New Classicists

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Editors' Foreword

We have had a productive 2024 at New Classicists. We are proud to have published a themed issue with five selected papers. These were read at the international conference *Human and Non-Human Animals Relationships from Antiquity to the Modern Age* held online in April 2023 and hosted by the University of Liverpool, UK. We are also happy to announce that we have partnered with SASA (Save Ancient Studies Alliance) and we will be publishing in 2025 a selection of papers from their annual conference in 2024. Moreover, 2024 was our first year with our new publication style, where we publish article throughout the year when they have completed the peer review process. It has been an overall success.

Our tenth issue has four articles and two reviews for your reading pleasure. Our first two articles are Roman in theme with "Hair as Symbol in the World of Martial's Epigrams" by Kirsten Traudt and "It is alive! Ressignificance in Pliny's epistolary books" by Lucas Amaya. The following two articles are "Aristotle's mixed constitution theory" by Eleni Krikona and "Understanding the Arch of Constantine in a Landscape of Memory" by Julia Tomas. Finally, we have reviews on "Brill's Companion to Episodes of 'Heroic' Rape/Abduction in Classical Antiquity and Their Reception" by Grace Figueroa and "Oxford critical guide to Homer's Iliad" by Wayne Rimmer.

I would like to finally thank the authors who have submitted their work to New Classicists, both for this issue and in our upcoming issues. Your continued faith in our publication and mission means the world to us. I must also recognise New Classicists' editorial team who have volunteered their time and work diligently to keep this journal running smoothly

I hope you enjoy our latest issue and continue to take a keen interest in New Classicists. We are already hard at work getting articles ready for the next issue.

Best regards,
Dr Giuseppe L. Ficocelli and Dr. Guendalina D.M. Taietti
Co-Editors-in-Chief

Hair as Symbol in the World of Martial's *Epigrams*[1]

By Kirsten Traudt

Introduction

Addressing his native Hispania towards the end of *Epigrams* 10, Martial writes that "the Italian kingdoms changed my hair"[2] (*mutauere meas Itala regna comas*, 10.103.10), characterising his altered locks as a material representation of his thirty-four-year absence (10.103.7). Hair's gradual growth, thinning, or greying marks the progression of one's life, while daily styling and painless cutting permit immediate changes in one's self-presentation.[3] Even as he asks for "permission" to return home, Martial's *comae* are an indelible proof both of his provincial origins and the life lived abroad that prevents an uncomplicated return to his past.[4] Anthropologists have noted hair's ability to serve as a multifaceted symbol of the self, a quality linked to its liminal position on the human body. As art historian Kobena Mercer has argued, although hair is a body part, it is never a "straightforward biological fact"; rather, it must always be "worked upon" by human hands, making it a communicative tool that enables an individual to identify (or consciously not identify) with an array of social categories and groups.[5] Attempts to control the hair of others, whether through direct intervention or the critique of "non-normative" styling practices, reveal cultural anxieties,[6] while the deliberate subversion of

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[2] Cf. Oliensis (2002: 106) on Horace, *Ep.* 1.7, in which the poet "nostalgically recall[s]" having "a brow narrowed by black curls" (*Ep.* 1.7.26).

[3] See Hallpike (1968: 257) for the "special characteristics" of hair.

[4] Sullivan (1991) 183.

[5] Mercer (1987) 34.

[6] For example, Sandra Lee Bartky's analysis of modern-day feminine body care in light of Foucaultian "discipline" demonstrates how hairstyling and hair removal control and diminish the female body in compliance with patriarchal norms (1988: 31-32); although anchored in modernity, her discussion illustrates hair's central role in presenting bodily conformity.

hairstyling norms allows marginalized groups to resist oppression.[7] Therefore, because of its unique significance, both visual and written representations of hair and hairstyling provide important insights into strategies of self-representation in any culture. However, the inevitable intersection of hair's "natural" and "worked-upon" qualities within a single body make it difficult to establish a single, fixed "meaning" of these qualities.[8] Instead, culturally constructed perceptions of hair and hairstyling are perhaps best understood by analysing how perceptions of or stereotypes associated with different types of hair are represented within related bodies of evidence.

It is for this reason that the last first-century CE poems of the epigrammatist Martial provide such a rich environment for the consideration of the symbolic meanings of hair in the Roman world. In hundreds of short poems on a wide range of topics, Martial frequently exposes his contemporaries' foibles through emphasis on the material, bodily, and banal aspects of Roman life; therefore, he not only maps the values and norms of Roman society through his invective, but also documents elements of daily life and material culture that are less visible in other literary sources. Because the Romans, generally speaking, believed that internal character was reflected by one's external appearance,[9] the care and presentation of the self, or *cultus*, was used as evidence of social conformity or deviance.[10] Naturally, haircare was an important element of *cultus*, as individuals attempted to balance a neat appearance with appropriate modesty.[11] Hair, as Martial's poetry demonstrates, was not the only element of the visual performance of one's social role, but it was a crucial one in both everyday life and ritual contexts; for example, alterations to one's hair occurred as a part of mourning, sacrificial, and coming-of-age rituals, among other

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[7] For modern-day examples of hairstyling as a mode of resistance to oppressive cultural norms, see Weitz (2001) and Dabiri (2019).

[8] Hallpike (1969) 273.

[9] Gleason (1995) 61; Draycott (2018) 66; for the long afterlife of many of these ideas, see Parker (2004).

[10] Gibson (2003) 128-130; TLL 4.1324.53-1339.31. For hairstyling in the Roman period, see Bartman (2001), Stephens (2008), Harlow, ed. (2019), and Olson (2008: 68-76).

[11] Harlow (2019) 3. These conflicting concerns led to an anti-cosmetic literary tradition; cf. Olson (2009: 293-294) and Gibson (2003: 21-25).

occasions.[12] Indeed, Martial argues throughout the *Epigrams* that despite the deceptive potential of hairstyling, hair can (and will) place an individual in his or her proper social role, and thus serves as a particularly important marker of one's "true" identity. Accordingly, this article explores the ways in which Martial uses hair to reveal, question, or complicate truths about Roman identity, exploiting the variety of his corpus to consider hair's status as a complex and multifaceted symbol of the self in the ancient world. Thus, rather than examining the historical *realia* of ancient hairstyling or representations of hair in visual art,[13] it will sketch a "cultural imaginary" of Roman hair, taking the *Epigrams* as representative of elite thinking during the Roman imperial period. After first considering hair's importance in defining the boundaries of empire, it will illustrate how Martial's treatments of baldness, shaving, beards, and depilation contribute to his "construction" of the Roman bale, before concluding with a discussion of how Martial's depictions of women's hair support his misogynistic invective. Throughout, it will consider, where possible, how Martial's targets might have viewed their own hair, attempting to look beyond the *Epigrams*' normalizing perspective to consider hair's potential as a locus of resistance to prevailing cultural norms.

"Imperial" Hair

In *Epigrams* 10, Martial criticizes Charmenion for calling him *frater* ("brother," 10.65.3), writing that "you go about shining with curled locks / I [go] stubborn with Spanish hair" (*tu flexa nitidus coma vagaris, / Hispanis ego contumax capillis*, 7-8). Charmenion's oiled hair denotes "Greek" softness, while Martial's is proof of a masculine provincial vigour;[14] here, he exploits the same connection between hair and ethnic identity that he does in his address to Hispania at 10.103. Since the men occupy the same social space, it is their divergent approaches

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[12] For hair's role in mourning rituals, see Hope (2009) 122. For hair as (and in) sacrifice, see Draycott (2017) and Derbew (2022: 133-134). For the connection between hair and coming of age in the Roman world, see Hersch (2010) 73-106 and Laes and Strubbe (2014) 58.

[13] For a historical study of ancient hair and hairstyling which includes further consideration of different hair-related industries, see Harlow, ed. (2019).

[14] Sullivan (1991) 172; Williams (1999) 128-130.

to *cultus* that reveal disparate origins and value systems, as Martial contrasts Charmenion's smoothness with his own "hairy shins and cheeks" (*hirsutis. . .cruribus genisque*, 10.65.8-9). In this poem, differences in hair texture and style are proof of meaningful distinctions between two individuals' characters, but Roman writers were also interested in the link between *cultus* and character on a larger scale, connecting hairstyling norms to the characteristic behaviours of entire peoples.[15] In the writings of Martial's younger contemporary Tacitus, hair colour and texture reveal a people's origins; in the *Agricola*, the reddish hair of the Caledonians and the curly hair of the Silurians is used to assign them, respectively, Germanic and Hispanic origins and traits (*Agr.* 11), while the uniformly reddish hair of the Germans "proves" their ethnic isolation (*Germ.* 4). Likewise, Pliny the Elder links the Aethiopians'[16] "curled beards and hair" (*barba et capillo uibrato*) and the northern peoples' "flowing blond hair" (*flauis promissis crinibus*) not only to each group's geographical distances from the sun, but also to their stereotypical natures as *hebetes* ("torpid") and *truces* ("savage"), respectively (NH. 2.80). Thus, he both "maps" the breadth of the Roman empire using descriptions of hair and suggests a link between the physical nature of this hair and the internal qualities which enabled these far-flung peoples to be conquered.

Martial employs a similar image in the *Liber Spectaculorum*, recalling how "the diverse voice of the people resounds, but then, it is one" (*uox diversa sonat populorum, tum tamen una est*, *Spec.* 3.11). This "voice" resounds from, among others, "the Sygambrians, hair twisted into a knot / and the Aethiopians with hair twisted otherwise" (*crinibus in nodum tortis. . .Sicambri / atque aliter tortis crinibus Aethiopes*, 3.7-8). This chiastic juxtaposition of the braided hair of the Sygambrians and the curly hair of the Aethiopians uses the diversity of visible hair colors and textures to turn the arena into a microcosm of empire, united in praise of its sole ruler.[17] But while the emperor is firmly in control of this multitude of heads, Martial also uses hair to suggest

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[15] Dench (2005) 266.
[16] For the use of this term rather than the modern-day designation "Ethiopians," see Derbew (2022) 12.
[17] Cf. Fitzgerald (2007) 41.

cosmopolitanism's destabilizing effects on the Roman *familia*. He writes that a certain Cinna's children by his wife Marulla "betray maternal deceptions with their heads," (*materna produnt capitibus suis furta*, 6.39.5), describing a son who "goes about like a Moor with curly hair" (*retorto crine Maurus incedit*, 6) and a pair of daughters who are *nigra* ("black") and *rufa* ("red,"18). This lack of family resemblance trades on age-old conventions of adultery humor, but Martial is also careful to note that the children are not born from "the son of a friend or neighbor" (*nec. . .amici filiusue uicini*, 3). Rather, their features testify to the parentage of individuals with occupations associated with enslaved or formerly enslaved people: the boy with curly hair is the son of "Santra the cook" (*coci Santrae*, 7), while the girls are the children of "Crotus the pipe-player" (*Croti choraulae*) and "Carpus the *uilicus*" (*uilici. . .Carpi*, 19), respectively. Cinna's disordered house thus suggests a cultural concern about the assimilation of "non-Romans" into Roman society through manumission or having children with freeborn Romans;[18] as Cinna's legal (if not natural) sons and daughters, these children receive the benefits of Roman citizenship, even though their hair provides indelible proof of their "otherness." Once again, Martial draws together the edges of empire with "othering" descriptions of hair; one child's *retortus crinis* implies an Aethiopian origin, while red hair was a paradigmatic marker of enslaved people with northern origins from the Republican period onwards.[19] Thus, although the Roman slave system did not mark out one single hair color or texture as a sign of enslaved status as the North American and Caribbean slave systems did,[20] the manifestations of different hair colors and textures in both the cheering arena and the "infiltrated" house pose the question of what "Roman" hair, which is assigned no definite qualities in Martial's poetry, could be.

If curly "Aethiopian" hair represented one boundary of empire,[21] blonde German hair, often used in wigmaking, represented the other. The *Apophoreta* includes a gift tag for hair, reading:

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[18] For concerns surrounding the integration of formerly enslaved people into Roman society, see Mouritsen (2011: 14-35).

[19] Richlin (2017) 284.

[20] Patterson (1982) 61; cf. Snowden (1970) 6-7. For hair texture as a tool of discrimination, see Patterson (1982: 60-61) and Dabiri (2019: 9-34).

[21] Dench (2005) 280-281.

"Chattian foam brightens Teutonic locks / you can be more refined (*cultior*) with captive hair" (*Chattica Teutonicos accendit spuma capillos / captivis poteris cultior esse comis*, 14.26). Ironically, Roman *cultus* is achieved through "captive hair." Because some German tribes cut off their hair in defeat,[22] wigs might be perceived as "trophies" of military success in the region.[23] However, in her study of representations of hair in Augustan elegy, Nandini Pandey argues that "captive" hair also "captures" the wearer, displacing one's natural locks in a willing imitation of the subjugated; this gesture plays into the literary trope of Rome's "enslavement" to imported luxuries.[24] Writing decades after the Augustan elegists, Martial likewise problematises the relationship between elite Romans and blonde hair in an epigram addressed to a Lesbia, which states: "I sent you hair from a northern people, Lesbia, / so that you'd know how much blonder yours is" (*Arctoa de gente comam tibi, Lesbia, misi / ut scires quanto sit tua flava magis*, 5.68). This "anti-gift tag"[25] might allude to the hair loss caused by over-dyeing; as in Ovid's *Amores* 1.14, the reckless pursuit of blondeness could end in dependence on a "foreign" wig.[26] However, Lesbia's hairstyle does not only embody anxieties about overreliance on non-Romans in order to conform to elite urban beauty standards; it also complicates ethnic differences, as this "blonder than blonde" hair cannot be "located" within the observable imperial world. Martial expresses discomfort with Lesbia's modification of her appearance, implying that the "deception" of hair dye amounts, in some sense, to a "foreign invasion." Likewise, in Juvenal's sixth *Satire*, Messalina prostitutes herself "with a blonde wig swallowing up black hair" (*nigrum flavo crinem abscondente galero*, 6.120), willingly exchanging her elite pedigree for the appearance of a conquered person.[27] It is no coincidence that, from the adulterous Marulla to

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[22] Pandey (2018) 475-476. In contrast, the Chatti, unusually among the Germans, grew their hear until they defeated another man in battle (Tac. *Ger.* 31).

[23] Sullivan (1991) 13-17. While Martial praised Domitian's German victories, Tacitus alleges that his triumph was filled out by blonde enslaved people (Tac. *Agr.* 39), further emphasizing the role of hair in visual processes of ethnic categorization.

[24] Pandey (2018) 472.

[25] Shackleton Bailey (1993) 413.

[26] Olson (2008) 88; Pandey (2018) 470.

[27] As previously stated, no hair color was specifically "servile," (Olson 2008: 72), but Messalina's dark hair might hint at Italian origins.

the over-blond Lesbia, women instigate these disquieting incursions of foreign hair. In a typically misogynistic attack, Martial argues that female "submission" to non-citizen men or to extreme *cultus* threatens the integrity of the Roman citizen body.[28] In short, hair allows Martial to present an ambivalent portrait of a cosmopolitan empire: when presented as a morally-coded ethnic characteristic, it could emblematize imperial victory, but the unregulated integration of "foreign" hair into the *familia* could also suggest that the Romans themselves had been "captured" by their own dependence on provincial resources.

Baldness in Domitian's Rome

One reason why the use of "foreign" hair was viewed with suspicion was the strong association between the growth of cephalic hair[29] and both virility and femininity.[30] Since a full head of hair symbolized self-sufficiency and strength, baldness was viewed as, in some sense, a moral failing.[31] Although it could be excused as a sign of august old age, as in veristic portraits of Vespasian, who ruled in the years before Martial began to publish his poetry,[32] cultural stigma meant that premature baldness was never depicted in statues or portrait busts.[33] Although Suetonius describes Domitian, the emperor who ruled when most of Martial's extant works were initially circulated, as "deformed by baldness" from his youth (*caluitio. . .deformis*, Suet. Dom. 18), his surviving official portraiture provides no evidence of this.[34] From the time of Alexander the Great, abundant hair was considered a typical characteristic of a great leader;[35] Julius Caesar, who also "bore the deformity of baldness most disadvantageously" (*calvitii vero deformitatem iniquissime ferret*), even allegedly adopted a laurel wreath in public partially so that his head

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[28] Sullivan (1991) 197-198.

[29] The term "cephalic hair" is used to denote the hair that grows from the scalp, in order to distinguish it from facial, body, and pubic hair.

[30] Draycott (2018) 67; Gleason (1995) 69.

[31] Pandey (2018) 457-458; Draycott (2018) 69.

[32] Parkin (2003) 82; cf. Martial's less flattering description of a "three-haired" old woman at 12.7.

[33] Draycott (2018) 68.

[34] Portrait busts seem to depict him wearing a wig (Lightfoot 2015).

[35] Schwab & Rose (2019) 38-39; cf. Dio Chrysostom's contemporaneous Encomium on Hair, which links hair to epic and historical military success.

would be covered (Suet. *Iul.* 45). Domitian apparently used humor to diffuse anxieties about his baldness, writing a tongue-in-cheek treatise on haircare.[36] Despite his efforts, though, this quality apparently reflected badly on him; in his *Panegyricus*, Pliny the Younger implicitly contrasts Trajan's thick but prematurely grey hair with Domitian's baldness, proclaiming that the former's locks are "equipped with the marks of hastening old age, to the augmentation of his majesty" (*festinatis senectutis insignibus ad augendam maiestatem ornata caesaries*, *Pan.* 4.7). Here, Trajan's greyness is reframed as a sign of wisdom, but Domitian's energetic panegyrists Statius and Martial never attempt to "spin" his bald head. Martial's telling silence therefore suggests that the negative perception of premature baldness meant that this topic required careful handling during Domitian's reign.

Perhaps this fact partially explains why the *Epigrams* rarely mock baldness *per se*, preferring instead to criticise men whose failed attempts to hide it reveal a refusal to accept their true natures and play the social role that their age and circumstances demand. Martial castigates a nameless man who "lies" (6.74.4) by slicking back his "three-stranded bald pate" with ointment (*calvam trifilem semitatus unguento*, 2) and sticking a toothpick in his toothless mouth (3). While these traits might be attractive in a youth,[37] the subject's deceptive self-presentation renders his old age even more undeniable and repulsive. Martial repeatedly returns to the notion that exchanging old age for the illusion of youth compromises an individual's identity. For example, Marinus' combover successfully covers his "wide expanse of shining baldness" (*latum nitidae...calvae / campum,* 10.83.2), at least until nature intervenes "with the wind demanding" (*iubente uento*, 3), he is revealed to be an old man pretending to be a younger one. Or rather, two younger ones: when the combover is displaced, Martial claims that "you would think Hermeros of Cydas stood between Spendophorus and Telesphorus" (*inter Spendophorum Telesphorumque / Cydae stare putabis Hermerotem*, 7-8). With a bald pate that interrupts inappropriately adolescent curls, Marinus has transformed himself into a grotesque, three-headed statue that is

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[36] Morgan (1997) 213-214; Coleman (1986) 3094-3095.
[37] Olson (2014) 194-195.

both unacceptably more and less than human. Martial advises Marinus to have his head so he can at least appear *unus* ("one"); as he writes, "nothing is more shameful than a hairy bald man" (*calvo turpius est nihil comato*, 10-11). In other words, while baldness could be legitimately (if perhaps halfheartedly) accepted as a sign of ageing, a combover is the "shameful" and unstable simulation of what one is patently not.

Martial goes even further in 5.49, where the "deception" of partial baldness is imagined as an act of fraud. He describes Labienus who, like Marinus, is bald on the top of his head but wears his hair long on both sides; mistaken for three separate people at the distribution of the Imperial dole, Labienus received a triple allocation (5.49.10) as "the number of bald heads deceived" (*caluae. . .numerus. . .fefellit*, 3). In a crowd of clients, one had become many; thus, the "deception" of baldness plays both on a denigration of hairlessness and on patrons' concerns about supplying money and resources to "intruders."[38] Labienus' partial baldness not only "demonstrates" weakness in a society which relies on physiognomy to make judgements about people's characters,[39] but also compromises the "unity" of his person and the integrity of the Imperial dole. Biases against baldness illustrate why Labienus, Marinus, and others clung to their hair, but Martial argues that this practice is inherently deceptive, and perhaps even sinister. If they were honest, he suggests, they would display the lack of adherent to a masculine ideal or the signs of ageing that their pates connoted by shaving their remaining hair. Hair dye, another method of concealing ageing, is likewise criticized as "dishonest." Martial writes that Laetinus' "dyed hair" (*tinctis. . .capillis*, 3.43.1) is a deceptive "mask" (*personam*) which Proserpina will "drag" from his head (3-4). Like the nameless dinner guest of 6.74, Laetinus' age is revealed by his attempts to hide it. Trying to "play the part" of a youth will ultimately result in vicious exposure by both the poet and death itself, linking efforts to "reverse" the effects of time on one's hair with the futile desire to cheat one's own mortality. In each of these portraits of balding or greying men, Martial argues that changing the unflattering "message" that one's hair conveys is

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[38] White (1975) 300; Cf. the anxious patron at Juv. 1.95-126.
[39] Draycott (2018) 70.

far worse than living with a "defect," as it complicates one's social legibility and represents a rejection of one's true nature.

Martial also exploits the link between baldness and deceit to think through the "possession" of *ingenium*, or unborn ability. Hair's position as an external sign of internal character invites comparison to creative manifestations of *ingenium*, like poetry, as Ellen Oliensis has argued in her study of the role of hair in Horace's *Odes*.[40] While Oliensis is interested in how the arrangement of hair maps onto the sexual dynamics of Horace's poetry,[41] the works of Martial, a self-professedly professional poet writing for a commercial audience,[42] show their hair is also a useful way for thinking through the economics of poetic production. Much like poetic talent, hair can be "owned" either by creating it oneself or by purchasing it;[43] in an early poem, Martial writes that though the plagiarist Fidentinus can recite his poetry (1.72.1-2), he is only as much a poet as a man wearing a wig is *comatus* ("endowed with hair," 8).[44] Because Roman law generally lacked the concept of "intellectual property,"[45] Martial uses the analogy of hair to think through the difference between the physical possession of hair and the production of it oneself. Both hair and poetry emanate "from," the self, and individuals can produce them to different degrees. And yet, as Martial's poems argue, although one can buy the material, one cannot buy the ability to produce it (or the *ingenium* that their production demonstrates); this, purchased hair, like purchased poetry, is regarded as a deceptive substitute for an internal "deficiency."[46] In two other poems, Martial illustrates the impossibility of truly "simulating" hair by satirizing Phoebus' absurd attempts to conceal his baldness. Using an ointment that only makes him "dirty" (*sordida*, 6.57.2) and then a goatskin more appropriate for sandals (12.45.3-4), Phoebus' attempts to make himself *cultior* only result in his humiliating defilement. These unsuitable

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[40] Oliensis (2002) 93-94.
[41] Ibid, 95.
[42] Spahlinger (2004) 472-473.
[43] Fitzgerald (2007) 93-97.
[44] Martial offers to sell his *libelli* to Fidentinus in 1.29, using the character to present another examination of poetic "ownership."
[45] Mira Seo (2009) 573-574.
[46] Draycott (2017) 89.

substitutes underline the absurdity of pretending to have what one lacks and suggest that even in a commercial centre like Rome, innate qualities are not for sale. In other words, although he lacked a robust legal vocabulary with which to do so, Martial thinks through the concept of "intellectual property" using the symbolically laden material of hair. Likewise, while his lack of a "defence" of Domitian's baldness speaks to the stigma of premature hair loss, the emphasis in his invective on the improper concealment of baldness or greyness suggests that the "real" problem is an unwillingness to accept one's limitations and perform one's social role.

The Erotic and Dangerous Potential of Shaving

The value and importance of cephalic hair was undeniable, but men's facial hair had a more ambivalent position in Roman society. On the one hand, beards were associated with Rome's rustic past; Pliny the Elder writes that barbers were not imported from Sicily until the Republic (*NH* 7.211), while Juvenal mixes condescension and nostalgia with the quip that, in contrast to Domitian's wary court, "it is easy to trick a bearded king" (*facile est barbato imponere regi*, 4.103). In Martial's time, Roman men generally shaved or cropped their beards.[47] Accordingly, Martial stereotypes bushy beards as somewhat backwards, describing a farmer who gives a "goatish kiss" (*hircoso…osculo*, 12.59.5) as well as Linus, whose "frosty kiss" (*osculo niuali*, 7.95.2) is roughened by a beard like a goatskin blanket (12-13). This "goatish" rusticity clashes with urbane *cultus*, preventing these outsiders from seamlessly participating in city life. However, beards did not just differentiate rural and urban Romans; they also separated Romans from Greeks and were associated with representations of the stereotypical Greek philosopher.[48] In one poem, Martial describes a man with a "dirty beard" (*sordida barba*) as an actual "dog" rather than a Cynic philosopher (5.53),[49] caustically playing with this stereotype. Therefore, a

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[47] Davies (2019) 155-156; Beards would not return to fashion until the philhellene Hadrian's reign (Braund 1996: 257-258).

[48] Toner (2015) 97.

[49] The word "cynic" is derived from the Greek word *kunikos*, or "doglike," hence the pun. Cf. 14.81.1, in which an anthropomorphised wallet asks that it should not carry the lunch of a bearded, naked philosopher (*ne mendica ferat barbati prandia nudi*).

beard could mark a man either as "too rustic" or "too Greek," with a clean-shaven face serving as the urbane middle ground. Still, because of their connection to Rome's "virtuous" origins, beards were never straightforwardly unacceptable, although fussier styles were criticised as evidence of male overemphasis on *cultus*.[50]

Because regular shaving was an element of *cultus*, the regulation of one's beard was a significant part of daily life. Jerry Toner argues that barbershops "served as a means for alternate male identity creation in the urban environment;"[51] much like their contemporary counterparts, these functional spaces were also informal meeting places where a community of clients could regularly converse and gossip.[52] Thus barbershops, like *fora* or private spaces like patrons' homes, were areas in which social relationships between men were established and solidified. Accordingly, Martial attacks Gargilianus for "fearing" the barber, writing that he instead "polish[es his] face and head with depilatories" (*psilothro faciem levas et dropace calvam*, 3.74.1-2), a practice that he suggests is more suitable for a *cunnus* ("vulva," 3.74.6). The removal of cephalic hair suggests the voluntary assumption of the "un-masculine" state of baldness, but the use of depilatories takes Gargilianus' self-emasculation a step further. Depilatories were a "feminine" mode of hair removal associated with pubic hair,[53] making them an unacceptable way of dealing with a "masculine" beard. And yet, Gargilianus does not just degrade and feminise his head by turning it into a *cunnus*; he also rejects the masculine social space of the barber's, refusing to engage with his peers and publicly perform masculinity through the everyday ritual of shaving. Thus, the use of depilatories is characterized not as a private choice, but as an act which destabilises the masculine social order, if on a relatively small scale.

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[50] Cf. the *barbula* ("little beards") that Cicero alleges Clodia Metelli prefers at *Pro Caelio* 33.

[51] Toner (2015) 98. There is no Roman evidence of hair salons for female clients, which only became popular in the Western world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; before that period, women's hairdressing was done in the home (Smith 2008).

[52] Recent ethnographic studies have particularly focused on the centrality of barbershops and hair salons in Black American communities; cf. Bryant Keith Alexander's description of how old men's barbershop talk "served both as a functional component of social exchange as well as perpetuating culture and community" (2003: 112) among Black men of all ages.

[53] Bartman (2001) 5; Olson (2008) 66.

Of course, the barber's chair presented dangers of its own, perhaps inspiring individuals like Gargilianus to think twice about shaving. Despite its necessity for Roman *cultus*, barbering was a low-prestige occupation.[54] Martial rebukes Cinnamus, the "most famous barber in the city" (*tonsor notissimus urbe*, 7.64.1) by stating that despite his riches, he will always be marked by his occupational status (10).[55] Barbering, as William Fitzgerald has noted, required a higher-status person to submit to a lower-status person wielding a potentially lethal weapon;[56] Martial warns readers away from Antiochus' stall by describing cuts on his face (11.84.16), using his own body to "display" the risks inherent in *cultus*. These risks were present for the urban population at large. Martial praises Domitian's street-widening initiative by writing that "the blind razor is not drawn in the dense crowd" (*stringitur in densa nec caeca novacula*, 7.61.7). Although subtler than his critiques of "foreign" hair, Martial's negative depiction of barbering might be more than the hyperbolic critique of an everyday inconvenience; rather, it could reflect latent concerns about how the performance of an elite identity requires individuals to participate in an initially foreign practice which, if only temporarily, inverts the social hierarchy. Indeed, Martial reckons with this power imbalance in a poem which compares promises made to a withholding sex slave (*delicatus*) to those made with a razor at one's throat (11.58.5-6). In his comparison, Martial threatens to "break the arms and legs" of the "thieving" barber (*frangam tonsori crura manusque*, 10); Fitzgerald suggests that this strikingly violent threat attempts to restore the established social order, thereby characterising the temporary power of the *delicatus* or barber as only contingent and illusory.[57] Additionally, the poem implies a connection between the sexual domination of others and being shaved as activities which, despite their potential to place the Roman male in a vulnerable or weakened position, are nevertheless important ways in which he performs his social identity. Thus, the barber's chair was a space which solidified masculine social bonds and

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[54] Stephens (2019) 82-83; Toner (2015) 104-105.

[55] Juvenal alludes to Cinnamus as one "by whose shaving my heavy beard resounded as a young man" (*quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat* 1.25), bathetically insinuating himself into the Domitianic world; cf. Courtney (1980: 90).

[56] Fitzgerald (2000) 48-50; Stephens (2019) 83.

[57] Fitzgerald (2000) 48.

supported male self-presentation while simultaneously reminding an individual of the fragility of his position.

The connection between shaving and male sexuality is also explored in a pair of poems praising the skill of enslaved barbers (7.83 and 8.52).[58] Here, the act of shaving is careful and eroticised; Eutrapelus "circles the mouth of Lupercus" (*circuit ora Luperci*, 7.83.1), while the other barber, "having been commanded, goes back over the same hairs / the oversight of the mirror rules his hand" (*iussus repetit pilos eosdem / censura speculi manum regent*, 8.52.6-7). The barber is not simply *like* a *delicatus*; he *is* a *delicatus*, as his attention to the intimate task that he has been assigned might align with the expectation that he will provide sexual services to the enslaver under any circumstances.[59] The unnamed barber is described as a *puer* (8.52.1) lent by Martial to his friend Rufus (4-5); this act of "sharing" an enslaved person for the purposes of *cultus* and, perhaps, sexual exploitation reinforces the slaveholders' social bond, suggesting another way that the *tonsor* could serve as a node in elite social networks. Both "barber poems" end with similar punchlines; Eutrapelus is so slow that by the time he finishes the job, "another beard has come up" (*altera barba subit*, 7.83.2), while the *puer* of 8.52 comes back "bearded" (*barbatus*, 10) himself, having taken so long that he perhaps "aged out" of the eroticised youthful role that he was sent to play at the beginning of the poem. Although lighter in tone than 11.84 and 7.61, the "barber poems" nevertheless explore the same link between shaving and male sexuality, as well as the potential challenges of submission to a lower-status individual. After all, even in poems like 7.83 and 8.52, where no threat of harm is present, the man being shaved loses time to the *tonsor*, temporarily stepping out of the public world in order to maintain his place in society.

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[58] The barber in 7.83 is named Eutrapelus while the one in 8.52 is unnamed; it is unclear if they are the same person.
[59] Williams (1999) 72-73; Skinner (2013) 282-283.

Beards and Adolescent Fetishisation

Given the link between shaving and male sexuality, it is unsurprising that the appearance of a beard was an important sign of incipient masculinity which corresponded to the end of the "boyish" attractiveness that appealed to adult men.[60] This milestone was commemorated, at least in some cases, with a ritual first shave,[61] a practice which Martial describes more than once. In one such poem, he laments Camonius' untimely death with reference to his coming of age, writing that his "reddish offerings sprinkled the razor only once" (*libata semel summos modo purpura cultros / sparserat,* 9.76.5-6). In another, he also uses the language of "libation" to describe a beard dedication, writing that Marcellinus should also celebrate his father's birthday as the day which "first received an offering from your flowering cheeks" (*libat florentes haec tibi prima genas*, 3.6.4), linking the continuation of his father's life to that of his male line. A religious and social initiation into the adult world,[62] the beard dedication also marked the moment when young men, no longer objects of male desire, were expected to engage in adult male sexuality themselves.[63] Martial is particularly fascinated by this transition, which, as Craig Williams notes, is also discussed in texts which treat medical and scientific phenomena, like Pliny's *Natural Histories*, suggesting that this "fuss about body hair was no mere literary convention."[64] Martial satirises the role of hair in marking out bodies that were "available" or "off-limits" for male erotic desire, complaining to the youthful Hyllus that "what you gave yesterday, today you denied" (*here quod dederas, hodie. . .negasti*, 4.7.1); he laments the boy's refusal of penetration on the grounds of "a beard and years and hair" (*barbamque annosque pilosque*, 3). Even as the short distance between "yesterday" and "today" undercuts this boundary's artificial sharpness,[65] Hyllus' argument (or defence) relies exclusively on the presence

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[60] Williams (1999) 26.
[61] Harlow and Lovén (2019) 20.
[62] Draycott (2017) 83-84.
[63] Richlin (1993) 534; Laes and Strubbe (2014: 58) indicate that cephalic hair offerings were also associated with assuming the *toga virilis*, which marked the beginning of adulthood. Cf. n.60.
[64] Wiliams (1999) 26.
[65] As one reviewer helpfully noted in their comments, even the first shave itself, which temporarily "restores" a youth to his pre-bearded state, complicates the idea of a hard line between adolescence and adulthood.

of hair on his body, thus reinforcing the idea that hair was a material that established and reinforced the limits of socially acceptable sexual desire.

Martial routinely fetishises the ephemeral beauty of the unshaven ephebe, a state emblematised by wispy facial hair. Addressing Dindymus, he writes:

> Tam dubia est lanugo tibi, tam mollis ut illam
> halitus et soles et levis aura terat.
> Celantur simili ventura Cydonea lana,
> pollice virgineo quae spoliata nitent.
> Fortius impressi quotiens tibi basia quinque,
> barbatus labris, Dindyme, fio tuis.

> So doubtful is your down, so soft, that a breath and sun and the light air wears it away. Cydonean fruits are covered with like wool, which shine having been stripped by a maiden's thumb. Whenever five kisses are planted on you rather strongly, I become bearded, Dindymus, from your lips (10.42).

Although Dindymus' cultivation of "doubtful down" might not be a deliberate effort to *hide* his age, his "true" status as a (mostly) beardless youth is revealed by the natural forces of the sun and wind; as in the case of Marinus' combover, nature restores hair to its "proper" place.[66] Just as Marcellinus' "flowering" cheeks suggest the brief flourishing that the first beard represents, Dindymus' nascent beard is compared to literal "peach fuzz," emphasizing the temporary "ripeness" of his erotic appeal. Martial's treatment of the beard likewise reinforces an existing interpersonal dynamic. With every kiss, Martial claims, he becomes "bearded by your lips"; this playful "theft" denies Dindymus his emerging adult sexuality while underlining the poet's own agency. The beard's literal and poetic "removal" is an attempt to keep Dindymus in his adolescent state, as hair once again becomes a focal point in the negotiation of the boundaries of adulthood. Elsewhere, Martial attempts to hold boys in perpetual adolescence by discouraging manual stimulation of their genitals, as "from there [comes] body odour and swift-coming hair

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[66] See p.9.

and a beard marvelled at by mothers" (*inde tragus celeresque pili mirandaque matri / barba*, 11.22.7-8). By reversing the causal link between the appearance of hair and the end of acceptable desirability by adult men, Martial underscores how important hairlessness was to the ephebe's appeal. And yet, "doubtful" as it is, Martial's poem makes it clear that Dindymus' beard will someday appear. Accordingly, the youth's facial hair, like the ageing man's cephalic hair, is a material representation of the inevitable passage of time.

However, beards (or their absence) were not the only type of hair associated with the eroticised youth; these individuals were often represented with long hair which rendered their appearance more androgynous to a Roman observer.[67] Indeed, some enslavers seem to have deliberately cultivated these characteristics in their enslaved table-servers, whose bodies were also "offered up" at elite dinners.[68] Martial is interested in the curled hair and youthful beauty of these individuals, called *capillati* ("long-haired men"),[69] but the philosopher and statesman Seneca, writing a generation before him, has a different perspective. He complains that, despite their diverse ethnic origins, they all have "the same amount of first down, the same type of hair" (*eadem primae mensura lanuginis, eadem species capillorum*, *Ep.* 95.24). In slaveholding societies, enslavers routinely control the cut, style, and colour of enslaved people's hair, thereby restricting the ability of the enslaved to assert their individual or group identities through hairstyling choices.[70] The *capillatus'* carefully controlled curls and down are symbols of oppression; not only did this uniform style feminise a male enslaved person and further license his sexual exploitation, but it also removed the natural style and texture of that person's hair. In fact, in his description of an ideal male "pet" slave (*delicatus*), Martial writes that he wishes that he wishes that the boy's "soft hair whip his neck" (*molles. . .flagellant / colla comae*, 4.42.8),[71] a

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[67] Oliensis (2002) 104. Williams (1999: 23) discusses the "game" of comparing men and women as sexual partners.

[68] Cf. 9.25, in which Martial describes Afer's *capillati*.

[69] Olson (2014) 188.

[70] Patterson (1982) 60-61; Draycott (2017: 89) notes that a scene of forced shaving in the Satyricon is described as "mutilation." Patterson also notes hair's potency as a symbol of life and vitality; thus, cutting it is a key part of the "social death" of enslavement in some slaveholding societies.

[71] Many thanks to the anonymous reviewer who made this observation.

turn of phrase that illustrates the violence of cultivating human bodies as luxury objects.[72] The *capillatus'* hair deliberately erases his personal history, transforming an individual into a type, while also "stopping" or even "reversing" time, much as Martial writes that he did with Dindymus' beard. This reinforcement of an aesthetic and erotic ideal plays into the slaveholder's desire for complete control over another person, even as it is characteristic of a luxurious lifestyle at odds with normative Roman values.[73] Even Martial criticizes the *capillatus* when conspicuous consumption clashes with an individual's financial reality; he criticises a man who, though accompanied by a "togate and curly-haired gang" (*grex togatus. . .et capillatus*) must pawn a ring to buy dinner (2.57.5-8). Whether admired or condemned, then, the hair of the *capillatus* provides a salient example of the perpetual tension between simplicity and luxury in Roman society, as well as the Roman slaveholder's desire to control every facet of his slaves' lives and identities.

The extant literature of the Flavian era demonstrates a marked predilection for enslaved "pets" (*deliciae*) whose special status within the *familia* was sometimes marked by elaborate hair dedications that were patterned on freeborn boys' coming of age rituals. The imperial eunuch Earinus made the most well-known of these dedications, sending a lock of cephalic hair and a jewelled mirror to the temple of Aesculapius in Pergamum (9.16.1-2); this event is immortalized in Statius' *Silvae* 3.4 and several poems in Martial's ninth book of *Epigrams*.[74] In spite of Domitian's anti-castration legislation (Mart. 9.5), Earinus was apparently a prominent (if disempowered) figure in the imperial court, and it is possible to read this hair dedication several ways. Domitian's gratification as an enslaver was clearly an important reason for performing the dedication. The childless emperor might also have wished to raise the status of his *deliciae*; other childless men of the time, like Atedius Melior, also appropriated the rituals of a freeborn

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[72] Cf. Bartky's feminist analysis of the violent processes that "engender the 'docile bodies' of women" in the modern period (1988: 27).

[73] Williams (1999) 37-38.

[74] 9.11-13, 16-17, 36. Henriksén (1997) 292. Juvenal alludes to this incident in his third Satire (3.186-187). Martial also wrote on similar hair-dedications in 1.31 and 12.84, suggesting that this practice was fashionable among the elite more generally.

childhood to validate their relationships with enslaved and freed children.[75] As a eunuch, Earinus was condemned to a "perpetual youth," a state to which Martial alludes when he stages a dialogue between Jupiter and his cupbearer Ganymede, who implores the god to allow him to shave his "first down" (*prima. . .lanugo*, 9.36.5). Although Jupiter refuses this request, fearing that "shaved hair will give [Ganymede] a manly appearance" (*tibi. . .dederit vultus coma tonsa viriles*, 11) Domitian, at least in Martial's account, graciously accedes to Earinus' similar request. Although the poem is, like all of Martial's works addressed to Domitian, designed to flatter the emperor, the hint at Earinus' role in instigating the ritual suggests that the young man could have used this hair dedication to lend dignity to his exploitation.[76] Although he would never "naturally" transition into adulthood like Hyllus or Dindymus, Earinus might have pushed back on the restraints imposed upon his body by idiosyncratically using the potency of masculine coming of age rituals to mark his own entrance into adulthood. Thus, Earinus' hair dedication, despite Martial's use of the effeminising language of sweetness and softness,[77] could have marked his arrival at a new stage in life, even when "normal" rituals were inaccessible to him.

Cinaedi, Depilation, and "Private" Hair

Because the presence of facial and body hair was a reliable indicator of adult masculinity, men who voluntarily removed it were derided as *cinaedi*, or effeminate males who enjoyed penetration.[78] Whether they comprised a distinct group in Roman society or were largely the invention of literary invective,[79] *cinaedi* were certainly present in Martial's work. As individuals who inappropriately prolonged the "softness" and hairlessness prized in adolescent boys, they threatened prevailing paradigms of masculinity and the use of hair as an indelible indicator of

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[75] Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.1. In this poem, a funerary lament for the young freedman Glaucias, Statius writes that "already the infernal Juno holds his hair in her hand" (*iam complexa manu crinem tenet infera Iuno*, Silv. 2.1.147), linking Glaucias' (imagined) coming of age with his untimely death, as Martial does at 9.76.

[76] Cf. Morgan (2016) 37.

[77] Cf. his description of the dedication itself, which consists of a mirror and "sweet hair" (*speculum dulcisque capillos*, 9.16.1). See also Williams (1999: 128-129).

[78] Williams (1999) 141-145; Gleason (1995) 68-70.

[79] Skinner (2013) 325-327.

gender and sexual identity. The Romans considered facial and body hair signs of the "inner heat" that produced sperm; thus, as Maud Gleason writes, those who depilated their bodies "were rightly suspected of undermining the symbolic language in which male privilege was written" by blurring the lines between masculine and feminine self-presentation.[80] Although the removal of some body hair, such as underarm hair, was an acceptable part of male *cultus*,[81] Martial is sceptical of men's claims that they removed their body hair to appeal to *women*;[82] criticising Galla for marrying "six or seven *cinaedi* / since their hair and combed beards please you too much" (*sex aut septem. . .cinaedis / dum coma te nimium pexaque barba iuvat*, 7.58.1-2), he advises her to find someone more hirsute (8), who has the "right" kind of hair. Likewise, although Labienus' shaved "chest" (*pectus*), "legs" (*crura*), "arms" (*bracchia*) and "cock" (*mentula*) could appeal to a "girlfriend" *amica*), Martial pointedly asks him "to whom do you offer the anus that you pluck?" (*cui praestas, culum quod. . .pilas*, 2.62). Crucially, it is the removal of body hair, rather than facial hair, that Martial views as a sign of non-normative masculinity; in the case of Galla's husbands, the "combed beard" is in fact a sign of effeminacy.

Hair reinforced a rigid sexual paradigm in which the "penetrator" was expected to be hairy, while the site of penetration, whether on a male or female body, was expected to be hairless.[83] The "unnaturalness" of the *cinaedus*' preferences are thus "proved" by his deliberate removal of his natural hair. Martial's critique of body hair removal and insistence on a connection between baldness and "failed" masculinity[84] reach an absurd apex in his depiction of the hairless Chrestus (9.27). He may moralise like the "hairy men" of the Republic (*pilosorum*, 6-8), but Christus is bald from his "head smoother than a prostituted anus" (*prostitutis leuius caput culis*, 3) to his "depilated testicles" (*depilatos. . .coleos*, 1). The confusion between the *caput* and the *culus*, a body

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[80] Gleason (1990) 403.
[81] Williams (1999) 130.
[82] Skinner (2013) 325; Olson (2014). Martial sometimes depicts these "dandies," including the *bellus homo* ("pretty boy") Cotilius who "arranges his curled hair in order" (*flexos. . .digerit ordine crines*) and has "plucked arms" (*bracchia vulsa*, 3.63), or the effeminate adulterer "Crispulus" ("little curly-haired man," 5.61).
[83] Williams (1999) 24.
[84] Cf. the claim that the famously bald Julius Caesar was penetrated by King Nicomedes (Suet. Jul. 2).

part implicated in sex work, transforms Chrestus' entire body into a penetrable genital region. As in the case of Gargilianus at 3.74, whose head becomes a *cunnus* through depilatory use,[85] or that of the "three-headed" Marinus, hair removal has unacceptably confused the typical bodies of the wizened *senex* and the "penetrable" adolescent, making Chrestus' body both uncategorisable and unable to "perform" its proper identity. The poem's punchline further invalidates his moralising rhetoric, as he apparently fellates youths with a "Catonian tongue" (*Catoniana. . .lingua*, 14). Like the Labienus (or Labienuses) of 5.49 and 5.62, Chrestus' body simultaneously exemplifies the links between effeminacy and baldness and effeminacy and hairlessness, thereby "displaying" both concepts with a single grotesque human figure.

But while the absence of body hair distinguished the alleged *cinaedus*, Martial also expresses concerns about the *cinaedus*' ability to appropriate the rustic and philosophical "meanings" of the beard to "hide" within mainstream society.[86] He writes that the "bearded Callistratus was the bride of bristling Afer" (*barbatus rigido nupsit Callistratus Afro*, 12.42.1), juxtaposing the image of rusticity their bodies initially send with the non-normativity of their "wedding." In another poem, a nameless man with "unkempt hair" (*incomptis. . .capillis*) is also "a bride" (*nupsit*, 1.24.4). Once again, the mismatch between the man's hairstyle, which aligns him with Republican figures like the Curii and Camilii (3), and his alleged sexual practises is the poem's satiric target, as Martial castigates the man for supporting his hypocrisy by sending "false messages" with his body.[87] Similarly, Pannychus outwardly models himself on "whoever looks unkempt in hirsute busts" of philosophers (*quidquid. . .hirsutis squalet imaginibus*, 9.47.2), but engages in actions that are "shameful for the hairy" (*turpe pilosis,* 5)—that is, penetration in his "soft buttocks" (*in molli. . .clune*, 6). Here, Martial directly compares Pannychus' apparent hypocrisy to the mismatch between his hairy front and his hirsute behind. Therefore, like the combover, the beard can, on certain occasions, be the "simulation" of what one is not; in this

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[85] See p.14.
[86] Williams (1999) 130; Skinner (2013) 326.
[87] Sullivan (1991) 190.

case, of a masculine ideal to which an individual may not adhere in the care of other parts of his body or in other behaviours. The idea that such a mismatch can occur might have been threatening in a society which relied so heavily on maintaining the binary between empowered sexual agents (free adult men) and disempowered sexual patients (enslaved men and boys or women). Martial's warning to "not trust" the unkempt man's "hairline" (*nolito fronto credere*, 1.24.4) anticipates Juvenal's claim that "there is no credit in appearances" (*frontis nulla fides*, 2.8). Indeed, his second *Satire*, which takes aim at men who express a desire to be penetrated, picks up on Martial's image of the "hairy *cinaedus*", as the true nature of one individual with "hairy limbs" (*hispisa membra*) is exposed by his "smooth anus" (*podice lieu*, 2.9-10), while another "fills a golden net with huge hair" (*reticulum…comis auratum ingentibus implet*, 2.96), progressing beyond the removal of body hair to the overt performance of femininity. The "rewriting" of the *cinaedus'* body through hair removal thus complicates traditional definitions of sexual agency, as this individual voluntarily adopts modes of self-presentation that complicate the line between "masculine" and "feminine."

As Martial's cautions against excessive rusticity and effeminacy have demonstrated, male *cultus* was a tricky balancing act that resisted a positive definition. Accordingly, Martial advises Pannychus that:

> Flectere te nolim, sed nec turbare capillos;
> splendida sit nolo, sordida nolo cutis;
> nec mitratorum nec sit tibi barba reorum;
> nolo virum nimium, Pannyche, nolo parum.
> Nunc sunt crura pilis et sunt tibi pectora saetis horrida,
> sed mens est, Pannyche, vulsa tibi.

> I would not wish you to curl, nor to rough up your hair; I do not wish that your
> skin should be shining, I do not wish it to be dirty; your beard should not be like
> the ones of those wearing Eastern headdresses, nor of those on trial; I do not
> wish you to be too much a man, Pannychus, nor too little. Now you have shins
> and a chest bristling with shaggy hair, but your mind, Pannychus, is depilated
> (2.36).

It is striking that the tensions of male cultus are focalised almost exclusively through cephalic, facial, and body hair; once again, hair is the material that "speaks" important truths about an individual's gender and sexual identity. The dichotomies that Martial presents are conventional;[88] as in the rest of his corpus, hairstyling can make one "too much of a man" or "too little of one." The manipulation of one's natural state is required for social acceptance, even as an overemphasis on *cultus* threatens one's ability to be perceived as "masculine." The poem concludes by castigating Pannychus (perhaps the same "hairy *cinaedus*" of 9.47) for achieving the mean through extremes: his body is "bristling" (*horrida*) while his mind is "depilated" (*uulsa*), evoking concerns about a mismatch between the interior and exterior self. By describing the "hairiness" even of Pannychus' mind, Martial suggests how Rome's patriarchal society is partly held up by the collective adherence to narrowly defined standards of appearance in which hairstyling plays a major role. Hair's constant regrowth demands the continual maintenance of these standards.[89] Thus, although *cultus* is used to indicate one's alignment to a given set of values, its result is never a natural state but is rather the constant assimilation to or reaction against normative values.

Martial's policing of body hair throughout the *Epigrams* indicates that it, like cephalic or facial hair, must have been visible to the population outside one's household, at least some of the time. He lampoons Charidemus for trying to avoid gossip by keeping his legs and chest hairy (*quod tibi crura rigent saetis et pectora villis*, 6.56.1-2), facetiously suggesting that he "rip out the hair from his whole body" (*extirpa. . .pilos de corpore toto*, 3) and be openly acknowledged as a

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[88] Williams (1999) 130-131.

[89] For comparison, a twenty-first century study showed that American women who shave will spend nearly two months over the course of their lifetimes removing body hair (Herzig 2015: 10).

cinaedus rather than risk even worse rumors about his private life.[90] Here, hair is fuel for rather than a defense against gossip; since the "truth" cannot escape public scrutiny, Charidemus' best option is to "realign" his self-presentation with his reputation—once again, hair reveals more than it conceals. It may be that this sort of public evaluation of others' body hair was encouraged by the practise of communal bathing, which ensured that viewing the naked bodies of one's peers was a part of everyday life.[91] Martial even describes the bath as more revealing than the bedroom; in two epigrams (3.51, 3.72) he refuses to sleep with a woman without first bathing together, suggesting that they have defects that can be hidden in a dark, private bedroom, but not in the bright, public baths. Accordingly, though one's body hair provided "evidence" of alleged sexual behavior, it was not "private." Indeed, the *Epigrams*' obsession with hair suggests that one's body and sexuality were not personal at all, as adherence to norms of sexuality and self-presentation was characterised as essential to social stability. Outside of Martial's invective poetry, however, hair's symbolic potency might have contributed to the very types of self-presentation that he criticises. If a "community" of *cinaedi* did in fact exist, as Amy Richlin has explored,[92] non-normative self-presentation could have been a signifier of group identity which encouraged stigmatised practises even within a hostile culture.

Hair and Feminine Power

Thus far, much of this article's analysis has focused on the perception of men's hair and hairstyling. Although Martial is concerned about men becoming effeminate through a self-presentation which rejects the "authority" of masculine hair,[93] the misogynistic nature of his corpus means that his poetry discusses fewer female subjects than male ones,[94] providing less evidence for how women's hair was perceived; although the *Epigrams* provide many important insights into Roman life, the poet's biases inevitably affect the details of his world that he chooses

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[90] Shackleton Bailey (1993) 43.
[91] Hakanen (2020) 44-45.
[92] Richlin (1993) 541-554.
[93] Williams (1999) 138-139.
[94] Sullivan (1991) 197.

(or does not choose to depict). That is not to say that he did not treat the topic at all; many epigrams do in fact link women's bodies to their perceived moral failings, a rhetorical stance which some have argued was a reaction against the growing visibility of elite women in the Flavian world.[95] Despite their continued exclusion from formal positions of power, women's increasing importance as patrons and members of the imperial court[96] offered them opportunities to publicly express themselves through their self-presentation, of which hairstyling was an important element. Historically, women have sought power through hairstyling by alternately "resisting" and "accommodating" societal norms to their own ends;[97] it should then be somewhat unsurprising that as women became more visible in public life, they would assert their presence by adopting the towering hairstyles characteristic of the Flavian period.[98] These highly artificial arrangements demonstrated a woman's access to material resources and leisure time in which she could have her hair styled,[99] while simultaneously reflecting her personal tastes and possibly even subverting male-imposed standards of "natural" beauty.[100] Because many hairstyles were also associated with members of the imperial family, a woman's hairdo could also proclaim her political and social ties.[101]

In short, there were many ways in which a woman's *cultus* could express her personal power. However, under Martial's invective gaze, hairstyling could also become a practise which enabled uniquely female patterns of cruelty. He is particularly concerned with the abuse of female hairstylists (*ornatrices*) by the women they served, as when he attacks Lalage, who allegedly killed her *ornatrix* because "one curl from the whole circle of hair went astray / not well fixed by a wavering needle" (*unus de toto peccaverat orbe comarum / anulus, incerta non bene fixus acu,*

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[95] Sullivan (1991) 197-207,
[96] Beard (2008) 214-215.
[97] Weitz (2001).
[98] D'Ambra (2013) 513. Cf. Oliensis' discussion of women's loose hair as a mode of "resistance" to control in Horace's *Odes* (2002: 95).
[99] Bartman (2001) 5.
[100] Pandey (2018) 457-458.
[101] Olson (2008) 71; D'Ambra (2013).

2.66.1-2).[102] Martial identifies the murder weapon as a mirror, a potent symbol in his indictment of vanity, but also writes that the *ornatrix* was "struct by the wicked hair" itself (*saeuis. . .icta comis*, 2.66.3-4), drawing an unsubtle connection between female *cultus* and female cruelty.[103] As in 7.83 and 8.52, the act of hairstyling reinforces an enslaver's dominance over the enslaved. But while those poems reinforced the importance of male *cultus* to the performance of masculine identity, Martial's portrayal of Lalage as shallow, vain, and tyrannical undercuts the symbolic potential of female *cultus*. Her finished hairstyle is "deceptive" rather than "communicative," as Martial writes that her reflection will "become worthy of a mirror" (*digna speculo fiat imago tua*, 2.66.8) only when her head is shaved and she is deprived of the ability to control her hair. In the absence of the poetic justice that Martial imagines, the poet casts aspersions on all elaborate female hairstyles, encouraging his audience to imagine the cruelty behind the beauty that they see, a double standard that reflects his misogynistic characterisation of women (and their hair) as inherently deceptive.

Lalage's baldness would, unsurprisingly, be the ultimate proof of her moral failings; just as he criticises bald men for being old, insufficiently masculine, or both, Martial attacks bald women for their age and insufficient femininity, which he often augments by representing them as grotesquely hypersexual. Although wigs were common in antiquity, they were not strictly necessary to maintain all but the largest hairstyles; experimental archaeology has shown that most styles could theoretically be achieved with the wearer's own hair,[104] making women's wigs a natural target for critiques of the "deceptive" nature of feminine *cultus*. Like men's hair, women's hair was linked to inner character, or *ingenium*; since a woman could use her hair to exert influence in a patriarchal world, "lying" with a wig or hair dye—as in the case of Lesbia, whose overzealous styling pushes her "off the map"[105]—is serious business. Martial writes that

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[102] The *orbis* was a towering hairstyle popular during this period, sewn together with a needle, or *acus* (Stephens 2008: 121-125).

[103] Ovid popularized the trope of a vain woman abusing a hairdresser (Pandey 2018: 459), a theme that Juvenal would later treat (6.487- 504).

[104] Stephens (2008).

[105] See p.7.

Fabulla "swears that the hair she buys is hers" (*iurat capillos esse, quos emit, suos*, 6.12.1-2) but that, in this, she "perjures" (*perierat*, 2). Like Charidemus, whom Martial exhorts to "swear that [he] depilate[s his] buttocks" (*te. . .pilare tuas testificare natis*, 6.56.4), or Fidentinus, with his plagiaristic "wig,"[106] Fabulla's hair "summons" her to the court of public opinion where. Just as in the case of the latter, Fabulla's ownership claim is found lacking, as hair, as symbol of selfhood, can be bought but never truly "owned"; thus, she is portrayed as a perjurer whose "unjust" deceptions will inevitably be revealed.

In a more extreme example, Martial paints an unflattering portrait of Galla, to whom he states: although you are at home, you are made up in the middle of the Subura / your hair is styled with you *in absentia*" (*cum sis ipsa domi mediaque ornere Subura / fiant absentes et tibi. . .comae*, 9.37.1-2). Galla's purchased *cultus* is completely and uncannily alienated from her body, as Martial claims that "[her] face does not sleep with [her]" (*nec tecum facies tua dormiat*, 5). Her dislocated self, scattered among "a hundred boxes" (*centum. . .pyxidibus*, 3-4) is the result of a grotesque effort to relive a long-outgrown youth; in a striking detail, her ogling eyebrow "is brought out in the morning" (*prolatum est mane*, 6), so that she can deceptively claim a seductive stance that her body no longer naturally supports. Juxtaposed with this complex of hairpieces and cosmetics is the only real hair she has left, which is on her "gray vulva" (*canus cunnus*, 7). Martial describes this as "among [Galla's] ancestors" (*inter auos*, 8), as she is so lost in the world of artifice that the hair which reveals her "true" self seems to barely be a part of her body. Galla's hairy vulva contrasts with the depilated one expected of sexually active Roman women,[107] as Martial uses the symbolic language of hair to express a typically Roman discomfort with sexually active older women;[108] elsewhere, he chastises Ligeia for continuing to depilate her "little old vulva" (*uetulum. . .cunnum*, 10.90.1). By engaging in "manners [that] befit girls" (*tales munditiae decent puellas*, 3), Ligeia is portrayed as engaging in as much self-deception as bald

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[106] See p.11.
[107] Olson (2008) 65-66.
[108] Sullivan (1991) 200.

men who maintain combovers; once again, Martial suggests that nature will always resist efforts to "turn back the clock" on the changes that hair makes to the human body. Galla and Ligeia's hairstyling efforts are, according to Martial, spurred on by desperate attempts to deceive younger lovers into sex. References to "penises" (*mentulae*) in both poems (9.37.9, 10.90.8) devalue female *cultus* by implying that its only purpose is to attract male attention; this allows the male poet to evaluate his subject by assessing the success or failure of these efforts. In Martial's poetry, both successful and unsuccessful attempts by women to control their self-presentation through hairstyling are depicted as ways for them to hide their "true" selves, as the artificiality of women's hair complicates authentic relations between men and women.[109] Martial's treatment of women's hair may therefore reflect cultural concerns about their increased prominence in the Flavian world; while stigmas surrounding baldness and the supplementation of one's natural hair or overemphasis on *cultus* are also used against men, Martial deploys them against women to devalue hairstyling as a mode of feminine self-expression and the use of hair as a communicative tool.

Conclusions

In short, the literary world of Martial's *Epigrams* is shot through with a rich symbolic "language" of hair and hairstyling, as the poet combines a number of conventional attitudes towards different types of hair to communicate important messages about gender, sexuality, and power. Due to its position at the "edge" of the body and its dual status as a "natural" and "worked-upon" material,[110] in the Roman world, hair was viewed as a reflection of one's internal character and was an important component in the presentation of one's age, gender, and social position. Therefore, its non-normative growth, styling, or removal signified a corresponding divergence from rigid social norms. These norms pervaded society and affected elite self-presentation, even at the top of the social ladder: evidently, not even the emperor Domitian was

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[109] Bartman (2001) 14.
[110] See n.4.

immune to negative cultural attitudes towards his baldness. Therefore, even if the individuals that Martial discusses in his poetry (including his own poetic *persona*) do not entirely correspond to real people, the *Epigrams* are significant for their ability to capture real perceptions, biases, and stereotypes that shaped how Martial's contemporaries viewed their world and lived their lives; the situations and characters may not be real, but the ideas expressed are.

Key to understanding Martial's focus on hair and hairstyling is his interest in the tricky balancing act of *cultus*, an ideal in which elite self-presentation was supported by the labor of enslaved or low-status workers, thus replicating an imperial dynamic on the individual level. It is no wonder that Martial repeatedly relied on the symbolic potential of hair in his poetry. Not only does its ubiquity speak to Martial's apparent interest in how wider social dynamics operated on an interpersonal scale, but hair's ability to "speak for" the self allows him to use it to explore one of his favorite themes: the exposure of elite society's everyday deceptions. Again and again, Martial invokes hair to demonstrate that his targets cannot outrun their "true natures," which their bodies will always reveal through an interplay of natural and artificial elements. Additionally, Martial presents hair as a material that is indelibly linked to one's progression through life and, thus, one's mortality; from the "flowering cheeks" of the ephebe to the balding pates of old men to the poet's own "changed" locks, hair is, perhaps more than anything else, a manifest representation of the effects of time on the human body.

However, hair is not only a material that is used to explore the nature of the individual. Rather, reading the *Epigrams* with close attention to the representation of hair and hairstyling enables connections to be made between poems written on a range of topics, from Rome's complicated relationship with its provinces to the production of poetry to relationships between enslavers and the enslaved to the rules of sexual engagement among the Roman elite. By tracking how the "language" of hair is invoked in these different contexts, it is possible to examine the connections between apparently disparate elements of Roman identity formation. Martial, of course, presents a non-comprehensive view of Roman society, but his poetry demonstrates the ways in which a single element of self-presentation—hair—could have a range of meanings

which were activated in different contexts. Naturally, in many of the poems discussed, hairstyling interacts with other elements of *cultus*; facial features, clothing, and cosmetics or unguents also play important roles in expressing the status and sensibility of Martial's subjects; still, hair seems to have a special symbolic potency which is linked to its unique material qualities. But though Martial's depiction of the meanings of hair in the Roman world is certainly wide-ranging, it is far from complete, as the poet's elite, male, and urbane bias cannot be entirely overcome by reading "against" the poems. Still, by looking broadly across the *Epigrams*, this article has built on previous studies of elegy and lyric[111] in order to support further analysis of the role of hair and hairstyling in a wide range of literary contexts, and of how these literary representations connected to real-life social norms. By doing so, it has argued, one can better understand the intersecting dynamics which governed the presentation and management of Roman bodies in a complex and multicultural empire.

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[111] Oliensis (2002); Pandey (2018).

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It is alive! Ressignificance in Pliny's epistolary books

By Lucas Amaya

"Mixture is the letter, the epistle, which is not a genre but all genres, literature itself." This quotation is what Derrida (1998, p. 48) says when remarking on some Nietzschean thoughts on Plato's style. Even more, such sentence embodies fully Epistolography, from the Sumerians to the Modern Western World: a pedagogical feature, a military and political communication tool, a religious way for the human voice to the ears of gods, the foundation of the modern novels, an obligation to a literate elite, a rhetorical instrument for communicating with the masses. One can write letters in prose or verse and embody any subject matter; they reach everyone, for they can travel through time and space. As said by the French thinker, letters can be all literature if we conceive literature as written pieces read by many persons in a specific community.

One may argue that letters may be only recognised as one part of a literary work, not a whole genre: Horace's letters are poetry; Seneca's letters are prosaic philosophical treatise; Cicero's letters are private communication we read as historical documents. In fact, until recent years, the idea of Ancient Epistolography as a literary genre was not entirely accepted, as most modern scholars considered it merely a medium for other genres[1]. There are few works discussing the nature of ancient epistolary collections (such as Altman, 1982, and Gibson, 2012), and even fewer on the consumption of ancient epistolary works (e.g., Marchesi, 2015). Our understanding of the composition and consumption processes of epistolary works in ancient Rome is limited. This limitation is closely linked to the modern and monodisciplinary need to categorize genres into precise, supposedly well-defined, closed boxes, which is quite narrow-minded. The occasional definitions found in the works of Aristotle, Horace, Longinus,

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[1] Relevant authors, such as Fhurmann (1985), Martin and Gaillard (1990), Conte (1999), Citroni (2006) and others, do not fully accept epistolography as a genre. Even though those literary manuals are somewhat overcome, they are regularly used at the undergraduate level, for their usefulness and the greatness of their authors in general. The perception of Ancient Epistolography has changed mainly due to Altman (1982) research on Roman Ancient Epistolography, which stands as a pillar to new research until this day.

Demetrius, and Quintilian indicate that the aristocratic perception and consumption of literature was different from our own. In effect, one can perceive more changes in the literary genres from Ancient Greece and Rome than in modern literary genres, as Candido (2006, p. 146-175)[2] argued.

When Pliny the Younger decided to publish a letter collection in the first decade of the 2nd century, he did not recognise letters as a medium for another purpose, neither he was willing to publicise his private and public communication with friends and family and protégées.[3] In the very first letter of the collection, he puts forward his motivations for the collections while proposing some criteria: "Frequently you exhort me to gather and publish the letters I wrote with little more care. I have reunited them not observing the chronological order, for I was not composing a history, but in the order they were coming at my hand".[4]

Many influential classicists[5] have detailed questions and answers about the role of this letter, and it seems safe to assert that it very likely may be a humoured artistic epistolary preface for an

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[2] The Brazilian professor says that the Romantism brought a vague idea of novelty, even though the works were not new in many senses, in opposition to the regular and repetitive literary classical schemes, which allows more innovation than the classical literary critics assume.

[3] We understand that to publish a letter is far different from publicising a letter in Rome. To publish a letter or any other work, would require literary and rhetorical polishment, proofreading and private reading for friends to critic before its publications. To publicise it was just to make them open access, which seems the case of Cicero letters after all.

[4] *Frequenter hortatus es ut epistulas, si quas paulo curatius scripsissem, colligerem publicaremque. Collegi non seruato temporis ordine (neque enim historiam componebam), sed ut quaeque in manus uenerat*. For the Latin text, we are using Zehnacker's Belles Lettres edition (Pline, 2009), which is the most recent one. All translations are ours.

[5] Sherwin-White (1968, p. 46-47, 50, 85) proposes the first letter as *proemium*, written after the others, and it was part of a much bigger publication, which would count the books I, II and III, perhaps even the book IV; Syme (1968) examines the letters as gathering of historical data, not a well-designed literary work; Murgia (1985; 181), states that the letter was certainly written after all the others and points it as a preface, similar to the preface on Quintilian's *Institutiones Oratoria*; Marchesi (2008, p. 22-23, 27-29), brings forward the effects Pliny built up using the first letters of book I, as she compares it to Virgil's literary strategies; Zehnacker (2009, p. 106), also points out the letter I.1 as a preface written after the book was complete, similar to other books at the time; Gibson (2012, p. 67-68) explains the innovation brought by Plinian epistolary books; Gibson and Morello (2015, p. 234-239) address the literary elements in the whole connection, in which the letter I.1 acts as a guiding opening, in opposition of the last letter, IX.40; Bodel (IN Marchesi, 2015, p. 42-44) examines the functionality of letter I.1 and its significance to the other books; Gibson and Whitton (2016, preface) present the long discussion on the (non) chronology of the letters based on the first letter of the first book. In sum, since Murgia, all scholars have paid more attention to the internal construction of books than its historiographic or autobiographic features.

epistolary book, as expected to any book published at the time. We say humoured because it is a letter working as an external preface of a letter collection, while, in turn, it is also an internal part of the same letter collection. In a way, it is an idea close to the Schödinger's cat[6], simultaneously being external and internal to the book, until the reader decides if the letter is part of the book or it is not.

The letter is not a similar preface as those from Martial or Statius' books[7], which were published just before Pliny's entrepreneurship[8], for it is part of the book itself. Even though we may read it apart from the rest, all the letters can be attached to the book or separately read, as they were initially composed for other reasons than the collection. This double mechanism is unique in Latin literature, as there is no literary book in which an external letter is a preface and an integral component of the book itself. The other letter collections published before do not have an epistolary preface, and the books that have an epistolary preface are not letter collections.

Nevertheless, such a letter poorly explains the Plinian project, as it only says it is not a history book, and, in turn, it is composed of letters better written than others. It makes more sense when we read it along with the second letter of the ninth book:

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[6] A principle of quantum mechanics established by Erwin Schrödinger in 1935, who said that if you put a cat in a chamber with radioactive substances in a small quantity until you open the chamber, the cat is both dead and alive, as both states are superposed until one is no longer factual.

[7] It was a regular, almost mandatory, practice to have a letter of presentation for any book published, which could be written by the author or by a commentator or friend with literary background. See Jason (1964) and Pagán (2010)

[8] The usage of the term here recalls Pliny's words on booksellers and his social and political bet on letters to achieve his immortality. On this matter, see Gibson and Morello (2015, p. 234-264)

You act so nicely, as you demand not only loads of letters, but they must be the longest as well. I have been economical in sending them, partly because I was afraid you were overloaded with your duties, partly because I myself was deeply drawn by some fruitless affairs, which suck up and spit out my intellectual strength. Furthermore, no decent subject to write has come to my hand. My condition is different from that of Marcus Tullius Cicero, whose example you point me to. He had the finest talent matched by the richness and relevance of the subjects. Even while I am silent, you perceive well how strictly enclosed we are. Unless I choose to send you scholarly letters, or as I will call them, letters penned in the study room. However, I think there is nothing less suitable when I recall your weapons, your camp, the horn, the tuba, the dust, the sweat, the sun.[9]

Pliny states that the epistolary undertaking sees its end in this piece, for the author is no longer willing to write nor has the proper time. It is the opposite of what we see in the first letter when Pliny is anxious to embrace the task. The letter indicates a self-consciousness of a major literary project, unlike Cicero or Seneca's epistolary works, whose influence Pliny supposedly rejects.[10] Even though this information is only found in the final book, it can be applied to the entire collection. No trace of significant historical events is found in the letters as we read in the Ciceronian letters. The few critical events discussed in the letters are partially given, displaying only Pliny's angle, which likely happened way before Pliny's epistolary work. In addition, there is no single letter presenting pure philosophical topics.[11] The letters are ordinary and uneventful,

[9] *Facis iucunde quod non solum plurimas epistulas meas, uerum etiam longissimas flagitas; in quibus parcior fui, partim quia tuas occupationes uerebar, partim quia ipse multum distringebar plerumque frigidis negotiis quae simul et auocant animum et comminuunt. Praeterea nec materia plura scribendi dabatur. 2 Neque enim eadem nostra condicio quae M. Tulli, ad cuius exemplum nos uocas. Illi enim et copiosissimum ingenium et par ingenio qua uarietas rerum, qua magnitudo largissime suppetebat; 3 nos quam angustis terminis claudamur etiam tacente me perspicis, nisi forte uolumus scholasticas tibi atque, ut ita dicam, umbraticas litteras mittere. 4 Sed nihil minus aptum arbitramur, cum arma uestra, cum castra, cum denique cornua, tubas, sudorem, puluerem, soles cogitamus.*

[10] Even though Pliny does not make any direct references to Ovid's letters, it seems that *Epistulae ex Ponto* and *Epistulae Heroidum* were a significant influence, if not to Pliny, to create the habit to consuming epistolary books composed as a unity, a term brilliantly applied by Altman (1982, p. 169-174).

[11] The letter IX.2 is well examined by Gibson and Whitton (2016, p. 135-137). In this matter, we disagree from Marchesi (2008, p. 218-230), who establishes correlations between Cicero and Pliny's epistolary project. We understand that Cicero's project was to publicize models to official communication, with little literary refinement. Moreover, we do not know if the Ciceronian letters were circulating as a gathering in Pliny's time, so any assumption is based on a fragile and subjective notion of Cicero's epistolary gathering.

occasionally crude, at least the way many are used to read them. The events are only a recognisable background for Pliny's self-portrayal, as if he were on the shoulders of a monster he created, spotted at the top of a hill.

The similarity between those letters is substantial. Both opening verbal construction, *frequenter hortatus es* and *facis iucunde quod (...) flagitas,* bring forward the polite but persistent requests for well-written, numerous and long letters. As in the first one, Pliny says he will grant the friend's wishes; in the last, he denies it, whereas the public urge for his epistles is still strong. Likewise, the first letter projects the collection's future, as the latter points to the past (*in quibus parcior fui*), specifically the previous book, the shortest one compared to books VI, VII and IX.[12] In that case, as two guards on the top of a mountain overseeing the valley in the middle, both letters are on the extreme sides of the collection. They aim at its centre, looking over all the books.

On the other hand, the investigations on the composition dates of the letters done by Momnsen (IN Gibson and Morello, 2015, and Marchesi, 2015), Sherwin-White (1968), Syme (1958, 1991), and more recently Winsbury (2015) failed somehow.[13] The letters have no dating, and even in those letters that bring forward a datable event, there is no cue of the composition date, let alone the publication date.[14] Pliny inevitably kept some letters to publish later than others. The epistolary background is not chronological, for Pliny is true to his words, *non seruato temporis ordine*.

Pliny lived critical changes in the political scene and met significant historical figures[15], but little or nothing did he talk about them. The exception is his close friends, protégées, patrons, and the roles he played in one episode or another. Murgia (1985, p. 191-200) finds more

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[12] Each book has 34, 33, 24 and 40 letters respectively.

[13] Regularly the referenced authors are rectified by new evidence and studies. We do not extinguish the brightness of their studies and their relevance, for it is impossible. However, it is mandatory to revisit the dating issue for its pointlessness.

[14] We cannot forget that Pliny's presumed audience already knew all the events before they read or listened to the letters. They do not need the letters to get informed; they need the letters to know Pliny's angles on some matters, or any new analysis, if it gets that far. In fact, as a literary project, the events are just background for a rhetorical presentation or a display of poetic technic, as well the self-promotion.

[15] On that matter, see Syme (1991).

indications of dates of the letters in emulations and paraphrases than in datable events, for the letters' composition date does not influence their publication date. The American scholar also rejects the compulsion of putting stamps with months and years on the letters. Furthermore, as Bodel (IN Marchesi, 2015, p. 14-18) described, if we read the letters worried by the time of composition, we lose sight of the collection itself.

In such a way, the letters I.1 and IX.2 explain what we are not going to find in the collection or, in other words, what we should not bother to look at. Thus, we get the reading instructions at the beginning and the end. That leads us to question why we receive these directions in the last book. As Gibson (IN Marchesi, 2015, p. 185-186) says, it is not dark yet, for the last book is not the end. There is no end, as the collection works cyclically. In the last book, Pliny invites his audience to restart the reading, an audience now possessing information gathered throughout the collection. As it goes from Dawn to Dusk, the night for the Plinian collection is not perpetual, and the audience starts a fresh and new reading when going back to letter I.1.

We may perceive new features Pliny used in a second reading, features we overlooked during the first reading. Letter I.2, e.g., discusses the Plinian style on forensic discourses and his influences. Still, it is vital to stress to which degree the letter speaks about the epistolary style used in the collection. The beginning of the letter is a key to understanding Pliny's epistolary project:

> For I predict you are going to be late, I show you the book I promised in the previous letters. I ask of you, read and amend it according to your customs, moreover because it seems to me, I never wrote anything with the same zeal.[16]

Nothing indicates a forensic discourse in the first section of this letter, and it keeps the same ethos we found in the previous one. First, Pliny accepts the challenge of gathering letters and publishing them. Just after that, he excuses himself for being delayed in delivering a book. The sentence is *librum quem prioribus epistulis promiseram*, and the only previous letter is the one talking about the epistolary collection. Moreover, ζήλῳ (diligence, zeal) reverberates the *paulo*

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[16] *Quia tardiorem aduentum tuum prospicio, librum quem prioribus epistulis promiseram exhibeo. Hunc rogo ex consuetudine tua et legas et emendes, eo magis quod nihil ante peraeque eodem* ζήλῳ *scripsisse uideor*

curatius we read in the first letter. If we read them for the second time, it seems more appropriate to say the letter I.2 refers to the epistolary collection rather than to any forensic discourse.

One letter may lose some of its original meaning while reverberating another one, for it acquires the meaning of the letters before and after. As initially said, letters are the literature *per se*, even the cradle for modern novels.[17] So, let us read the Plinian collection through a metaphor: the figure of the monster created by Victor Frankenstein, written by Mary Shelley. The 19th century novel brings up the newly discovered role of chemical elements in the human body.[18] It presents a vital discussion on the limits of humankind as a divine creator and as a filth corruptor of life. We learn from Shelley about Victor Frankenstein, a great student who discovers the primary source of life after reading some medieval alchemists and being a notorious pupil of a chemistry professor. To prove it, he gathers parts of different corpses, stitches them together and creates a being for whom, in the cinema, everyone screamed with Colin Clive "it's alive! It's moving!"[19] This interpretation, thus, takes the idea of self-representation and political endeavour well-established by Henderson (2001) and puts it into the fields of consumption and reception of literary works, actions that are not static; they vary according to the calculated moves of Pliny's statue.

Following the proposed metaphor, Pliny's literary scheme is similar to Victor Frankenstein's experiment. He gathered limbs from different corpses and put them together, giving a different meaning to those pieces of dead bodies. In fact, Pliny himself, in the letter II.5.11-12, tells us that:

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[17] In that matter, see Altman (1987), Ceccareli (2013), Rosenmeyer (2001), Rosenmeyer, Hodkinson and Bracke (2013).

[18] Shelley's book does not tell what those elements are. However, the movie "Frankenstein" directed by James Whale, released in 1931, shows that what triggers life on the monster's body is electricity.

[19] The actor who first interpreted Victor Frankenstein, in the 1931 movie. The famous sentence cannot be found in the book, even though it is regularly recognised as part of the story.

"For indeed, if you were to examine a loose head or some other part of a statue, you would not be able to discern from that part alone the harmony and proportion of the whole statue; however, you could still judge whether that part itself was sufficiently elegant. And the reason why books of first principles are circulated is no different: it is believed that some part, even without the others, can be complete in itself."[20]

We perceive a hand or an arm in a certain way when attached to a specific body, in Frankenstein's creature, or statue, as in Pliny's proposed metaphor, because of the shapes and colours surrounding it. However, when transplanting that limb to another body or an artistic representation of it, one made of different parts from many corpses, they look distinct from the original by referencing each other in colour, size, skin type, scars, etc. Similarly, Pliny also takes his letters out of context, edits them, and puts them all together, giving them new life. In Pliny's case, the mysterious substance to bring them back to life is the act of publishing and the act of consuming.

It is the case of letters I.1 e I.2, as the beginning of the second letter seems to provide meaning not only to the letter it opens but also to the letter before. Initially, both *epistulae* probably were not composed simultaneously, nor are they addressed to the same person, nor do they have the same subject. Nonetheless, Pliny makes them sound like one piece for a brief moment by sewing them into the collection in those specific positions. Hence, when his audience consumes the epistolary book, they become alive, they become something else. It is also the case of the letters I.1 and X.2, reverberating each other as an electric stream passes throughout the human body from head to toe to regain life.[21]

The letters I.3 and I.4 exhibit political and social objectives, for they use the same features we have seen in the previous ones. These letters advertise Pliny's influence in the north of the

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[20] *Etenim, si auulsum statuae caput aut membrum aliquod inspiceres, non tu quidem ex illo posses congruentiam aequalitatemque deprendere, posses tamen iudicare, an id ipsum satis elegans esset; 12 nec alia ex causa principiorum libri circumferuntur, quam quia existimatur pars aliqua etiam sine ceteris esse perfecta.*

[21] In Merry Shelley's book, the substance that gives life to the creature is not revealed. Electricity was not yet controlled by human beings, and the first power station in England was established in 1882, almost 60 years after the book.

Italian Peninsula, and his connection to families and people who lead the political and societal scenario. Underscoring his political prowess in the beginning helps Pliny to build up authority and any scene needed to one or another literary strategy. The first one presents Pliny's homeland, Comum, a Transpandane Gaul city with no political background in Rome nor a vital role in the Empire.[22] It was mandatory to describe it minutely and even advertise its beauty and values since his audience might not know the region. The second letter is about the Tuscan properties of his mother-in-law, Pompeia Celerina, where he had influence and power.[23] If we read them apart, the first is a request for information about his homeland, and the second is about Pliny's gratefulness for hospitality. However, if read in the context Pliny inserts them, the letters bring forward Pliny's power up north Rome. As both letters are in the first book's opening, it seems Pliny is presenting himself and justifying his political power. Consequently, this pair of letters sounds like a single piece boosting himself politically.

Therefore, the letter-writer ripped the letters out from a particular context, and he stitched them with other ones, creating new possibilities for reading. In that sense, both the date of composition and the date of publication do not matter, for the letters are long gone from their original epistolary exchange and are part of a new and monstrous body. The construction of such a body is not random in any case. Pliny cautiously places each letter in a sequence to trigger literary effects and provoke his audience, mainly if the letters were serially heard, not read in silence.[24]

One can read or listen to the letters one by one and find a particular meaning. We suggest that it may not be fruitful since it relies on a subjective analysis. Most of the letters' addressees

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[22] Only once the city is quoted in Catullus' poem 35, and Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* XXXIII.36. For the rest we ignore the history of Comum.

[23] According to Sherwin-White (1968, p. 92), "Pompeia Celerina is the mother of presumably his second wife, who died in 96-97. She is now married to Bittius Proculus".

[24] The matter of reading in silence and in solitude or hearing slaves reading out in the company of others is debatable. However, we intend to use here the perception given to Pliny in his own letters, as he says he heard the letters of a wife's friend (I.16), and he also had a slave specialised in reciting comedy (VIII.1), for instance. For a more detailed discussion on the matter, see Johnson and Parker (2009), Edmunds (2001) and Markus (2000).

are unknown. We partially comprehend their subjects, for they were ripped from their initial contexts. Nevertheless, if we look at the letters not as lonely pieces somehow gathered together, but as part of a well-designed literary project, each letter's meaning relies on the letter before, after, and its position within the book. It changes how we read them to the point that we have an utterly new epistolary work. No doubt, we will fail consistently in getting nuances, jokes, and external references to authors we do not have access to. However, if we choose to ignore the book's consistency and how it is sewn together, are we reading it in the first place?

We can observe how Pliny works the space within the books to create a sense of time. As we said, the dates of composition or publication do not matter to Pliny's project, but within the book, the position of letters creates the perception of simultaneity, establishing two possibilities: "shortly after" the conversation and "long after." For instance, the letters VII.7 and VII.8 cover Pliny's intentions to introduce two of his friends, Saturninus and Priscus. The proposed scene simulates a live introduction as if they were shaking hands before Pliny's audience while he praises the new camaraderie. Notwithstanding, there is some lack of time between them, as we comprehend from Pliny's words in the second letter, "I cannot express how delightful it is to me our friend Saturninus sending me a letter after letter in order to praise you."[25] Hence, despite the time lapse between one letter and the other, Pliny brings them as if they were a real-time conversation.[26]

We can point out a similar context in the letters VII.16 and VII.32, both to his grandfather-in-law, Fabatus, the first to introduce a friend, Calestrius Tiro, and the second to thank and praise Fabatus' hospitality to Calestrius. The first one creates the feeling of the reunion of three men; the second puts forward the weight of Pliny's advice, even when Pliny counsels a solid local politician and an aged landowner as his grandfather-in-law. Some time passed between the

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[25] *Exprimere non possum, quam iucundum sit mihi quod Saturninus noster summas tibi apud me gratias aliis super alias epistulis agit.*

[26] The only other case with subsequential letters covering the same matter is the pair VIII.10 and VIII.11, about Pliny's wife's health and miscarriage, which make sense to be together within the book. All the other letters about the same subject are far within the book or even in separate books.

letters, but this time has a proper measure: 15 letters within the book. Such ingenious architecture gives movement to Pliny's letters as if they were running fast and strong throughout Italy. However, instead of seeking love and support from its creator, as the creature does in Shelley's novel, it gathers applause and fame for the creator.

Other pairs distant within the book seem to foster multiple literary strategies. Letters VI.4 and VI.7, addressed to his last wife, Calpurnia, exhibit an enthusiastic couple apart due to the wife's disease. This pair is unique in many ways, but mainly because it is the only one in which Pliny shows deep affection in a theatrical image: a lover holding the letters of his dear beloved wife as if they were herself.[27] The distance between these letters represents the arduous will for fast communication to mitigate the feeling of the beloved's absence. Thereby, Pliny manipulates the sense of time and personal need by orchestrating the position of letters within the book.

Pliny also uses strategies to stitch up not one book but the collection itself: letters that unite the collection as if they were sewing threads to the isolated books if we keep the metaphor initially proposed. There is no better example than the Bithynian novel, if we can call it that: letters IV.9, V.20, VI.5 and VI.13, to Cornelius Ursus, and VII.6 and VII.10 to Macrinus. Thus, almost half of the books are linked somehow to narratives covering primarily or secondly the Bithynians against Pliny's friend Varenus.

The first Bythinian letter to Cornelius Ursus talks about Julius Bassus, as the Bithynians are only sideshows.[28] The only direct reference to the Bithynians is the following, "called by Nerva,

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[27] You write that you are being affected by my absence. You have me through my scrolls, and frequently, you put them upon my barely warm side of the bed. I am happy that you are missing me and that you find relief in this kind of comfort. On the other hand, I myself read your letters over and over again, and I hold them in my hands again and again, as if they were new. However, in the end, I am fired up by the desire of you. For if a person's letters have so much pleasantness, imagine how much sweetness is in the actual conversation. (*Scribis te absentia mea non mediocriter adfici unumque habere solacium, quod pro me libellos meos teneas, saepe etiam in uestigio meo colloces. 2 Gratum est quod nos requiris, gratum quod his fomentis adquiescis; in uicem ego epistulas tuas lectito atque identidem in manus quasi nouas sumo; sed eo magis ad desiderium tui accendor. 3 Nam cuius litterae tantum habent suauitatis, huius sermonibus quantum dulcedinis inest!*)

[28] Julius Bassus has delivered a forensic speech these days, a man who is known for his suffering and misfortunes. Under the ruling of Emperor Vespasianus, he was accused by two private citizens... (*Causam per hos dies dixit Iulius Bassus, homo laboriosus et aduersis suis clarus. Accusatus est sub Vespasiano a priuatis duobus...*)

he was appointed to Bithynia province, and from there he returned as the culprit"[29]. In effect, the letter predominantly focuses on the orators who got involved in the cause of Julius Bassus. At the end of letter IV.9, we get the suture yarn we must follow to see how Pliny attaches together the members of his literary creation. "In the meantime, you will have this letter as a preface, and you are going to wait for the complete and laden oration. You will wait for a while, for the ongoing proofreading of such a matter cannot be light or fast."[30] If we read this letter alone, we understand that this letter is a precursor to an oration to be published soon, probably already published when the epistolary collection was at hand. Contrariwise, if we read it within the collection, the letter is a prequel to a sequence of letters sewn tightly into the collection.

Pliny employs Greek words in certain circumstances, mainly when he needs to create scars to connect one letter to another, as we can see in the case of letter IV.9.[31] We may present as an example the letters II.11 and II.12, to his friend Arrianus, display that same idea: Λιτούργιον (small duty)[32] opens the second letter of the pair, as it refers to the end of the previous letter, "You have the city matters; in turn, you must write the country matters. How are your shrubs, your grapevine, your cornfield, your sheep? In sum, if you do not write me an equally long letter, there is no reason for you to wait for but a very brief letter."[33] After Arrianus ignore the request for letters, Pliny uses the Greek term Λιτούργιον, which draws attention to the lack of letters from his addressee. The Greek word indicates that Pliny only wants to give a quick note due to the lack of communication from his friend. In that way, Pliny uses isolated Greek words to suture the arteries to allow a new bloodstream throughout the letters.

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[29] *Reuocatus a Nerua sortitusque Bithyniam rediit reus*. IV.9.2

[30] *Habebis hanc interim epistulam ut* πρόδρομον, *exspectabis orationem plenam onustamque, exspectabis diu, neque enim leuiter et cursim ut de re tanta retractanda est*.

[31] πρόδρομον (prequel, precursor, preface)

[32] The word Λιτούργιον is challenging. Zehnacker (2009, p. 53) lists two variations, which can change slightly the meaning of the word. Besides Λιτούργιον, there is also λειτ-. The problem it brings is that the first one had a sense of criminal or judicial activity, while the second only implies a liturgical act performed in any societal sphere. While Zehnacker chooses Λιτούργιον, he draws attention that in some point both words had somewhat identical meaning, which is questionable.

[33] *Habes res urbanas; inuicem rusticas scribe. Quid arbusculae tuae, quid uineae, quid segetes agunt, quid oues delicatissimae? In summa, nisi aeque longam epistulam reddis, non est quod postea nisi breuissimam exspectes*.

Stitched the veins, the second letter of the Bithynians saga is the letter V.20. After a concise introduction of the Asian people in the previous letter, Pliny brings them back, "*Iterum Bithyni*!". It forces the audience to remember the last letter about the Bithynians in the previous book amid the reading or hearing of this new one. Notwithstanding, the letter does not discuss the foreign nation and its people. It is like the first one, as it discusses who spoke on a cause that barely touches Minor Asia on each side. Thus, we must ask, what role do the Bithynians play in Pliny's collection? Keeping Frankstein's metaphor in mind, it seems a surgical glue, one used to stick parts so far apart that only a solid and memorable name (the name of a frequently appellant region governed by Consuls or Pro-Consuls) would do.

At the end of this letter, we read:

> I will not explain in this letter why it was fair, so you yearn for the written speech. For what if Homer says is true: 'more truthful ovations from men a song receives when it is poured recently into their ears.' I will arrange that I do not harvest prematurely through the loquaciousness of this letter the grace and flower of novelty, which is primarily recommends that that short discourse.[34]

The first thing to draw attention to is the Greek passage, a Homeric quotation. The context is similar to the ending of the letter IV.9, as it preannounces an oration to come. Pliny's audience likely knows the case Pliny is revisiting. It would not be surprising if the oration were already published. Thus, as we propose, the letter is announcing another letter on the matter. Pliny is preparing the connection necessary in both ends – the end of one letter and the beginning of the other, as a surgeon does before sewing limbs that were somehow apart. This process of ressignificance of the letters is what makes them feel alive.

The Bithynian letters from the next book, VI.5 and VI.13, seem different at the first read-through. The letter VI.5 does not recall the Bithynians, it links itself to the letter V.20 through

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[34] *Quare iustam, non sum epistula exsecuturus, ut desideres actionem. Nam, si uerum est Homericum illud*: "τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι, ἥ τις ἀκουόντεσσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται," *prouidendum est mihi ne gratiam nouitatis et florem, quae oratiunculam illam uel maxime commendat, epistulae loquacitate praecerpam*.

Varenus, "I wrote long ago that it was considered legal Varenus call the witness he had."[35] First, it is necessary to say that Pliny uses the plus perfect not as a secondary action that precedes the main action but to create a sense of a distant past, in this case, the last book. In addition, after a short account of the forensic dispute that succeeded Varenus' case, Pliny ends the letter again without putting forward his speech. In fact, letter VI.5 sounds more like gossip about two friends tampering with a senatorial debate. In a way, the letter becomes a quick side story from non-vital characters. We can read it as a bridge for the letter that would close the Bithynian narrative, at least from Ursus' perspective.

The last letter about the Bithynians to Ursus is the letter VI.13, which begins:

> Have you seen, by any chance, someone more laborious and driven than my friend Varenus? What he had achieved with the highest efforts he had to defend and to apply for again. The Bithynians have dared to undermine and weaken the *Senatus Consultum* and incriminate it in his absence.[36]

The introduction communicates many allusions, but mostly it emulates letter I.5[37], about Regulus, now defending a friend instead of attacking an enemy. The reference to his first book indicates Pliny's great literary success, putting him forward as an example to prose writers. Just after the reference to a previous letter, come the Bithynians.[38] Pliny puts an end to the shenanigans the people from Asia Minor brought upon good senators. Instead of orators and legal counsels taking turns, Pliny describes how the Senate gets through the complaints and accusations the Bithynians had made.

At the end of the letter, the book-maker, as Marchesi (2015) calls Pliny, creates an advertisement, a similar ending to the letters in books IV and V, "You, nonetheless, rate how

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[35] *Scripseram tenuisse Varenum ut sibi euocare testes liceret.*

[36] *Umquamne uidisti quemquam tam laboriosum et exercitum quam Varenum meum? Cui quod summa contentione impetrauerat defendendum et quasi rursus petendum fuit. Bithyni senatus consultum apud consules carpere ac labefactare sunt ausi atque etiam absenti principi criminari.*

[37] Have you seen someone shier and humbler than Marcus Regulos after Domitian's Death? (*Vidistine quemquam M. Regulo timidiorem humiliorem post Domitiani mortem?*)

[38] On Pliny's references, the work of Murgia (1985) still the most significant source.

much is ahead of us in this very battle, whose prelude and preparation has already created so much tension."[39] Although there are no mentions of any speech, the words *praelusio* and *praecursio* echo the idea given at the end of the letters IV.9 and V.20, mainly through the word *praelusio*[40], which suggests an artistic and dramatic performance given before the main act. This prelude is linked to the role-playing done by orators on the Forum described by Pliny in these four letters. As expected from any great Roman writer, Pliny has surgical precision in the choice of words, as he puts himself as a commentator of such an orator's gameplay.

The last two letters concerning the Bithynians are addressed to Macrinus, whose identity is obscure. They are in the seventh book of the collection, letters VII.6 and VII.10. The first one is considerably long, the second a terse note. The addresses' switch is vital, as it indicates the end of one section, one limb is already attached to the body, and now Pliny has to finish it with two side letters. The opening of the letter VII.6 draws the matter to the audience:

> An impressive and rare matter happened to Varenus, and faltering hitherto, if I may say it. It is said the Bithynians dropped their accusations since they feared it was incomplete. "It is said", do I say? The province legate came; he brought the council's decree to Caesar; and brought it to us, Varenus' attorneys.[41]

Again, we have the duality Varenus against the Bithynians, and Pliny continues the narrative from where he left, but this time it is different. As far as Pliny has heard, the process developed in a surprising way. Since this letter has a distinct addressee, the case starts over, but not from scratch, so Pliny must give the new elements to justify the letter. The province brings a decree to

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[39] *Tu tamen aestima quantum nos in ipsa pugna certaminis maneat, cuius quasi praelusio atque praecursio has contentiones excitauit.*

[40] *Praelusio* has three morphemes: *prae* (before), *lud* (public performance of some sort) and *io* (action or movement). The morpheme *lud*, when added to the last morpheme io, creates *lusio* as a single morpheme, with the sibilation of the final *d*. Consequently, the words portray the vivid gameplay of orators in front of an audience. Cf. Ernout and Meillet (1994).

[41] *Rara et notabilis res Vareno contigit, sit licet adhuc dubia. Bithyni accusationem eius ut temere incohatam omisisse narrantur. 'Narrantur' dico? Adest prouinciae legatus, attulit decretum concilii ad Caesarem, attulit ad multos principes uiros, attulit etiam ad nos Vareni aduocatos.*

change its course, Pliny brings a fresh letter to its audience. It is a new limb, equal to the others, which gives the impression of wholeness, even though it comes from a separate source.

It extends the Bithynian narrative, as the sewing of body parts extended the arms and legs of Frankenstein's creature.[42] The Bithynians are the yarn suture keeping this member made by the letters together, albeit this letter is far from those addressed to Cornelius Ursus, which presents a rhetorician's stage show. Now, Pliny has a role in the event as an omniscient first-person narrator – a role he regularly plays in his letters.

Such multifaceted limb made by Pliny's scattered letters to two distinct addressees is notorious for its cohesiveness. It becomes evident in the last letter about the Bithynians:

> I believe you want to know the rest of the story from Varenus and the Bithynians. When I find the first piece of something, I myself want to bring together this first piece to its last part, as if they were independent. The cause was carried by Polyaenus on one side by Magnus on the other. Having finished each part's speaking turn, Caesar said, "neither side will complain about some delay. It is my duty to investigate the will of the province." In the meantime, Varenus grew stronger. Indeed, it is uncertain if he is rightly accused, or even if he is being accused! It remains to hope that the province does not favour again what it allegedly has given up and be sorry about its decision to be sorry. Farewell.[43]

Now the last piece is attached. We do not know how it ends; Pliny's presumed the audience had known it before the letter. In the first place, it was not Pliny's intention to tell the historical account from the beginning to its end. The initial and final parts of the Bithynian narratives are not in his collection. In fact, such letters are the middle parts of a newborn body, with new functions and new meanings. Even this last letter seems a middle part of the story, as Pliny does

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[42] Even though Mary Shelley does not describe the creature, we read between lines that the creature's body is no harmonious, for the hands, arms and legs do not match a natural sized human. The image of a body made of pieces is taken from the 1931 movie.

[43] *Quia ipse, cum prima cognoui, iungere extrema quasi auulsa cupio, te quoque existimo uelle de Vareno et Bithynis reliqua cognoscere. 2 Acta causa hinc a Polyaeno, inde a Magno. Finitis actionibus Caesar "Neutra" inquit "pars de mora queretur; erit mihi curae explorare prouinciae uoluntatem." 3 Multum interim Varenus tulit. Etenim quam dubium est an merito accusetur, qui an omnino accusetur incertum est! Superest ne rursus prouinciae quod damnasse dicitur placeat, agatque paenitentiam paenitentiae suae. Vale.*

not end the matter. he intends to keep his audience in suspense to wait for the words of Caesar since the facts were probably widely known when the collection came out[44]. The literary strategy is flawless.

Plinian letters are parts of long-dead epistolary exchanges, stripped, washed, and sewed together. Therefore, Pliny would not bring any new information or report new and relevant matters. Otherwise, his literacy would not correctly be on the central spot. In addition, it could bring unnecessary political and social challenges or cause problems for its writer. To set up this creature of his, Pliny uses polished pieces drawn from once live conversations; he kills them and, by combining them, creates his masterpiece. The book-maker frequently takes more than one piece from each conversation, creating a sense of continuity within and throughout the books. The flexibility and stretching of the letters and the books give them a lettered strength far from that seen in Cicero or Seneca's collection. That is possible due to merging different parts from varied contexts, a similar effect achieved by Victor Frankenstein in his creature's flexibility and strength.

The pairs of letters within the books foster time, space, and motion; they can lengthen the audience's perception of how long the epistolary events last, of where Pliny was, and where he went from and through, as we showed. Pliny used all his literary resources as chemical formulas and electricity to bring those perished letters into life. Thus, each book is a member composed of small pieces that bring new meanings to each other and to themselves in that fresh and lively context. In addition to the internal rhetorical and literary features applied to each letter, the *ordo* proposed by Pliny, as we showed here, matters to the reading of the letters themselves and the

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[44] The fact that Pliny would be appointed Governor at Bithynia in the end of his life could be a mere coincidence. However, it opens the door to question when, why and how Pliny published his epistolary books. If we understand that the Bithynian cases were unimportant events to Pliny and to Rome, and that the most famous cases Pliny took part were not connected to these letters, one can argue with certain safety that these letters may indicate that Pliny published his epistolary books during his rulership in Bithynia or after that. However, that would force other interpretations on Pliny's date of death and the meaning of the collection itself. Therefore, like Frankenstein's creature bursting doors and windows, this article invites researchers and scholars to rethink Pliny's work and his life.

book they are located into. However, a limb cannot be alive detached from a body, so the epistolary books only are coherent if they are sewed together. The Bithynian narrative is one of the most transparent examples of how Pliny attaches the books and forces his audience to see an integral collection, not a sporadic epistolary exchange published in a pell-mell way.

In that sense, the Plinian epistolary collection portrays what we see in Frankenstein's movie: a creature with legs and arms longer and more robust than the bodies it is made of; it changes, learns, lives, and evolves as we read it. Furthermore, the creature is the master of its creator, as Plinian letters dictate how we see Pliny and what we think of him; all we know about Pliny comes mostly through his letters[45], just like the creatures on the ship travelling through the north pole. The book-maker created more than just books or a statue, for it is alive!

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[45] On Pliny's life and political and literary propaganda of himself, see Henderson (2002), Winsbury (2015) and Gibson (2020).

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Aristotle's mixed constitution theory[157]

By Eleni Krikona

Abstract

In the context of the theory of the *mesē politeia* (a moderate constitution), Aristotle shifts the criteria for characterizing the type of a constitution from those that determine political status in a city to the nature of state institutions and the balance of the political powers of heterogeneous social groups within a *polis*. Thus, a new constitutional type was invented: the moderate mixed *politeia*, which resembled another invented democratic constitution in the fourth century BCE, the Athenian *patrios politeia*. The Aristotelian theory of "mixed" and "moderate" *politeiai* has its share, within the broader framework of the 4th-century *patrios politeia* theory, in the inevitable constitutional change in Athens after the defeat in the Lamian War through the replacement of democracy (an "extreme" *politeia* in theory, which Aristotle remarkably often considers similar to tyranny) with a 'moderate democracy,' which was nevertheless no different from a 'moderate oligarchy.' The paper will focus on Aristotelian political theorizing in order to understand how Aristotle's political thinking was developed within the *patrios politeia* theory in Athens, the main product of which is the pseudo-Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* that distorted the true nature of the archaic *politeiai* of the Athenians, i.e., the Athenian constitution in the times of Draco, Solon, and Kleisthenes.

Keywords: Aristotle; Politics; Athenaion Politeia; patrios politeia; qualitative mixture

Introduction

According to many political writers of the Classical period (particularly Plato, Xenophon, and Isocrates), the democracy of their time was an extreme constitution, i.e., a degeneration from previous, more moderate forms, which led the Athenians to disastrous military defeats. As a counterpoint to this "extreme" constitutional model, many of these thinkers resorted to the model

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of the Spartan constitution, which was perceived as a "mixed," a "moderate" constitution that provided Sparta with the military might to defeat the "radical" Athenians in the Peloponnesian War.[158] According to fourth-century BCE[159] political theory, the Athenians should improve their constitution[160] by returning to their ancestral laws (created by Draco and Solon), which were believed to be more similar to those of their moderate Spartan counterparts. That ancestral constitution was, therefore, construed as a moderate democracy.

One of the most prominent figures in the fourth-century intellectual tradition of studying and even criticizing democracy[161] is Aristotle,[162] who, among others, developed the theory of the mixed constitution in the context of the debate on the political sovereignty of the *plēthos*.[163] Aristotle deals with the foundation of the sovereign claims of the *dēmos*,[164] mainly using the wisdom of the multitude argument, based on which he supports the intellectual and moral superiority of the people as a whole and justifies their sovereign claims in the areas where they collaborate, that is, in the legislation procedure, the election and control of the city's elite.[165] Focusing on the Aristotelian theorizing of the mixed constitution, through the wisdom of the multitude argument and the idea

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[158] The lack of a common front in the decision-making process is considered one of democracy's weaknesses in comparison with the Spartan *homonoia* (concord), as derived from the obedience of the Spartans to their laws (τοῖς νόμοις πείθονται; see, e.g., Xenophon, Memorabilia 3.5.14-17; 4.4.15-16), which secured happiness in times of peace and great strength in times of war.

[159] All provided dates are BCE. Moreover, the English translations of the ancient Greek passages are mine, apart from those where the name of the translator is explicitly indicated.

[160] For the idea that democracy was responsible for the military defeats of the state since the Sicilian expedition onward, see, e.g., Xenophon, Memorabilia 3.5.15ff.; 4.4.15; Plato, Hippias Major 283e; 285d; Laws 629c; Isocrates, Panathenaicus 108ff.; 200ff.; 216ff.

[161] Pseudo-Xenophon, Thucydides, Aristophanes, Plato, Xenophon, and Isocrates. For the perception of the fourth-century democracy as an "extreme" politeia in theory that is often related to tyranny by Aristotle, see Politics 1281a 21-24; 1292a 11-38; 1298a 30-33; 1310a 1-4; 1312b 4-6; 1313b 32-1314a 1; 1319b 27-28; cf. Eucken 1990, 281. Plato, Republic 577d calls democracy the marketplace of constitutions; see Ober 1998, 245. For Aristotle's explicit statement about a close relationship between democracy and tyranny, e.g., Politics 1313b 32-38, see Mandt 1990, 658; Ober 2003, 215; Kallet 2003, 121. Heuss 1971, 15-16 also points out that Aristotle never questions Plato's thesis on the close relationship between tyranny and democracy; see Kamp 1985, 17ff. For the relation between extreme tyranny and democracy in Aristotelian thought, see in detail Jordović 2011.

[162] See Schmidt 2010, 36-43, esp. 40. On the notion of 'critical community' and other synonymous terms such as 'community of political critics' and 'community of critical political discourse,' see Ober 1998, 7-12, esp. 11, 15, 23, 33, 43-51, 154-155, 250, 258, 286-288, 290-351, esp. 350.

[163] Regarding the πλῆθος πολιτικόν, a *plēthos* (people) made up of citizens of free spirit that respect the laws, see Aristotle, Politics III, 1283b 2 and 1288a 7ff. See also in detail Touloumakos 1979, 205-223.

[164] Aristotle, Politics III, 1281a 40-1281b 38.

[165] Aristotle, Politics III, 1281b 38-1282a 41. See here Touloumakos 1979, 206.

of the qualitative political mixture, the article aims to highlight and understand how Aristotle's political theorizing was developed within the ancestral constitution theory that dominated the 4th-century political scene in Athens and found its historiographical application in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* of the late 4th century.

The wisdom of the multitude argument

First, we should briefly examine the Aristotelian 'wisdom of the multitude' argument[166] in order to understand his main political theorizing on the mixed and middle constitution. The argument is developed in the third book of *Politics* regarding the constitutional problem, or, in the philosopher's own words ἀπορία, of who should be the primary carrier of political power. Specifically, Aristotle examines the argument related to each social class: the claims of the *plēthos/* the "many" (πλήθη or πλῆθος and ὄχλος/ the mob), i.e., the *dēmos*, of the "few," which are distinguished either for their wealth or their intellectual and moral superiority (ἐπιεικεῖς) and are the elite of wealth or the elite in spirit respectively, and of the "one," with a highly qualified personality (βέλτιστος πάντων), that is, the monarch. The philosopher's research concludes that none of these political claims can be recognized as entirely fair. The central idea of the wisdom of the multitude argument is that the people as a whole are better or more potent than the few or the one. Depending on the criteria considered (ἀρετή-virtue, φρόνησις-wisdom, πλοῦτος-wealth), this superiority can be moral, spiritual, or material.

This argument underlines the political need for more equality amongst citizens or, even better, for 'analogical' equality: every citizen should be politically recognized according to their qualifications. Furthermore, freedom and respect of the state laws are prerequisites for a successful political multitude. On the other hand, Aristotle considers it necessary to have a ruling class in the state, that is, an elite (τοὺς βελτίονας), referring to the criteria of wealth and spiritual as well as moral

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[166] See in detail Waldron 1995, 563-584; Schofield 2021, 285-301; Lane 2013, 247-274.

qualifications for political status,[167] indirectly criticizing the democracy of his time for allowing ordinary citizens, i.e., those without riches or merit from virtue, to occupy high offices in the city.[168]

The 'moderate mixed democracy' concept

In his work, Aristotle favors a moderate type of democracy,[169] projecting the ancestral Athenian *politeiai*,[170] especially that of Solon,[171] as models for this ideal moderate mixed democratic constitution.[172] Specifically, in the sixth book of his *Politics*,[173] Solon's regime is characterized as βέλτιστη (the best) or ἀρχαιοτάτη δημοκρατία (the oldest democracy)[174] and, in 1273b 36-42, the philosopher notes that: Σόλωνα δ' ἔνιοι μὲν οἴονται νομοθέτην γενέσθαι σπουδαῖον, ὀλιγαρχίαν τε γὰρ καταλῦσαι λίαν ἄκρατον οὖσαν καὶ δουλεύοντα τὸν δῆμον παῦσαι καὶ <u>δημοκρατίαν καταστῆσαι τὴν πάτριον μίξαντα καλῶς τὴν πολιτείαν</u>· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴν ὀλιγαρχικόν, τὸ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρετὰς ἀριστοκρατικόν, τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια δημοτικόν ('as for Solon, he is considered by some people to have been a good lawgiver, as having put an end to oligarchy when it was too unqualified and having liberated the people from slavery and established the ancestral democracy with a skilful blending of the constitution: the Council on the Areopagus being an oligarchic element, the elective magistracies aristocratic and the law-courts democratic'), underlining the connection between the Solonian *patrios politeia* and the ideal constitutional mixture. This ideal moderate mixed democratic constitution is defined, according to the philosopher, as follows: the archons are selected by election (and not by lot as under the extreme democracy[175]), and prerequisites for the occupation of the

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[167] See Touloumakos 1979, 217 fn. 32.

[168] Aristotle, Politics III, 1281b 24-25ff; see also AP 28, esp. 28.3.

[169] For the view that Aristotle strongly implies that the Athenian regime of his day was an extreme democracy and, therefore, should become more moderate, see, e.g., Strauss 1991, 216-218, 222f., 229, 231f.; Piepenbrink 2001, 171-173, 175.

[170] For the so-called '*patrios politeia*,' see, e.g., Finley 1981, 209-251; Lintott 1982; Mossé 1978, 81-89, and in detail my forthcoming doctoral dissertation. For the patrios politeia theory, as it is developed through the works of Plato, Xenophon, and Isocrates, see Fuks 1972; Atack 2010.

[171] For the figure of Solon as constructed from the last decades of the fifth century onward, see Mossé 1979, 425-437; Robertson 1986, 147-176; Thomas 1994, 119-134; Ruzé 1997, 311-322, 350-368.

[172] *AP* 6-12; *Politics* III, 1281b, V, 1305a 27ff.

[173] VI, 1318b 27-1319a 4.

[174] Moreover, Xenophon, in his *Symposium* 8.39, underlines that Solon established κράτιστους νόμους.

[175] For the procedure of selection by lot as an essential weakness of the radical democracy, see Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1.2.9.

highest offices are property and personal abilities. However, in the election and control of the upper class, all citizens participate as they constitute the Assembly. According to Aristotle, such a constitution works ideally because the best citizens occupy the offices[176] according to the people's will.[177] At the same time, the selected citizens (the political elite) are satisfied because qualitatively inferior people do not govern them. Still, they are restricted, as the People's Assembly controls them. Moreover, moderate is the ἔννομος δημοκρατία (democracy where the rule of law is sovereign) mentioned by the philosopher in the fifth book of his *Politics*,[178] as opposed to radical democracy.[179] The sovereignty of the law is guaranteed by the fact, as stated in the fourth book,[180] that this democracy excludes the presence of demagogues,[181] and the governance of the city is exercised by optimal citizens (οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσιν ἐν προεδρίᾳ: IV, 1292a 9).

To achieve this ideal moderation in the democratic *politeia,* a constitutional change in Athens is considered necessary, although never explicitly proposed by anyone apart from Isocrates, mainly through the restoration of the aristocratic Council of Areopagus in the dominant role it had before the reforms of Ephialtes,[182] according to the model of the πάτριος πολιτεία (ancestral constitution). In the thought of the 4th-century theorists, mainly of Plato, Isocrates, and (to a lesser extent) Xenophon, this *politeia* sometimes corresponds to the Solonian constitution,[183] sometimes to the

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[176] See Aristotle, *Politics* IV, 1292a 7ff.

[177] Aristotle, *Politics* IV, 1318b 11-22.

[178] V, 1306b 20.

[179] See *Politics* 1305a 28-32 for the constitutional change in Athens from the 'ancestral democracy' into the most recent form of Aristotle's time, the rule of the *dēmos*.

[180] IV, 1292a 7ff.

[181] In comparison, e.g., with the Athenian *politeia* after its seventh *metabole*: *AP* 26.1.

[182] However, it is possible that the so-called 'reforms of Ephialtes,' orchestrated by Themistocles, are no more than a 4th-century invention, probably of the time of Demetrius from Phalerum; see in detail Zaccarini 2018. Canevaro (2011, 69) states: 'The reforms of Ephialtes are generally a topic for which fourth-century reconstructions are dubious and often unreliable, and betray political aims relevant to the fourth century, rather than the fifth'; cf. Gehrke 1978, 51-52 fn. 6; Bearzot 2007, 41ff.; Banfi 2010, 146-149. Although we have no direct evidence, Demetrius wrote a lot in praise of Themistocles' rival Aristides, both in his book *Aristides* and in that on Socrates (SOD nos. 95, 102-105), and he may have also given a critical account of Themistocles in his two books On Demagogy (SOD 1.67); see van Wees 2011, 98 fn. 11. If the reforms of Ephialtes are indeed a 4th-century invention (see here the monograph of Zaccarini 2017), this constitutes another example of the invented history of archaic and early classical Athens that occurred in the late fourth century, such as the *patrios politeia* of Solon and Draco.

[183] *AP* 9.1-2; *Politics* II, 1274a 2ff.; Isocrates, *Areopagiticus* 16ff.

Kleisthenic,[184] and sometimes to the Draconian one,[185] but alternately corresponds to an ancestral form, chronologically undefined, that harmoniously combines institutional elements from at least three different periods of Athenian archaic history.[186]

Consequently, the return to an ancestral *politeia* inevitably leads to the reduction of the power of the Assembly and the public lawcourts, that is, to the removal of the political standing of the *thētes* involved in both of these state bodies and, at the same time, to the upgrading of those citizens who belong to the upper-income classes. In other words, the theory of the *patrios politeia* proposes the abolition of the institutions of 'radical democracy,' which are considered to have led Athens to its military defeat by the Spartans in the Peloponnesian War, while aiming to justify the establishment of an oligarchic *politeia* in Athens in the form of a moderate constitution; "in the form of another type of 'democracy,'" as Birgalias precisely stresses.[187]

The "mixed" constitution: the qualitative political mixture

A new mixed-constitution terminology[188] is introduced by Plato and Aristotle in the 4th-century political discussions in Athens as a methodological tool for analyzing the nature of the Greek *politeiai*. The 'mixed *politeia*,' a mixture of different institutional characteristics, is defined as a democracy, but it retains the positive attributes of its moderate version. Besides, there is also the regime of the winners of the Peloponnesian War, the Spartans, with whom Athens does not need to

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[184] *AP* 41.2; *Politics* 1319b 21-29; Isocrates, *Areopagiticus* 16; *Antidosis* 231-2, 306.

[185] *AP* 4; *Politics* 1297b 1-28. See also McCoy 1975, 140; Gagarin 1981; Ruzé 1997, 341-350; Stroud 1979; Birgalias 2007, 124.

[186] For example, we can say that the political theorists of the late 5th and the 4th centuries keep from the draconian era the concept of the citizen-hoplite, according to which Athens is a *polis* of hoplites, that is maintained, as they project, in the time of Solon. From the *politeia* of 594/3, they retain the income criteria for the election to the city authorities (also maintained in 508/7). Moreover, the Areopagus Council is the state's guardian and holds extensive administrative and judicial powers. Finally, from the Kleisthenic regime they keep the city's administration that lies in the hands of the elite, as even the Council of 500 is composed of the wealthiest citizens. This *patrios politeia* proved strong, effective, and beneficial for Athens during the Persian Wars. In all three of the *politeiai* mentioned above, the institution of pay (μισθοφορία) is absent, and the archons are elected without using the lot (κλήρωσις). See also here Ruschenbusch 1958.

[187] Birgalias 2007, 125.

[188] For the origin of the mixed-constitution theory, see Ste. Croix 1981, 109-110. For the quality mixture in the thought of Plato and Aristotle, see Touloumakos 1979, 74-91.

differentiate constitutionally,[189] according to the political philosophers of the 4th century, primarily Plato and Aristotle.[190]

Plato, in particular, in his *Laws* (691d- 692a, 693b), defines the Spartan *politeia* as a mixed constitution that combines monarchy and democracy harmoniously.[191] This idea is also reflected in Aristotle's *Politics* (1265b 35-42). Despite his criticism of several Spartan institutions,[192] Plato believes that the Spartan mixed constitution succeeded in avoiding extremities, i.e., on the one hand, the extreme monarchy (the most characteristic example of which is the Persian Empire) and on the other hand, the extreme democracy (with the most characteristic example the Athenian constitution), and was, therefore, a well-balanced *politeia* (*Laws* 693d-e), under which a just representation of all social classes is secured (*Laws* 756e).[193]

Plato heavily influenced his pupil regarding his perception of the nature of the Spartan constitution; Aristotle, therefore, considers the Lacedaemonian *politeia* as a mixed constitutional order (*Politics* 1265b 35-42). The philosopher appears particularly skeptical and judgmental concerning most of the Spartan institutions,[194] but this is due to his intention, as I believe, to

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[189] See Romilly 1959, 85-87; Birgalias 2007, 117-142.

[190] See also the relevant references of Isocrates regarding the close connection between the Athenian ancestral constitution and the Spartan in *Areopagiticus* 61 and *Panathenaicus* 153-155, where he stresses that Lycurgus did not invent any new institution but imitated the *patrios politeia* of the Athenians by creating another type of democracy, which was mixed with aristocratic institutional elements; for the *Panathenaicus* passage, see, in detail, Gray 1994, 223-271. For the interest of Athens in the Spartan society and its constitution from the end of the fifth century onward, see Ollier 1933; Tigerstedt 1974.

[191] Moreover, in his *Politeia* 544c, Plato puts the Spartan constitution, which he calls 'mixed,' in second place after the ideal *politeia;* and then oligarchy, democracy, tyranny, and last *Basileia.* See also Isocrates, *Areopagiticus* 61 and *Panathenaicus* 153-155; Xenophon, *Lacedaemonion Politeia* 15.1; *Agesilaus* 1.4; Archytas, *On Law and Justice* from Stobaeus 43.134. For Sparta in the *Laws* of Plato, see Powell 1994, 273-321.

[192] Regarding, e.g., the dominance of the military virtue (*Laws* 626ff.); too much appreciation for goods (*Politeia* 548); the mistakes concerning the helots (*Politeia* 496bff.; *Laws* 776ff.); the lack of legislation concerning women (*Laws* 781a); *oliganthropia*, i.e., the reduction of the Spartan citizenry through the years (*Laws* 740bff.; 924dff.; *Alcibiades* I. 122ff.; *Hippias Major* 283b. See also Aristotle, *Politics* 1294b 14ff.; 1334a 40ff.; 1337aff.; 1339a 41ff. Moreover, the oldest citizens, who participate in the *Gerousia* in Sparta, do not seem to have a political position in Plato's ideal *politeia; Laws* 755a; 923b. For a similar opinion, see Aristotle, *Politics* 1329a.

[193] Moreover, for the admiration of Xenophon for the Spartan *politeia,* see, e.g., *Lacedaemonion Politeia* 15.1; *Agesilaus* 1.4.

[194] E.g., the existence of kings, the *gerousia,* the ephors, the *syssitia*; see, in detail, *Politics* 1270b-1271b. He also finds disadvantages regarding the inequalities in ownership and the dowry (1270a 11-15) as well as the position of women (1269b 5-1270a 11), the phenomenon of *oliganthropia* (1270a 16-1270b 19), and the position of helots (1269a 2-1269b

underline the flaws of a *polis* in its effort to establish the ideal *politeia* rather than systematic disbelief towards the mixed Spartan constitution.[195] No matter how harsh his criticisms are, they mainly concern the way the institutions were applied (e.g., *Politics* 1269a-1271b) rather than the nature of the very institutions and what the fundamental question of the philosopher is how the mixture of the *politeia* will be accomplished in the best possible way (*Politics* 1265b 35-36) in order for all conflicting parts of a *polis* to coexist harmoniously and live happily with one another (*Politics* 1270b 21-22).

The Spartan regime was purely oligarchic.[196] However, Aristotle often characterizes the public offices of Sparta using different terms according to the criteria he sets each time;[197] in this sense, the Spartan *Gerousia* can sometimes converge with the aristocracy, sometimes with democracy, and sometimes with the oligarchy. Similarly, this is also the case with the institution of the five ephors. However, Aristotle's point here is that the Lacedaemonians have managed to ideally balance the rights of the few with those of the majority in their state, in other words, to balance the heterogeneity of political interests between the political groups that constitute the *polis*. In this context, the philosopher acknowledges that in Sparta, there is a mixture of all constitutions,[198] especially of democracy and oligarchy.[199] That constitution did not fail, no matter how the number of citizens grew thinner throughout the years.[200] Of course, that political mix stipulates that the *plēthos* is

4). For an analysis of the opinion of Aristotle concerning the Spartan *politeia*, see in detail Cloché 1942, 289-313; Schütrumpf 1994, 323-345.

[195] See in *Politics* 1296a 19-21, where Aristotle characterizes Lycurgus as one of the greatest lawgivers. For an overview of the philosopher's opinion on the Spartan *politeia*, see *Politics* 1333b 13-1334b 28.

[196] For the Spartan state's oligarchic nature, e.g., Demosthenes, 20.108; Thucydides 4.126.2; Isocrates, *Nicocles* (III) 24; see also Ollier 1933, 353-354.

[197] For example, how to access them or whether they are paid and unpaid, their duration or how those who hold them award justice, or on the basis of the process of the *probouleusis* procedure; see *Politics* 1273a 5-7 and Birgalias 2007, 129-130, esp. fn. 68.

[198] *Politics* 1265b 33ff. Another distinctive example of this tactic concerns the Solonian *politeia*, where the Council of Areopagus constitutes the oligarchic institutional element of this *patrios* mixed and moderate constitution, the election of the magistracies, the aristocratic element, and the access of the Athenian *dēmos* to law courts as well as his authority over the election and accountability of the archons is the democratic one; see *Politics* II, 1273b 35-1274a 22.

[199] *Politics* 1294b 14ff.

[200] As we saw above, Aristotle discusses the phenomenon of *oliganthropia* in Sparta, but his analysis reflects not on the number of those who possess political power but on the nature of power each citizen has; see *Politics* 1252a.

involved in public affairs and votes, but the rich are the ones who maintain the administration of the state. In other words, the constitution is based on the fundamental principle of oligarchy: wealth.

Nevertheless, while characterizing the nature of a *politeia*, Aristotle's methodology is based mainly on the shift of interest from the criteria that determine the political identity in a state to the nature of the state institutions and the balance of the political powers of the heterogeneous social parts of a *polis*. In addition, the philosopher essentially criticizes the Spartan system in his study of the *politeiai* that were considered to have good governance (εὐνομία/ a well-ordered *politeia*).[201] However, his criticisms are not based on the main principle of the Spartan state, wealth, but are related to the offenses against citizens during their archonship (blatant discrimination against equality, corruption, etc.).[202] In practice, no matter how harsh his criticisms are against the Lacedaemonian state of his time, they methodologically reinforce, as we will see below, the view that a 'mixed *politeia*' is the best possible constitution,[203] maintaining and promoting the following political quest: how does a constitutional form combine democratic and oligarchic institutional elements moderately and harmoniously?[204]

The Aristotelian *Politeia*

By examining Aristotle's theory on the virtues of the political authority of the multitude (Book III),[205] the constitutional mixture[206] through the establishment of the *politeia*, a moderate constitutional government (Book IV), and the promotion of the proper παιδεία, education (Book

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[201] *Politics* 1270b-1271b.
[202] *Politics* 1269a-1271b.
[203] See Birgalias 2007, 132-133.
[204] *Politics* 1265b 35-36; see also Lintott 2000, 152-166.
[205] See 1281b 4-9; and esp. 1281a 40-1281b 38; cf. Plato, *Laws* 700a -701b, 670b, who referred to ἀμούσους βοὰς πλήθους (people's voices without refinement) and in 670a: γελοῖος γὰρ ὅ γε πολὺς ὄχλος ἡγούμενος ἱκανῶς γιγνώσκειν τό τε εὐάρμοστον καὶ εὔρυθμον καὶ μη (it is absurd of the general crowd to imagine that they can fully understand what is harmonious and rhythmical), being sarcastic towards the importance of the collective wisdom, will, and consciousness that Aristotle considered more important than the opinion of the few. For the theory of the political authority of the multitude in Aristotle's theorizing, see in detail Touloumakos 1979, 205-223.
[206] See Barker 1959, 471-483. For the 'mixed' constitution as Plato treats it in his *Laws,* see, e.g., Sabine 1980, 92-95.

V),[207] we notice that although he seems to find many institutional virtues in the *Basileia*,[208] Aristotle promotes mainly the idea of a mixed, *mesē* constitution that calls 'Politeia,' which combines democratic and oligarchic institutional elements,[209] and constitutes a *politeia* of hoplites (*Politics* 1297b 17-24). This *politeia* appears to be the most ideal and feasible type of constitutional government to be established and also maintained, leading the community of a *polis* as a whole to εὐδαιμονία (happiness).

Moreover, in *Politics* 1297b 23-24, Aristotle highlights that the term '*politeia*' is the one the ancestors used to call their democracies, making a genuinely democratic constitution and the Spartan *politeia* appear less different than they actually are. This *politeia* that could be characterized either as a moderate democracy or a moderate oligarchy seems to be, in theory, the most ideal and feasible type of constitutional government to be established and also maintained, leading the community of a polis as a whole to εὐδαιμονία, but, practically, it constitutes the means for the replacement of democracy by an oligarchy in 4th-century Athens. At this point, however, we should stress that Aristotle did not make any direct concrete political suggestions for establishing the *Politeia*,

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[207] Politics 1337a 10-1338b 8; see also e.g. Kullmann 2003, 111; Romilly 2010, 264.

[208] His good relations with the Macedonian King possibly have something to do with this political view that we are not going to discuss here; see Glotz 1994, 395; Ober 1998; Oikonomou 2008, 39-41; Plaggesis 2009, 46-47.

[209] *Politics* 1286b 20, 1294b. See also Thucydides 2.3711 on the mixture of democratic and aristocratic elements in the time of Pericles, as well as the sarcastic reference of Plato, *Menexenus* 238c-d, where (238c) he refers to a polity as a thing which nurtures men, good men when it is noble, bad men when it is base. Then, Plato underlines the need to demonstrate that the polity wherein the Athenian forefathers were nurtured was a noble one, such as caused goodness not only in them but also in their descendants of his present age, amongst whom the Athenians number these men who were fallen. He precisely points out that: ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ πολιτεία καὶ τότε ἦν καὶ νῦν, ἀριστοκρατία, ἐν ᾗ νῦν τε πολιτευόμεθα καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἐξ ἐκείνου ὡς τὰ πολλά. καλεῖ δὲ ὁ μὲν αὐτὴν δημοκρατίαν, ὁ δὲ ἄλλο, ᾧ ἂν χαίρῃ, ἔστι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μετ' εὐδοξίας πλήθους ἀριστοκρατία. βασιλεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀεὶ ἡμῖν εἰσιν· οὗτοι δὲ τοτὲ μὲν ἐκ γένους, τοτὲ δὲ αἱρετοί· ἐγκρατὲς δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὰ πολλὰ τὸ πλῆθος, τὰς δὲ ἀρχὰς δίδωσι καὶ κράτος τοῖς ἀεὶ δόξασιν ἀρίστοις εἶναι, καὶ οὔτε ἀσθενείᾳ οὔτε πενίᾳ οὔτ' ἀγνωσίᾳ πατέρων ἀπελήλαται οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐναντίοις τετίμηται, ὥσπερ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν, ἀλλὰ εἷς ὅρος, ὁ δόξας σοφὸς ἢ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι κρατεῖ καὶ ἄρχει ('for it is the same polity which existed then and exists now, under which polity we are living now and have been living ever since that age with hardly a break. One man calls it "democracy," another man, according to his fancy, gives it some other name; but it is, in very truth, an "aristocracy" (the rule of the best) backed by popular approbation. Kings (i.e., Basileus archons) we always have, but these are at one time hereditary, at another selected by vote. And while most part of civic affairs are in the control of the populace, they hand over the posts of government and the power to those who, from time to time, are deemed to be the best men; and no man is debarred by his weakness or poverty or by the obscurity of his parentage, or promoted because of the opposite qualities, as is the case in other States. On the contrary, the one principle of selection is this: the man that is deemed to be wise or good rules and governs'; translated by W.R.M. Lamb. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1925). For the balanced mixture of democratic and oligarchic institutional elements in Aristotle's political theorizing, see Barker 1959, 472; Wolff 1995, 114-115; Oikonomou 2008, 125-126 with fn. 410; Romilly 2010, 255-256.

especially in Athens, as an effort for constitutional change. Like Plato, Xenophon, and Isocrates, he mainly developed his theories as a philosophical exercise within the 4th-century Athenian historical context that is dominated, on an ideological level, by the *patrios politeia* theory.

As far as the Spartan constitution is concerned, Aristotle, despite his skepticism and criticism against it, which we already mentioned, often praises it as a typically mixed *politeia*,[210] like that of the year 411/0, which his pupil, the author of the *AP*, analyses and admires.[211] Of course, the remembrance of Solon that established a well-mixed *mesē 'patrios'* constitution in Athens[212] has a central position in Aristotle's political theorizing.

What would guarantee, according to the philosopher, the political stability and security in a *polis* under the *Politeia* would be a broadened middle class,[213] suggesting that δεῖ δ' ἀεί τόν νομοθέτην ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσλαμβάνειν τούς μέσους (the lawgiver should always include the middle class into the citizenry).[214] This middle class[215] would consist of hoplites,[216] and constitutes a central aspect of Aristotle's theory on the *mesē politeia* but not a historical reality of the classical Greek world. So, summing up the prerequisites for the successful establishment of the *Politeia*[217] in a Greek *polis*, we can say that these were the following: the existence of a πλῆθος πολεμικόν (military crowd), the respect

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[210] *Politics* 1294b 18-40; see also Barker 1959, 481-483; Oikonomou 2008, 27.

[211] For the constitution of 5000, see Thucydides, 8.97; *AP* 32,3; see also Barker 1959, 476.

[212] *Politics* 1296a 18; *AP* 11,2; see also Finley 1996, 3, 15; Oikonomou 2008, 13, 34-35. Aristotle's *politeia* is a timocratic constitution, like that of Solon, see *Nicomachean Ethics* 1160a 36. For the timocratic constitution in the thought of Plato, see *Politeia* 547c-549b.

[213] *Politics* 1295b 1-5: ἐν ἁπάσαις δή ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔστι τρία μέρη τῆς πόλεως, οἱ μέν εὔποροι σφόδρα, οἱ δέ ἄποροι σφόδρα, οἱ δέ τρίτοι οἱ μέσοι τούτων. ἐπεί τοίνυν ὁμολογεῖται τό μέτριον ἄριστον καί τό μέσον, φανερόν ὅτι καί τῶν εὐτυχημάτων ἡ κτῆσις ἡ μέση βέλτιστη πάντων (there are three parts in every state, those who are very rich, those who are very poor and the third part that is in the middle. Undoubtedly, the middle part is the best, as it is apparent that the moderate possessions are the most optimal). A part of them could have gained their wealth from commerce, according to Perlman 1963, 327-355, esp. 327 and 1967, 161-176, esp. 162-166; cf. Hasebroek 1933, who believed that most traders of a large scale were metics; Laix 1973, 174-177, 191; Ober 1989, 29-30 ('While there were certainly a good number of Athenians who were directly and indirectly involved in commerce, no evidence suggests that these persons constituted anything like a 'class,' had well-defined political goals, or were sufficiently numerous to influence the tenor of Athenian politics'). On the uselessness of the concept of a 'middle' class as an analytical notion for ancient political and social history, see Barker 1959, 475; Finley 1983, 10-11 with fn. 31; Davies 1978, 36; Ste. Croix 1981, 71-72, 120-133.

[214] *Politics* 1296b 34-36.

[215] Demosthenes seems to have no notion of a 'middle' class, see e.g. 18.46; 24.165. No Greek *polis* of Aristotle's time had a broadened middle class; see, e.g., Ober 1989, 33. For the 'middle class' in Aristotle's *Politics,* see Ross 1991, 366.

[216] *Politics* 1297b, 1-2.

[217] See Romilly 2010, 95-96.

for the rule of law, the admission to the citizenry, according to a small property qualification, with the access to the public offices according to limited boundaries of ones' descent and a low or high property qualification depending on the type of magistracy (major or minor),[218] the existence of a well-organized institution of εὐθῦναι (accountability of magistrates to the *dēmos*), and the minimal payment for attendance of the Assembly meetings.[219]

While addressing his theory on the *Politeia*, Aristotle analyses specific institutional aspects projected by the author of the *AP* as historical as far as the earliest phases of the Athenian democracy are concerned, especially in the time of Draco and Solon. Specifically, Aristotle, in his *Politics*, talks about fines for not attending the Assembly meetings: ζημίαν δέ ἐπικεῖσθαι τοῖς εὐπόροις ἐάν μή ἐκκλησιάζωσιν (imposition of a fine for non-attendance on the well-to-do only: *Politics* 1297a18-20), and his pupil in his *AP* states that: ὅταν ἕδρα βουλῆς ἤ ἐκκλησίας ἤ, ἐκλείποι τήν σύνοδον, ἀπέτινον ὁ μέν πεντακοσιομέδιμνος τρεῖς δραχμάς, ὁ δέ ἱππεύς δύο, ζευγίτης δέ μίαν (if someone was absent from an Assembly or Council meeting, they should pay three drachmas in case they belonged to the class of 500 *medimnoi*, two drachmas in case they were *hippeis* and one drachma in case they belonged to the class of *zeugitai*: *AP* 4.3). Moreover, *AP* 4.2 stresses that under Draco ἀπεδέδοτο μέν ἡ πολιτεία τοῖς ὅπλα παρεχομένοις (the citizen body consisted of those who possessed hoplite equipment), just like in *Politics* 1297b 1-2, where Aristotle clearly states that those granted the franchise under the *politeia* are exclusively those who can afford to own hoplite equipment: δεῖ δέ τήν πολιτείαν εἶναι μέν

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[218] On the criteria for the election to public offices, Aristotle's theory seems to have been heavily influenced by Plato; see e.g. *Laws* 9.875a; *Politicus* 347d: ἐπεὶ κινδυνεύει, πόλις ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν εἰ γένοιτο, περιμάχητον ἂν εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἄρχειν, ὥσπερ νυνὶ τὸ ἄρχειν, καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἂν καταφανές γενέσθαι ὅτι τῷ ὄντι ἀληθινὸς ἄρχων οὐ πέφυκε τὸ αὑτῷ συμφέρον σκοπεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῷ ἀρχομένῳ (if it were possible to found such a state of perfect men, all would do their best to be [politically] excluded from the very beginning, as now all seek to be included; and then it would appear that the nature of the true ruler is to aim not in the interest of his own, but of the citizens). See also Thucydides 2.60: ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι πόλιν πλείω ξύμπασαν ὀρθουμένην ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἤ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν εὐπραγοῦσαν, ἀθρόαν δὲ σφαλλομένην. Καλῶς μὲν γὰρ φερόμενος ἀνὴρ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν διαφθειρομένης τῆς πατρίδος οὐδὲν ἧσσον ξυναπόλλυται, κακοτυχῶν δὲ ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ πολλῷ μᾶλλον διασῴζεται ('for in my judgment a state confers a greater benefit upon its private citizens when as a whole commonwealth it is successful, than when it prospers as regards the individual but fails as a community. For even though a man flourishes in his own private affairs, yet if his country goes to ruin, he perishes with her all the same; but if he is in evil fortune and his country in good fortune, he is far more likely to come through safely'; Loeb translation). The administration of the *polis* is inevitably limited to the higher timocratic classes; see *Politics* 1318b 6-21. On the ἀριστίνδην and πλουτίνδην (according to noble descent and wealth) as a criterion for the election to the public offices see *Politics* 1273a 22-24 and esp. *AP* 3.6 re this criterion under Solon; see also Sinclair 1969, 319; Glotz 1994, 105.

[219] *Politics* 1320a 31-32.

ἐκ τῶν τά ὅπλα ἐχόντων μόνον (the citizen body must consist solely of those who possess hoplite equipment);[220] the same thing happened under Demetrius' regime in the late fourth century, when a pupil of Theophrastus in the Lyceum was in charge of public affairs in Attica.

Regarding the τίμημα (minimum property qualification) for citizenship,[221] Aristotle says that it should be guaranteed that τούς μετέχοντας τῆς πολιτείας εἶναι πλείους τῶν μή μετεχόντων (*Politics* 1297b 5-6: those who are admitted to the citizen body are more than those who are excluded), therefore, we assume that the amount that the philosopher has in mind is relatively low. The property qualification for admission to the citizen body is central in Aristotle's theorizing and can prove our point here. What Aristotle let us know is that he believes that the franchise should be given only to those who own hoplite equipment and pay the necessary τίμημα: not too high and not too low.[222] But how low should it be in order to be considered proper and just by Aristotle?

In *AP* 4.2, the author implies, as we saw, that the citizens-hoplites in the time of Draco are those who possess a property worth less than ten *minae* = 1000 drachmas, as the election to the minor offices is limited to the hoplites and the τίμημα for a petty office is, of course, lower than that for the admission to the nine archons and *tamiae,* which is ten *minae.* Given, first, that the author of the *AP* is the pupil of Aristotle, which means that he has studied the theory of his teacher regarding the importance of the political multitude and mixture, has been influenced by the theory of the Athenian *patrios politeia*, and has composed his work according to Aristotle's guidance, and second, that Demetrius of Phalerum, who also received an Aristotelian education, tries to put into action the very same idea in 317, by giving the Athenian franchise only to those who own hoplite equipment and possess less than 1000 drachmas, it seems safe to assume that Aristotle would find it acceptable as a minimum property qualification for the admission to the citizen body the 1000 drachmas or, even more likely, less than 1000.[223] Of course, this is just a suggestion, acknowledging that we cannot make any definite assumptions about Aristotle's thinking based on what we find in the *AP*.

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[220] See also 1297b 12-14.
[221] Glotz 1994, 86, fn. 2.
[222] *Politics* 1294b 2-6; how the μίξις (mixture) is accomplished see 1294b 6-13.
[223] For the quasi-democratic system, when the census is not sufficient anymore to exclude the majority from power, see *Politics* 1306b 6-15.

Moreover, both *Politics* (1298a 6-7, 21-23, 25; 1298b 6, 1300a 19-30) and *AP* (4.2) address the institution of the *eythynai*, as conducted by the Assembly, in the *Politeia* and in the time of Draco respectively. They also highlight the necessity of selecting minor officers by lot (*Politics* 1298b 23-24, *AP* 4.3) but by election for the higher officers (*Politics* 1298b 27-28, *AP* 4.2). They both stress the importance of a low τίμημα for most magistracies (*Politics* 1298a 35-37; *AP* 4.2: e.g., for the election to the nine archons that was ten *minae*), the rule of law (*Politics* 1298b 1: κατά νόμον δ' ἄρχωσιν; *AP* 4.4: κατά τούς νόμους ἄρχωσιν), the distinction of the ἀρχαί (major-minor offices and their duration; in theory: *Politics* 1299a, and as a historical example in the time of Draco: *AP* 4.2-3) and the maximum of two times' election in some offices (*Politics*: μή τόν αὐτόν δίς ἀλλ' ἅπαξ μόνον; *AP*: δίς τόν αὐτόν μή ἄρχειν). Finally, they both highlight the importance of a βουλή/ Council (*Politics* 1299b 30- 1300a 8, and as a historical example in the time of Draco with a council of 401: *AP* 4.3) as well as the institution of *strategia* (*Politics* 1300b 11-12; *AP* 4.2).

Conclusion

The 4th-century political theorists considered Athenian democracy to have become extreme and dangerous for the *polis* in the fifth century. Therefore, throughout the fourth century, the idea that the Athenian *politeia* could improve itself by replacing its radical form with a moderate one[224] was gradually developed, finding theoretical connections to the ancestral Athenian past as well as the contemporary Spartan constitution, which was considered a moderate mixed *politeia.* These two invented constitutional types seem to be associated with one another, as the Athenian *patrios politeia* appears to be the political role model that Lycurgus used when introducing his laws to the Lacedaemonian state,[225] which remained unaltered from the seventh century until the fourth. A well-mixed constitution was believed to be the most effective constitutional form for exercising successfully the hegemony (the return to which was the main goal in fourth-century Athens), as it theoretically secured a just representation of all social classes in the offices of the state and avoided civil conflicts simultaneously. Aristotle's political theorizing, in particular, as explained mainly in his

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[224] We believe that this terminology (moderate, mixed, broadened, radical, extreme) is not historically accurate; see in detail Millett 2000, 337-362, esp. p. 344; Strauss 1987, 127-129.

[225] *Politics* 1294b 9; Isocrates, *Areopagiticus* 61; Plato, *Laws* 712d-e; see also Gray 1994, 223-271.

Politics through his argument on the virtues of the political authority of the multitude and the qualitative constitutional mixture through the establishment of the *Politeia,* thrived within the historical and intellectual framework of the fourth-century Athens, but did not make any explicit suggestions for a concrete constitutional change that would overthrow Athenian democracy. Aristotle's political thinking constituted a theoretical, often an abstract, sum of thoughts and notions within the broader ideological context of the *patrios politeia* theory, which found its historiographical application in the late fourth century in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia.* This work constitutes the main product of the ancestral constitution theory and was influenced both by the public opinion of the time it was written and by Aristotle's political theorizing.

The article analyzed Aristotle's mixed constitution theory, aiming to show the way it is connected to the broader 4th-century idea of the moderate democratic Athenian *patrios politeia* that appeared already in the late fifth century and was developed mainly by other political theorists (Plato; Xenophon; Isocrates). The orators then promoted it, gradually forming the 4th-century Athenian public opinion regarding the origins and the best form of the democratic constitution. This abstract sum of thoughts regarding the ideal type of Greek *politeia*, whether in Aristotle's theorizing in the form of a moderate mixed constitution or the other political theorists' thinking in the form of the moderate ancestral Athenian *politeia,* paved the way for the change of the Athenian constitution and the fall of democracy at a time when Athens was finally too weak to resist the Macedonian control over its autonomy in the late fourth century, meaning after its defeat in the Lamian War.

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Understanding the Arch of Constantine in a Landscape of Memory[226]

By Julia Tomas

Abstract

This article puts forward a re-interpretation of the motivations behind the creation and design of the Arch of Constantine by the Senate. By taking the inscription and the monument into consideration, alongside the historical accounts of his victory at the Milvian Bridge, his subsequent conversion to Christianity, and the archaeological context of the Arch within Rome itself, it will argue that the Senate's representation of Constantine's victory was inspired not by pagan or Christian influences but by the metropolitan Roman monuments of his predecessors who had been deified. It concludes that the Arch of Constantine was designed by the Senate to situate his victory into firm historical and geographical contexts, whose frameworks were upheld by the monuments, memories, deeds, and honours of his deified predecessors.

1. Introduction

The Arch of Constantine is a triple-bayed arch dedicated by the Senate in A.D. 315 to celebrate Constantine's victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge three years earlier. Situated between the Colosseum and the Palatine Hill, it stands 21 metres high, 25.9 metres wide and 7.4 metres deep and spans the *Via Triumphalis.* It is decorated with spolia from several Roman monuments and carries a dedicatory inscription on the north and south faces of its attic.[227] The text attributes the victory both to Constantine's leadership and to the inspiration of an unspecified divine force:

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[227] For a comprehensive discussion of the history and form of the Arch of Constantine, see Ferris 2013.

IMP. CAES. FL. CONSTANTINO MAXIMO P. F. AUGUSTO. SPQR QUOD INSTINCTU DIVINITATIS MENTIS MAGNITUDINE CUM EXERCITU SUO TAM DE TYRANNO QUAM DE OMNI EIUS FACTIONE UNO TEMPORE IUSTIS REM PUBLICUM ULTIS EST ARMIS ARCUM TRIUMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAVIT

To the emperor Flavius Constantine, the Great, pious and fortunate, the Senate and the People of Rome, because by divine inspiration and his own great spirit with his army on both the tyrant and all his faction at once in rightful battle he avenged the State, dedicated this arch as a mark of triumph.[228]

Figure 1: The dedicatory inscription from the Arch of Constantine (Author's own: July 2012)

The religious connotations of the phrase where Constantine's victory was said to be "inspired by the divine", particularly in relation to the increased acceptance of Christianity at this time, have fostered much debate amongst scholars.[229] In light of the surviving written accounts of the battle of

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[228] *CIL* 6.1139; Text and translation Ferris 2013, 41-42.
[229] Select bibliography includes Barnes 1985; Elliott 1987; Van Dam 2003; Weiss 2003; Price 2005; Drake 2005; Van Dam 2007; Lenski 2008; Bardill 2012; Van Dam 2011.

the Milvian Bridge, preserved by Lactantius and Eusebius, attributing this divine inspiration to the Christian God is certainly a reasonable conclusion to make:

> "Constantine was directed in a dream to cause the heavenly sign to be delineated on the shields of his soldiers, and so to proceed to battle. He did as he had been commanded, and he marked on their shields the letter X, with a perpendicular line drawn through it and turned round thus at the top, being the cipher of Christ. Having this sign, his troops stood to arms. The enemies advanced, but without their emperor, and they crossed the bridge. The armies met, and fought with the utmost exertions of valour, and firmly maintained their ground."[230]
>
> "As he made (these) prayers and earnest supplications there appeared to the Emperor a most remarkable divine sign...About the time of the midday sun, when day was just turning, he said he saw with his own eyes, up in the sky and resting over the sun, a cross-shaped trophy formed from light, and a text attached to it which said, 'By this conquer'. Amazement at the spectacle seized both him and the whole company of soldiers which was then accompanying him on a campaign he was conducting somewhere, and witnessed the miracle...as he slept, the Christ of God appeared to him with the sign which had appeared in the sky, and urged him to make a copy of the sign which appeared in the sky, and to use this as a protection against the attacks of the enemy."[231]

Lactantius and Eusebius, a zealous convert and the Bishop of Caesarea respectively, inevitably portray Constantine as the pious Christian emperor whose position had been divinely sanctioned by the Christian God. As convenient as this interpretation appears, and as much as it has been desired in scholarship,[232] Christianity, or indeed Roman religion in all its variations, cannot be used to explain the choices made by the Senate when using the Arch of Constantine to commemorate his victory at the Milvian Bridge.

Eusebius does not help matters by not mentioning Constantine's vision when he wrote book nine of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* soon after A.D. 313.[233] To complicate matters further, the Christian vision experienced by Constantine at the Milvian Bridge was not his first vision. The anonymous

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[230] Lact. *DMP.* 44. 4-6; (Trans. Vanderspoel).
[231] Euseb. *VC.* 1.28-29; (Trans. Cameron and Hall).
[232] Examples of this listed by Lenski 2008, 229 include: Alföldi (trans. Mattingly) 1948, 72, 132–133 n.25; Jones 1949, 91; Dörries (trans. Bainton) 1972, 31-32; Krautheimer 1983, 131 n.27; Holloway 2004, 19.
[233] Bardill 2012, 168-169.

Latin Panegyrist, speaking in Trier sometime between A.D. 307 and 311, states that Constantine had seen a vision of Apollo and Victory, who offered him laurel wreaths, whilst at a temple in Gaul.[234] Despite his Christian convictions, Constantine's own religious beliefs remained ambiguous throughout his life; his vision of Apollo and his well-known affinity with Sol Invictus are just some examples of the fluidity of his beliefs.[235] The concept of an unspecified divine source of inspiration appears in a number of contexts. In A.D. 313, another panegyrist referred to a divine will, *mens divina,* as the source of Constantine's victory.[236] David Potter notes that the, albeit scarce, representations of *mens divina* show her as a feminine deity, so neither Apollo or Sol Invictus could be the source of inspiration here; Potter offers Roma as an alternative.[237] Ross Holloway touches on, but does not solve, the ambiguous nature of the issue by suggesting that *instinctu divinitatis* acknowledges Constantine's Christian vision without compromising the pagan nature of the triumphal arch.[238] Potter also questions the phrasing of the inscription, suggesting that *instinctu divinitatis* is a traditional, pre-Christian way of describing a moment of inspiration.[239] Linda Jones Hall remarks that whilst earlier authors such as Cicero, Florus, and Pliny use the phrase, or derivations of it, to credit several, and often specifically named, gods with inspiring people to action, by the late antique period, those who speak of inspiration by divine forces do so in less specific terms.[240]

The complex nature of the religious life of fourth century Rome encourages one to look elsewhere when discussing how the Senate used the Arch of Constantine to celebrate and honour his victory at the Milvian Bridge. This article will argue that the Senate's creation and siting of the Arch would have not only been a fitting acknowledgement of Constantine's right to rule, but also would have associated him with emperors from more prosperous times and the peace and stability

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[234] *Pan. Lat.* 6. 89. 3-4; Nixon and Saylor Rodgers 1994, 212.

[235] Ferris 2013, 42.

[236] Mitchell 2007, 260; *Pan. Lat.* 9. 12 2.4.

[237] Potter 2013, 150-151.

[238] Holloway 2004 19-20.

[239] See for example: Flor. *Epit*. 1.3.9.1-2; Cic. *div*. 1.12.1–10; Quint. *Inst*. 12.10.24.4–5; Plin. *Ep*. 2.14.10; 6.6.3; *Pan. Lat.* 12(9).2.4–3.4. For a catalogue of known instances of the term *instinctu*, with and without reference to a named deity, and discussion of the phrase *instinctu divinitatis* and its implications for understanding the Arch of Constantine see Jones Hall 1998.

[240] Jones Hall 1998, 662.

brought about through their victories. It will show that the emperors with whom the Senate associated Constantine shared one characteristic; they had all been deified upon their deaths. The divine inspiration referred to in the Arch's dedicatory inscription cannot be attributed to the Christian God, nor any member of the Roman pantheon, but could be attributed to Constantine's deified predecessors. The Senate used the Arch of Constantine to situate his victory into firm historical and geographical contexts, whose frameworks were upheld by the monuments, memories, deeds, and honours of his deified predecessors, rather than a religious context.

Figure 2: The Arch of Constantine (Author's own: July 2012)

2. Recent Discussions of the Arch of Constantine

There have been recent discussions concerning whom the Arch was originally intended to honour, which require addressing prior to offering a new interpretation of what inspired the Senate's use of the Arch of Constantine to celebrate him and his victory. Noel Lenski notes that excavations in the area around the Arch published by Maria Letizia Conforto and Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro

and Patrizio Pensabene and Clementina Panella have indicated that the structure was at least begun, if not largely completed, under Maxentius.[241] Whilst Lenski suggests that this was a case of Constantine's appropriation of Maxentius' monuments to signify and celebrate his own glory,[242] it can equally be interpreted as the Senate reappropriating the Arch to remove traces of Maxentius from the cityscape of Rome. Unlike the other Tetrarchs, Maxentius worked hard to enlist the favour of the Roman establishment, constructing much of his imperial propaganda around the notion that he was the champion of the Urbs Roma.[243] If Maxentius had chosen to situate an arch in a location surrounded by the monuments of admirable, but most significantly, deified Roman emperors, this would have ensured that his efforts to champion Rome and her people were noticed in a prominent place surrounded by others who had done the same. If this location for an arch for Maxentius was chosen by the Senate, rather than Maxentius himself, then it could be seen as the Senate actively encouraging Maxentius to continue to be a model of a good Roman leader and remain the champion of the Urbs Roma he was so keen to appear to be. After the defeat of Maxentius the Senate may have been left with a partially-built arch in a prime location within Rome. However, the Arch, its location, and its iconography, whether originally designed for Maxentius or not, would have been wholly appropriate for and easily adjustable to honour Constantine.

Brian Rose's study on the "Constantinian reliefs" from the Arch also warrants discussion in this context. He argues that these reliefs, originally thought to have been carved specifically for the Arch of Constantine, were made for an honorific monument for Diocletian.[244] Crucially, Diocletian, the staunch defender of traditional Roman religion and persecutor of Christians, was, like many of his "good" predecessors, also deified by the Senate upon his death in A.D. 311/2.[245] There is also epigraphic evidence which suggests that Diocletian may have been considered a living god.[246] If Rose is correct that these reliefs were originally intended for a Diocletianic monument, rather than the

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[241] Pensabene and Panella, 1999; Conforto and Melucco Vaccaro 2001; Lenski 2008, 215-216.
[242] Lenski 2008, 216.
[243] Lenski 2008, 208.
[244] Rose 2021, 175-210.
[245] Bonamente 1988, 135-136; Thrombley 2011, 24.
[246] Thrombley 2011, 23 discusses *CIL* III 710, which dates to between A.D. 285 and 293: "To our lords Diocletian and Maximianus, the unconquered Augusti, who were begotten by gods and are the begetters of gods [---]"

Arch of Constantine, then this provides further evidence for the Senate taking their inspiration for their representation of Constantine and his victory from the deeds and monuments of his deified predecessors. Diocletian and his fellow Tetrarchs restored order in the empire after decades of upheaval and chaos and upheld traditional Roman values and practices. If Constantine was to be seen as an emperor worthy of being considered alongside his deified predecessors, the Senate would expect him to do the same.

3. The role of public architecture in the creation and retention of memories

This article argues that there was a programmatic engagement with past deified emperors on the part of the designers of the Arch of Constantine. Therefore the question of whether or not contemporary viewers would have been able to recognise the spolia as such and connect it with particular past emperors needs to be addressed. Constantine was a master of appropriating the past and reused earlier images to a greater extent than any previous emperors.[247] Jessica Hughes and Mark Wilson Jones note that the juxtaposition of the new and the spoliated elements of the Arch of Constantine would have been more noticeable in the fourth century than they are now.[248] The variety of colours, materials, and styles would have created a sense of heterogeneity within the monument, mixing old and new.[249] Spoliation was common in the fourth century A.D.,[250] so this in itself would not have marked the Arch of Constantine out as a distinctive monument. However, there was intentionality on the part of the designers of the Arch of Constantine, pairing him with Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius by adding portrait features and epithets to the spoliated reliefs, drawing parallels between Constantine's deeds and theirs.[251]

The perception of place in human memory was explored by Susan Alcock in her 2002 work *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscapes, Monuments and Memories,* in which she coined the phrase "landscapes of memory."[252] The Romans were masters at using imagery and architecture as a

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[247] Hughes 2014, 111.
[248] Wilson Jones 2000, 63; Hughes 2014, 105.
[249] Hughes 2014, 105.
[250] Dumser 2018, 147.
[251] Hughes 2014, 111.
[252] Alcock 2002; Cadogan 2004.

means of evoking, manipulating, and institutionalising memories. The Senate used shared memories of Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius, of their deeds and their virtues, to situate Constantine and his victory into a context that was shaped by the monuments, memories, deeds, and honours of his deified predecessors With specific reference to Rome's triumphal arches, Maggie Popkin has argued that these monuments helped to create an impression of events and characters, rather than being accurate representations of the military achievements of the emperor concerned.[253] Rome's triumphal arches were the main point of reference for military history for people living in the city, and when considered as a group caused people to remember military victories that may not have been glorious or, in the case of Augustus' Parthian Arch, events that were not even strictly military.[254] The appreciation of a monument should be a shared experience, as without some sense of communal understanding, a sense of shared memories could not have been created, even if, as Popkin argues, those memories are not entirely true to the historical narrative. With these considerations in mind, this article will show that the Arch of Constantine was not simply a commemoration of a single event and moment in time, but was designed to situate Constantine and his achievements within the city of Rome alongside his imperial predecessors whom the Senate had honoured with deification.

There are several reasons why the Senate chose to specifically associate Constantine with his deified predecessors in the context of celebrating both his victory at The Milvian Bridge and the tenth year of his reign. Maintaining a respect and fervour for traditional religious practices was a primary concern for the Senate during the early years of Constantine's reign, which were characterised by religious change and upheaval.[255] Lenski notes that the main emphasis of the spoliated reliefs, into which Constantine was placed, is traditional Roman piety. Unlike elsewhere, there is no evidence of his new-found interest in Christianity in the Arch's sculptural decoration.[256] Visually associating Constantine with traditional Roman values suggests that the Senate were trying to discourage

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[253] Popkin 2018, 284-286.
[254] Popkin 2018, 287.
[255] Popkin 2016, 69.
[256] Lenski 2014, 179.

Constantine from adopting an overtly Christian agenda[257] by encouraging him to adopt the virtues and values of those deemed worthy to have been deified.

Restoring peace and stability after the civil war, and ruling with *virtus* and *pietas,* were also expectations that the Senate would have had of Constantine. Paul Zanker claims that through the Arch of Constantine the Senate communicated their hope that he would be a pious emperor, respectful of traditional Roman religion, and that he conducted himself as first among equals in relation to the Senate.[258] Diederik Burgersdijk adds that the imperial virtues displayed in the spolia were designed to be an incentive to Constantine to surpass the achievements of his predecessors.[259] If Burgersdijk is correct in his assumption, then the Senate hoped that Constantine would be more than just a "good emperor" as Zanker suggests. Thus, we can consider that the Senate was not only focused on honouring Constantine as a good emperor, but also on establishing him as an emperor worthy to be honoured alongside those who had been deified in the past. As will be discussed throughout this article, both the emperors from whose monuments spolia was used to decorate the Arch of Constantine - Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius - and the monuments of other deified emperors including Augustus, Claudius, Titus, and Septimius Severus were sources of inspiration for the Senate's representation of Constantine. Moreover, we will examine the efforts of the Senate to disassociate Constantine with less worthy emperors who had suffered *damnatio memoriae,* such as Nero and Domitian.

The Senate's reuse and reappropriate of spoliated sculptures on the Arch of Constantine was a very deliberate choice of pieces as opposed to a random assortment. The use of these pieces to evoke memories of his deified predecessors allowed the Senate to historically and geographically contextualise Constantine, his victory at Milvian Bridge, and the divine force which inspired it. The extent to which Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius would have been recognisable once their portrait heads had been recarved has been addressed in recent studies of the Arch. Hughes argues that a viewer of the Arch would see multiple links between Constantine and his predecessors, each

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[257] Lenski 2014, 178-179; 188-189.
[258] Zanker 2012a, 2012b.
[259] Burgersdijk 2021, 71.

of which would "consolidate and shorten the semantic pathways between these men in the viewer's memory."[260] She draws on evidence from the psychologist Endel Tulving's study of cued retrieval,[261] and suggests that one partner in the imperial pairings on the Arch of Constantine would "function as a retrieval cue for the other."[262] So, if a viewer who examined the imagery on the Arch of Constantine then went on to encounter other images of Trajan, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius on display elsewhere in the city, they might be cued automatically to recall their own Emperor. The repetition of images across Rome and their potential to evoke, create, and manipulate memories, meant that the whole city, and not just the monuments in the vicinity of the Arch of Constantine, had the potential to act as a landscape of memory and served to represent him on a par with his deified predecessors.

Unlike Hughes and Wilson Jones,[263] others are less convinced about the ability of a fourth century viewer of the Arch of Constantine to understand any ideological meaning behind its spoliated elements. Elisha Dumser states that discerning between the old and new sculptures would have been possible but it would have taken some effort on the part of the viewer,[264] and Rose adds that a viewer would need to know where the sculptures came from originally to have any understanding of their meaning in a new context.[265] Whilst Dumser questions why anyone would stop and look for any deeper meaning in the Arch's sculptures,[266] she also compares the use of spoliation here with its usage in the Audience Hall on the Via Sacra. Here, spoliated elements were used so discreetly that she claims that their patrons ensured that there was no intention to generate an ideological narrative through the reuse of spolia.[267] If Dumser's argument here is correct, and that fourth century architectural patrons were aware enough of the potential narrative that spoliated

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[260] Hughes 2014, 111.
[261] Tulving and Pearlstone 1966; Tulving and Osler 1968. "These involved presenting subjects with lists of words to be retained and then recalled ('target' words), some of which were accompanied by a partner ('cue' words). When subjects were asked to recall a target word – either unaided or prompted by the relevant cue word – Tulving found that the presence of the appropriate cue significantly increased the chance of subjects recalling the target." Hughes 2014, 110.
[262] Hughes 2014, 111.
[263] Wilson Jones 2000, 63; Hughes 2014, 105.
[264] Dumser 2018, 153-154.
[265] Rose 2021, 202
[266] Dumser 2018, 154
[267] Dumser 2018, 147.

elements could have created, this only adds weight to the argument that the Senate used, and manipulated, the spolia on the Arch of Constantine with this in mind. Despite Dumser and Rose's reservations, the narrative potential of spoliated images and the awareness of this by the creators and many viewers of the Arch of Constantine, suggests that those on the Arch were designed with a specific use in mind. Hughes's research on the ability of images to act as stimuli for cued retrieval in the same way that words can is particularly illuminating in the context of a society which relied so much on visual culture to convey meanings. However, the Senate could not rely upon just the Arch and its spolia to convey their desire to celebrate Constantine and his victory at Milvian Bridge alongside the achievements of his deified predecessors.

4. The Representation of Constantine in a Landscape of Memory

The Arch of Constantine was designed to represent Constantine as a victorious leader in the heart of the city of Rome. The following sections will show that visual clues from the immediate vicinity of the Arch, and elsewhere in the city of Rome, were used to emphasise and consolidate the Senate's efforts to situate Constantine, his victory at Milvian Bridge, and the divine force which inspired it, culturally and geographically into the succession of worthy emperors who they had honoured with deification.

4.1 Constantine and the Nerva-Antonines

The study of the archaeological evidence begins not with the earliest source of inspiration for the representation of Constantine's victory by the Senate, but those that are most well-known and most-often acknowledged. As a result of laudations, first by Niccolò Machiavelli[268] and then by Edward Gibbon,[269] the five emperors from Nerva to Marcus Aurelius have become known as "the good emperors." Whilst Gibbon's assessment that there was no time before or since A.D. 98-180 where the people of the world were happier must be taken with a significant pinch of salt, one cannot ignore the fact that this period was one of the most politically stable and prosperous in the Roman Empire's

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[268] Machiavelli 1531.
[269] Gibbon 1776.

history. The reuse of architectural elements from monuments of Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius to decorate the Arch of Constantine, and the recarving of these emperors' portraits into ones of Constantine, are well documented and a repetition of them is not required here.[270] Analyses of the spolia have largely suggested that they were chosen, and Constantine inserted into the scenes occupied by his predecessors, to directly link him to these three "good emperors."[271] However, as shall be discussed below, this view is too simplistic and does not take the wider context, physically or chronologically, of these images and their full impact on the way that they represented Constantine and his victory into account. The Arch of Constantine, in form, location, epigraphic details, and representation of Constantine's victory, can be linked to the works and deeds not only of Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius but also a number of his other predecessors, all of whom were deified by the Senate. The following sections will demonstrate that the Senate's representation of Constantine's victory and the divine inspiration behind it, have precedents far earlier than the emperors from whose monuments the Arch's spolia were acquired. It will show that it is not enough simply to state that the representation of Constantine and his victory by the Senate was inspired by the so-called "good emperors," but that it came from a far wider range of deified imperial precedents which came together to form a network of triggers for cued retrieval within both the physical landscape and shared memoryscape of late antique Rome.

4.2 Constantine and the Julio-Claudians

The inspiration for the Senate's representation of Constantine's victory on the Arch of Constantine can be traced to Augustus, the first deified emperor. Barbara Saylor Rogers and Catherine Ware state that the Latin Panegyrics written throughout Constantine's reign show how his representation changed from Tetrarch to an Augustus-like monarchical ruler.[272] Whilst no Augustan spolia was used to create the Arch of Constantine, links between Constantine and the first

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[270] Ferris 2013 provides an excellent and detailed discussion of the Arch and its sculptural decoration.
[271] Wilson Jones 2000, 58; Hannestad 2007, 98; Brilliant 2012b, 44-45; Zanker 2012a, 99-100; Ferris 2013, 50.
[272] Saylor Rodgers 1989; Ware 2018.

emperor of Rome can be detected there. Potter and Popkin[273] note the similarity between the phrasing of the dedicatory inscription and the opening passage of the *Res Gestae*:

> ...cum exercitu sup tam de tyranno quam de omni eius factione uno tempore iustis rem publicum ultis est armis.
> "...with his army on both the tyrant and all his faction at once in rightful battle he avenged the State."[274]
> Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi, per quem rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi.
> "At the age of nineteen I assembled an army on my own responsibility and at my own expense, through which I successfully championed the liberty of the republic oppressed by the tyranny of a faction."[275]

Potter suggests that anyone who grew up in Rome at this time would have been aware of the bronze tablets at the entrance to Augustus' Mausoleum onto which the *Res Gestae* was inscribed.[276] Whilst it must be noted that knowledge of the bronze tablets and the ability to read what was inscribed upon them cannot be equated, Potter's assumption that some would have been able to see the similarities and make the connections between the two texts is plausible,[277] especially when the role of words in the cued retrieval of memories is taken into account.[278]

The first similarity between these texts is the way that they describe the nature of the conflicts, and subsequent victories, that Augustus and Constantine were involved in. Both victories are depicted as ones that saved the Roman state from an unnamed, but dissident enemy, skirting the fact that both Actium and the Milvian Bridge were battles against fellow Roman citizens, as opposed to foreign enemies.[279] This theme is continued elsewhere. Plutarch describes Mark Antony as a mere appendage of Cleopatra at Actium, implying that he was a pawn in the Egyptian Queen's game as opposed to the instigating aggressor,[280] and Horace mentions neither Antony nor Cleopatra by

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[273] Potter 2013, 168-169; Popkin 2016, 65.

[274] *CIL* 6.1139; Text and translation Ferris 2013, 41-42.

[275] *RG.* 1.1. (Trans. Brunt and Moore).

[276] Potter 2013, 168.

[277] Potter 2013, 169.

[278] Tulving and Pearlstone 1966; Tulving and Osler 1968.

[279] Popkin 2016, 65 notes that there is no mention of any foreign enemy that the "triumphal" nature of the Arch might allude to.

[280] Plut. *Antony.* 62.1.

name, but refers to them as "our enemy" and "a woman" respectively.[281] Drawing on examples from both the panegyrists and Euesbius, Lenski notes that after the battle of the Milvian Bridge, Constantine was heralded as a slyer of tyrants and monsters who threatened Rome, its citizens and, by extension, the state.[282] Despite the Senate's attempt at disguising the precise nature of the battle of the Milvian Bridge, Popkin asserts that the reference to the tyrant and his faction would have been interpreted by any contemporary viewer as Maxentius and his followers.[283] The *Res Gestae* inscription and the Arch of Constantine are the only two monuments in Rome which explicitly reference civil war,[284] and whilst the former is a private, imperial monument, the mirroring of it in the latter, public, senatorial, monument, is a clear indication that the Senate chose to represent Constantine in a manner which echoed Augustus' achievement in saving Rome from a tyrannical enemy.

The second similarity between the two texts is that they both mention their honorand's role in preserving the Roman state. They emphasise how Augustus and Constantine worked for the good of the Roman state and by linking the two, the Senate is emphasising how Constantine carried on Augustus' work. Popkin suggests that by calling Maxentius a tyrant - a ruler who did not maintain good relations with the Senate - in the Arch's dedication, the Senate presented Constantine as one who sought to re-establish the Senate's importance.[285] This is particularly pertinent if the Arch was originally designed for Maxentius and later reappropriated to honour Constantine. By situating the *Res Gestae's* references to civil war and preserving the Roman state into a triumphal context,[286] the Senate equated saving the Roman state from Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge with saving it from Mark Antony and Cleopatra at Actium. In doing so, Constantine was linked directly back to Augustus - the deified "restorer" of the Republic - evoking memories of him, and establishing Constantine as a worthy successor to him.

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[281] Horace. *Epode.* 9. 12; 19.
[282] *Pan. Lat.* 12[9]; *Pan. Lat* 4 [10]; Eus. *V. Const.* 1.49.1; Eus. *HE.* 10.4.14; Lenski 2016, 36-37.
[283] Popkin 2016, 65.
[284] Popkin 2016, 65.
[285] Popkin 2016, 75.
[286] Popkin 2016, 65-66.

The Senate were not the only ones to use the deified Augustus as a source of inspiration for representation for Constantine. He himself set a precedent for the Senate to follow with regards to using Augustus as a source of inspiration, so much so that Saylor Rodgers wondered whether he had made a study of Augustus.[287] Augustus did not modify his portrait style from approximately 27 B.C. until his death in A.D. 14, forever retaining a stylised image that suggested what Zanker describes as a "timeless and ageless dignity."[288] Such a representation befitted a man declared to be the son of the divine Julius Caesar. Another culprit guilty of manipulating the age of his portraits was Trajan.[289] Constantine also chose to manipulate the age of his portraits: the vast majority of the surviving sculptural portraits of Constantine depict him as "a mature but youthful civilian emperor with idealised features."[290] There was a greater degree of variation in the portrait images on Constantinian coinage,[291] but it was not until after A.D. 333, when Constantine was over sixty, that his coinage portraits began to show evidence of passing time. These later portraits, characterised by a heavier jaw, fleshier features, and pronounced jowls, whilst not youthful in appearance, certainly did not depict Constantine's true age.[292] Like Augustus and Trajan, Constantine was a master of manipulating time and memory in order to create the image of himself as the ideal ruler of Rome. Jas Elsner states the formation and use of rhetorical images during the reign of Constantine were as masterful and as creative as during the reign of Augustus.[293] Constantine's use of his deified predecessors as a source of inspiration for his own representation would have provided even more examples which would have triggered a cued retrieval of memories associating him and his predecessors. This, alongside the Senate's efforts to do the same, would have firmly cemented him, his victory at Milvian Bridge, and the divine force which inspired it, culturally and geographically into the succession of worthy emperors who they had honoured with deification.

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[287] Saylor Rodgers 1989, 234.
[288] Zanker 1990. 98.
[289] Ferris 2013, 23.
[290] Ferris 2013, 25.
[291] Bruun 1954; 19-31; Gilles 2007; 197-199; Engemann 2007, 200-207; Ferris 2013, 25.
[292] Ferris 2013, 25.
[293] Elsner 2000, 177-178.

The Senate and Constantine's combined efforts to associate him with Augustus was not a unique occurrence. In order to strengthen his legitimacy, Constantine fashioned dynastic links with the deified third-century emperor Claudius II whose namesake Claudius I was also deified.[294] Elizabeth Marlowe has suggested that Constantine's attempts to link himself with Claudius II would also have resulted in links being made between him and Claudius I,[295] enabled by the shared memories of the population of Rome. This link becomes more apparent when the location of the Arch of Constantine is taken into account. Above the Arch, on the Caelian Hill, stood the Temple of the Divine Claudius, begun by Agrippina and completed by Vespasian, another deified Roman emperor.[296] If Marlowe's assessment that Constantine's attempts to affiliate himself with Claudius II would have also linked him to Claudius I in the minds and memories of the people of Rome is correct, then the Senate's siting of the Arch of Constantine below the Caelian Hill, in sight of the Temple of the Divine Claudius, had the potential to act as a cued retrieval for a viewer between Constantine and the deified Claudius I. In doing so, the Senate placed Constantine and his victory into both a geographical and historical context that was shaped by the monuments, memories, deeds, and honours of his deified Claudian predecessors.

When locating and constructing the Arch of Constantine, the Senate also took measures to remove associations with or even erase the memory of Constantine's predecessors who they did not consider worthy of remembrance from the immediate vicinity. This is most apparent in the reappropriation of another Julio-Claudian monument, the Colossus. This statue of Sol Invictus was originally commissioned by Nero and moved to its eventual location to the north of the Arch during the reign of Hadrian.[297] The Colossus had been reappropriated by many different emperors between the reigns of Nero and Constantine,[298] and as it no longer survives, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which it resembled Nero, Constantine, or any other emperor in between. Even those who had

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[294] Cameron 1993, 49; Van Dam 2007, 84. Saylor Rodgers 1989, 237-238 makes it very clear that Constantine was not related to Claudius II.
[295] Marlowe 2006, 230.
[296] Marlowe 2006, 229; Sande 2012, 73.
[297] HA, *Hadr.* 19.12-13; Albertson 2001, 100.
[298] Marlowe 2006, 228.

seen the statue were unsure of exactly who it was designed to represent. Both Pliny the Elder[299] and Suetonius[300] claim that the Colossus was fashioned to look like Nero, yet Cassius Dio[301] records an incident in A.D. 75 where the citizens of Rome cannot decide whether the Colossus looks like Nero or Titus.

In more recent studies, it has been maintained that the Colossus would not have looked like Nero after the emperor's death, if indeed it ever did.[302] It seems most likely that the Colossus, like the imperial images on the Arch, was remodelled to look like Constantine, and this remodelling must be taken into account when discussing their contributions to the Senate's representation of Constantine. Whoever the Colossus looked like by the time of the Arch's construction, it could not look like Nero, or any other Emperor who had been subjected to *damnatio memoriae* by the Senate. Remodelling the Colossus to look like Constantine ensured that he was the one who was being celebrated in that space. The Senate's decision to situate the Arch of Constantine in such close proximity to the Colossus, must be taken into account when discussing the two monuments' contributions to the Senate's representation of Constantine and his victory. Ferris suggests that the spatial relationship between the Arch and the Colossus was deliberately created to emphasise the link between Constantine and Sol Invictus.[303] Marlowe's study has shown that although it was far taller than the Arch,[304] when viewed from under the Aqua Claudia, 270 metres to the south, the Colossus' head would have been visible over the top of the Arch but would have become gradually more obscured until the viewer was around 35 metres south of the Arch, at which point the Colossus would have appeared in the middle opening of the Arch.[305] However, observed from other directions, a viewer would not have been able to see the Arch for the Colossus, and any visual metaphors would

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[299] Plin. *NH.* 34. 45-47.

[300] Suet. *Nero.* 31.1.

[301] Cass.Dio. 65.15.

[302] Smith 2000, 536-538; Albertson 2001, 103.

[303] Ferris 2013, 46-47.

[304] Suetonius (*Nero.* 31.1) records that it was 120 Roman feet tall whilst Cassius Dio (66.15.1) states it was 100 feet high. Albertson has suggested that the Colossus may have been of a similar height to the Colossus of Rhodes, and estimates the statue to be 103 feet high, 125 feet including the crown (2001, 103-6.). The Arch of Constantine measures 69 feet high (Ferris 2013, 37).

[305] Marlowe 2006, 230. Fig 11.

have been more obscure.[306] Ferris' concerns about the obscurity of visual metaphors can be mitigated if we consider that the Arch, and the emperor whom it honoured, were inserted into a busy scene by the Senate which reflected the Roman cultural, religious, and architectural diversity of the time. The Senate's positioning and shaping of the Arch to create a diversity of spatial relationships between it and the reappropriated Colossus, not only associated Constantine with Sol but, more significantly, also mitigated against any cued memories which may have resulted in him being associated with emperors such as Nero who also had affiliations with Sol but did not fit the Senate's model of a worthy emperor. Constantine was presented by the Senate here in this busy part of Rome's physical and cultural landscape, not only as an individual, victorious leader, but also as part of a collection of Roman emperors worthy to be preserved in the memory of the Roman people.

4.3 Constantine and the Flavians

Alongside the Arch of Constantine there are two monuments that have become synonymous with emperors of the Flavian dynasty: the Flavian Amphitheatre, which dominates the scene and would have dwarfed the Arch of Constantine in antiquity as much as it does today, and the Arch of Titus. Constantine's patronymic was Flavius[307] and Wilson Jones suggests that the Arch of Constantine was placed into this crowded, but celebratory, space that linked the Circus Maximus, which Constantine had previously restored, the Temple of Roma and Venus, which had been restored by Maxentius and now appropriated by Constantine as a shrine for his family, and the reappropriated Colossus.[308] Raymond van Dam adds that the siting of the Arch of Constantine within a part of the city already dominated by monuments of the first Flavian dynasty was designed to commemorate both Flavian dynasties.[309] This was a clear attempt by the Senate to associate Constantine and his family with a previous imperial dynasty, establishing him as part of an imperial tradition which involved military victories, the construction of monuments, and the bringing of stability after turmoil.

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[306] Ferris 2013, 47.
[307] Brilliant 2012a, 26.
[308] Wilson Jones 2000, 69.
[309] Van Dam 2007, 96.

The Arch of Titus warrants discussion in the context of the Senate's representation of Constantine and his victory. Ferris is dismissive of the Arch of Titus remarking that, aside from their close proximity and the fact that both architects decorated the inside of the arches' walkways with dramatic scenes designed to be viewed as one traverses them, there is little to discuss as to a formal relationship between them.[310] However, not only should the two monuments be discussed together, the Arch of Titus should also be considered alongside the other monuments which stood near the Arch of Constantine. Visually, the two arches are quite different, the earlier arch is only single bayed, much smaller, and its sculptural decoration is sparser than that of the Arch of Constantine. There are however more subtle considerations. The notable differences between the forms of the two arches could be explained by the Senate wishing to put some distance between Constantine and the creator of the Arch of Titus, the non-deified Domitian. The funerary nature of the Arch of Titus, and the fact it was designed not to honour Domitian but his brother, mitigates against both the problematic nature of Domitian's presence in the area and any links between him and Constantine being made, in the same way that the reappropriation of the Colossus was designed to remove Neronian associations.

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[310] Ferris 2013, 40; 45.

Figure 6: The Arch of Titus (Author's own: July 2012)

The role and function of the two monuments as celebrating military victories is obvious but, as Richard Brilliant notes, these two arches are victory monuments for two men who shared a common, but unrelated, patronymic.[311] Van Dam takes this theme a step further, by suggesting that the siting of the Arch of Constantine so close to the Arch of Titus and the Flavian Amphitheatre, and the inscribing of Flavius Constantinus on both sides, was designed to emphasise that this entire area commemorated the Flavians, both the first and the second dynasty.[312] In the same way that Constantine's link to the deified Claudius I was emphasised both by the Senate building the Arch in the vicinity of the temple dedicated to him, and Constantine's own efforts to stress his descendancy from Claudius II, so here, by building the Arch in the shadow of the Flavian Amphitheatre and near the Arch of Titus, the Senate once again placed Constantine alongside his deified predecessors, both

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[311] Brilliant 2012a, 26.
[312] Van Dam 2007, 96.

physically within the landscape of Rome and within the memories of her residents. The facts that both Vespasian and Titus were deified by the Senate and that the Arch of Titus was dedicated by Domitian to celebrate his brother's deification, add further credence to the theory that Constantine's deified predecessors were the inspiration for the way that he was represented by the Senate within the physical and cultural landscape of Rome. The siting of the Arch of Constantine was a conscious decision and it should be seen as being designed to celebrate not only Constantine's achievements in the city of Rome but also his achievements to the city of Rome, its history, and its people. In its form, decoration, and function, the Arch of Constantine not only cemented his place in a long line of Roman emperors who had been considered worthy of deification by the Senate but also played a role in disassociating him with the member of the Flavian dynasty seen as undesirable and unworthy of remembrance by the Senate; Domitian.

Further evidence of the Senate's attempts to disassociate Constantine with his imperial predecessors who were not deemed worthy of being deified comes in the form of the Meta Sudans, a monumental fountain dated to the reign of Domitian which stood between the Arch of Constantine and the Colossus. Its original form was a tall cone on a cylinder surrounded by a walled pool. Water would flow down the cylinder giving the impression that the fountain was sweating.[313] The Meta Sudans was enlarged during Constantine's reign, with a new parapet constructed around it. Increasing the fountain's diameter from 16 metres to 25 metres, and the effect this would have had on the flow of traffic through the Colosseum valley, has led Marlowe to suggest that the fourth century designers wanted to encourage passers-by to stop and admire the Colossus. The enlargement of the Meta Sudans resulted in it encroaching upon the path of anyone walking through the Arch, so having to navigate it may well have forced a viewer to be more aware of the Colossus behind it. She also suggests that monumentalising the Meta Sudans further emphasised Constantine's dynastic links with the monuments' original benefactors, the Flavians.[314]

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[313] Ferris 2013, 45; *sudans* being the Latin for sweat.
[314] Marlowe 2006, 234.

Figure 7. View of the Meta Sudans in front of the Colosseum. [315]

Another interpretation of the monumentalising of the Meta Sudans is that it was designed to remove, or at least disguise, its association with its original creator, Domitian. Unlike Titus and Vespasian, Domitian was not deified by the Senate but instead suffered *damnatio memoriae*. Popkin argues that by portraying Maxentius as a tyrant in the Arch's dedication, the Senate represented Constantine as a "good" ruler who had succeeded a "bad" one.[316] However, by reappropriating both the Meta Sudans and the Colossus, the Senate removed evidence of emperors who were not deemed worthy of being deified from the space where Constantine was now being represented and celebrated as a worthy emperor. Surrounding Constantine with only deified emperors strengthens the case that the Senate were both using these emperors as inspiration for how they were representing Constantine and that they were situating his victory into firm historical and geographical contexts, whose

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[315] Photo: Tommaso Cuccioni, 1858 (Public Domain)
[316] Popkin 2016, 75.

frameworks were upheld by the monuments, memories, deeds, and honours of only his deified predecessors.

4.4 Constantine and the Severans

The Severans were the final dynasty from which the Senate drew inspiration for their representation of Constantine and his victory. In form, the Arch of Constantine most closely resembles its chronologically nearest neighbour, the Arch of Septimius Severus, dedicated by the Senate in A.D. 203 to celebrate the emperor and his sons' victories over the Parthians.[317] There are many the similarities between the two arches: they were both tripled-bayed; on both arches the imposts of the central vault are aligned with the keystone of the side aisles; they share sculptural details including the pedestals and the torch-bearing winged Victories in the spandrels; and the decorative columns, the width of the central arch, and the structures themselves are all of the same size.[318] The differences include the attic of the Arch of Constantine was slightly taller than that of the Arch of Septimius Severus to accommodate the longer inscription, and it was slimmer in shape.[319] Both Wilson Jones and Ferris agree that the Arch of Constantine was directly modelled on the Arch of Septimius Severus.[320] In their analyses of the two arches, Ferris describes the Arch of Constantine as "a historic reference back to the Roman past," and that its purpose "was very much concerned with the manipulation of memory,"[321] whilst Wilson Jones describes it as "not slavish copying, but emulation."[322] By building a very similar arch relatively close by, the Senate were not attempting to overshadow the memory of the Severans' achievements in order to celebrate Constantine's. Instead, the form and decoration of the Arch of Constantine was designed to place him and his achievements alongside those of his deified Severen predecessor, drawing links between them physically within the cityscape and metaphorically within the memories of the people of Rome.

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[317] *CIL* VI. 1033.
[318] Wilson Jones 2000, 58; 65.
[319] Ferris 2013, 37; 40.
[320] Wilson Jones 2000, 65; Ferris 2013, 37.
[321] Ferris 2013, 40; 50.
[322] Wilson Jones 2000, 66.

The dedicatory inscription from the Arch of Septimius Severus is also noteworthy when demonstrating how the Senate's representation of Constantine and his victory was influenced by his deified imperial predecessors:

> IMP CAES LUCIO SEPTIMIO M FIL SEVERO PIO PERTINACI AUG PATRI PATRIAE PARTHICO ARABICO ET PARTHICO ADIABENICO PONTIFIC MAXIMO TRIBUNIC POTEST XI IMP XI COS III PROCOS ET IMP CAES M AURELIO L FIL ANTONINO AUG PIO FELICI TRIBUNIC POTEST VI COS PROCOS P P OPTIMIS FORTISSIMISQUE PRINICIPIBUS OB REM PUBLICAM RESTITUTAM IMPERIUMQUE POPULI ROMANI PROPOGATUM INSIGNIBUS VIRTUTIBUS EORUM DOMI FORISQUE SPQR
>
> "To the Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius, son of Marcus, Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus, father of the fatherland, conqueror of the Parthians in Arabia and Assyria, Pontifex Maximus, with Tribunician powers 11 times, triumphing general 11 times, consul 3 times, and proconsul; and to the Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius, son of Lucius, Antoninus Augustus Pius Felix with tribunician powers 6 times, consul, proconsul, father of the fatherland, best and braves of princes, on account of the republic restored and the empire of the Roman people increased by their outstanding virtues at home and abroad, the Senate and the Roman people dedicate this arch."[323]
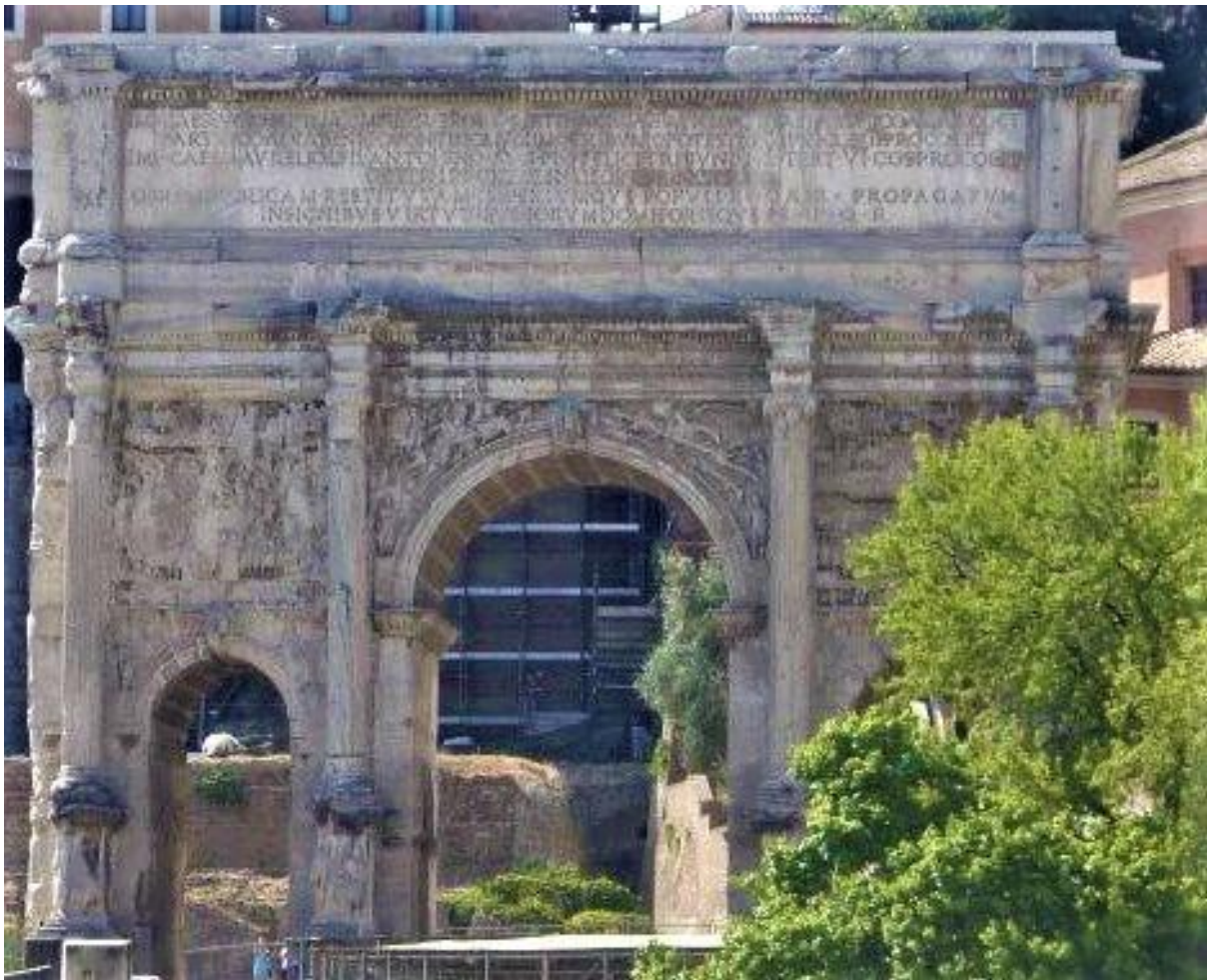
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[323] *CIL* 6. 1033. (Trans. Aicher).

Figure 8: The Arch of Septimius Severus (Author's own: July 2012)

Septimius Severus is known to have presented himself as a new Augustus, even going as far as composing an autobiography to justify gaining supreme power through civil war.[324] After victory in the civil war and the assassination of Pertinax in April A.D. 193, he was proclaimed emperor and the Senate decreed a triumph for him and the title Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus.[325] He rejected the triumph so that he would not be seen to be celebrating a victory in a civil war, and he declined the title Parthicus to avoid provoking the Parthians.[326] T. D. Barnes notes that Septimius Severus' rejection of the triumph recalls Augustus' decision to decline a triumph for securing the return of the Parthian Standards in 20 B.C., and that his imitation of Augustus did not go unnoticed.[327] Whilst

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[324] Dio 76.7.3; HA, *Sev.* 18.6; Barnes 2008, 257.
[325] HA. Sev. 9.10-11; Barnes 2008, 253- 255.
[326] Barnes 2008, 255.
[327] Barnes 2008, 255.

there is no indication of divine inspiration here, the way that the Severan's victories over the Parthians are described is reminiscent of the description of both Augustus' and Constantine's respective victories over Antony and Maxentius. All three victories are described with reference to defending Rome or restoring the Republic, though of course the Severans' victories were against a foreign enemy rather than, albeit veiled, civil wars fought by Augustus and Constantine. The three men achieved much the same in the eyes of the Senate.[328] Representing Constantine in a manner that triggered memories of Augustus and Septimius Severus, who had both been deified by the Senate, suggests that this was their hope for the latest of their successors. These three emperors were linked together in the Roman cityscape in a manner which cemented their places both into the list of deified rulers who defended Rome and upheld the Roman state, and into the memories of the people of Rome.

5. Conclusion

This article has shown that by considering the Arch of Constantine in a wider context within the physical landscape of Rome and the memories of its people, another interpretation of what inspired the Senate's representation of him can be suggested. Rather than portraying Constantine as a man whose victories were inspired by religious forces and situating them within the complex and ambiguous religious context of fourth century Rome, the Senate used the Arch of Constantine to situate his victory at Milvian Bridge into firm historical and geographical contexts. These contextual frameworks were upheld by the monuments, memories, deeds, and honours of his deified predecessors, and the comprehension of them by the Roman people, aided by the wider cityscape in which they were located. The architectural and epigraphic material from the Arch have pre-Constantinian origins and precedents, and the Senate deliberately reused and reappropriated these features not only to represent the new, victorious, emperor in the manner that they saw fit, but also to associate Constantine with his deified predecessors. The evidence for the Arch of Constantine being originally designed for Maxentius has been taken into account and if the traditional religious inspirations behind the representation of Constantine and his victory are removed from the

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[328] Barnes 2008, 256-257.

equation, any issues relating to Maxentius being the original honorand have been removed. The location and iconography of the Arch would have been equally appropriate for Maxentius and fits in with his broader representation as a champion of Rome and her people.

It is not sufficient to focus solely on the Arch when attributing Constantine's deified predecessors for the inspiration for his representation. The Senate placed the Arch, and by obvious association, the emperor himself, into a space filled with monuments built by, and for, many of his deified predecessors. They also consciously removed associations with, and links to, previous emperors who were not considered worthy of deification from the immediate monumental landscape by reappropriating Nero's Colossus of Sol and Domitian's Meta Sudans. The Senate wanted Constantine and his victory over Maxentius to be celebrated physically alongside and socio-historically as part of a long line of worthy emperors who had been honoured with deification, whilst removing any associations with those who were punished with *damnatio memoriae.* Linking the Arch of Constantine with the monuments and memories of the deified emperors gives us an alternative source of inspiration for how his victory at the Milvian Bridge was commemorated by the Senate. Evidence for the measures taken by emperors to associate themselves with their predecessors is well-known, but this article has shown that the Senate chose deified emperors as a source of inspiration for the celebration and representation of a living emperor. Finally, this article, having taken the epigraphic, architectural, topographical, and cultural evidence into account, has shown that the Senate used Constantine's deified predecessors, their monuments, their deeds and their memories, as a source of inspiration for the representation of his victory at the Milvian Bridge physically within the cityscape and culturally within Rome's traditions and the memories of its people.

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Review: Lauriola, R. (2020). *Brill's Companion to Episodes of 'Heroic' Rape/Abduction in Classical Antiquity and Their Reception*. Leiden: Brill.

By Grace Figueroa

> You do not know that you are the wife of Jupiter invincible:
> Stop crying, learn to endure well your great
> fortune: half of the world
> will bear your name.
> Horace, *Odes* 111, 27. 73-76

The goddess of love, Venus, spoke these words to the weeping maiden, Europa, after the latter realized her mistake in 'choosing' to be spirited away to far-off Crete with the god of gods, Jupiter himself. Now with the young Europa 'ruined' by illicit sexual intercourse and in a distant land without her family, it is revealed at the end of Horace's rendition of the myth known as 'Europa and the Bull' that it was Venus herself that orchestrated the elaborate 'seduction' as means of entertainment. Worry not, however, as Europa should realize her 'great fortune,' as the reward for her union with the god, and enduring the subsequent humiliation, was becoming the namesake of "half of the world," the continent of Europe.

Reinterpreting the original story of Europa's abduction and rape at the hands of Jupiter/Zeus into a narrative of a promiscuous woman trusting a lover too readily, a parallel to reflect the author's warning for his own ex-lover Galatea, Horace's poem makes for a perfect example of the sanitization of rape in myth reception. In *Brill's Companion to Episodes of 'Heroic' Rape/Abduction in Classical Antiquity and Their Reception* by Dr. Rosanna Lauriola, an adjunct assistant professor at Randolph-Macon College, the story of Europa and the Bull is one of the central myths and their interdisciplinary receptions that Lauriola investigated in her work. The author noted the pattern of intense sanitization and justification of rape in Greek mythology, as well as the re-victimization of female survivors of assault, that ultimately frames these acts of violence as the woman's fault and not that of the male god/hero that perpetrated the act itself. Seeking to instead restore the voices of

female victims of sexual abuse that are frequently disregarded, Lauriola deployed a gynocentric lens within this book to analyze four select myths pertaining to male-on-female sexual assault in their original ancient context, as well as later receptions of the story, to observe when, if ever, there was a change in cultural reception of so-called 'heroic' rape myths that privilege the victim's perspective.

Though currently there has been a trend towards restoring female mythological characters' voices in fiction, as seen in works such as *Circe* by Madeline Miller and *Medusa* by Nataly Gruender, little has been done to shed light on the victims' experiences in ancient myth from an academic viewpoint, with an interest in analyzing instances of heroic rape only truly burgeoning in the later 20th century. Within the works produced, many only focus on the works of a certain writer or within a certain genre, rather than looking towards patterns of rape and phallocentricism embedded in Greek mythology and its later reception at large. As acknowledged by Lauriola within her book, to evaluate every instance of heroic rape and abduction, along its reception from the Middle Ages to the modern day, is not possible, nor would a vast selection of examples provide the author room to adequately analyze in depth each instance. Having chosen Jupiter/Zeus for his status as both the ultimate embodiment of classical masculinity and as a serial rapist, Lauriola instead limited her work to four primary episodes of rape/abduction by Zeus, with some room given to other comparable episodes. Before beginning her analysis or broaching the topic of rape in myth, however, the author presented the audience with a fairly comprehensive analysis of the laws and language surrounding rape in antiquity.

This inclusion primes readers to better understand the socio-cultural context in which these myths were originally understood within, and, though sometimes a bit difficult to follow if you are not well-versed in Latin or Greek, it was ultimately effective in conveying the complexity of the question of what rape is, or was in the ancient context. Both the Greeks and Romans had no singular word or phrase that unequivocally conveyed rape, but instead had a series of phrases that in a certain context, indicated an act of sexual violence. Lauriola noted that much of the terminology used to denote sexual assault, both in literary and legal documents, refer directly to shame or theft, which emphasized the socio-cultural paradigm that ancient women existed within; namely, that they were viewed as property of either their father, brother, or husband, and the act of assault inherently placed

dishonor upon the woman and the men whose 'property'— the victim— was 'defiled' through the loss of their virgin status.

Further, rape was also often linguistically conflated with acts of adultery, which were frequently prosecuted under Greco-Roman law more harshly than that of rape, due to the importance of an incontestable line of descendency within their culture. The cultural emphasis on the legitimacy of a man's children often outweighed the perspective of the female victim, as it was irrelevant if she was a willing participant of extramarital intercourse or not. Survivors of sexual assault typically never saw a punishment brought down upon their rapists, save for fines which were paid to their male guardian, either to help support a father care for his unmarriageable daughter or for a husband preparing to divorce his wife, now soiled. Worse yet, many victims were also prosecuted under the law as if they were willing adulterers.

By establishing that female victims of rape were seen as property of their male guardians in antiquity, with their value being placed on their pure status to ensure a clear line of descendency in marriage, Lauriola adequately prepared audiences within her 'Introduction' section to thus understand the four select episodes of heroic rape/abduction discussed throughout the rest of the text. This information is the critical foundation of fully achieving her objective, as it is necessary to understand how women victims' voices were culturally silenced in order to observe meaningful changes, or the continuation of the phallocentric status quo, in perspective within reception. The four selected stories of rape and abduction are categorized by the specific implementation of the metamorphosis trope, which is prevalent in Zeus' heroic rape-myths as his primary tool of violating the consent of the victim.

Not only this, but metamorphosis is frequently seen in acts of *sororophobia* in Greek myth, instances where women inflict re-victimization upon other women as an active participant in misogynistic paradigms, where the victims are transformed through metamorphosis as punishment. In relation to Zeus' serial exploits, Hera can frequently be seen engaging in acts of *sororophobia* by punishing his victims as if they were consensual partners, and is a character that the author returns to throughout the work as a part of the larger sanitization of Zeus' victims' experiences. Lauriola went on to define these four categories, each accompanied by a principle episode, as 'Victims of Rape

by Zeus Metamorphosed into an Animal' (Europa and the Bull), 'Victims of Rape by Zeus Metamorphosed into a Natural Phenomenon' (Danaë and the Golden Shower), 'Victims of Rape by Zeus Metamorphosed into a 'Semi-Human' or into a Human Being' (Antiope and the Satyr), and 'Victims of Rape by Zeus Who Are Metamorphosed into an Animal after the Rape' (Io and the Cloud).

I found the organizational strategy to be another necessary addition, as it deepened the connection between the principle episodes and the wide swath of other heroic rape myths that the they are juxtaposed against, exposing the repetition of certain misogynistic narrative structures throughout Greek myths. These categories are not disjoining, however, as the author retained a strong thread of analytical continuity throughout each section, repeatedly returning to themes such as victim-blaming and self-blaming, the idea of rape as means to a greater purpose (i.e. the birth of a hero), and Greek goddesses' roles in perpetrating misogyny through *sororophobia*. These themes are also sufficiently addressed when evaluating each principle episode's reception across numerous disciplines, including literature, opera, art, and psychotherapy, which reveals the extent of each myth's broader cultural impact. Lauriola's selection of examples of each myth's reception, spanning across time and location, are diverse, highlighting both the continued sanitization of the principle four victims' personal experiences with sexual assault, whether that be by transforming them into a consensual partner or blatantly ignoring the act of rape/abduction within the narrative, and the privileging of their perspectives (i.e. acknowledging rape's psychological and emotional impact). Just as she approached choosing limited episodes of mythic rape, the author continued to prioritize depth of analysis over breadth of examples here as well.

Within the discussion of each myth's reception, Lauriola provided a significant amount of socio-cultural context for every individual example as well, such as in the case of medieval Christian reception of the myth, Danaë and the Golden Shower. In the original context of the myth, which the author based on a fragment from *Histories* by Pherecydes and the works of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides respectively, the Argive princess Danaë is locked away by her father, Acrisius, after a prophecy declares that his daughter's son would kill him. While in her confinement within a bronze chamber, the god Zeus transforms himself into a shower of gold and falls from the ceiling of the

chamber into Danaë's lap, in order to have non-consensual intercourse with her in this form. From this assault, Danaë gives birth to the Greek hero, Perseus. In the Middle Ages, Danaë's myth received two distinct receptions: one equating her 'miraculous' conception of Perseus with the Virgin Mary's divine conception of Jesus Christ, and another utilizing Danaë as an example of greed corrupting one's sexual purity. Lauriola presented a concise, yet clear, explanation of the medieval trend of Christian allegorical interpretations of classical myths, building off of similar analyses made during her discussion of the myth, Europa and the Bull.

Overall, Lauriola's work occupies a critical role in the continuation of feminist readings of classical myth and classical reception studies, presenting a small but well-analyzed selection of episodes of heroic rape/abduction and their reception across an expanse of disciplines from music to therapy. She is diligent in providing the historical and socio-cultural contexts that are essential to understanding how ancient audiences understood rape-myths and how these same myths morphed over time, and she continuously built upon her previous examples to create a cohesive history of misogynistic treatments deployed to devalue female survivors of heroic rape. In my opinion, the work was accessible to audiences that may only have a base-level understanding of Greek and Roman mythology, making it an ideal 'companion' and introduction to heroic rape/abduction in classical antiquity, with extensive explanations of all concepts and figures broached within the book. Ultimately, above all else, Lauriola took care through the entirety of the book to consider the feelings of the women victims, frequently asking the reader to consider how the impacts of sexual assault silently underlined the narratives at the center of her analyses. If Dr. Rosanna Lauriola's goal was to make space for these women's voices within a scholarly context that has historically favored male hero perspectives, then her work achieves just that, lending an ear to their unsaid side of the story.

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Review: Jonathan L. Ready (ed.) (2024). *Oxford critical guide to Homer's Iliad*. Oxford: OUP.

By Wayne Rimmer

Given the scope of Classics, it is especially important to establish whom a book is aimed at. Homer is the most traditional element of the most traditional discipline, that is literature, so both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* attract a wide audience. It has long been realised that many readers will access the poems through translation yet still want to engage with a scholarship largely compiled by the classically trained. Peter Jones has been a champion of making Homer inclusive, for example through commentaries based on the translated text (Jones, 2003), but many a book has boldly claimed to cater for both classicists and the general public, with an attempted middle course not really satisfying either. There still lingers some reluctance to accommodate non-Greek readers of Homer, partly because they are positioned, with no little snobbery, as hostage to the conundrums of literary translation.

The Oxford critical guide to Homer's Iliad (OCG) is candid about its audience and intent. The foreword of the editor Jonathan Ready, Professor of Classical Studies at the University of Michigan, states two well-motivated considerations. One is that some readers will not know Greek. Now is not the time to get into the debate about what is lost in translation, although I would say that pontification such as "To know Homer, the real Homer, you do have to come to him in Greek" (Murphy, 2006) is often naïve. (There is no "real Homer" out there.) Supplying translation throughout is pragmatic. The second consideration is that as a teaching resource most users will want to refer to individual books. Hence, OCG goes through the twenty-four books of the *Iliad* in turn, each critiqued by a different author so that "[t]heir distinctive approaches emerge in the individual chapters" (p. viii.) Although the division of the *Iliad* into books is a not undisputed convenience (Heiden, 1998), a book-by-book approach allows users to read OCG selectively. Coherence is provided by each chapter having the same structure of summary, themes, poetics and references.

Before picking from this chocolate box, I would recommend first reading Ready's Introduction chapter. Unpacking the famous first line of the *Iliad*, this provides a general background to the *Iliad*, such as the link between ἄειδε (sing) and the poem's oral tradition. As familiar ground, this is aimed more at the newcomer to Homer, but it is a concise and engaging account. What will appeal to advanced students is Ready's discussion of the transmission of the text and "wild" papyri written before 150 BCE that differ from the version eventually (semi)established. For example, one such papyrus expands upon Achilles' grief for Patroclus (*Il*.23.221-4), adding to the simile of a dead son with the pathos of a widowed wife. Constrained by space, Ready makes a strong case that wild papyri reflect "the components of a successful performance" (p. 5), i.e., a rendition sensitive to audience reception. This is a short but welcome departure from the standard dismissal of rogue readings in the quest for the holy grail of a definitive *Iliad*. For those with a deeper scholarly interest, Ready provides references to his 2019 title on wild papyri.

The foreword makes the point that some books of the *Iliad* have received less attention than others (the orange creams in the chocolate box.) As Ready's examples (p. vii) are "the battle books of 11 to 15", I have chosen the chapter dealing with book 11 to illustrate the detail of OCG. This chapter (pp. 129-142) is written by Maureen Alden, described interestingly as an "independent scholar" in the notes on contributors (p. 315). From her previous publications, there is no doubt about Alden's credentials, but it is rare in academia to see writers operating outside educational institutions, almost always universities: the other twenty-three contributors are situated within universities, mostly holding professorial rank. As a side issue to this review, perhaps the voice of commentators is rather limited to those fortunate enough to hold tenure, and thus access to time and funding for research.

Alden's treatment of book 11 follows the OCG pattern of summary, themes, poetics and references. The summary shows Ready to be correct in that this is essentially a battle book, but the complexity of the narrative, the ebbing and waning of the fortunes of war, belies his earlier claim (p. 2) that "[t]he Iliad is a character-driven work more than a plot-driven work." The identity of the hero is essential, but in part this is moulded by the plot. For example, the rout of the Achaeans cements Achilles' sense of indispensability to the cause. Alden rather understates this with '[Achilles] takes a

keen interest in the effect his withdrawal is having on the Greeks' (p. 133). The tone with which Achilles (ll. 610-611) imagines "περὶ γούνατ' ἐμὰ στήσεσθαι Ἀχαιοὺς // λισσομένους" ("the Achaeans standing at my knees, begging") combines contempt and schadenfreude. Only a generous reading would attribute any pathos to Achilles. He feels enhanced by the Greeks' struggles because this allows him to position himself as saviour; conversely, a Greek victory would undermine his value to the cause and consequently identity. The plot is thus far more than backdrop.

Alden's themes section acts as a commentary on book 11 in that it broadly follows the narrative sequence, highlighting and unpacking key features of language and plot development. When commenting on language, Alden manages to accommodate readers without Greek, as in her explanation of how the temporal clauses "Ὄφρα...τόφρα...ἦμος" ("while...so long...when...") in ll. 84-86 switch perspective. The "Ὄφρα...τόφρα..." correlative clauses "[bookend] a period of inconclusive and anonymous battle" (p. 130), but "ἦμος", through the simile of a woodcutter resting, provides "focus on the significant and irreversible actions of individual fighters" (p. 130). More could be said regarding this sequence, for instance the significance of inserting the woodcutter and a scene from peacetime amidst the war discourse, but Alden has made the reader with or without Greek sensitive to the poetic diction. Also very helpful in this section is the cross-referencing of themes elsewhere in the *Iliad*, and even *Odyssey*. For instance, linking Coön's revenge attack on Agamemnon (ll. 248ff) to the concept of ποινή (blood-price), Alden cites Achilles' killing of twelve Trojans as recompense for Patroclus' death in 24.175-176, and the final book of the Odyssey where the relatives of the slaughtered suitors are shamed by their inability to exact ποινή.

OCG allows contributors freedom of focus, and for the section on poetics in this chapter, Alden chooses to explore two areas: para-narrative, evidenced through Nestor's speech to Patroclus, and simile, attested more in book 11 than any other book of the *Iliad*. My own lens briefly falls on Alden's treatment of para-narrative, defined in opposition to primary narrative, compromising the main plot line of the *Iliad*. Nestor's typically expansive speech is categorised according to para-narrative purpose and Alden (p. 136) claims as the "business part" the retelling of Nestor's defence of a besieged city because this is cleverly designed to mirror the current conflict and entice Patroclus into battle. Alden offers several convincing parallels between Nestor's para-narrative and the present

situation. For instance, Peleus' reluctance for his son Nestor to fight (ll. 717-719) corresponds to Achilles' protective stance with regard to Patroclus, manifest in book 16 and Achilles' injunction on Patroclus to limit his involvement in the war. As Nestor defied his father and played a decisive role in the conflict, the para-narrative posits, with tragic error, that Patroclus can also resist external pressures in the pursuit of glory. While Alden perhaps overstates the match between Nestor's youthful exploits and Patroclus' war designs (the Trojan war is a much weightier event than the local skirmish Nestor was involved in), the fact that Patroclus does enter the fray is evidence of the "rhetorical effectiveness of Nestor's story" (p. 137.) Whatever the reader's position on this, Alden illustrates how narrative is layered in epic, allusions to characters and events creating a network of meaning for speakers to exploit and listeners to respond to.

Each chapter in OCG has its own style and focus, but Alden on book 11 is typical in that it showcases the merits of OCG as a valuable reference point for students of the *Iliad* with and without Greek. It is hardly a volume for the general reader, who would be well served by contemporary translations such as Wilson (2023), which features extensive background material including maps and a glossary. However, OCG offers a thorough and rigorous analysis of each book of the *Iliad*, synthesising previous research with the author's own insight and expertise. My analogy of the chocolate box is flippant but the OCG's premise that most readers will approach the *Iliad* piecemeal is borne out by pedagogical experience. A companion version to the Odyssey is promised (Christensen, forthcoming) and it is hoped that this standard of excellence is maintained. The opening of a new chocolate box is eagerly anticipated.

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