarship, it is vital to nuance any evaluation of a *polis'* autonomy with constant consideration of extent. This essay will thus avoid confusion by using a modern definition of autonomy[18] to analyse the extent to which individual cities had control over themselves, in terms of both their foreign policy and

internal affairs.

That in mind, I will now proceed to the nucleus of this discussion, and attempt to justify my aforementioned thesis that, as a general rule, small city states in this period could not remain truly autonomous for long (that is, under little to no external control or influence). To begin, it is crucial to note that the classical period (especially during the late 5th and 4th centuries) was a particularly turbulent time in Greek history, during which large-scale warfare became frequent as prominent *poleis* (such as Athens, Sparta and Thebes) competed for control of the rest of *Hellas*. This meant that, over the period, the political situations and loyalties of small cities were liable to change, sometimes at quite a frenetic pace, as new threats or opportunities arose. Thus, while many small states were autonomous at some point in the period, few stayed that way for long, as they eventually either joined an alliance or had their autonomy forcefully stripped from them. The small *polis* of Leontinoi in Sicily presents an ideal example of this dilemma as, having failed to survive autonomously, it was overcome and dismantled in the late 5th century by the neighbouring superpower, Syracuse, which used its former territory as an outpost.[19] To reclaim their territory and autonomy, the remaining Leontines appealed to Athens, allying with them during the failed Sicilian expedition of 415-413BC.[20] Thus, when at war with a larger state, as Aeneas Tacticus tells us,[21] the very survival of the *polis* was often at stake, and it was a logical choice for most small states to exchange autonomy for security by joining a league or alliance, lest they suffer a fate akin to that of Melos or Leontinoi.

That being said, some states did remain autonomous for longer than others, and a city's ability to remain autonomous for even a short period was dependant on a plethora of factors. For instance, Aristotle tells us that the construction of fortifications was a key component in making independence viable,[22] to the point that the act itself became a symbolic declaration of independence (as with Messenia after their liberation from Sparta around 370 BC).[23] Sieges were a fairly rare occurrence during this period as they could be very costly and time-consuming. For example, the Athenian siege of Potidaea at the start of the Peloponnesian War lasted for roughly two years and supposedly cost at least 2000 talents – around a third of Athens' initial war reserves.[24] City fortifications thus served small cities as both protection during invasions and as a disincentive *to* invasions by greater powers. Topographical and geographical features could also play a role. A clear example of this is the foundation of the city of Megalopolis after Arkadia's secession from the Peloponnesian League, which was deliberately positioned to block a vital pass between Laconia and the rest of the Peloponnese, thereby preventing another Spartan expansion.[25] Indeed, this was likely very effective, as there is no evidence to suggest that the Arkadian city of Mantinea – along with many other Arkadian cities – was forced to concede any autonomy afterwards until the war with Macedon over a decade later. The location of a city in relation to others was also important to the likelihood of it maintaining its autonomy. The aforementioned city-conquering *polis* of Kleitor, for instance, would likely have been overcome itself long before had it been located in, say, Laconia, and not a remote mountainous region in the Peloponnese. Likewise, the famous small city of Plataea, which was razed to the ground at

the behest of Thebes during the Peloponnesian War,[26] probably would have had a far better chance of independence and survival had it not existed on the periphery of Boiotia. Thus, while it was possible for small cities to remain autonomous during the classical period, changing circumstances usually led them either to lose that autonomy to a greater power, or to willingly exchange it for security by joining a multilateral organisation (or 'league'). These organisations, however, could take a number of different forms, so it is worth comparing the amount of autonomy small states had to concede when joining them.

One very widespread form of organisation was the multilateral alliance. These universally entailed some degree of military contribution (usually in the form of troops or tributary payment) but afforded their member states – in principle, at least – independence in their internal affairs. However, no two leagues were the same. For instance, Sparta's Peloponnesian League seems to have offered its members slightly more control over their foreign policies than the Athenian-led Delian League as, while both Leagues required that members have 'the same friends and enemies',[27] the Peloponnesian League allowed wars between member states (as long as they were not against Sparta's own interests).[28] By joining such an alliance a small state was essentially sacrificing control over its foreign policy in order to guarantee protection for itself. Indeed, one of the main incentives for states to join the Delian League was that they would be receiving – at the cost of affordable tribute payments – the protection of Athens' formidable navy against Aegean pirates.[29] However, these arrangements were subject to change, especially from the late 5th century onwards, as the frequent outbreak of wars and the development of rival power blocs meant that the leading states took extreme measures to maintain their hegemony. This led to a changing relationship within the leagues, as the leading *poleis* increasingly violated the autonomy of smaller member-states. For instance, there are numerous incidences detailed in the ancient sources of states attempting to leave a league but being stopped. The earliest example of this is the island state of Naxos, which tried to leave the Delian League shortly after its foundation but was blockaded into submission by Athens.[30] Hegemonic states also involved themselves in the internal political affairs of smaller cities, Thucydides telling us that the Spartans imposed a 'narrower oligarchy' on Sicyon in 418BC.[31] Indeed, the Spartans were notorious enforcers of oligarchy, an extreme example of which is found with the case of Phlius, which was besieged by Sparta in 380BC as it was experiencing conflict between its democratic and oligarchic factions.[32] Some league cities were even destroyed or 'dispersed' by leading states, such as the city of Mantinea, which was forcefully demolished and separated into villages by the Spartans in order to reduce its influence.[33] That said, not all leagues became like this. The 4th century Second Athenian Confederacy, for instance, set up by the Athenians with the promise of continued autonomy for the Aegean Greeks,[34] appears to have operated much more like the early Delian League, as there is little evidence that Athens behaved imperialistically towards member-states, or deprived them of any more autonomy than outlined in its charter.[35] Thus, a small *polis* could exist in a state of relative autonomy as part of a multilateral alliance, although the extent to which they were allowed to act independently depended on both the league in question and the

Fig. 13: Map of the Delian League in 431 BCE

inclinations of the state leading it.

Finally, it is worth briefly discussing the amount of autonomy small cities were left with when joining a federal state (or *koinon*). This was a rare form of league in which several *poleis* came together to establish a central government taking on most - if not all - traditional roles of the *polis,* encompassing both foreign and domestic policy. Like alliances, joining a *koinon* offered security, and examples of these organisations include the Arkadian League (a short-lived *koinon* set up after Sparta's defeat at the battle of Leuctra in 371 BC) and the Boiotian League, which was centred on the large city of Thebes. Naturally, in a federal state, each city was given some form of representation in the decision-making body, and so all states had a say in the way the *koinon* was ruled. The Oxyrhynchus historian, for example, tells us that the Boiotian League in 395 was separated into 11 districts, each of which sent one *boiotarch* to the common assembly.[36] Thus, if the group of poleis involved was culturally homogenous, with the same general interests and aims, it can be said that they were autonomous, in the sense that they were being ruled according to their wishes. This was often clearly not the case, however, as attested by the total collapse of the Arkadian League over a disagreement about the appropriate use of temple treasures found at Olympia.[37] Furthermore, the Boiotian League was dominated by the city of Thebes, particularly after 386BC,[38] and the small cities of Plataea and Thespiae repeatedly found themselves at odds with the rest of the league.[39] Thus, being in a *koinon* could offer at least a sense of autonomy for many states but the opposite for some.

To summarise, this essay has discussed the nature of power dynamics between great and small city states during a very tumultuous period of Greek history. It has shown that, while it was possible for *poleis* to survive independently for a short time, they generally chose to concede some autonomy by aligning with a major power bloc. This was out of necessity, given the obvious risks more powerful states posed to their survival. The amount of autonomy they had to give up to ensure their protection has been shown to vary, and the ancient and modern debates regarding these arrangements have been discussed. Ultimately, the classical period was a dangerous time for the small *polis,* in which survival was often an

immediate concern. Small states, caught in the middle of the wider conflicts of the period, had to sacrifice liberty for security, or run the risk of losing everything. Referring back to the fate of Melos, it seems appropriate to note that, having suffered the destruction of their city by Athens, the Melians were later repatriated at the war's end, albeit completely stripped of their autonomy and under the rule of a Spartan military governor.[40] 'The weak', it would appear, 'concede what they must'.

Notes:

[1] Thucydides 5.89.

[2] Thucydides 5.84-112., also see Morrison, J.V. (2000) 119-148.

[3] For the debate on the nature and meaning of *autonomia* during this period, see Hansen, M.H. (1995) 21-43; Keen, A.G. (1996) 113-125; Hansen, M.H. (1996) 127-136; Low, P. (2007) 187-192.

[4] See Flory, S. (1990) 193-208.

[5] See Beck, H. (2001) 355-375; Turner, E.G. (1952) 127-137.

[6] Nixon, L. and Price, S. (1990) 146-147.

[7] Herodotus 9.28.

[8] Nixon, L. and Price, S. (1990) 137-170.

[9] Nixon, L. and Price, S. (1990) 168; Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 12.34.2.

[10] Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 5.23.7.

[11] Hansen, M.H. (1995) 21-43.

[12] Keen, A.G. (1996) 113-125.

[13] For an insightful discussion of *autonomia* within the context of interstate *nomos,* see Low, P. (2007) 175-212.

[14] Isocrates, *Panathenaikus* 12.179; for two opposing views in the debate on the autonomy of the *perioikic* cities, see Shipley, G. (2006) 67-82 and Nielsen, T.H. (1996) 113-125.

[15] Low, P. (2007) 129-212; A later example of the rhetorical use of *autonomia* can be found with the Roman conquest, see Walsh, J.J. (1996) 344-363.

[16] Thucydides 2.7-8.

[17] For a translation of the inscription marking the renewed alliance between Athens and Chios (384/3), see Harding, P. (1985) no. 31.

[18] For the purpose of this essay, this will be: 'freedom from external control or influence'.

[19] Berger, S. (1991) 129-142.

[20] Thucydides 6.19.

[21] Aeneas Tacticus, *see introduction.*

[22] Aristotle, *The Politics* 1330b-1331a.

[23] Xenephon, *Hellenica* 7.1.36; also see Ober, J. (1987) 569-604.

[24] Blamire, A. (2001) 99.

[25] Roy, J. (2007) 289.

[26] Thucydides 3.68.

[27] For a translation of the Peloponnesian League treaty between Sparta and Erxadieis, see Dillon, M. and Garland, L. (2010) 6.61; for information on the Delian League, see Rhodes (2010) 14-23.

[28] Larsen, J.A.O. (1933) 257-276.

[29] Balcer, J.M. (1974) 28-33.

[30] Thucydides 1.98.

[31] Thucydides 5.81.

[32] Xenophon, *Hellenica* 5.2-3; Athens also engaged in these practices. See Mattingly, H.P. (2008) 101-110.

[33] Harding, P. (1985) no. 30.

[34] For a translation of the Second Athenian League's Charter, see Harding, P. (1985) no. 35.

[35] See Cawkwell, G.L. (1981) 51-52.

[36] For a translation of the relevant section of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, see Harding, P. (1985) no. 15.

[37] See Thompson, W.E. (1983) 149–169.

[38] For a convincing argument that the Boiotian poleis became considerably less autonomous after the king's peace of 386, see Hansen, M.H. (1996) 127–136.

[39] See Buck, R.J. (1970) 217–227.

[40] Sparkes, B.A. (1982) 51.

Critical Analyses

Plato, *Laws*, 720b-e.

Rachel Joseph

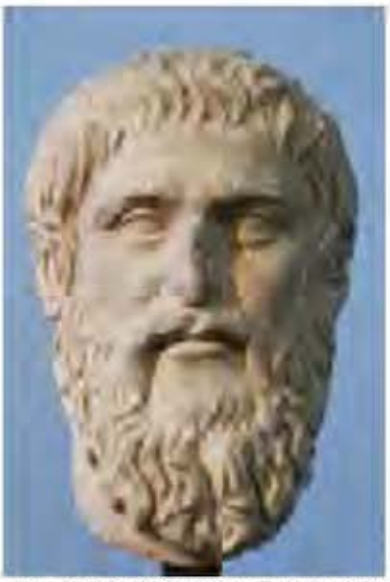

Fig. 14: Roman copy of a portrait bust of Plato by Silanion

> You are also aware that, as the sick folk in the cities comprise both slaves and free men, [720c] the slaves are usually doctored by slaves, who either run round the town or wait in their surgeries; and not one of these doctors either gives or receives any account of the several ailments of the various domestics, but prescribes for each what he deems right from experience, just as though he had exact knowledge, and with the assurance of an autocrat; then up he jumps and off he rushes to another sick domestic, and thus he relieves his master in his attendance on the sick. [720d] But the free-born doctor is mainly engaged in visiting and treating the ailments of free men, and he does so by investigating them from the commencement and according to the course of nature; he talks with the patient himself and with his friends, and thus both learns himself from the sufferers and imparts instruction to them, so far as possible; and he gives no prescription until he has gained the patient's consent, and only then, while securing the patient's continued docility by means of persuasion, [720e] does he attempt to complete the task of restoring him to health. Which of these two methods of doctoring shows the better doctor, or of training, the better trainer?
>
> (Plato, *Laws*, 720b-e.)

When reading this extract, one should acknowledge that it is part of a philosophical speculation regarding what constitutes 'the ideal state'.[1] For example, in this extract slaves are used as the lesser part of an analogy concerning laws.[2]

Initially, this is captured because the two types of doctor are contrasted when it is stated that the slave doctor, "prescribes... what he deems right from experience", whilst the freeman's doctor, "gives no prescription until he's gained the patient's consent".[3] Here, we can suggest Plato uses slaves as a persuasive technique, because a freeman would not want to agree with part of an analogy concerning slaves. Namely, because the slave's method does not exercise freedom of choice and would subsequently exemplify the slave's inferiority. Even though slaves had the ability to doctor like freemen, their capability was still inferior. Consequently, this reflects how slaves were viewed in contemporary society—as the lesser version of a superior. This ideology can also be found within Salvian's work when he writes, "slaves are...like their owners... though the more usual thing is to find that they are worse".[4] Broadly, this shows that slaves were a large part of society, as the ancient texts would not have compared freemen to an unfamiliar group because this would discredit their argument. Specifically, however, one could also suggest slaves were a large part of society to establish hierarchal order through clear markings of power— leading to the stability of the state. The knowledge of the 'inferior' and 'superior' would psychologically act to maintain control. This is portrayed in the passage as Plato states, "Which of these two methods of doctoring shows the better doctor...?"[5] An almost rhetorical question, as the elite reading this would know it was the freeman, subsequently affirming their power.

Furthermore, the passage also highlights Aristotle's view that slaves had an inability to reason properly.[6] For instance, Plato writes that slaves do not "give or receive[s] any account of the several ailments", they base their assumption on "experience".[7] This shows that slaves understand they must act, yet cannot reason to do it thoroughly like the freeman. However, the

key phrase describing the slave in this passage is "off he rushes".[8] Perhaps, the slave showed the inability to reason because he did not have time to exercise it fully. It states he had to rush - could this be because there are more sick slaves in comparison to freemen? Or less slave doctors? Debatably, the reason these questions cannot be answered is because the elites aimed to present slaves in a certain mannerism to fit their literary aims; Aristotle justified slavery through reasoning so that his argument of a 'natural state' was plausible, whilst Plato used slaves as the lesser part of an analogy to argue his point on laws, and thus stripped them of their true identity.[9]

Henceforth, the extract highlights that educated freemen could characterize those without a voice in the ancient world to aid their own agendas, making evidence on slaves difficult to interpret.

Notes:

[1] Morrow, R. G. (1939) *Plato's Law of Slavery*, 12.

[2] Plato, *Laws* 4, 720b-e.

[3] Plato, *Laws* 4, 720c-e.

[4] Salvian, *The Governance of God*, 8.3.

[5] Plato, *Laws 4*, 720e.

[6] Aristotle, *Pol.* 1, 1254b.

[7] Plato, *Laws* 4, 720c.

[8] Plato, *Laws* 4, 720c.

[9] Aristotle, *Pol.* 1, 1252a; Plato, *Laws* 4, 720a-e.

Xenophon, *Symposium*, 2.1-2 and 2.11-5.

Aidan Kee

When the tables had been removed and the guests had poured a libation and sung a hymn, a man from Syracuse joined them to supply some revelry. He had with him a fine piper girl, a dancing girl—one of those skilled in acrobatic tricks,—and a very handsome boy, who was very good at playing the kithara and at dancing; the Syracusan made money by exhibiting their performance as an amazement.5 2They now played for the company, the piper girl on the pipes, the boy on the kithara; and it was agreed that both furnished satisfactory amusement when Socrates remarked, "I say, Callias, you're entertaining us perfectly: not only have you served a dinner that's above criticism, but you are also offering us very delightful sights and sounds."

(Xenophon, *Symposium*, 2.1-2.)

But now there was brought in a hoop set all around with upright swords; over these the dancer turned somersaults into the hoop and out again, to the dismay of the audience, who thought that she might suffer some mishap. But she went through this performance fearlessly and safely Then Socrates, catching Antisthenes' attention, said: "At least the people watching this will never again deny, I imagine, that courage too is a teachable quality, when this one, in spite of being a female, keeps leaping so boldly in among the swords!" "Well then," asked Antisthenes, "wouldn't it be best for this Syracusan to exhibit his dancer to the city and announce that if the Athenians pay him money he'll give all the men of Athens the courage to charge the spear points?" "Well said!" interjected Philip. "I'd certainly like to watch Peisander the popular leader learning to turn somersaults into the knives; for as it is, his inability to look spears in the face makes him shrink even from going on campaign!" At this point the boy performed a dance, eliciting from Socrates the remark, "Did you notice that, handsome as the boy is, he looks even handsomer in the poses of the dance than when he's at rest?"

(Xenophon, *Symposium*, 2.11-15.)

Fig. 15: Bust of Xenophon

This essay will show why the passage in question is useful for the study of Athenian symposia specifically, and for the comparison of Symposia across Greece.

"It is worthwhile to relate not only the serious acts of gentlemen but also what they do in their lighter moments."[1] Within the first sentence of Xenophon's *Symposium*, his aims are partly revealed. Xenophon was a follower of Socrates, who was sentenced to death in 399 BC, having been accused of corrupting the Athenian youth and not worshiping the same gods as the rest of the Athenians. [2] At the very least, a part of Xenophon's aim is to respond to these claims on behalf of the deceased Socrates. This idea is apparent in the extract when, for example, the guests start the evening's libations only after they had "poured a libation and sung a hymn".[3] This acknowledgment of ritual shows that the group, and so Socrates, are worshipping the gods, not what one might expect of a man charged with doing the opposite. This defensive theme is also one that is shown throughout *Symposium*, so if Xenophon is trying to present Socrates as a man who adheres to the laws and customs of Athens, then it is reasonable to use the extract as a source on Athenian Symposia.[4]

Symposia were an important aspect of Greek life as a place for men to socialise and discuss their ideas. Socrates, in this extract, introduces the theory of courage being "a teachable quality", Antisthenes then challenges this theory.[5] So, we can see that there was serious theoretical and intellectual discussion at

Symposia. Additionally, the way in which Antisthenes' challenge is made with a slightly comedic hypothetical anecdote, shows another aspect of Symposia. Earlier in the symposium, after one of many failed attempts at a joke, Phillip dramatically laments that if no one laughs at him he has no place at a symposium as he cannot partake in serious conversation. Ironically, this lament is a successful and final attempt to make the attendees laugh.[6] Thus, the rather subtle hint at the balance between humour and intellect in the extract appears to be a theme at the Athenian Symposia. This is an aspect that varied at Symposia across the Greece, shown by the example of Sparta. Although there was room for merriment in the Spartan Syssitia, the sources depict it as a more formal and controlled institution.[7] For example, Plutarch suggests that a new member proposed to the group had to be unanimously agreed upon for admittance to the gathering, and that there was also a focus on the education of the younger members of the group.[8] Notably, this differs to the Athenian symposium that operated on an invitational basis.[9]

Clearly, whilst there are differences between the Spartan and the Athenian Symposia, in many ways they

Notes:

[1] Xenophon, *Symposium* 1.1.

[2] For the accusations against Socrates see, Plato, *Apology* 24.

[3] Xenophon, *Symposium* 2.1.

[4] Critobulus' father puts Critobulus into the care of Socrates with the view to educate him, which Socrates succeeds in, Xenophon, *Symposium* 3.24. When asked about his thoughts on celestial objects Socrates replies that the gods are the most celestial things, Xenophon, *Symposium* 6.6-7.

[5] Xenophon, *Symposium* 2.12-3.

[6] Xenophon, *Symposium* 1.14-5.

[7] For merriment in the Syssitia see, Plutarch, *Spartan Society* 5.

[8]For new member proposals see Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 12; for education see, Plutarch, *Spartan Society* 5.

[9] For Athenian Symposium invites see, Xenophon, *Symposium* 1.4.

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Compare and contrast the adoption of the chariot in Bronze Age Egypt with Bronze Age China.

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Saint Cuthbert and His Community: A Study in Identity.

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Could small Greek States survive without giving up their autonomy?

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