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EDITOR'S PREFACE

The Religious Studies Center and the Students of the Ancient Near East are proud to present this issue of *Studia Antiqua*. Readers will notice a rather substantial change in the print style and quality of this semester's issue. We have been fortunate enough to add Classics and Humanities to our growing list of contributors, which has granted us a much wider range of printing options. We feel the new look is an attractive blend of a classical feel and a contemporary composition. This issue is the largest issue we've published in quite some time, and as a result, our papers will be divided into their cultural emphases. Our first section will treat research on ancient Egypt. Some of the papers from that section were submitted by students of Cynthia Finlayson's graduate student seminar on Egyptian art. Unfortunately, due to space restrictions, the number of images were limited. Other sections include Judaism and Christianity, Mesopotamia and Canaan, and Classical Studies.

On Friday, December 7, 2007, the Students of the Ancient Near East (SANE), in cooperation with the Ancient Near Eastern Studies program and the Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship, held the SANE Symposium on Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical Literature. Dr. Stephen Ricks, Dr. Daniel Peterson, Dr. Gaye Strathearn, and eight students presented papers. The symposium was a great success and preparations are under way for the 2008 SANE Symposium on Temples and Ritual in Antiquity. Again, a number of professors will join students from various majors to make this presentation possible. A full schedule of presentations will be available on the Students of the Ancient Near East website as soon as the presenters are finalized. This year the symposium will take place on Friday, October 10. There will be several sessions focusing on the temples and ritual of different cultures, like ancient Egypt, the Classical World, Syria/Palestine, and Early Christian liturgy. The Religious Studies Center has graciously offered to consider a selection of papers from the symposium for publication. Everyone is invited to attend.

To encourage a wider variety of paper topics and perspectives and to provide a forum for students who do not normally have access to a publishing venue, *Studia Antiqua* will now accept submissions from students from other universities. We will give priority to submissions from BYU students, but we invite students everywhere to take advantage of this opportunity to participate in the publication process and see their work in print. Invitations to submit will go out through various channels to universities all over the country throughout this year. Anyone with questions should feel free to contact me at our new e-mail address, studia_antiqua@byu.edu.

Also new to our publication is a section for book reviews. In this issue the books have been chosen by the students, but for subsequent issues we will provide a list of books we would like to have reviewed. Those books will be listed in a new *Book Notices* section, and we invite any who are interested to send us their reviews prior to the submission deadline for the next issue. Students will only have two months between the publication of the fall and winter issues, so we will provide our book list for both semesters in this winter issue. You will find the section at the end of the issue.

For those students unfamiliar with the book review process, a short tutorial may be helpful. Book reviews are rarely longer than one or two pages. They are meant to provide scholars with advanced information about publications they may want to read as part of their research. A book review should answer several basic questions, which include, but are not limited to, the following:

1. What is the author's purpose?
2. To whom is the author addressing the work?
3. Why does the author present the research in the way he or she does?
4. For what principles does the author stand?
5. How does the work compare to other texts?
6. How well does the author meet the stated objective?
7. What is the reviewer's opinion of the publication?

A well-crafted book review will include a brief summary of the book followed by critical evaluation. In the evaluation it is important to analyze the book in light of the author's stated objectives. An author that is attempting to show that 2 Maccabees 7 presents the Maccabean martyrs as saviors of the Jewish people should not be criticized for ignoring the arguments related to the presence of *creatio ex nihilo* in 2 Maccabees 7:28. A good reviewer will be cognizant of what discussions are and are not germane to the author's thesis. The review should focus primarily on how well the author supported that thesis. Nancy Vyhmeister's *Quality Research Papers for Students of Religion and Theology* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2001) has a great introduction to book reviews starting on page 154, should anyone want to learn more.

Finally, as editor in chief of *Studia Antiqua* I am frequently asked whether or not our journal accepts submissions related to ancient cultures outside the Near East. The answer is always an emphatic yes. We have crafted our journal to be a forum for research related to all ancient cultures, from Siberia to Mesoamerica. Most of our submissions come from Ancient Near Eastern Studies or Classics majors, as they are the majors most closely related to ancient studies here at BYU, but we always encourage submissions dealing with other cultures. If you have some research you have been doing on an ancient culture and you would like to see it in print, please do not hesitate to submit it.

Finally, this issue would not have been possible without the help of Devan Jensen, Dr. Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, and the Religious Studies Center's student editors, who have again managed to help turn this publication into something presentable. Their contribution has been invaluable. With that, we hope you enjoy this issue of *Studia Antiqua*.

Daniel O. McClellan
Editor in Chief, *Studia Antiqua*

ANCIENT EGYPT

QUEENSHIP AND ETERNAL LIFE: TIJE OFFERING PALM RIBS AT THE *SED*-FESTIVAL THRONES OF AMENHOTEP III

RACHEL A. GROVER

Depictions of the offering of palm ribs in ancient Egypt refer to the presentation of a long reign and eternal life. The most common scene is of deity offering palm ribs to the pharaoh; however, O. E. Kaper studied rare depictions of the pharaoh offering palm ribs to deity in a ritual found in the Dakleh Oasis. In his study Kaper compares the scenes in the Dakleh Oasis to what he believes are the four known depictions of the queen as officiant of the palm rib.¹ His list includes four objects: a carnelian gemstone on which Queen Tiye is shown offering palm ribs to Amenhotep III (fig. 1),² an ivory chest cover with a relief where Queen Tiye is a griffin or sphinx offering palm ribs to the cartouche of Amenhotep III, and a travertine lamp and small golden shrine from Tutankhamen's tomb on which Queen Ankhesenamun is depicted offering palm ribs to Tutankhamen. These depictions are all from the Eighteenth Dynasty and perhaps reflect the increased power of women in the court during that dynasty, or it is possible that this motif of the queen offering palm fronds was more pervasive and we



Fig. 1: Amenhotep III on the *sed*-throne and Tiye
(Illustration by Daniel O. McClellan)

1. O. E. Kaper, *Temples and Gods in Roman Dakhleh* (Studies in the Indigenous Cults of an Egyptian Oasis: Proefschrift Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1997), 179–80. Kaper is interested in these depictions of the queen offering palm ribs because it is similar in the human, and not divine, nature of the officiant. However, it is interesting that Kaper only gives examples of the queen offering palm ribs and does not mention the carnelian gemstone paired with the Queen Tiye depiction that shows the princesses offering palm ribs.

2. The stones from this bracelet are found at the Metropolitan Museum of Art: MMA no. 26.7.1340.

just do not have a good sampling extant. In either case, offering of palm ribs by the queen offers new information on the role of queen. The depiction on the carnelian gemstone is of particular interest because it shows Amenhotep III on the *sed*-festival throne and is part of a bracelet likely gifted to Queen Tiye at Amenhotep III's first *sed*-festival. While the role of the queen in this festival remains obscure, an overview of how palm ribs were used in ancient Egypt, an overview of the *sed*-festival, and a close analysis of the carnelian gemstone offers insight into both the divine role and private role of the queen in ancient Egypt.

Palm Ribs

The palm rib, a palm frond stripped bare of its leaves, seems to be one of the earliest methods the ancient Egyptians used to record time. The goddess Seshat, often shown wearing a leopard skin signifying that she is one of the most ancient of goddesses, has as her chief mission the notching of a palm frond to mark the pharaoh's life-period.³ Seshat records the royal names of the pharaoh at birth and coronation, grants the pharaoh *sed*-festivals, and her symbol is seen in depictions of *sed*-festivals such as the images of Osorkon's *sed*-festival.⁴ Seshat is the goddess who both grants *sed*-festivals and the length of the king's life; in many ways she is similar to the Greek idea of fate. While other gods present the pharaohs with palm ribs of *sed*-festivals, Seshat alone or Seshat with Thoth marks the *sed*-festivals for the pharaoh.

It is from the ancient notching of palm ribs and the association of the growth of the palm frond with the lunar month that the palm rib came to be the hieroglyph *renpet* meaning year.⁵ This word is related to the noun *renpwt*, "fresh plants," and the verb *renpy*, "to become young" or "to renew life."⁶ The palm rib is often seen as more than just representative of a year, but as a symbol for recurring years.⁷ It is important to note, as does Nadine Guilhou, that the palm rib

3. G. A. Wainwright, "Seshat and Pharaoh," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 26 (February 1941): 30. The wearing of leopard skin died out after the Old Kingdom except in some ceremonial cases.

4. Wainwright, "Seshat and Pharaoh," 30–32. Seshat is also known for helping the king lay out the measurements and plans of the temples. Her flowerlike symbol in many ways resembles a palm tree and is often shown with the horn symbol referring to the month.

5. For a brief sketch on the scholarship determining the meaning of *renpet* see Percy E. Newberry, "The Hieroglyphs [renpet] and [complex renpet]," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 34 (December 1948): 119.

6. W. F. Albright, "The Words for 'Year' in Egyptian and Sumerian," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 51.2 (January 1935): 126–27.

7. Kaper, *Temples and Gods in Roman Dakhleh*, 167. See also Richard H. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art: A Hieroglyphic Guide to Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1992), 119. For the relation of the palm to the lunar month see Niki Holmes Kantzios, "The Palm Tree–Palmette Motifs and Goddess Imagery in the Bronze Age," (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1999), 37; and Nadine Guilhou, "Génies funéraires, croque-mitaines ou anges gardiens? Étude sur les fouets, balais, palmes et épis en guise de couteaux," in *Encyclopédie religieuse de l'univers végétal*, 365–417.

representing time is probably not interchangeable with the symbolism associated with palm trees.⁸ Specific use of the palm rib can be seen in depictions of, and the hieroglyph for, the god Heh, who holds palm ribs in his uplifted hands and wears a palm-rib headdress. Heh is the god, and hieroglyph, of eternity, and it is appropriate that he is associated with the palm rib, or *renpet*, signifying time. Offering of the palm rib is especially common in contexts concerning the coronation and *sed*-festival of the pharaoh. In depictions of the *sed*-festival the pharaoh is usually shown twice, once on the throne of Lower Egypt and once on the throne of Upper Egypt wearing the respective crowns. These two thrones are often shown back-to-back, and the pharaoh is presented with the notched palm rib, as Richard H. Wilkinson describes, by the “partially personified emblems of the Two Lands—the Horus falcon and the Seth animal” (fig. 2).⁹ Wilkinson argues that although the offering of palm ribs is symbolic, it is possible that real palm fronds were given to the pharaoh during the *sed*-festival.¹⁰

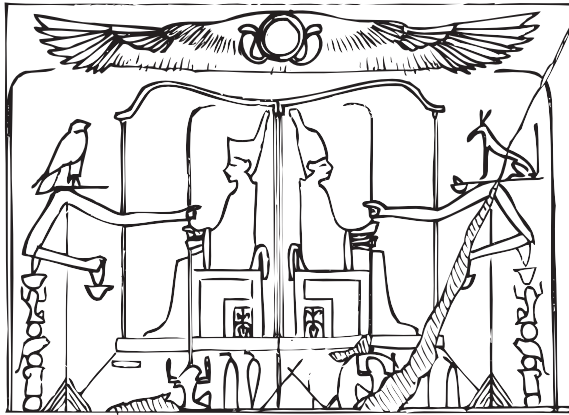


Fig. 2: *Heb-Sed* Pavilion of Sesostris III
(Illustration by Daniel O. McClellan)

Palm ribs are also carried by Thoth, the scribal god, and are presented to the pharaoh by various gods as emblems of divine support of the pharaoh's long reign, or giving him eternal life. Somewhat of an anomaly, as Kaper has studied, palm ribs in the Dakleh Oasis appear to be offered to the gods by the pharaoh, an offering not known from temple reliefs in the Nile Valley.¹¹ However, the gods, like the pharaoh, needed long reign and power and there are even texts referring to the *sed*-festivals of the gods, albeit these festivals are likely metaphoric

8. Guilhou, “Génies funéraires, croque-mitaines ou anges gardiens?” 467.

9. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art*, 119. For details on Horus and Seth as found in *sed*-festival depictions, see Alan H. Gardiner, “Horus the Bedetite,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 30 (December 1944): 23–60.

10. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art*, 119.

11. Kaper, *Temples and Gods in Roman Dakhleh*, 167.

and not actually celebrated.¹² In many of the depictions of the offering of palm ribs there are tadpoles—a hieroglyph representing multiplication or 100,000—and shens—representing 10,000,000—found at the base of the palm ribs.¹³ With the tadpole and the shen below the *renpet*, the offering symbolized eternity or endless years.¹⁴

The *Sed*-festival

As is clear from the preceding discussion, the *sed*-festival is one of the prime venues for depictions of the offering of palm ribs. The *sed*-festival is one of the most mysterious of the ancient Egyptian festivals and it is not known exactly what rituals happened during this festival, how it evolved, or what its purpose was. We have no texts describing the *sed*-festival, but from the earliest dynasties we have texts mentioning that *sed*-festivals were celebrated.¹⁵ The fragmentary visual data we have comes from different dynasties, and it is not clear if we even have depicted all the main events of the festival, nor are we certain that archaeologists and scholars have correctly reconstructed the reliefs and put together the sequence of events and rituals. The hieroglyph for the *sed*-festival is two chapels on a dais with sloping sides or stairs with two empty thrones back-to-back. Frequently, to clarify this hieroglyph, the double-throne image is placed on the *heb* hieroglyph—the alabaster bowl that is the determinative for festival.¹⁶ The origin of the *sed* hieroglyph possibly comes from a *sed*-festival ritual where the pharaoh is re-crowned king of Upper and Lower Egypt. To indicate an offering of endless *sed*-festivals, these double-throne hieroglyphs are strung together and hung from a palm rib with a tadpole below. The offering of endless *sed*-festivals intensifies the long reign and rejuvenation aspect of the palm rib offering. This is how Ankhesenamun is shown on the small golden shrine from the tomb of Tutankhamen.

The *sed*-festival is interpreted as a test of the pharaoh's ability and worthiness to rule and perhaps consisted of a repetition of rituals associated with the accession of the throne.¹⁷ One theory held by many early scholars, such as A. Moret

12. C. J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals: Enactments of Religious Renewal* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 114–15.

13. These symbols are often found at the bottom of Seshat's palm rib (Wainwright, "Seshat and the Pharaoh," 35).

14. It is interesting to note that the offering of palm ribs resonated into the twentieth century in Nubia. Blackman in 1916 describes how palm ribs stripped of their leaves were carried by women at wedding processions and the practice of putting palm ribs at the head and foot of graves in Nubia (Aylward M. Blackman, "Libations to the Dead in Modern Nubia and Ancient Egypt," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 3.1 [January 1916]: 31–34).

15. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 97. See Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, *Studien zum Sedfest* (Aegyptiaca Helvetica; Geneva: Centre d'études orientales de l'Université de Genève, 1974) for charts with the data we have on *sed*-festivals throughout the dynastic period.

16. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art*, 145, 203.

17. Bleeker is not convinced that there is a direct connection between the *sed*-festival and the accession to the throne ceremony (*Egyptian Festivals*, 111–12).

and G. A. Wainwright, suggests that in predynastic times if the king was unfit he would be ritually murdered as part of the *sed*-festival and a new king brought forth.¹⁸ C. J. Bleeker adamantly disagrees with this theory and writes that “no indications are to be found in either the prehistory or the history of Egypt of any custom by which a king who had grown weak and senile was eliminated.”¹⁹ It is clear in the dynastic period that the *sed*-festival was considered as rejuvenating, and not replacing, the pharaoh. Moret suggests that one of the results of the *sed*-festival was that the pharaoh was given a longer period of renewed life than in the daily temple rituals.²⁰ Whether or not the *sed*-festival originated as ritual murder of an unfit king, it seems that it became a festival of rejuvenation for the pharaoh that perhaps was to occur 30 years after the pharaoh was either made crown prince or crowned. The idea of 30 years comes from a translation from the Rosetta stone that may not mean 30 years, but simply a very long reign, as the number 30 for Egyptians was associated with the length of a generation.²¹ It certainly was not necessary to begin celebrating *sed*-festivals on the thirtieth year of the king: Thutmose II celebrated two *sed*-festivals and did not even live past thirty.²²

M. Murray lists 17 pharaohs who, she determines from fragmentary depictions, celebrated this festival. Although her data is plausible, it is inaccurate to say, as she does, that the pharaoh seated on the back-to-back thrones of Upper and Lower Egypt refers to the *sed*-festival as this image is also associated with the accession of a pharaoh. Our best sources which we know from their inscriptions are *sed*-festivals are the detailed, albeit fragmented, representations of this festival for Neuserre, of the Fifth Dynasty, in the chapel of the sun temple at Abu Gurob; Amenhotep III, of the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the tomb of Kheruef and at the temple at Soleb; and Osorkon II, of the Twenty-second Dynasty, at the temple at Bubastis.²³

In comparing the representations of the *sed*-festivals of Neuserre, Amenhotep III, and Osorkon II we can deduce several common aspects of this festival. The *sed*-festival included bringing together the deities, in the form of their statues and emblems, of both Upper and Lower Egypt and housing them in rows of shrines resembling the different architectural shape of shrines of

18. See A. Moret, *Le mise à mort du dieu en Egypt* (Paris: Libr. orient. Paul Geuthner, 1927), 5. For instances of ritual murder of the pharaoh, see G. A. Wainwright, *The Sky Religion in Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), 5.

19. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 114.

20. A. Moret as referenced in Eric P. Uphill, “A Sed-Festival of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 20.4 (October 1961): 249.

21. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 114.

22. F. Ll. Griffith (“Jubilee of Akhenaton,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 5.1 [January 1918]: 61–63.) discusses some of the arguments for when *sed*-festivals were held, referencing works by Kurt Sethe, Spiegelberg, and Meyer.

23. Eric Uphill, “The Egyptian Sed-Festival Rites,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24.4 (October 1965): 365. Uphill is not as sure that the Soleb reliefs are clearly depicting a *sed*-festival, but Bleeker and later scholars believe that some of the Soleb reliefs are indeed of a *sed*-festival.

Upper and Lower Egypt.²⁴ An imitation of this row of shrines can be seen at the *sed*-festival court connected to Djoser's Pyramid at Saqqara. There was either the building of a temple/palace for the *sed*-festival or renewal of such a building, and many gifts and offerings were given both to the royal family and to the gods. A procession ensued from a pavilion to the *sed*-festival palace, where the king was presented to the assembled gods in their respective shrines of Upper and Lower Egypt. The queen and princesses are present in many of the *sed*-festival scenes and are shown watching or, in the case of the princesses, shaking sistrums to ward off evil. In all depictions it is clear that there is the specific use of a short ritual mantle, or *sed*-robe, which is donned before ascending the throne, perhaps while the pharaoh was in the *sed*-festival palace. Bleeker notes that the typical short *sed*-robe was kept for more than fifteen centuries and must have been a sacred cultic garment.²⁵ Finally, another key element to all the representations is the appearance of the pharaoh several times wearing alternately the crown of Lower and Upper Egypt and the ascent of the *sed*-festival throne.

Beyond these key common aspects it is unclear how the typical *sed*-festival proceeded. There are major differences between the representations of the *sed*-festivals of Neuserre, Amenhotep III, and Osorkon II. The Neuserre depictions show the pharaoh doing a cultic dance consisting of a fourfold walk around a field while those of Amenhotep III show oxen driven around the walls of one of the festival buildings four times. Only in Amenhotep III's third *sed*-festival is there the depiction of the erection and worship of the *dd*-pillar, and only in Osorkon's is there the cultic decree granting Thebes and her priestesses privileged positions.²⁶ Eric Uphill, focusing on the Osorkon reliefs, tries to reconstruct the order and details of the rituals of the *sed*-festival and includes a ceremony in a tomb where a ritual mummification—or preservation—and renewal of the pharaoh takes place. Although this particular ritual is not in all *sed*-festival depictions, in most cases Ptah, the god of the underworld, plays a significant role.

While it is ambiguous exactly what role women played in the *sed*-festival it is clear that musician priestesses and the high priestess, who was known by the title "God's Wife," played vital roles in temple rituals and festivals in general. The earliest known example of a pharaoh's wife, and not just the high priestess, being called by the title "God's Wife" was Iahhotpe, the mother of Amosis I, the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty; also, the first time the title "Hand of God" was applied to a queen was in the Eighteenth Dynasty, from the time of Hatshepsut and Amenophis II.²⁷ These titles continue to be applied to the queens of the Eighteenth dynasty, and this may explain why the Amenhotep and Osorkon depictions of the *sed*-festival give particular attention to the presence of the queen

24. Gardiner, "Horus the Behdetite," 27–28.

25. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 107.

26. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 108.

27. Aylward M. Blackman, "On the Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 7.1/2 (April 1921): 12.

during many of the rituals and show many royal women, including the princesses, performing the ceremonial function of musician priestesses shaking sistrums to dispel evil.²⁸ Queen Tiye, the main wife of Amenhotep III, in the tomb of royal scribe Kheruef is even depicted with the pharaoh in a boat drawn by 20 people as part of the *sed*-festival.²⁹ It is the depiction of Queen Tiye on a bracelet likely made for Amenhotep III's first *sed*-festival that helps us understand better the role of the queen.

From this bracelet there are five plaques extant depicting *sed*-festival scenes and the royal family of Amenhotep III. This bracelet shows three different types of offering of palm ribs: the god to the pharaoh, princesses to the pharaoh and queen, and the queen to the pharaoh. It is of particular interest because the queen offering palm fronds to the pharaoh is not only a very rare scene but this particular image shows Amenhotep III on the double *sed*-throne. The understanding of the offering of palm ribs and the *sed*-festival helps us to interpret this stone and gives us insight into the divine and private roles of the queen. To fully analyze the carnelian gemstone depicting Queen Tiye presenting palm ribs at the *sed*-festival throne of Amenhotep III, we will look more closely at who Tiye was and at the depictions of the *sed*-festivals of Amenhotep III.

Queen Tiye and the *Sed*-festivals of Amenhotep III

Scholars have argued that Queen Tiye was a foreigner, some saying she is from Nubia and others saying she is from Asia; however, when the tomb of her parents, Yuya and Tjuyu, was discovered in 1905 there were no indications of her being anything but Egyptian. They even seem to be from the Egyptian town Akmim.³⁰ However, it should be noted that Yuya's name is somewhat odd, and his foreign origin could be argued. Whether or not Queen Tiye was a foreigner, she was a nonroyal marriage for Amenhotep III. Tiye nonetheless enjoyed all the privileges of the principal wife and queen, and no previous queen played so prominently during her husband's lifetime. Amenhotep III and Tiye had four known daughters, Sitamen, Henuttaneb, Isis, and Nebetah, all who appear frequently on statuary and reliefs. Tiye is shown on equal scale with Amenhotep III with three of their daughters in a colossal statue from Amenhotep III's mortuary temple.³¹ Sitamen and Isis were raised to the position of "great royal wife" sometime in the last decade of their father's reign.³² Amenhotep III and Tiye were also presumably the parents of prince Tuthmosis, who predeceased his father, and Amenhotep IV, better known as Akhenaton.

28. William C. Hayes, "Minor Art and Family History in the Reign of Amun-Hotpe III," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 6.10 (June 1948): 276.

29. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 102.

30. For a sketch on the scholarship of Tiye and her origins see Arielle P. Kozloff and Betsy M. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* (Bloomington, Ind.: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), 23–24.

31. The Egyptian Museum, nos. M. 610 and JE 33906.

32. Kozloff and Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 43.

It is during Amenhotep III's reign that the queen first adopts as part of her insignia the horns and disk of Hathor, the goddess of fertility and rejuvenation, and carries the sistrum that was closely associated with the cult of Hathor.³³ Amenhotep III built a temple for Tiye, where she was worshipped as a form of Hathor in Sedeinga, Sudan, near his temple at Soleb.³⁴ From the walls of the royal scribe Kheruef, it seems that the marriage of Amenhotep III to Hathor, perhaps in the person of the queen, was part of the *sed*-festival liturgy.³⁵ Gay Robins hypothesizes that "the prominence of Tiye and other royal women in Amenhotep's reign may have been related to the stress on the divinity of kingship, leading to a corresponding emphasis on the divine side of queenship."³⁶ Tiye sets the precedent for the role of other queens in the Eighteenth Dynasty who continue to be worshipped as Hathor and fulfill the role of divine female counterpart to the pharaoh.³⁷

Emphasizing this role of divine queenship, or divine female counterpart to the pharaoh are the depictions of Queen Tiye at the *sed*-festivals of Amenhotep III. There are at least three times that Amenhotep III celebrated the *sed*-festival, and it seems that his elaborate preparations for these festivals were unprecedented.³⁸ Not since perhaps the Twelfth Dynasty had a *sed*-festival been celebrated in anything other than a perfunctory way. The duration of the *sed*-festival under Amenhotep III was sixty-seven days, and the festivities were lavish according to the labels from food pots for the event found at the Malqata palace.³⁹ Even the king of Babylon, Kadashman-Enlil I, wrote to Amenhotep III complaining that he had not been invited.⁴⁰ In the tomb of the royal scribe Kheruef, an inscription records that Amenhotep III celebrated the *sed*-festival according to ancient documents, which leads us to believe that many if not all of the rituals depicted were at one time a part of earlier pharaohs' *sed*-festivals.⁴¹ Another piece of evidence that Amenhotep III used ancient *sed*-festival documents is a fragment of a Predynastic or First Dynasty palette carved with a *sed*-festival scene with an Eighteenth Dynasty depiction of Queen Tiye on the reverse.⁴² This association of Tiye with an ancient *sed*-festival scene perhaps indicates the importance of

33. Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 52; Joyce Tyldesley, *Chronicle of the Queens of Egypt: From Early Dynastic Times to the Death of Cleopatra* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), 119.

34. Kozloff and Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 43.

35. Kantzios, "The Palm Tree–Palmette Motifs," 92.

36. Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 52.

37. Kozloff and Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 43.

38. Kozloff and Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 8.

39. Charles Cornell van Siclen III, "The Accession Date of Amenhotep III and the Jubilee," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32.3 (July 1973): 296.

40. Kozloff and Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 41.

41. Siclen III, "Accession Date of Amenhotep III and the Jubilee," 296; see also José M. Galán, "The Ancient Egyptian Sed-Festival and the Exemption from Corvee," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 59.4 (October 2000): 257.

42. Kozloff and Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 40. The Egyptian Museum, no. JE 46148. See also a fragment in the Brooklyn Museum, no. 66.175.

Tiye's role in the *sed*-festival and as queen.

The first *sed*-festival of Amenhotep III happened in year 30 as recorded by the dockets from the Malqata palace, an inscription in the tomb of Khaemhet, scenes at the temple of Soleb, and a scene in the tomb of the Royal scribe Kheruef.⁴³ Amenhotep III boasted of a great harvest in year 30/31 and one granodiorite statue of Amenhotep III in the *sed*-robe with the inscription "lord of the *sed*-festivals" shows him obese signifying plenty.⁴⁴ The second *sed*-festival in the year 34 is known from several hundred jar labels from the Malqata palace, and the third in year 37 to 38 is known from text and scenes in the tomb of Kheruef, and jar labels from Malqata palace.⁴⁵ The depictions and text in the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes are peculiar in their depiction of the repeated presence of Queen Tiye and the princesses. In this tomb it is written of Tiye that "she is in the suit of the king just as the goddess Ma-a-t follows the god Re"⁴⁶ and of the women that "the women were escorted to the king in order to perform the *hb sd* rituals right in front of the throne."⁴⁷ These inscriptions shed light on the carnelian bracelet, which is perhaps a depiction of women performing *sed*-rituals at Amenhotep III's throne.

Before Amenhotep III's third *sed*-festival, his son Akhenaton had already moved much of the royal court to el-Amarna.⁴⁸ Uphill notes that although Akhenaton was a religious reformer he still celebrated the *sed*-festival.⁴⁹ Tutankhamen, the grandson of Amenhotep III, did not have a *sed*-festival, most likely because of his premature death. However, it is the wife of Tutankhamen, Queen Ankhesenamun, who is shown offering Tutankhamen endless *sed*-festivals in conjunction with her palm rib offering on the small golden shrine. Perhaps she is following in the tradition of her grandfather's wife, Tiye, who is shown offering palm ribs on the carnelian plaque.

43. William C. Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 10.2 (April 1951): 83.

44. Kozloff and Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 195. The statue is from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes and is now in Cairo: The Egyptian Museum, no. JE 33901.

45. Siclen III, "The Accession Date of Amenhotep III and the Jubilee," 291–92.

46. Ahmed Fakhry, "A Note on the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 42 (1943): 489, as quoted in Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 102.

47. Fakhry, "A Note on the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes," 487, as quoted in Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 102.

48. Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III," 85.

49. Eric Uphill, "The *Sed*-Festivals of Akhenaton," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 22.2 (April 1963): 123–27. The *sed*-festival of Akhenaton is discussed in F. Ll. Griffith, "The Jubilee of Akhenaton," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 5.1 (January 1918): 61–63. Here Griffith finds no reason to associate what Petrie and Murray identify as a depiction of Akhenaton's *sed*-festival in Huya's tomb at el-Amarna because once the depiction had been cleaned it was clear that the queen was in the palanquin with the pharaoh. However, since it is clear that Queen Tiye was in the boat with Amenhotep during his *sed*-festival perhaps it is still possible that the Huya tomb depiction is of a *sed*-festival of Akhenaton.

The Carnelian Plaques of Queen Tiye⁵⁰

Howard Carter in 1912 bought three convex plaques in Luxor, which he sold to Lord Carnarvon, with the low relief figures of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye.⁵¹ The collection of Lord Carnarvon including these plaques and an additional partial one that matched the set, obtained by Carnarvon from the MacGregor collection, was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art through the generosity of its trustee Edward S. Harkness in 1926.⁵² This museum acquired one more matching plaque in 1944 from the collection of Henry Walters of Baltimore that appears to go with this same set. Four of these plaques are carnelian and one is of sard, and because they are convex and similar to bracelets on the mummy of Tutankhamen, they are believed to all be part of one bracelet with the original settings missing. Alan H. Gardiner, writing when there were only three known plaques, hypothesized that these plaques were a bracelet that “once rested upon the arms of no less a person than Queen Tiye.”⁵³ William C. Hayes, writing after two more plaques were acquired, agrees with Gardiner that the bracelet must have been made for Queen Tiye. As evidence for this is the absence of Sitamun, who was likely already the wife of Amenhotep III, not simply his and Tiye’s daughter, and therefore would have been less appropriate on a bracelet that was made for Tiye.⁵⁴ Hayes also suggests that this piece of jewelry was made on the occasion of Amenhotep’s first jubilee (1375 b.c.e.) since each of the scenes is related to the *sed*-festival and the presentation of small monuments and gifts to the king and other members of the royal family was part of the *sed*-festival. Even scenes in the tomb of the Kheruef at Thebes show the presentation of jewelry, including bracelets such as this one would have been, to Amenhotep III and Tiye on the occasion of two *sed*-festivals.⁵⁵

50. MMA no. 26.7.1340—queen presenting palm fronds.

51. Gardiner quotes verbatim how Lord Carnarvon obtained the three plaques: “In November 1912, I received a telegram from Mr. Carter asking me to send out a certain sum as he has bought for me some very interesting objects. The three plaques arrived in England about a month later in charge of a friend. Mr. Carter had bought them in Luxor, by a happy chance just forestalling the Berlin Museum. Where they were found it is hard to say, but there are not many places whence they could have come. Personally, I think their provenance must by the Bibân el Mulûk: the so-called tomb of Amenhotep and Tij up the W. valley had been disturbed by the natives before Mr. Theodore Davis began to dig there. These engraved stones must certainly have belonged to the king himself and were probably set in bracelets or armlets. When the tomb was robbed no doubt the gold settings were taken and the stones cast aside as too compromising” (Alan H. Gardiner, “Three Engraved Plaques in the Collection of the Earl of Carnarvon,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 3.2/3 [April–July 1916]: 73).

52. Albert M. Lythgoe, “The Carnarvon Egyptian Collection,” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 22.2 (February 1927): 29, 31–40; see also Hayes, “Minor Art and Family History in the Reign of Amun-Hotep III,” 272–79.

53. Gardiner, “Three Engraved Plaques,” 75.

54. Hayes, “Minor Art and Family History in the Reign of Amun-Hotep III,” 278.

55. Hayes, “Minor Art and Family History in the Reign of Amun-Hotep III,” 274, 276.

Lawrence M. Berman and Betsy M. Bryan suggest that the jewelry was made for the pharaoh, but whether or not for the king or queen, it is certain by the quality of the workmanship and by the intimate depictions of the royal family that it was indeed made for royalty.⁵⁶ Hayes points out that the wear on the surfaces of these five plaques means that these were probably not funerary jewelry, although most likely used in the Royal Burial, but were worn by the owner in his or her lifetime. The scenes on the bracelet would have served as a reminder to the wearer of both the *sed*-festival for which they were made and of Tiye's role as queen.

The five plaques are tiny, and each measures about 4 x 2.5 x 0.2 cm. They are very carefully carved, and the cartouches and inscriptions seem microscopic. The modern settings are copied from the bracelet of Queen Tawosret.⁵⁷ The sard plaque shows what is thought to be Queen Tiye as a griffin or sphinx with the cartouche of Amenhotep III.⁵⁸ Queen Tiye depicted as a sphinx is not unprecedented, but she is the first queen honored with this image which had previously been reserved for the king. The only other time besides the carnelian plaque that Queen Tiye is shown offering palm ribs, in this case to a cartouche with Amenhotep III's name, she is depicted as a sphinx or griffin in relief on an ivory cover to a chest, as noted by Kaper.⁵⁹ Berman writes that Tiye's representation as a sphinx is meant to "emphasize her role as the king's divine, as well as earthly, partner."⁶⁰ Even in this, the simplest of the set of plaques the role of Tiye's divine queenship is set forth.

The carnelian plaque obtained in 1944 shows Amenhotep III enthroned wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and the *sed*-festival shirt with the crook and flail (fig. 3). Queen Tiye, wearing the double plumed head-dress of a queen, is seated behind him, and two princesses with sistrums perform their ceremonial function as musician priestesses. The sistrum is an instrument especially associated with Hathor and emphasizes the rejuvenating side of Hathor's nature because the rattling noise it makes was considered to revitalize the *ka*.⁶¹ The princesses are shaking sistrums not only for the pharaoh but for queen Tiye also. She is meant to be protected and rejuvenated just as her husband Amenhotep III. Behind Tiye a fan bearer is shown on a smaller scale, and Hayes suggests this was the donor of the bracelet.⁶² This scene perhaps not only shows an actual ritual of the *sed*-festival but also shows the importance of the queen in her relationship with the pharaoh. The pharaoh is in front of her as protector but she is also on the

56. Kozloff and Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 442.

57. The silver bracelets of Queen Tawosret are now in the Cairo Museum. Th. Davis, *The Tomb of Siptah*, pls. 9, 10 as observed by Gardiner, "Three Engraved Plaques," 73.

58. Gardiner, "Three Engraved Plaques," 74.

59. Ludwig Borchardt, *Der Porträtkopf der Königin Teje* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911), 22.

60. Kozloff and Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 43.

61. Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1993), 159.

62. Hayes, "Minor Art and Family History in the Reign of Amun-Hotpe III," 276.

level of the ruler as she is an aspect of the rulership of the pharaoh. The broken plaque shows Re Horakhty enthroned with palm rib in hand, probably crowning Amenhotep III, but its broken state makes it difficult to ascertain.⁶³ This is, how-

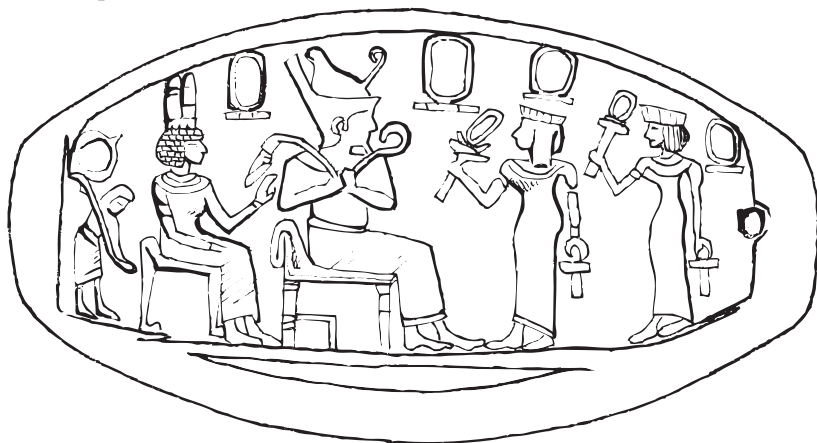


Fig. 3: Amenhotep III, Tiye, and princesses with sistrums.
(Illustration by Daniel O. McClellan)

The fourth plaque, and part of the original Carnarvon purchase, shows Amenhotep III wearing the khepresh-helmet holding the crook in one hand and the ankh in the other, and enthroned with the vulture behind. Tiye stands behind wearing the vulture headdress and the two feathers holding the flail and the ankh as part of the inscription “stability and life behind her.” It seems that she is an integral part of the divine role of ruler in this image. She is holding the flail as her husband holds the crook, and both have the symbol that represents the vulture and the cobra combined representing Upper and Lower Egypt. The pharaoh’s throne in this depiction is over the basket sign and sled sign—like the sled used to carry divine statues. This sled for the gods extends under the feet of Queen Tiye. Together they are the divine rulers and as such two princesses are shaking sistrums before them and holding palm ribs with ankhs on top and microscopic tadpoles, symbol for multiplication or 100,000, and *shen* signs, symbol for 10,000,000, at the bases—all together symbolizing eternal life. The queen is being offered the signs of endless years, or eternal life just as the pharaoh in this scene. Focusing on the carnelian plaque that shows the *sed*-festival double throne pavilion with Queen Tiye presenting palm ribs to Amenhotep III on both sides, we see an image that is rare if not unique (fig.

63. Hayes compares this piece with the reliefs of Amenhotep III in the first and second ante-chambers of Amenhotep III’s Temple at Luxor where he is seen kneeling between Amen Re and another divinity receiving the crown (“Minor Art and Family History in the Reign of Amun-Hotpe III,” 278).

1). Amenhotep III is wearing the *sed*-festival cloak and is sitting on the two thrones of Upper and Lower Egypt. Below the *sed*-festival thrones is the hieroglyph *hb*, sign for festival, and above the scene is the winged solar disk, depicting the tutelary deity Horus Behedty.⁶⁴ This is a rare depiction as other *sed*-festival images like this one with the double throne show the god-personifications of the Horus falcon and Seth animal presenting palm ribs to the pharaoh, not the queen. On the left, in addition to the palm rib, Tiye holds the ankh in her other hand, symbolizing life, and to the side is a cartouche with the name worn, but that was presumably Tiye's, and the phrase "who lives." On the right her figure supports the cartouches with "Nebmare, granted life" (Nebmare is another name for Amenhotep III), along with the palm rib in her hand. Two vertical lines of inscriptions frame the image, behind Tiye's figures. The inscription on the left reads, "The good god, lord of the Two Lands, Nebmare, granted life eternally," and on the right, "Son of Re, of his [body], Amenophis-Ruler-of Thebes, granted life eternally." Tiye is the vehicle by which eternal life is granted to Amenhotep III in this image. This plaque differs from the other two in that it has notches, probably as part of the original setting.

While this gemstone could be interpreted as completely symbolic, it could also be read as both symbolic and as a depiction of an actual part of the *sed*-festival ceremony. As discussed previously, the princesses are shown in the *sed*-festival reliefs on the tomb walls of Kheruef as taking part in the ceremony as musician priestesses shaking sistrums for the pharaoh; perhaps the queen was actually part of the ceremony where the king was crowned with the two crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. This would add credence to the idea of the matriarchal origins of the pharaoh and resonates with the idea of the queen as a form of Hathor, something that begins with Tiye, because Hathor was the goddess of procreation and guarantor of rejuvenation.⁶⁵ In royal mythology the queen and the pharaoh's mother, also called queen, were to be as the sky goddess Nut, who continually gave birth to the sun, thus associating the queen as both a goddess and consort to the gods in the pharaoh's royal birth. The role of the queen was that of renewal and regeneration for the king, at least the aspect of giving him posterity if not on a more cosmic level, and whether or not the queen actually presented the pharaoh with palm ribs during the *sed*-festival, this carnelian gemstone shows the divine and regenerative aspect of queenship. Tiye, in this depiction, is replacing the gods of both Upper and Lower Egypt—Horus and Seth. This placement seemingly gives the queen the role as divine representative of both Upper and Lower Egypt, and it is interesting that the queenly crown, the vulture headdress Tiye wears in one of the other plaques, represents the two goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt—the vulture

64. Description and interpretation of inscriptions taken from Gardiner, "Three Engraved Plaques," 73–75.

65. For a lengthy analysis of the relation of Hathor to the palm motif in the Eighteenth Dynasty see Kantzios, "The Palm Tree–Palmette Motifs," 75–166.

goddess Nekhbet and the cobra goddess Wadjet.⁶⁶

It should be taken into consideration that this bracelet was worn by someone, probably Queen Tiye, and therefore is an example of private art. The depiction of the queen in the role of offering palm ribs to the pharaoh on the *sed*-festival throne is not known anywhere else and therefore was likely not meant to be a public image. As part of Queen Tiye's jewelry, it would have served as a personal reminder of her role and duty toward the pharaoh. This seems to be the role of the small golden shrine of Tutankhamen that M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe suggest was commissioned by Queen Ankhesenamun and was "intended to document Ankhesenamun's ideological role as Tutankhamun's queen, this being in turn the transposition of the wife's traditional role in ancient Egypt into the royal sphere. . . . Each panel may be understood as illustrating Ankhesenamun's supportive and sustaining function as Tutankhamun's spouse."⁶⁷ Like the carnelian bracelet, the shrine reminded the queen of not only her divine queenship but also of her more private role as spouse to the pharaoh.

Conclusion

The carnelian gemstone depicting queen Tiye offering palm ribs to Amenhotep III on the *sed*-festival throne, along with its matching set of plaques, offers insight into the offering of palm ribs, the rituals of the *sed*-festival, and the intimate role of the queen as the divine regenerative aspect of the pharaoh and the human supportive spouse of the pharaoh. While this type of jewelry might not be unattested, it is unique as far as we know today. The only scenes that come close to those found on the bracelet are those of Ankhesenamun on the small golden shrine and travertine lamp. As a lock of Tiye's hair was found in Tutankhamun's tomb, it is possible that the aged queen personally influenced Ankhesenamun. Queen Tiye set the example for some of the great queens of Egypt including Nefertiti, who was the wife of Tiye's son Akhenaten, and Ramses II's wife Nefertari, whose temple at Abu Simbel is very similar to Tiye's at Sedeinga. By analyzing the carnelian plaques in light of the offering of palm ribs and the *sed*-festival, our understanding of the role of queenship in this period is increased.

66. Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 23.

67. M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamen* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1985), 29.

EGYPTIAN GARDENS

ALISON DAINES

The gardens of ancient Egypt were an integral component of their religion and surroundings. The gardens cannot be excavated like buildings and tombs can be, but archeological relics remain that have helped determine their construction, function, and symbolism. Along with these excavation reports, representations of gardens and plants in painting and text are available (fig. 1).¹ These portrayals were frequently located on tomb and temple walls. Assuming these representations were based on reality, the gardens must have truly been spectacular. Since the evidence of gardens on excavation sites often matches wall paintings, scholars are able to learn a lot about their purpose.² Unfortunately, despite these resources, it is still difficult to wholly understand the arrangement and significance of the gardens.



Fig. 1: Tomb of Rekhmire, Valley of the Kings.
Eighteenth Dynasty.

In 1947, Marie-Louise Buhl published important research on the symbolism of local vegetation. She drew conclusions about tree cults and the specific deity that each plant or tree represented. In 1994 Alix Wilkinson published an article on the symbolism and formation of the gardens, and in 1998 published a book on the same subject. He has completed the most

1. Lise Manniche, *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal* (Austin: University of Texas Press/British Museum Publications, 1989), 7.

2. Manniche, *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, 7.

extensive research on the formal aspects of the gardens and has assembled the most comprehensive resource to date regarding their layout and symbolism. In 1994, Egyptologist C. J. Eyre contributed archeological explanations of the use of the gardens. In 1989, Salima Ikram extensively explored the gardens and garden shrines of Amarna with Barry J. Kemp, who is still currently the head of Amarna excavations. In 1989, with a revision in 2003, Lise Manniche investigated all of the plants and herbs used by the Egyptians and their significance. All of these scholars have supplied important conclusions about the layout, plants used, and functions of the gardens.

Although these considerable contributions to the history of the garden in ancient Egypt have been made, important questions about the evolution of the gardens have yet to be asked. Like all elements of ancient Egyptian society, the gardens were full of religious symbolism. The orientation of the garden and the plants in it denoted particular deities and sacred ideas. Based on the information gathered this far on the sites, it is clear that there was not a great deal of change in the gardens from the Pre-dynastic to the Ptolemaic period. This is not unexpected, considering the consistency of Egyptian religion. However, it is noteworthy to recognize that they not change during the revolutionary Amarna Period. If the gardens held religious symbolism and the plants represented specific deities, why did Akhenaten not change the gardens at Amarna despite transforming the artwork?

I will demonstrate that, while the gardens developed their significance in the Old Kingdom, by the Amarna period the established symbolism of the gardens had become tradition rather than a place where holiness was acknowledged through the recognition of symbols. I will trace the progression of the gardens from the Pre-dynastic to the Ptolemaic periods and analyze the changes in the developments. I intend to show that specific plants and garden formations that were used in the Old Kingdom as symbols and manifestations of deity continued through the Amarna period. This reveals that while Akhenaten performed an extreme renovation of the established religion and manifested this through the use of art, he did not apply the same transformations to the gardens. I will argue that during the Old Kingdom the gardens represented deity, but as the First Intermediate Period gave way to the Middle Kingdom, the significance began to turn toward a tradition and displayed the pharaoh's power on a secular level rather than sacred. By the time of Akhenaten's revolution, it had transformed into a tradition, as he did not attempt to change the gardens, despite his theological reforms.

There is confirmation of formal gardens existing as early as the Fourth Dynasty.³ Old Kingdom sites that have evidence of gardens are more difficult to come by; nevertheless, there is evidence that all of the basic forms and ideas concerning the gardens were established at this point. The most detailed

3. Ellen Churchill Semple, "Ancient Mediterranean Pleasure Gardens," *Geographical Review* 19.3 (July 1929): 428.

information about the plants in the gardens comes from the analysis of roots, seeds, pollen, and carbonized and decayed remains found at the excavations. In addition, there are descriptions of the gardens being planted and pools being dug on the Palermo Stone.⁴

Much of the literature describing the use and significance of the plants comes from the Old Kingdom texts like the Book of the Dead and the Pyramid Texts. There is more physical evidence of temple gardens in the New Kingdom, especially at Amarna, due to its desertion after the death of Akhenaten. The city's buildings and gardens avoided the typical remodeling that many sites underwent. Fortunately, Old Kingdom texts provide a good representation of the gardens and, more importantly, match many excavation sites and wall paintings. Along with their religious symbolism, the gardens provided food, fuel from the wood, and perfume from the flowers to anoint the statues that occupied the temples. They also contributed to the architecture in the environment of the garden area, and vegetation played an important role in magic and medicine.⁵ These important uses are made clear in the available texts.

The temple gardens were a fundamental part of the temple complexes, whether it was cult or funerary. They were considered an element of the cosmos that the temples represented. The design of the gardens constantly included water, which was symbolic of the primordial waters of creation (fig. 2). These waters were the manifestation of the god Nun and quite often there was an island located in the center of the body of water to symbolize the initial moments of creation. The body of water followed the east-west orientation of the temple and was rectangular or t-shaped, in the center of the garden.⁶



Fig. 2: Tomb of Nebamun, Thebes. Eighteenth Dynasty.

4. Alix Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt* (London: Rubicon Press, 1998), 39, 68.

5. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 3–5.

6. Alix Wilkinson, "Symbolism and Design in Ancient Egyptian Gardens," *Garden History* 22.1 (Summer 1994): 5.

Excavations have included evidence of twin trees, groves, and pools. There are indications of terracing from Old Kingdom to Ptolemaic times, and most gardens appear to have been walled. The landscape of the gardens reflected the mental image the ancient Egyptians had of how the world was created and sustained through different gods and goddesses. They resembled theatres that portrayed the ongoing cycles of existence.⁷ It was essential to the Egyptians' beliefs to surround themselves with these reminders. The gardens were symmetrical and axially planned—a reflection of the symmetry used in their artwork. However, the stage-like representations of creation were contrasted with the static, conceptual style of the painting and sculpture being produced.

Before the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt, formal gardens were more popular in Upper Egypt. This may be attributed to economic factors that produced more leisure time for Upper Egypt. The Old Kingdom set the foundation for the configuration of the gardens, as well as beliefs and practices that extended to the Ptolemaic period. In the Old Kingdom texts, the sacred roles of the plants are described and established. The divinities, which the plants represented, were anthropomorphized in the plants themselves.⁸ This is also practical as the canons of art were established in this period as well.

The gods and goddesses that the trees and plants represented are as follows: The date palm symbolized Re and Min. The lettuce plant was also the embodiment of Min.⁹ The doum palm represented Thoth. The tamarisk, or willow tree, represented Osiris. Water lily and papyrus symbolized Horus and Hathor. The sycamore tree symbolized Isis and eventually Hathor, after the assimilation of Isis to Hathor.¹⁰ This tree is one of the most important and most oft-described plants in texts and images. Hathor has also proven to be an important deity in relation to the gardens and her sycamore tree. In text and images, she is frequently shown living in the tree and providing aid to those who seek it.

It is at times difficult to associate descriptions of the lotus flower and papyrus in the texts to sacred gardens, because they tend to have a stronger association with the life-giving Nile. Furthermore, the trees and shrubbery depicted in painting and sculpture tend to be portrayed in a uniform manner, suggesting a garden, and often lack the two plants. It is thus more convincing to concentrate on Old Kingdom texts that describe trees and other plants in order to demonstrate the symbolism of this time period's garden. However, papyrus and lotus flowers were grown in many of the ponds and lakes at the temples to represent Hathor and Horus and add beauty to the gardens.

7. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 171.

8. Marie-Louise Buhl, "The Goddesses of the Egyptian Tree Cult," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6.2 (April 1947): 83.

9. Igrid Wallert, *Die Palmen im Alten Agypten* (Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1962), 11.

10. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 4.

The Hathor cults at Memphis called her the “Mistress of the Southern Sycamore.”¹¹ In the Book of the Dead, Spell 59 depicts Ani kneeling beside a pool and receiving food and water from the goddess in the sycamore tree, who is Hathor (fig. 3). The spell states:

O you sycamore of the sky, may there be given to me the air which is in it, for I am he who sought out that throne in the middle of Wenu and I have guarded this egg of the Great Cackler. If it grows, I will grow; if it lives, I will live; if it breathes, I will breathe the air.¹²

The pool, usually referred to as a lake, was surrounded by trees and flowers and was the central feature in temple gardens.¹³ Due to the fact that ponds were not natural to the environment and the sites show them as usually rectangular or t-shaped, it is logical to assume that a pond mentioned in a text indicates the event is taking place in a garden.¹⁴



Fig. 3: Spell 59, Book of the Dead.

Sycamore trees were commonly planted in temple gardens at the eastern entrance. Spell 109 is a spell for “knowing the souls of easterners,” and it states:

11. Buhl, “The Goddesses of the Egyptian Tree Cult,” 86.

12. Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (Austin: University of Texas Press/British Museum Press, 1985), 67–68.

13. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 125.

14. Temple lakes and ponds were sometimes very large. The lake in the Maru Aten at Amarna was 120 m. by 60 m. and at Karnak it was 132 m. by 80 m. At Dendara the lake was only 33 m. by 28 m. They were also often terraced so they could be reached when the water was low. See Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 8.

"I know those two trees of turquoise between which Re goes forth."¹⁵ The Book of the Dead also contains other images and descriptions of trees. A depiction of Spell 117 portrays Anubis leading Nakht toward a false door entrance to the other world.¹⁶ Before them stands another tree, similar to the tree in Spell 91 which depicts Nakht walking toward a tomb chapel with his soul flying before him.¹⁷ Both spells are leading Nakht to the place where Re, Hathor, and Osiris dwell. They all have a sycamore tree before them. Spell 63a is meant to assist in drinking water in the realm of the dead, and not being burned by fire. The depiction of the spell shows a pond with a sycamore tree. It is presumably Hathor, goddess of the Sycamore, in the tree. She is offering food to Nakht and pouring water over him to prevent burning.¹⁸ The pool and the tree also suggest a garden setting.

Mary-Louise Buhl has researched the significance of plants in other Old Kingdom texts in relation to the gods and goddesses they represented. Located in Heliopolis, there was a shrine for the female counterpart of the sun god, Atum, named Saosis. Here the sacred acacia was worshipped. The acacia tree is also described as sacred to Horus in the Pyramid Texts. In text 436a-b, it reads, "Where is Horus who comes forth from the acacia to whom it was commanded."¹⁹ In the Horus myth, he takes refuge under an acacia tree. The jujube, or zizyphus tree, was also mentioned in the Pyramid Texts in association with Sobek.²⁰ Evidence of shrines for the crocodile deity in the gardens, as well as actual crocodiles in the ponds and lakes, is traced from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic periods.²¹ In Pyramid Text 1485a it states, "Hail thou sycamore who protects the god under which the gods of the underworld are standing."²² In Pyramid text 808a-b, it describes the service that the sacred tree provides for the deceased. It reads, "The date palm serves thee, the jujube tree turns its head to thee, that is as Anubis does for thee."²³ The soul, or *ba*, of the deceased was allowed to sit on the branches of the sanctified tree like a bird.²⁴

There are many references concerning the sacred association of trees and birds. During the Old Kingdom, birds were reared at the sun temple of Niuserre, and also at Saqqara.²⁵ Aviaries were part of the designs of the gardens and held falcons, symbolizing Horus, ibises, symbolizing of Thoth, Herons, symbolizing Benu, and geese, which could represent Amun, Hapy, Harpokrates, or

15. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 102.

16. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 112–13.

17. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 86–89.

18. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 68–70.

19. James P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 149.

20. Buhl, "The Goddesses of the Egyptian Tree Cult," 87.

21. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 6–7.

22. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 126.

23. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 126.

24. Buhl, "The Goddesses of the Egyptian Tree Cult," 89.

25. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 5.

Gengen-wer. There is evidence that these birds were present in the gardens as representations of deity. Mummified versions of them, especially of ibises, have been found at Saqqara, Hermopolis, Athribis, and Abydos. However, it will be shown later that this tradition of aviaries continued during the Amarna period. Pyramid Text 916a refers to the dead man's last journey to the sycamore in the eastern horizon. The gods sit in this tree like the birds whose forms are assumed by the souls of the dead.²⁶ The natural presence of the birds among the trees contributed to the stage-like structure of the gardens.

Among other trees associated with birds was the persea tree. The persea tree contained fruit that was mentioned in texts dating back to the Pre-dynastic period. It is described in the list of sacred groves in seventeen nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt. It is similar to an avocado tree and became important in the temple gardens at Heliopolis and Herakleopolis.²⁷ This tree, along with the willow, represented the Bennu bird, which was characterized by another bird, the gray heron.

By the Eleventh Dynasty, the gardens seemed to also be symbolic of the pharaoh's power and status. Mentuhopte I's funerary garden at Deir el Bahari was approximately 50 m. by 50 m. There is evidence of tamarisk and sycamore trees in the garden, and giant figures of Mentuhopte were placed between them.²⁸ The design was intended to replicate the grave of Osiris. Written on Queen Menuhopte's sarcophagus is the phrase, "I have embraced the sycamore and I have joined the sycamore."²⁹ Again, this highlights the sycamore tree and the implications involved with its presence in a garden, but it also promotes the consistency of its presence in the gardens.

In the Middle Kingdom, Sesostri II planted a uniform grove of trees at el-Lahun. They were planted in pits and cut into the bedrock. Excavator W. M. Flinders Petrie counted forty-two holes on the south side, forty-one on the east, and twelve on the west. He suggested that each tree represented a nome, equaling the number of nomes at in Egypt at the current time.³⁰ This once more, shows the slight shift in the function of the gardens, to emphasize the pharaoh's power through the use of gardens and to portray the vastness of the kingdom over which he ruled. This was accomplished in combination with the previous gardens created. A model of a garden was discovered under the floor of the tomb chapel of Meketre, chancellor to King Mentuhotpe (fig. 4).³¹ It depicts a garden with a pond and surrounding trees, the house with it is small in comparison. This illustrates prestige a garden provided. A model of one's home to take to the afterlife would have been a necessary addition to the burial chamber.

In Tuthmosis I's chapel at Ineni, the following inscription is carved: "He

26. Buhl, "The Goddesses of the Egyptian Tree Cult," 87.

27. Buhl, "The Goddesses of the Egyptian Tree Cult," 89.

28. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 4.

29. Buhl, "The Goddesses of the Egyptian Tree Cult," 88.

30. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 73.

31. Manniche, *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, 8–9.

goes through his district in the west [that is, the necropolis] and refreshes himself under the sycamore trees and inspects those beautiful gardens which he planted on earth while in favor of this sublime god Amun the Lord of Thebes.”³² As the gardens were considered a place for relaxation and refreshment, this inscription suggests the more enjoyable tradition of the garden as a place for repose. In the tomb of Tuthmosis III, there is a painting of his family approaching a sycamore tree containing Hathor, nursing Tuthmosis.³³ The use of the gardens seems in this case to combine religious symbolism with power and life.



Fig. 4: Model of a Garden, Tomb of Meket-re, Thebes. Eleventh Dynasty.

In the New Kingdom there was an increase in demand for the flowers of the persea tree. The Egyptians considered them life giving and named them the “flowers of life.” They were used for funerals more during the New Kingdom than they had been in the past, and many were found in the tomb of Tutankhamun.³⁴ Another example of integrating new plants is Queen Hatshepsut. She is known to have imported myrrh trees from Punt, which were exotic to Egypt (fig. 5). This was a combination of a demonstration of her power with a secular desire to accumulate unfamiliar

items from lands outside of Egypt. The evidence at the site suggests that the garden was of typical formation. It included terracing, uniform structure of trees in a grove, and a pool.³⁵

When Akhenaten moved his residence from Thebes to Middle Egypt he chose a desolate piece of desert. He led his kingdom to a new site in order to escape the influence of the past and establish his new religion.³⁶ There he built a city full of gardens. The city was abandoned after his death and thus archeologists

32. Buhl, “The Goddesses of the Egyptian Tree Cult,” 88–89.

33. Karol Mysliwiec, *Eighteenth Dynasty Before the Amarna Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 34.

34. Mysliwiec, *Eighteenth Dynasty Before the Amarna Period*, 89–90.

35. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 76.

36. Michael Mallison, *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen* (Boston: Bulfinch Press, 1999), 75.

have been able to recover a lot of evidence about the nature of the city. The stretch of land which the gardeners had to work was exposed land. It was vulnerable to extreme winds and temperatures in March and April. Temperatures were blistering in the summer and could reach freezing in the winter. The plants for the gardens would have been brought from a considerable distance, most likely from other royal gardens on boats. The city was located along the Nile, opposite Hermopolis.



Fig. 5: Trees from Punt, Funerary Temple of Queen Hatshepsut.
Eighteenth Dynasty

The soil was dry and of poor quality. In order for the trees and shrubbery to be planted, the gardeners would have prepared deep, large pits with gallons of water. Additional water would have been necessary to keep the plants alive. Evidence of date palms has been found there. They would have been difficult to transport to el-Amarna because the growing point at the top of the tree, considered its “heart,” was easily breakable.³⁷ Although it was a difficult task, Akhenaten made the effort to bring all the plants that were in the gardens before him.³⁸ Grape vines, sycamore, fig, and persea trees would have taken two to three years to mature from the cutting and transplanting process. The rest of the plants were grown from seed and the water lilies and papyrus would have been transported from the river. The city was occupied for fourteen years and the gardeners were successful in keeping up the plants, despite the use of large quantities of water.

There is evidence at el-Amarna that there were gardens with terraced

37. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 147.

38. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 147.

39. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 147.

trees leading down to pools (fig. 6).⁴⁰ This important feature, dating back to the Old Kingdom, originally symbolized Nun and the primordial waters of creation. The lake was an essential part of the *maru*. A *maru* in Amarna is a place of “seeing,” and so on temple grounds it was the “seeing place” of Aten.⁴¹ The lake was surrounded by sycamore, palm, and acacia trees, with papyrus and water lilies growing at the banks before the terraced steps that went down into the water.⁴²



Fig. 6: Northern Maru, El-Amarna.
Eighteenth Dynasty.

An aviary was contained in the northern *maru*. The aviaries at Amarna were similar to those of the Old Kingdom and contained the same animals that originally represented deities, especially in association with the persea tree, which was present in the gardens with the aviaries.⁴³ The tradition of birds in the gardens in association with Bennu began in the time of Tuthmosis III and extended into the Ptolemaic period.⁴⁴ This included an aviary with birds that were free to roam among persea trees.

The *maru* was also a place where the divine power of the king was displayed to foreign emissaries and to his people. It was through the ceremonies and the beauty of the landscaping that this was accomplished.⁴⁵ This concept is similar to the use of the garden that more fully developed in the Middle to New Kingdoms. Mentuhotep I, Sesostriis II, and Tuthmosis I, and Hatshepsut are

40. Semple, “Ancient Mediterranean Pleasure Gardens,” 429.

41. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 5.

42. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 149–50.

43. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 150.

44. Buhl, “The Goddesses of the Egyptian Tree Cult,” 89.

45. Buhl, “The Goddesses of the Egyptian Tree Cult,” 154.

examples of using the gardens simply to promote their power through concepts not based on deity or religious ideas. This was combined with the religious symbolism in the garden, but in the Old Kingdom, the way the pharaoh's power was displayed in the garden was through religious symbolism alone, where the ruler embodied deity. The King's House Garden at the palace in Amarna was parallel to the great gardens at Karnak. It was intended to impress the court and foreigners with the power and greatness of the king.⁴⁶

"The two turquoise sycamore tree between which Re goes forth," remained in the gardens as well. In temple and private gardens of the royal family, this same arrangement that existed in the Old Kingdom has been found.⁴⁷ Akhenaten described all living creatures and plants being drawn from the sun. A poem in the tomb of Ay describes Aten's role in all living things. "When the chick in the egg speaks in the shell, you give him breath to sustain him. And, all beasts browse on their herbs, trees, herbs are sprouting, birds fly from their nests, their wings greeting your ka."⁴⁸ The nature that the gardens represented was in praise to Aten, however their structure and form did not change like the artwork and location of the capital. For Akhenaten, the symbolism in the gardens may not have been as strong as it was in the Old Kingdom, as he did not attempt to change them in a manner that would further glorify Aten and further promote his elimination of time-honored religious practices.

The plants used in the Amarna gardens were the same used in the other gardens, previously representing Re, Min, Thoth, Isis, Osiris, Hathor, and Horus. These plants were native to Egypt and would have been used regardless. However, Akhenaten maintained the same structure in the gardens that had existed since the Old Kingdom. The pools, the groves of trees and their formations previously represented deity and furthermore, contained birds that also were symbolic of deity and associated with the ba of the deceased souls.

In the Ptolemaic period, the gardens continued a similar design. We have more access to evidence of the gardens since it was more recent than the times of the pharaohs. Sir Flinders Petrie was able to excavate many plant specimens from Ptolemaic sites. The sites contain gardens that show the same design employed in the Old Kingdom. The gardens persistently held importance in the culture as a relaxing and tranquil location. However, evidence suggesting that there was not a change in the format during Akhenaten's reign proposes an evolution from a symbolic garden to a traditional.

46. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 166.

47. Salima Ikram, "Domestic Shrines and the Cult of the Royal Family at el-Amarna," *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* 75 (1989): 93.

48. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*, 155–56.

HATHOR IN THE CONTEXT OF THE COFFIN TEXTS

BG MCGILL

The modern understanding of Egyptian religion is heavily based on the extensive funerary texts. The basic collection of Egyptian funerary literature includes the Pyramid Texts, dating from the Old Kingdom, the Coffin Texts, dating from the Middle Kingdom, and the Book of the Dead, dating from the New Kingdom. Funerary texts are comprised of mortuary rituals and spells to attain eternal life. This paper focuses on the Middle Kingdom and the Coffin Texts. The Middle Kingdom consisted of a brief period of unification, a civil war instigated by the nomarchs or nobles, a reunification, and the eventual downfall to the Hyksos. This period is most specifically characterized by a diffusion of power from the pharaoh to the nomarchs.¹ During this time, there were significant changes in the funerary texts. One change is the additional emphasis of the goddess Hathor in the Coffin Texts. This paper will establish the role of Hathor in context of the Coffin Texts as justification and intercession for the common man in attaining eternal life as shown through her origins and her role in the afterlife.

The Coffin Texts were influential documents because they are evidence of a democratization of eternal life to the common people. The 1185 spells of the Coffin Texts were derived from the Pyramid Texts, which were initially inscribed by pharaohs to ensure their elitism in attaining eternal life.² Prior to the Middle Kingdom, only pharaohs were capable of attaining eternal life, and as a result, they engraved the necessary literature in stone to ensure a permanent assurance of a safe passage throughout the eternities. Likewise, nobles attempted to preserve these same important concepts and to some extent succeeded in following the pattern of the previous pharaohs. From the very beginnings of

1. Janet Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: The Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 7. This event is also later depicted by scholars as the emergence of the middle class. The middle class seems to deplete the strength of the pharaoh and eventually weakens all of Egypt.

2. A translated text from R. O. Faulkner, ed., *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1977). All Coffin Text translations (Spells) will be taken from this text.

the texts, the social and political change was manifest in differences in each text's introductions. The Pyramid Texts started with an introduction of the pharaoh being the son of a god.³ This shows that the purpose of the Pyramid Texts was directed only to/for the pharaoh. In contrast, the first text of the Coffin Texts reads, "Here begins the book of vindicating a man in the realm of the dead."⁴ The fact that "a man" was the audience shows that the Coffin Texts are extended to more than the pharaoh and were democratized to the common man. This introduction to the literature is very influential to the reading of the text. In addition to the introduction of the texts, painting instead of carving shows that less money was used to preserve these important rituals, but it also shows that a very similar religion remained important though the power of rule shifted. This indicates that there was no direct change in the religious beliefs but that there was just an extension of eternal life to the nobles. This change is shown in several cases beyond the scope of this paper, but most important is the change in the role of the goddess Hathor.

Hathor faced a very important role as an intercessory in a common man's attainment of eternal life. Within the Coffin Texts, she is a ready participant in many of the crucial actions that were required for safe passage to eternal life. Just the basic requirement of sacrifice to Hathor indicates she is an important figure and it was necessary to have her approval and protection.⁵ Additionally, there were basic praises and specific spells for the purpose of venerating Hathor and gaining her favor that reemerge time and time again. Becoming a scribe of Hathor is also mentioned.⁶ The purpose of this position is unclear other than showing dedication and reverence for the power and influence of a goddess. Scribes were also necessary in temple practice, which was apart of her veneration. In Spell 295, Hathor also had the responsibility of maintaining one of the gates that the deceased would pass through in the afterlife. The position of a guardian appears significant in this passage because Hathor also created the gate. Creating an obstacle in the afterlife shows a significant amount of control over the destiny of the deceased. As a result, the deceased would want to please the goddess even more to insure the protection of a deity. This reliance gives Hathor the position of an intercessor. The combination of these aspects displays that the authors or instigators of the Coffin Texts felt that Hathor had important powers and that those powers should be used to their benefit.

Aside from ritualistic behavior, the Coffin Texts record Hathor being endowed with significant power and influence. One aspect of Hathor's role was helping the deceased to destroy the snake, which is considered one of the greatest obstacles in the afterlife.⁷ There are many spells that include Hathor,

3. Utterances 1 and 2. See R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 1. All Pyramid Text translations (Utterances) will be taken from this text.

4. Spell 1.

5. Spell 47.

6. Spell 295, Spell 1.

7. Spells 370, 375, and 378.

which encourage and instruct the deceased in this endeavor. This particular event was especially important because Osiris, lord of the afterlife, was present. His presence shows that his power is needed in order to complete the challenge. The fact that Osiris and Hathor were associated multiple times is evidence of Hathor's importance, because she was able to work with Osiris. It is also recorded that Hathor cared for Osiris and made him glad.⁸ These writings show that Hathor and Osiris had a relationship beyond taking care of the dead. This appears to be a dependency but is not mentioned enough to be crucial in the analysis of the Coffin Texts. It is, however, a sharp contrast to the Pyramid Texts which do not form any relationships between Hathor and other gods. Hathor's role and power have obviously increased over the time-bridge of the Old and Middle Kingdom. In accordance with this account, there are other lesser trials where Hathor was present to aid the deceased.

One unique role of Hathor was her association with clothing. Hathor was often seen giving clothing and receiving clothing as an offering. It is merely speculation, but it seems that clothing could be a symbol of the protection of a goddess. This would make sense, as the ritual was repeated often. Hathor was also referred to as literally being the sandals of the deceased.⁹ This could also be a symbol for the guidance that she could provide in the afterlife. One particularly unique example is the dress of Hathor. This object was mentioned multiple times and was scattered throughout the Coffin Texts. One ritual is entitled: "Weaving the Dress for Hathor."¹⁰ This is one of the few examples where a dress was woven for Hathor, because in most cases Hathor is the one bestowing the gifts of clothing. This relates back to the original idea of giving offerings to a goddess who is important and in return receiving her protection and intercession.

A final example of Hathor's influence is found in Spell 331 of the Coffin Texts. This spell required the deceased to become the goddess Hathor. Once again, this is showing the importance and significance of her role. Hathor is given a very absolute title in this passage: "the Primeval, the Lady of All, who lives on truth."¹¹ This title shows that Hathor was timeless and had a wide range of power and authority and should be regarded as such. Hathor is quite evidently an important goddess in context of the Coffin Texts.

In addition to Hathor's role as an intercessory, her roles provided the nobles justification for a claim to power. By justifying Hathor's power, those who claimed association to her were also endowed with power. Essentially, these two aspects combine because the nomarchs would have justified Hathor's importance as a deity to conclude that her power would allow for safe passage in the afterlife.

In the Old Kingdom, the pharaohs worshipped the same predominant gods and goddesses: Osiris, Horus and Isis. These three gods are essential to

8. Spells 370 and 375.

9. Spell 169.

10. Spell 486.

11. Spell 331.

an ancient Egyptian's perception of the afterlife. In short, Osiris is the lord of the after life because he is the first resurrected being, because he is husband to the goddess Isis.¹² Horus then takes on much responsibility of the afterlife because he is the son of Osiris. These three deities are involved in the majority of the rituals that concern save passage to eternal life. In addition, as previously mentioned, pharaohs were considered sons of gods, most specifically Re, the sun-god.¹³ Because pharaohs were the only people able to attain eternal life, these gods are directly correlated with the pharaoh's power and claim to deity. In this case a pharaoh would not have a major need for the goddess Hathor. As a result, the goddess Hathor is rarely mentioned in the Pyramid Texts.¹⁴ She is present in the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom but is not emphasized until the emergence of the Coffin Texts.¹⁵ The few citations of Hathor in the Pyramid Texts consist of her description but in no way depict her importance as a goddess. She is initially associated with the sky where it is questioned if she is the mother of Horus.¹⁶ In another instance she is depicted as having horns.¹⁷ These horns can be identified as bovine features. Hathor is continually depicted with these features and more specifically as a cow throughout the rest of Egyptian history.¹⁸ Another mention of Hathor describes a solar disk associated with her description. The solar disk establishes a relationship to the sky, which is important when her creation story is later addressed. Though there is very little information about Hathor in the Pyramid Texts, the fact that she is mentioned shows that she was part of the Egyptian pantheon prior to the Coffin Texts and was not a mere creation of the nomarchs. Hathor was, however, based on the Pyramid Texts when she was later magnified as a goddess and used to justify the power and purposes of the nomarchs. According to this assertion, Hathor can be considered a goddess of the common people, or nomarchs, rather than solely the pharaoh, who would not have had a monumental reason for her existence.

The origin of Hathor is more fully depicted in the Coffin Texts than the Pyramid Texts. She is said to have been created before the sky and the earth.¹⁹ The point in time of her creation was not substantial to the pharaohs of the Old Kingdom, as shown by the minimal records mentioning her, but this aspect was

12. Utterance 219.

13. Utterance 405.

14. Hathor, as a goddess, is mentioned a total of three times in the Pyramid Texts and four times in the mansion of Horus.

15. R. T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1959). This is asserted by Clark, but the evidence is clear on this subject as Hathor is mentioned only three times in the Pyramid Texts and nearly a hundred times in the Coffin Texts.

16. Utterance 303.

17. Utternace 405.

18. Carving of Hathor with bovine features at the Temple of Deir el Medina, as shown in Robert A. Amour, *Gods and Myths of Ancient Egypt* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1986), 90. There are countless depictions of the goddess Hathor with bovine features.

19. Spell 44.

significant to nomarchs. Hathor was created before the sky and from that point was considered an earth/cosmic goddess. This would make her a more original, ancient, and special goddess. The age of Hathor was one means of justifying her importance; because she was old meant that she was important. The nomarchs tried to justify seizing power by using age as a means for projecting more significance on Hathor's position in the pantheon of Egyptian gods.

In addition to the time of her creation, the most common account of her creation was when Ra rose as a sun god and Hathor took her place beside him in his solar boat.²⁰ This myth identifies that Hathor was significant even from the very point of creation. The solar boat or bark is continually referred to in the Coffin Texts. Controlling the bark is a significant role because it connects Hathor to the sky/cosmic origins and Re, who was a very influential and anciently respected god.²¹ The bark is important because it is one of the methods of transportation in the afterlife. In Spell 61 Hathor is the goddess in charge of steering the bark. Her importance is shown in this passage as this is a monumental task to transport the deceased in their journey of reaching eternal life. This action carried great responsibility and reverence. Hathor has additional power that allows the deceased to pass through the sky. This is another important part of the steps necessary to be taken for eternal life.²²

There are also further connections between Hathor and Re. Hathor was often considered the daughter of Re and Nut. Nut is the original "mother-goddess" mentioned in the first utterances of the Pyramid Texts.²³ The connection of Hathor to Nut and Re is significant in the Coffin Texts because both play significant roles in the origins of Egyptian funerary ritual. Again, Re is the sun god, of whom pharaoh is considered a son, and Nut is the original mother-goddess, which indicates her importance in the life and fertility cycles of nature. Hathor is later syncretized with the two goddesses Nut and Isis in several spells of the Coffin Texts.²⁴ In Spell 334, Hathor is repeatedly depicted as a mother and has matronly qualities and responsibilities.²⁵ Isis was the wife of Osiris, the lord of the afterlife. Isis aided in the resurrection of Osiris, which gives her credibility and importance as a goddess. Associating Hathor by heredity with these deities validated her worship as a more important goddess. This relationship between Hathor and other gods in turn validates the nomarchs, who venerated Hathor on their coffins. This justification gives nomarchs more credibility in an Egyptian system that is based on heredity as seen by the dynasties and pharaoh being son of a god.

The diversity in Hathor's roles in the Coffin Texts shows that she is a universal goddess. As mentioned previously there have been many shrines,

20. Spell 334.

21. There are innumerable accounts of Hathor's association with a bark. Additional spells about the bark include 623, 654, and 753.

22. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 56.

23. Utterance 1.

24. Spell 332.

25. This is also tied to Hathor's role with clothing.

chapels and temples devoted to the veneration of Hathor.²⁶ Some examples include Deir el-Medina, a temple dedicated to Hathor; Dendera, a chief cultic center; Philae, an example of syncretism of Isis and Hathor; Luxor, Cusae, Deir el-Bahri, which contains a chapel dedicated to the veneration of Hathor; and Abu Simbel, which contains a small temple to Hathor. Each of the cities is relatively influential and contains some type of monument to Hathor. One of her various forms is fertility and the importance of fertility and the mother-goddess role were universally important. Nearly all the cities in Egypt have some form of Hathor.

The Middle Kingdom is a unique time in ancient Egyptian history. The rise of a middle class and the democratization of eternal life changed the remnants that can be observed today. The funerary texts are a significant portion of the remaining literature and give significant insight into the world of the Egyptians. The inscriptions on the Coffin Texts show a sharp contrast between the Old Kingdom Pyramid text's portrayal of the goddess Hathor and the roles of Hathor in the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts. The ancient Egyptian goddess Hathor is a very diverse deity. Her general purpose is very broad, but her roles in the Coffin Texts aim at achieving two aspects in particular: the need for Hathor as an intercessor and giver of power and subsequent justification of the nomarch's social and political purposes. This evolution is significant and can be explained only by the careful study of the primary texts.

26. C. J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth: Two Key Figures of Ancient Egyptian Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 75–101 (75–79).

PTOLEMY'S POLITICAL TOOL: RELIGION

HEATHER WELLENDORF

In the modern world the President of the United States of America is often called the most powerful person in the world. Such a grand title is no doubt impressive but pales in comparison to being called a living god. A human, even the most powerful human, is still a mere mortal. In the ancient world, the trend for having great kings called a living god or son of a god became quite popular, and Egypt serves as a perfect example of how this grand title worked to connect two cultures under a single crown and authenticated the Ptolemaic dynasty's sovereignty over Egypt. The Ptolemies not only established their own ruler-cults in Egypt but also, with a shrewd understanding of the geopolitics of Egypt, used religious cults and temples to further their political agenda.

After the death of Alexander the Great, Ptolemy I Soter seized the opportunity to establish himself king over Egypt. In addition to having to solidify his position as ruler of Egypt externally in the diadochoi wars, Ptolemy I had to fortify his kingship internally. Ptolemy I, being a foreigner, had to appeal to the native population and had to adapt to their customs; as a result, Ptolemy I became a pharaoh of Egypt. For the Egyptians, tradition dictated that pharaohs were living gods; therefore, by extension the Ptolemies were living gods. On the other hand, the Greco-Macedonian elite living in Egypt did not immediately honor the Ptolemaic rulers as living gods; however, Greek culture did allow for deification posthumously. Eventually, the Greeks, influenced by the native traditions of Egypt, extended their deification of dead persons to living persons and thus awarded members of the Ptolemaic dynasty with the title of *sunnaoi theoi*, "gods who share the temple."¹ These factors became the first steps towards the establishment of the ruler-cult of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

The Ptolemaic dynasty-cult did not become officially established until Ptolemy II Philadelphus deified his late father Ptolemy I Soter and his wife. Around 280 b.c.e. he also created a festival in his father's honor called the Ptole-

1. H. Idris Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Greco-Roman Egypt* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953), 23.

maieia.² This act preceded and even opened the way for Ptolemy II to later declare himself a living god. Over the centuries, each successive Ptolemaic ruler adopted himself or herself into the long line of pharaohs and living gods. The deification of Ptolemy I proved just as useful to the later Ptolemaic rulers, not only as a god but also as “founder of the royal cult” as Alexander as a god had proven to be to Ptolemy I Soter.³ Whether or not the Ptolemies believed that they truly descended from the gods and ruled in Egypt as gods has less importance than why the Ptolemies took on this role. The answer comes down to one word, power. The Ptolemies need the support of both the native Egyptians and the Greco-Macedonian settlers, and manipulating the traditions of each group proved an effective tool for securing their sovereignty. Ptolemaic dynasty lasted longer than any other dynasty founded by the successors of Alexander the Great, which demonstrated that the Ptolemies had a shrewd knowledge of politics and control of the masses. Furthermore, they were able to sustain their sovereignty with little violence compared to their contemporaries; in fact, “the mass of the Egyptian population did not, at any time during the Ptolemaic regime, deeply desire to rid itself of the Ptolemaic dynasty.”⁴

The Ptolemaic rulers recognized the effective system of government long established by the Egyptians; so rather than implementing a completely foreign system, the Ptolemaic rulers adapted to and adjusted the status quo. Fortunately for the Ptolemies, the status quo meant they were living gods ruling a prosperous nation. It is important to note that the Ptolemaic dynasty did not become pharaohs on their own; rather, the native Egyptians simply “cast the Ptolemies in the role of pharaoh” because it was the only form of rule they knew.⁵ Furthermore, the idea of worshipping the pharaoh as a god and the concept of ruler-cults in general essentially “was the worship of power;” the Pharaoh or king was seen as the force preventing chaos from destroying society and that force deserved the respect and honor of the people.⁶ Ptolemy I and his successors understood that while the “key principle of government was kingship,” they also recognized that they themselves “were not simply pharaohs but also Macedonian kings ruling a Graeco-Macedonian elite within the country, as well as the subjects beyond.”⁷ Therefore, Ptolemy I cautiously established a ruler-cult acceptable to both the Greeks and the Egyptians and so provided “an opportunity to Greek subjects for the corporate acknowledgement and reaffirmation of the Ptolemies’ political position,” satisfying the native population by continuing many of the ancient customs of pharaoh worship.⁸ The Ptolemaic

2. Walter M. Ellis, *Ptolemy of Egypt* (London: Routledge, 1994), 60.

3. Ellis, *Ptolemy of Egypt*, 60.

4. William Linn Westermann, “The Ptolemies and the Welfare of Their Subjects,” *American Historical Review* 43.2 (January 1938): 285.

5. Alan B. Lloyd, “The Ptolemaic Period,” in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2000), 410.

6. Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Greco-Roman Egypt*, 24.

7. Lloyd, “The Ptolemaic Period,” 407.

8. Lloyd, “The Ptolemaic Period,” 408.

family, along with the other Macedonian successors in the Near East, related themselves as Macedonians first and foremost and thus, by extension, inheritors and advocates of Greek culture. Yet the Ptolemaic rulers controlled a non-Greek nation and had to rule accordingly. Consequently, the Ptolemies had to devise a way of bringing the Greeks and Egyptians together politically.

Religious cults became the answer to bringing the two cultures of Egypt together. The Greeks and Egyptians came to identify their respective deity in the other's religion: Apollo as Horus, Hermes as Thoth, Zeus as Amon, and Aphrodite as Hathor.⁹ Over time the Greeks influenced the Egyptians, and the Egyptians influenced the Greeks, and new cults emerged in Egypt. Unfortunately, the study and analysis of the numerous cults derived from the combination of the many Greek and Egyptian gods cannot possibly be properly addressed in this paper; therefore, the cult of Sarapis and Isis will serve as an example of these cults.

As founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty, Ptolemy I Soter devised a plan to unite the subjects under his rule, namely the Egyptians and the Greeks; he created a new cult that embodied both Egyptian and Greek deity, the cult of Sarapis. Sarapis embodied the characteristics of Osiris and Apis, both Egyptian gods. Furthermore, the Greek god Hades was brought to Egypt and became directly linked to Sarapis: "Hades became known as Osiris-Apis, or Serapis, who was worshipped under the form of a bull wearing a disk and uraeus."¹⁰ In Egyptian culture, Osiris was deeply rooted in the afterlife and often considered a god of the underworld; therefore, the Egyptians had very little difficulty accepting the Greek god of the Underworld, Hades, as equal to Osiris and embracing the new cult of Sarapis. Clearly, the Ptolemies understood the sociopolitical climate in Egypt, and as Budge described it, the creation of Sarapis "was a masterpiece of statecraft" because it "reconciled the Egyptians to being ruled by a dynasty of Macedonian kings more quickly and surely than anything else would have done."¹¹ When Ptolemy developed the cult of Sarapis he used two men who were influential in Greek and Egyptian society, respectfully: Timotheus, an Athenian and "member of the Eumolpid family, one of the priestly clans associated with the Eleusinian Mysteries," and Manetho, an Egyptian priest and historian.¹² These two men and their immense knowledge of each culture's religious traditions enabled Ptolemy to create a cult that pleased both the Greco-Macedonian elite and the native Egyptians. Furthermore, Ptolemy's efforts paralleled predecessor Alexander the Great's efforts to solidify his rule over Egypt by claiming divine right from Ammon, whom he identified with the Greek god Zeus; similarly, Ptolemy I Soter established his divine right

9. Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Greco-Roman Egypt*, 15.

10. E. A. Wallis Budge, *Books on Egypt and Chaldaea: A History of Egypt under the Saïtes Persians, and Ptolemies* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1902), 7:187.

11. Budge, *Books on Egypt and Chaldaea*, 7:187.

12. Ellis, *Ptolemy of Egypt*, 31.

to rule from Sarapis.¹³ Soter's use of religious cults had profound consequences on the Ptolemaic dynasty, Egypt, and the rest of the Mediterranean. One of the most significant was the widespread popularity of Isis who was originally subordinate in the cult of Sarapis; the cult of Isis ended up being a main rival for Christianity. The cult of Sarapis brought the Greeks and Egyptians together in such a way that they were able to support Ptolemy in the own individual ways while still sharing a common belief; truly, Ptolemy I proved himself as a master politician in the development of the cult of Sarapis.

The Ptolemaic rulers' efforts to maintain sovereignty over Egypt through religion and to connect the two cultures under their domain did not stop with cults; rather, they naturally continued into the logical manifestation of cults, temples. The many temples of Egypt played an overwhelmingly prominent role not only in the religious domain of Egyptian society but also in the political and economic spheres as well. When Ptolemy I Soter—being one of the *diadochoi*, or successors of Alexander the Great—established himself as ruler over Egypt, he understood the power of the temples and their guardians, the priests and scribes. The priests—especially the influential priests of Memphis—served as a connection to native Egyptians and “their goodwill was evidently seen by the Ptolemies as key to the acquiescence of the Egyptian population”; therefore the Ptolemies went to great lengths to secure their allegiance.¹⁴ Thus, to maintain the good favor and support of the native populations, he and subsequent Ptolemaic rulers had to sustain a prudent relationship with the priest class. While the Egyptians had welcomed Alexander the Great and the Greeks as liberators from the Persians, the memories of Persian rule would fade with time and consequently require the Ptolemies to take necessary steps to solidify their political control in many ways, one being through building, restoration, and administration of temples.¹⁵

As pharaohs of Egypt, the Ptolemy dynasty had the responsibility to pay tribute to the gods through the building and restoration of temples and monuments. Eventually, the period rivaled the great building periods of the Old and New Kingdoms in the number of temples built.¹⁶ Starting with the founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty himself, many new temples were built throughout Egypt in honor of both Egyptian deity and Greek deity; the Ptolemies focused much of their building and restoration in Edfu and Philae. Ptolemy II built at both Edfu and Philae: at Edfu he “built a granite gateway in the wall to the north of the temple of Mut,” and at Philae he “began to build a large temple in honor of the goddess of Isis and her son

13. Ellis, *Ptolemy of Egypt*, 31.

14. Lloyd, “The Ptolemaic Period,” 414.

15. J. A. S. Evans, “A Social and Economic History of an Egyptian Temple in the Greco-Roman Period,” in *Yale Classical Studies*, ed. Harry M. Hubbell and William S. Anderson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 17:161.

16. Margaret A. Murray, *Egyptian Temples* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1931), 17.

Harpocrates.”¹⁷ Ptolemy I Soter began several building projects—many to be later finished by his son Ptolemy II Philadelphus—a number of which included temples to Egyptian gods. For instance, when Soter established the city of Ptolemais Hermiou, which became the Ptolemaic capital, he built an Egyptian temple.¹⁸ Philadelphus built many monuments that depicted himself and often his wife offering gifts to Egyptian gods. Of these, the Stone of Pithom is quite important: the relief represents Ptolemy II offering gifts to Egyptian gods who in turn promise Ptolemy II “dominion, and power, and a long reign.”¹⁹ Furthermore, “both Arsinoe and Ptolemy I Soter also promise to give him gifts; this shows that they were worshipped as gods.”²⁰

Such a depiction begs the question of whether Philadelphus or any of the Ptolemaic rulers built temples in honor of Egyptian gods and offered them gifts out of a sense of true faith or for a political agenda. Some historians have argued that the Ptolemies honored Egyptian gods because they respected and admired the Egyptian religion and culture, whereas others have argued that the Ptolemies shrewdly manipulated the politics and socio-cultural atmosphere of Egypt to secure their rule. Perhaps it was both. To the Greeks, the Egyptian culture was an ancient civilization that had thrived for centuries and had a rich history; in fact, the ancient historian Diodorus wrote that a “number of those . . . celebrated among the Greeks for intelligence and learning, ventured to Egypt in the olden times, that they might partake of the customs and sample the teaching there.”²¹ Therefore, the Ptolemies and other Greco-Macedonians likely shared this respect for the Egyptian civilization, but respect did not necessarily lead to genuine conversion. Furthermore, the Ptolemaic rulers like any astute politician—past, present, or future—understood the religious and political links in Egyptian society and exploited them to their full advantage. Consequently, the Ptolemaic dynasty lasted longer than any to dynasty founded by the successors of Alexander the Great.

Unlike modern-day temples, ancient Egyptian temples acted as more than a place of worship and sacrifice. The Egyptian temples had economic functions as well; in fact, temples served as “important foci of economic activity.”²² The Ptolemaic kings recognized this economic factor and took full advantage of it to increase the wealth of Egypt. The Ptolemies, while greatly maintaining the current structure, established new officials and policies to dictate the economic administration of the temples. For instance, “the crown appointed an epistates or overseer in each temple and above him was a higher official, the *epistates ton hieron*, who had a complex of temples under his charge,” and these appointees

17. Budge, *Books on Egypt and Chaldaea*, 7:209.

18. Budge, *Books on Egypt and Chaldaea*, 7:186.

19. Budge, *Books on Egypt and Chaldaea*, 7:201.

20. Budge, *Books on Egypt and Chaldaea*, 7:201.

21. Diodorus Siculus, *On Egypt*, trans. Edwin Murphy (London: McFarland & Co., 1985), 125.

22. Lloyd, “The Ptolemaic Period,” 414.

had the responsibility to implement tax policy and collect any state tax; actually, taxes was the temples' largest expense.²³

Under Ptolemaic rule, temples largely "continued to perform their ancient functions" as the Ptolemaic kings recognized the important role the temples played in the geopolitics of Egypt.²⁴ The Ptolemies built many more temples and restored the ancient temples of the pharaohs before them. Over time, these temples and various buildings began to create a visual representation of the blending of the Greek and Egyptian cultures and peoples. The efforts of the Ptolemaic rulers to continue the tradition of the Late Period of Egypt and incorporate Greek's own classical style led to more and more blending "so that works in a rather incongruous mixed style become more and more common."²⁵ Ultimately, the architecture of the Ptolemies has become often identified as simply Egyptian by the layperson.

Ptolemaic Egypt is "a tale of two cultures" being brought together by a Greek dynasty that used ruler-cults, religious cults, and temples as tools to legitimize their rule. As a consequence, the Egyptians became hellenized, and the Greeks became "Egyptianized."²⁶ Truly, the Ptolemaic dynasty represents a remarkable example of how religion was used as a political tool in the ancient world to justify the conquest and domination of a nation.

23. Evans, "A Social and Economic History of an Egyptian Temple in the Greco-Roman Period," 158.

24. Lloyd, "The Ptolemaic Period," 413.

25. Lloyd, "The Ptolemaic Period," 414.

26. Lloyd, "The Ptolemaic Period," 395.

MESOPOTAMIA
&
CANAAN

GUDEA AND THE GODS: INTERSECTING POLICY AND PROPHECY

ANGELA CHAPMAN

The Third Dynasty of Ur (2100–2000 b.c.e.) was a sort of Sumerian renaissance, a time of great social and economic growth. In previous generations, worship at temples, the shrines of the gods, had been paramount among the population.¹ In this era, however, a reallocation of powers occurred. The power of the palace, an edifice reflective of economic and political glory, began to eclipse that of the temple. While the intertwining of religious and political leadership was significant before, this shift interlacing politics and religion gave Ur III political leaders almost monopolistic power. Differentiation between the responsibilities and authority of king figures and religious leaders was blurred, thus creating a central node of political and religious leadership. Gudea of Lagash, a ruler in Ur c. 2100 b.c.e., was both clairvoyant and king, best typifying Ur III's particular node of leadership. His illuminating prophetic record is contained in "the Cylinders of Gudea," which details the religious instructions he received in a dream to build a temple and the political and economic means he utilized to carry out those instructions. In contemporary studies, the cylinders and other Gudean texts have been examined in depth; however, little has been said about the junction of politics and prophecy during his reign. I propose that, his piety aside, Gudea's prophecies forwarded his policy to create a demagogue of a leader. There is evidence in the Cylinders of Gudea that the prophecies contained therein augmented Gudea's political power.

Dreams as Propaganda

Gudea catalyzed the Sumerian renaissance in Ur III. Though his physical reign was limited to the twenty-first century b.c.e., Gudea secured a lasting legacy by claiming divine correspondence. His series of prophetic dreams served to propagate his rule. The very nature of Gudea's dreams are demonstrative of his

1. Henri Limet, "A Brief History of the Third Dynasty of Ur," *Biblical Archaeologist* 50 (1987): 141.

twofold demagogic leadership. A. Leo Oppenheim remarks that while god-sent dreams are customary throughout the entire span of the Mesopotamian civilization and “instructions in such pious dreams are normally given by the deity in clear words, Gudea was informed by means of an enigmatic dream.”² Susan A. Butler classifies this type of dream as symbolic-message: a type of dream chiefly recorded in Mesopotamian epics “where it occurs to heroic recipients, being a motif to propel the action. These literary symbolic-message dreams are always accompanied by their interpretations, which come from other heroic figures or deities.”³ This proves true in the case of Gudea’s dream. After receiving the symbolic message, Gudea asks the goddess Gatumdug to interpret.⁴ Her interpretations, given in a separate dream, accompany Ningirsu’s call to action—or rather, call to construction. I adopt S. A. Butler’s appropriation, describing Gudea’s dream as symbolic message rather than simply “message.” This appropriation, then, entails that Gudea’s prophetic behavior is like that of Mesopotamian epic heroes: deified characters intimately connected with the gods and capable of inspiring demagogic followings.

The nature and content of Gudea’s dreams are revealing. Beyond both of these facets, however, Gudea’s behavior when dialoguing with the gods is particularly interesting. His constant front of piety and humility—whether merely superficial or sincere—is especially notable. A. Leo Oppenheim explains, “The piously assumed naiveté of Gudea . . . is rewarded by the goddess, who . . . interprets to him all the features [of the dream].”⁵ Following her interpretation, Gudea desires a confirming “sign” both for his symbolic-message dream and Gatumdug’s interpretation of it. He maintains his pious attitude in approaching the gods. “After a prayer in which he again stresses his lack of knowledge, Gudea is promised such a ‘sign.’ [Ningirsu] appears . . . promising a sign which will determine unequivocally the very day on which the work should start.”⁶ The privilege of receiving a dream and then a sign illustrate the excessive piety and subtle power of their recipient, signifying the righteousness, faithfulness, and humility of Gudea and the gods’ subsequent pleasure with him.

Divine Association and Politics

These positive correspondences with the gods would have been viewed as causation for prosperity during Gudea’s reign. In the ancient Near East, the

2. A. Leo Oppenheim, “The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East with a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book,” *TAPS* 46 (1956): 211.

3. Sally A. L. Butler, *Mesopotamian Conceptions of Dreams and Dream Rituals*, ed. Manfred Dietrich and Oswald Loretz (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998), 18–9.

4. E. Jan Wilson, *The Cylinders of Gudea*, ed. Manfred Dietrich and Oswald Loretz (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1996), 37–38.

5. Oppenheim, “Interpretation of Dreams,” 211.

6. Oppenheim, “Interpretation of Dreams,” 211.

patron deities of cities rewarded reverence.⁷ Because Gudea was the king of a city-state, his personal deity, Ningiszada, and the deity of his province, Ningirsu, were thought especially important for the welfare of his kingdom. In return for Gudea's piety, those deities caused his affairs to prosper and guaranteed the physical well-being of himself and his people by deflecting the attacks of demons, disease, and sorcery.⁸ Any calls to action were understood as necessary to follow in order to retain prosperity. Lagash prospered most brilliantly under Gudea.⁹ This prosperity was undoubtedly attributed to the blessings of the gods and consequently, the loss of it would be attributed to disobedience to, and resultant alienation from, the gods. As Gudea was associated with the gods, obedience to his orders could be viewed as essential to maintain the favor of the gods. Gudea could very well have used this Mesopotamian more as a motivational tactic, enlarging his ability to motivate workers. Whether Gudea purposefully capitalized on this folkway or not, it undoubtedly contributed to the facility with which he was able to complete Enninu. Even if it was unintentional, Gudea could very well have used this as a motivational tactic, capitalizing on the mores of Mesopotamian civilization.

Other such mores that advanced Gudea's leadership were those associated with his claims of divine association. In the satirical Royal Chronicle of Lagash, Gudea is described as "not the son of either his mother or father," though in this context the statement may be parodying the illogicality of that formulaic assertion.¹⁰ Jean-Jacques Glassner explains this as "a reference to an inscription of this king, as well as an adroit reapplication of an insignificant statement to give to Gudea the appearance of a founding hero, like Gilgamesh or Sargon."¹¹ I think, however, that this statement could be seen as a critique of prevalent Mesopotamian ideology: divine claim of origin. This interpretation is supported by other instances of the parody of kingship in this chronicle. Rather than adopting the title *lugal*, or "king," Gudea was a self-affirmed *ensi*, or "governor" of Lagash. In the Royal Chronicle of Lagash, a parody of the flood, the term *ensi* is ridiculed.¹² Glassner postulates, "only 'governorship' existed, an obvious satire by the author against the titular of the kings of Lagash who, in the mid-third millennium, had used the title 'governor,' *ensi* . . . no doubt to show their devotion to the gods."¹³ A continuation of this theme in the chronicle is feasible, if not expected. Gudea, then, was not wholly popular, like any demagogic leader. However, there is undeniable evidence that Lagash flourished into a Sumerian renaissance under Gudea. He had the time, power, and abilities during his reign to implement

7. Butler, *Mesopotamian Conceptions of Dreams and Dream Rituals*, 89.

8. Butler, *Mesopotamian Conceptions of Dreams and Dream Rituals*, 89.

9. Ira M. Price, "Some Light from Ur Touching Lagash," *JAO* 50 (1930): 155.

10. Jean-Jacques Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, ed. Benjamin R. Foster (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), 149.

11. Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 75.

12. Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 74–75.

13. Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 75.

a large-scale program of temple construction.¹⁴ The question continues though: what was the intersection of policy and prophecy of his reign? Incontestably, his so-called prophecy galvanized the completion of his temples, lending authority and import to his governance. Although Gudea's piety and prophecy should not necessarily be doubted, it cannot be denied that Gudea's power rested (at least in part) on these assumed revelations and that, intentionally or not, they were a crutch for the completion of his many temple projects.

This article is not meant to question the intentions of Gudea but instead examine the overlaps of policy and prophecy in Gudea's reign. Perhaps inadvertently, Gudea's power did rest on these prophecies. Enninu would not have been completed as effectively—or at all—without the aid of the awe and fear-inspiring divine “governorship” of Gudea, which inspired the people in much of the way the heroics of Mesopotamian heroes did. Certainly it can be assumed that Gudea was a well-liked figure, despite the minority voice of dissent in the Royal Chronicle, again, as Lagash “prospered most brilliantly under Gudea.”¹⁵

As religiosity was such a central part of secular leadership in Ur III, prophecy greatly influenced Gudea's rule. The heavenly component of Mesopotamian leadership coalesced with that of the political to create a vision of royal rule in which both leaders and followers recognized that their ability to act in concert with one another was facilitated by the gods' assistance.¹⁶ Launderville continues, “The line between dream and reality and between what was possible and what usually happened was believed to shift when . . . the gods became more directly involved in human affairs. When a king acknowledged the divine source of his royal authority, he increased his sense of the stability of his rule, which in turn allowed him more room for experimentation.”¹⁷ When Gudea claimed divine association, whether through prophetic dreams, godly visitations, or claims of divine origin, he extended the circle of his infallibility. Gudea's piety was insurance against political volatility.

Tradition of Propagandist Literature

While Gudea's literature may have been propaganda, this method of forwarding rule through text was not isolated. Gudea did not live in a vacuum; he propagated the literary customs of preceding governors and rulers. However, he nuanced tradition with his own particularities and in turn influenced the propagandist leaders who followed him. This is evidenced by Sumerian titulary before and after Gudea. William W. Hallo's *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles*, suggests that, “titles form an essential appurtenance of kingship; they are passed from one king to the next and often from one dynasty to the next. . . . When

14. Ira M. Price, “The Topography of the Gudea Inscriptions,” *JAOS* 43 (1923): 41–42.

15. Price, “Touching Lagash,” 155.

16. Launderville, *Piety and Politics*, 51.

17. Launderville, *Piety and Politics*, 51.

a change in the titular occurs, the change appears as a conscious act in that the innovating king replaces an existing title with a new one or with a resurrected old one.¹⁸ Such was the case with Gudea. He was not the first to adopt the title *ensi*. Its use in Lagash is initially connected with Eannatum, a king from the first dynasty of Lagash, who raised *ensi* from its subordinate connotation of governorship to the status of a royal title.¹⁹ A dynasty later, in Gudea's time, this title had fallen out of royal use. It had slumped back into its original subordinate sense and been superseded by *lugal*, or king.²⁰ Gudea resurrected the title. This may have been a hearkening back to the first dynasty of Lagash, when the empire was first established, or an attempt to associate Gudea with the great leader Eannatum. It also may have been adopted, as suggested earlier, to demonstrate piety and humility in leadership. After Gudea employed the title, his son, Ur-Ningirsu, did the same.²¹ Gudea was a successful *ensi*; the title he adopted continued to be used through the second dynasty.

Gudea maintained the general tradition of utilizing texts and divine connections to forward prophecy. Gudea is unique, however, in his various religiously saturated epithets, as well as in the length and, to an extent, content of his texts. His many epithets include compounds of divine names and temples, and he is the only Lagashian leader associated with the epithet "servant, beloved of Gatumdug."²² This is, no doubt, due to Gudea's serving the gods through the construction of the temple Enninu, as recorded in the Cylinders of Gudea.

Cylinder A

Gudea's various prophetic visions present the longest and most detailed known narrative account of Mesopotamian temple building.²³ Comprised of two cylinders, A and B, the Cylinders of Gudea provide the most evidence in this article's examination of the intersection of policy and prophecy during his reign. Cylinder A of Gudea's account contains the events culminating in the construction of a great temple dedicated to the god Ningirsu: Eninnu.²⁴ It begins with a prophetic dream given to Gudea from the god Ningirsu, patron deity of Lagash. Brian E. Colless, in reference to Mesopotamian monarchs' grandiose claims of being divinely fathered and nourished on divine milk, asserts that "their statements were intended more for divine ears than human ears. Thus the plea of King Gudea of Lagash to the goddess Gatumdag, 'I have no mother, you are my mother; I have no father, you are my father,' is an

18. William W. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles*, (AOS 43; ed. Henry M. Hoenigswald; New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1957), 147.

19. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles*, 124.

20. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles*, 124.

21. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles*, 143.

22. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles*, 134, 140, 143.

23. Claudia E. Suter, *Gudea's Temple Building: The Representation of an Early Mesopotamian Ruler in Text and Image* (Groningen: STYX, 2000), 75.

24. Suter, *Gudea's Temple Building*, 75.

impassioned assertion of utter dependence.”²⁵ However, whether or not Gudea’s assertion was intended more for divine than human ears, a passage in Cylinder A clearly outlines the rapport Gudea built with the gods:

When you have fashioned his beloved emblem [. . .]
 (Then) he will receive (even) your most insignificant words as exalted.
 The heart of the lord is broad as heaven,
 (The heart of) Ningursu, the son of Enlil, will be quieted for you,
 He will reveal to you the plans for his temple.²⁶

Not only is Gudea worthy to receive this divine charge, the above passage describes him as being worthy to then communicate with the gods, saying that Ningursu will exalt even Gudea’s most insignificant words. This scribal assertion reflects Gudea’s perceived power. When Gudea’s words and deeds were given deference by the gods, they thereby gained deference from his mere mortal subjects.

Cylinder A details a tax system instituted as a result of Ningursu’s command to build the temple:

The Anunnaki gods of the land of Lagash,
 In the building of the temple of Ningirsu,
 Gudea in prayer and offerings,
 They did accompany. For the faithful shepherd,
 Gudea, in rejoicing It was established.
 At that time, the ensi placed a tax on his country,
 In his country [. . .] In the Gu-edinna of Ningirsu,
 He placed a tax. In his built-up cities where men are established,
 In the Gugishbarra of Nanshe, He placed a tax.
 In ‘The wild bull that rises up (and) has no rival,’
 That holds the white juniper for its king, In the [. . .]
 Of Ningirsu, He let there be a tax, (and) he had his exalted emblem [. . .]
 The [. . .] the emblem of Inanna, he had march ahead,
 (All of this) in order to build the temple of Ningirsu.²⁷

This text makes it quite clear that Gudea taxed his people for the construction of Enninu. It appears that Gudea either taxed places which had not been taxed before or increased taxes already in place, as taxes cannot be established or “placed” in sectors within which they already exist. Because of his prophecy, he was able to garner political and economic support. It is noteworthy that in the first phrase it is written that the Annunaki gods, minor deities in the Sumerian pantheon, accompanied Gudea in prayer and offerings. This divine support would have lent weight to Gudea’s already weighty authority. Gudea’s reputed rapport with the gods magnified his ability to

25. Brian E. Colless, “Divine Education,” *Numen* 17 (1970): 127.

26. Wilson, *The Cylinders of Gudea*, 37–38.

27. Wilson, *The Cylinders of Gudea*, 68–72.

collect money through political mandates. The fact that these increased taxes were necessitated by a temple-building project incited by a prophetic dream evidences the strong intersection of Gudea's prophecy and politics. Furthermore, when establishing and collecting these taxes, Gudea let the emblems of the gods—whatever they happen to be—"march in front." He propped the political, religious, economic pursuit of Enninu with a divine front—with visible evidence of his claim of the gods' command and sponsorship. The very nature of the religious project, a temple, additionally motivated the people. Temples, as places of prophecies, would reinforce political and prophetic power. They were monuments to those who constructed them and also locations which the gods frequented—meeting-places between the spiritual and secular worlds where prophecy most often occurred. Not only did Gudea's prophecy galvanize economic support, it may have led to the willingness of Sumerians to physically contribute as well. E. Jan Wilson, translator of the *Cylinders of Gudea*, suggests, "It is conceivable that Gudea was ordering the formation of labor gangs for the construction of the temple."²⁸ Gudea's pious image and reputed prophecy lent to his political power—enabling him to tax the people of Lagash fiscally and perhaps physically as well.

Throughout Cylinder A, Gudea is described as a shepherd, righteous, often bowing his head, and a great executor—all characteristics coalescing to create a sort of spiritual image, propagating the prophetic nature of this political leader. Gudea's positive correspondences with the gods would have been viewed as causation for prosperity during his reign. In the ancient Near East, the patron deities of cities rewarded reverence.²⁹ In return for Gudea's frequent worship, it was believed that the gods would cause his affairs to prosper and guarantee the physical well-being of himself and his people.³⁰ Divine calls to action were considered necessary to follow in order to retain prosperity. Lagash prospered brilliantly under Gudea.³¹ This prosperity was undoubtedly attributed to the blessings of the gods. Conversely, the loss of it would be attributed to disobedience to, and resultant alienation from, the gods. Because he was prosperous, this mentality enlarged Gudea's ability to motivate support. Whether Gudea purposefully capitalized on this folkway or not, it undoubtedly contributed to the facility with which he was able to complete Enninu. The ideologies of ancient Mesopotamia, coupled with Gudea's prophetic, devout nature, increased the religious power of Gudea—thereby increasing his inseparable political power as well.

Cylinder B

Cylinder B of Gudea's *Cylinders* delineates the inauguration of Enninu, which Gudea conducts with the gods. This divine responsibility further strength-

28. Wilson, *The Cylinders of Gudea*, 81, note.

29. Butler, *Mesopotamian Conceptions of Dreams and Dream Rituals*, 89.

30. Butler, *Mesopotamian Conceptions of Dreams and Dream Rituals*, 89.

31. Price, "Touching Lagash," 155.

ens Gudea's clout. It is apparent in Cylinder B that Gudea's prayers were considered necessary for successful agricultural pursuits: "And the children of the lord Ningirsu, With Gudea's good prayers, They approached the lord Ningirsu so that the great fields might raise their hands And the canals of Lagash Raise their banks."³² Gudea's "good prayers" were thought a necessary component to receiving good weather. This, no doubt, was prompted by Gudea's reports of Ningirsu's prophetic message of acceptance mentioned above. In Cylinder B, this idea of strengthened rapport with the gods is iterated when Gudea cries: "'Oh Ningirsu! I have built your temple! May you enter into it joyously. . . . Make a good dwelling there!'" His cry was heard. The warrior, the lord Ningirsu, accepted the prayers of Gudea."³³ His two-way prophecy was considered to be a major cause of Lagash's success and therefore increased the stability and power of his political reign.

Not only was Gudea receiving revelation from the gods, the prosperity in Lagash and Gudea's reported prophecy proved to the people that the gods received or accepted the prayers of Gudea. The people—the children of the lord Ningirsu—supplemented their prayers with those of Gudea, thereby assuring themselves of success. Whether this was mandated directly by Gudea is questionable. I do believe, however, that Gudea's propaganda of prophecy indirectly established Gudea's prophetic authority, hence strengthening his strong political position.

When Gudea's powerful leadership led to the completion of the temple, Ningirsu said:

You are my ruler who has determined the fate for the temple.
Gudea, son of Ningishzida, may your life be long!
The temple [. . .] Its awesome glory falling upon the country,
(Where) An and Enlil determined the fate of Lagash,
and the heroism of Ningirsu was made known to all the lands.³⁴

This passage indicates that the successful completion of Enninu was imperative to Gudea's political reign: if the gods were pleased with it, they would bless him or his people. If the temple was impressive enough, it would stand as a lasting witness not only of Ningirsu, the god it commemorated, but also of Gudea, the man-god on earth who enabled its construction. The converse was also true. When the temple was completed, Gudea is described as mandating physical submission: "The ruler made (the people) in the city kneel, In the country, he made the people bow."³⁵ Because of his prophecy and religious authority, Gudea was able to compel the people into physical acts of religious submission. His political and prophetic prowess gave him the ability to influence his people into physical kowtowing—into kneeling not only before the gods, but before his power and temple.

32. Wilson, *The Cylinders of Gudea*, 161–62.

33. Wilson, *The Cylinders of Gudea*, 134–35.

34. Wilson, *The Cylinders of Gudea*, 195–96.

35. Wilson, *The Cylinders of Gudea*, 139.

In addition to Gudea's architectural propagation through the temple, the cylinders record the erection of six stelae in various locations bearing epithets like "The king, the hurricane of Enlin, who is without equal (even) the lord Ningirsu, upon Gudea has looked favorably"; "The king at whose name the foreign lands tremble, (even) Gudea—the lord Ningirsu has established his throne"; and "For Gudea, the lord Ningirsu has determined a good fate."³⁶ The names of each of these stelae is fascinating—detailing not only Gudea's self-importance (in spite of his piety or in conjunction with) but also what the people saw to support Gudea's prophetic and political authority. Even those who could not read could imagine and hear Gudea's epithets. Cultural objects portraying ancient rulers were put on display to demonstrate the power of the powerful³⁷—thus increasing ancient leaders' power in this self-contained, self-fueled cycle of demagogic, prophetic policy. This idea continued even through the Neo-Assyrian Empire.³⁸ *The Writing on the Wall*, by John Malcom Russell, conducts a study of Late Assyrian palace inscriptions, remarking that nonliterate and literate subjects alike were impressed by an inscribed surface, for it connoted the vast power and authority of the king who ordered its execution.³⁹

Conclusion

Whether or not Gudea was a genuine prophet, his prophetic characteristics were understood by Lagashians, largely because of his propagandist temple-building account, temple, and stelae. The node of prophecy and policy therefore increased the effectiveness of his rule and the renaissance it instigated. Gudea's piety and supposed divine connection were perhaps props for a popular demagogue, influencing his government, policy, methods, and authority. He constructed many temples, but this in itself is not evidence enough to begin to decide. The real question is whether these temples were constructed out of deference for gods or in quest of a lasting legacy. Most likely, and most humanly, the answer entails elements of both motivations. Gudea could have been sincerely pious while at the same time a bit demagogical. Gudea may have had the best of intentions while at the same time masked these intentions with a pseudoprophecy—pretending a divine connection to gain support. Whatever the case may be, Gudea was certainly affected by the political and prophetic systems of Mesopotamia, and he in turn certainly affected both of these systems.

36. Wilson, *The Cylinders of Gudea*, 104–06.

37. Patrick Maynard, "Portraits as Displays," *Philosophical Studies* 135 (2007): 112.

38. John Malcom Russell, *The Writing on the Wall* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 62.

39. Russell, *The Writing on the Wall*, 62.

EL AND THE BIRTH OF THE GRACIOUS GODS

DANIEL BECERRA

The god El is the patriarch of the Canaanite pantheon. He is the father, creator and ruler of the gods.¹ Some scholars, such as Patrick Miller, have argued that the account of “The Birth of the Gracious Gods,” in which El impregnates two women who in turn give birth to the dawn and dusk, “Shachar and Shalim,” is an illustration of his “gradual decline in the face of Baal’s rise to prominence.”² They perceive the story as being an example of El’s emasculation and a pretext for his eventual replacement by Baal, who was the storm god associated with fertility.³ In the eyes of some, El is portrayed as an impotent old man.⁴ That he eventually took a secondary role to Baal is not my concern, but rather answering the question of whether this specific text illustrates his fall. Instead of comparing and contrasting the portrayals of El and Baal in the whole story, this paper will show that the account of “The Birth of The Gracious Gods” was not evidence of the El’s emasculation but an illustration of El’s virility. I will show this by focusing on two specific aspects of the text, namely fertility ritual motifs and evidences of masculinity.

Fertility Ritual Motifs

The fertility ritual motifs throughout the story are significant in that the women in the account were endeavoring to summon a god (El), who though the creator of the gods, was not specifically linked to the fertility of nature or humankind.⁵ To suplicate a god who was not specialized in the area over which

1. Patrick D. Miller, “El the Warrior,” *Harvard Theological Review* 60 (1967): 411.

2. See Miller, “El the Warrior,” 411–12.

3. See Miller, “El the Warrior,” 411–12.

4. Mark Smith et al., eds., *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (SBL Writings from the Ancient World; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 206.

5. Miller, “El the Warrior,” 418. Miller states, “El was of course the creator or begetter of the gods, but in one instance where we have any description of El involved in the procreation of the gods, he does a very poor job and hardly deserves the title ‘Bull.’ And the fact

a blessing was desired is very inconsistent with ritual worship in antiquity. Gods were almost exclusively petitioned according to their specific stewardship. The ancients had numerous gods in their pantheon, each responsible for a certain aspect of their life and surroundings. Therefore, if El was known or depicted as being deficient in the field of fertility, it would make no sense to call upon him to perform an act outside his specific stewardship, which he was seemingly incapable of accomplishing. Baal, in fact, was the god associated with rain and fertility and would have been the most likely candidate for such a plea.

In the beginning of the story, El has descended from his abode and “strides along the shores of the great deep.”⁶ It appears he was summoned or had come for some specific purpose because he was so far from home. His dwelling place was “at the source of the double river, midst the upspringings of the deeps,”⁷ which were the source of water. But he encounters the two women at the sea-shore, which was seen as the end of the water. The following events ensue in lines 31–36:⁸

Ilu [spies] two females presenting (him with) an offering,
 presenting (him with) an offering from the jar,
 One gets down low, the other up high.
 One cries out: “Father, father,” the other cries: “Mother, mother.”
 “May Ilu’s hand stretch out as long as the sea, (may) Ilu’s hand (stretch out
 as long) as the flowing waters;
 Stretch out, (O) hand of Ilu, (as long) as the sea (stretch out, O) hand of
 Ilu as the flowing waters.”
 Ilu takes the two females presenting an offering, presenting an offering
 from the jar; He takes (them), estab<lish>es (them) in his house.

The first ritualistic aspect to address is the offering presented to Ilu or El. Previously in the story, there is a reference to two individuals with an offering contained in a jar. Pardee states, “the ‘jar’ can only be the jar already introduced in line 15. There we saw youths chanting about spiced milk being prepared ‘over a fire,’ ‘over a jar,’ apparently as an offering.”⁹ In the ancient Near East, milk or other dairy products, were associated with fertility rituals.¹⁰ In some ritual settings, milk was used to “promote fertility in general and sexual potency in particular.”¹¹ This would suggest that the two women perhaps were unable to conceive by normal means and needed divine intervention. Harry A. Hoffner

remains the El in the Ugaritic texts is not a fertility god. Baal is the fertility god.”

6. “The Myth,” trans. Denis Pardee (*COS* 1.87:30–31).

7. “Off He Goes,” trans. Denis Pardee (*COS* 1.86: 4–6).

8. All block quotes are taken from *COS* and translated by Denis Pardee.

9. “The Birth of the Gracious and Beautiful Gods,” trans. Denis Pardee (*COS* 1.86:32, note 45).

10. See Theodor Gaster, “A Canaanite Ritual Drama: The Spring Festival at Ugarit,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 66 (1946): 52, 61–62.

11. Harry A. Hoffner, “Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity: Their Use in Ancient Near Eastern Sympathetic Magic Rituals,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 85 (1966): 328.

wrote, “an impotent man or a barren woman might engage a professional sorcerer to perform upon him a ritual to restore the ability to reproduce.”¹² The milk seems to be part of the means by which the women summoned El to the seashore; it was most likely the prescribed offering required to win his favor to receive the desired blessing.

After presenting the offering, the women do some ritualistic movements or dance, also not out of place in the ritual setting. Denis Pardee suggests, “We may surmise that the women were engaging in the activity with the express purpose of catching a male.”¹³ The vocative titles the women call out, “Father” and “Mother,” are perhaps an allusion to the creative powers of El and his parental role among the gods. Therefore, we thus far see two women engaging in activities typical of a fertility ritual and calling upon the god El for a blessing. It is obvious that the women do not view El as an impotent old man but believe in his procreative capabilities.

What, then, does the text tell us about why El was summoned by the two women? The purpose for which he was called upon by the women was to impregnate them. The consensus among scholars is that the word “hand” is a euphemism for phallus.¹⁴ The women try to entice El to engage in sexual relations first, the request is construed in a jussive form, “May Ilu’s hand stretch out” and the second, an imperative, “Stretch out (O) hand of Ilu.”¹⁵ Furthermore, Gaster notes that “in Semitic idiom, ‘to have a far-reaching hand’ means ‘to be powerful, vigorous,’” which also attests to the masculinity of El.¹⁶ This block of text (found on page 2–3) is also organized somewhat chiastically, flanked by two parallel clauses and with the focus containing the chants of the women, “May Ilu’s hand stretch out . . . Stretch out (O) hand of Ilu.” This structure suggests that, “Stretch thy hand” is the main idea of the ritual which itself attests to the virility of the god El. One might interpret this phrase as a cry for El to accomplish what he is unable to do, but judging from the result it is clear that this is not the case.

In the following lines, El raises up and lowers his staff and rod, which, within the sexual metaphor can be symbolic of life and death and is also consistent with the fertility ritual motif.¹⁷ Finally, El takes the two women and “establishes them into his house.” In ancient Near Eastern culture, the word “house,” or *byt*, can refer to a dwelling habitation or members of a family or dynasty.¹⁸ Therefore, by receiving the two women into his house he makes them his wives. This entrance into his “house” in the literal sense is also significant in that in some Semitic cultures a woman would not become a man’s wife until she

12. Hoffner, “Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity,” 327.

13. “Ilu Handpicks Two Women,” trans. Denis Pardee (*COS* 1.86:33).

14. “Ilu Handpicks Two Women,” 1.86:33–35.

15. “Ilu Handpicks Two Women,” 1.86:33–35, note 48.

16. Gaster, “A Canaanite Ritual Drama,” 53.

17. T. Worden, “The Literary Influence of the Ugaritic Fertility Myth on the Old Testament,” *Vetus Testamentum* 3 (1953): 286.

18. See Gen 7:1; 18:19 and Deut 6:22.

crossed the threshold of his abode. This final act of El taking the two women as his wives and eventually impregnating them seems to be the purpose of the ritual and is somewhat reminiscent of the *hieros gamos* ritual common in early Near Eastern religions.¹⁹

Evidences of El's Masculinity

The next part of the encounter is as follows and comprises lines 37–39:

Ilu (first) lowers his staff, (then) Ilu grasps his rod in his right hand.
He raises (it), casts (it) into the sky, casts (it at) a bird in the sky.
He plucks (the bird), puts (it) on the coals,
(then) Ilu sets about enticing the women.

Hoffner explains in “Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity” that “the masculinity of the ancient was measured by two criteria: his prowess in battle and his ability to sire children.”²⁰ In lines 37–39, El is portrayed as demonstrating his ability to hunt rather than his prowess in battle, but the metaphor is clear. He does this to show the women that he is able to perform the desired task. Pardee argues that this translation also suggests that El used an arrow to shoot down the bird.²¹ This is very significant for a sensible interpretation of the text in that the bow and arrow are symbols for virile manhood and sexual potency.²² Therefore, El here is portrayed as showing the women his capability as a man in terms which were common to them and that they would have very easily understood. He demonstrated that he was very much able to do anything and everything a man should be able to do. Also, rather than showing El's impotence, the author continues with the phallic imagery, alluding to the fact that El is capable of lowering and raising his staff and rod at will.

Within this sexual metaphor, his shooting down of the bird represents his ability to impregnate the women. In Pardee's words, “Ilu's shooting apparatus is in working order.”²³ Likewise, in Ugaritic literature El's nickname is “The Bull,” which was a symbol for fertility and strength.²⁴ The two women reply to this display of manliness by saying, “O man, man, you who prepare your staff, who grasp you rod in you right hand, you roast a bird on the fire, roast (it) on the coals. (Then) the two women (become) the wives of Ilu.”²⁵ Judging from their reactions, it is obvious that they are impressed.

19. Gaster, “A Canaanite Ritual Drama,” 73. Some examples include the festival of the goddess Bau and the marriage between the god Horus and the goddess Hathor.

20. Hoffner, “Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity,” 327.

21. “Ilu Tries His Hand at Shooting Birds,” 1.87:37, note 51.

22. Hoffner, “Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity,” 329.

23. “Ilu Tries His Hand at Shooting Birds,” 1.87:37, note 51.

24. Mark Smith, “Ugaritic Studies and Israelite Religion: A Retrospective View,” *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65 (2002): 21; see also Miller, “El the Warrior,” 423.

25. “Ilu Comes Up with a Handy Test to the Women's Maturity,” trans. Denis Pardee (*COS* 1.87:46–8).

The last line reads that “Ilu sets about enticing the women.” The word here translated as “entice” comes from the root *pt(y)*²⁶ and is cognate with the Hebrew *pth*,²⁷ which can mean “seduce.”²⁸ In light of the latter word usage, it can be said that El’s desire in showing off his skill was to persuade the women that he has sufficient sexual abilities. If this is not the case, the word rendered as “entice,” which has a milder connotation, portrays El as demonstrating his ability to perform that which they have summoned him to do. This is more likely, for El did not summon the women in an effort to seduce them, but rather came to their call and in essence showed that he was the man fit for the job.

The last section before conception reads:

“If,” (says he,) “The two women cry out:

‘O man, man, you who prepare your staff, who grasp your rod in your right hand, You roast a bird on the fire, roast (it) on the coals,’

(then) the two women (will become) the wives of Ilu,

Ilu’s wives forever.

But if the two women cry out:

‘O father, father, you who prepare your staff, who grasp your rod in your right hand, You roast a bird on the fire, roast (it) on the coals,’

(Then) the two daughters (will become) the daughters of Ilu,

Ilu’s daughters forever.”

The two women do (in fact) cry out:

“O man, man, you who prepare your staff, who grasp you rod in you right hand, you roast a bird on the bird on the fire, roast (it) on the coals.’

(Then) the two women (become) the wives [of Ilu]

Ilu’s wives forever.

Here it appears that there are two different relationships the women might have with El. He gives them the choice of being daughters or wives. Perhaps presenting the women with these two options is El’s way of making sure why it is exactly he was called there. It has already been established that the events and imagery are not uncommon with fertility rituals and that such rituals could have been performed for personal or agricultural blessing. The women have already acknowledged El’s powers of procreation and fertility; therefore, it is possible that this is his way of asking whether they would have his powers utilized in a different setting (perhaps that of ensuring a bountiful harvest), or in a more personal manner (his fathering their children). Hoffner states, “One of the principle tasks which the Near Easterner entrusted to his religion was securing the favor of the gods, so that they would either grant fertility or sustain it.”²⁹ El gives the two women the option of remaining in the father-daughter relationship and perhaps answering their prayer in a harvest setting, or

26. Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1947), 144.

27. “Ilu Comes Up with a Handy Test to the Women’s Maturity,” 1.87:39, note 52.

28. See “*pth*,” in Brown, F., S. Driver, and C. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 834.

29. Hoffner, “Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity,” 326.

becoming his wives and bearing children. They choose the latter, further indicating their faith in El's abilities. The conclusion of the story has El kissing the two women's lips and embracing them. The text states, "When he embraces there is pregnancy."³⁰ They then give birth to the dawn and the dusk.

Conclusion

The argument that the god El was an old man who was hardly capable of performing sexually does not seem relevant when taken in light of the texts. The story of "The Birth of the Gracious Gods" has two women summoning El to a place far from his home in the context of a fertility ritual that was performed with the intent that the two might bear offspring. Because Baal, and not El, is the god traditionally associated with fertility, and considering some scholar's perception of El, this passage must be given more attention to be fully understood. Rather than an impotent old man, El is portrayed as strong and sexually capable god. He demonstrates his masculinity by his hunting prowess and skill with a bow and entices or "seduces" the women to the point where they choose to be his wives. The author uses primarily phallic sexual imagery to paint the picture of a god who is in full control and willing to grant the two women their desire. He is acknowledged to be a father figure and a spouse. Through the use of fertility ritual motifs, sexual imagery, and symbols of masculinity, the god El was very much in his prime and able to carry out all the functions that were required of him.

30. "The Birth of Sahru-wa-Salimu," trans. Denis Pardee (*COS* 1.87:50).

CLASSICAL CIVILIZATIONS

EXEMPLA AUGUSTO :
ALLUSIONS AND WARNINGS IN *AB URBE CONDITA*, I

DUSTIN SIMMONS

Any author who wrote during the time of Augustus has been scrutinized under the scholarly microscope to better understand the author's motives and political leanings and how these may have influenced his writing. Titus Livius, more commonly known as Livy, is no exception. On the contrary, because so little is known about him, the speculation has only increased. The scholarly discussion has questioned how Livy fit into the greater scheme of the Augustan program and if he was merely an Augustan apologist and propagandist.¹ While not under the patronage of Maecenas like the epic poet Vergil, Livy was nevertheless acquainted with Augustus,² and questions arise about his objectivity and intentions. Livy likely had much to gain from the recently won peace and prosperity. He had a positive, supportive view and understanding of what Augustus was trying to accomplish but was wary of this newfound power, especially since it was in the hands of one man.³ By including stories from the period of Rome's early kings that can be understood as alluding to Augustus, and subtle warnings about the misdeeds of the last king and his son, Livy implicitly demonstrated his guarded support for the Augustan regime.

Titus Livius, a Hidden Historian

Not much is known about Livy (59 B.C.E.–17 c.e.). There is no evidence that he lived any kind of public life—in the Roman sense of participating in politics and the military—and this is one reason why there is so little

1. Ronald Syme, *Roman Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), 319; although Syme later softened his view ("Livy and Augustus," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 64 [1959]: 28; see also Hans Petersen, "Livy and Augustus," *American Philological Association* 92 [1961]: 440).

2. Tacitus, *Annals* 4.34.3; Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 280.

3. Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 464.

information available about him. None of his contemporaries seem to have written about him, and he gives very little autobiographical information. He was raised in the northern Italian city of Patavium (the modern university town Padova), and only later came to Rome. He seems to have made a conscious decision to avoid the political upheavals of the time and instead focus on study and books, gathering sources and materials for his future endeavor.⁴ Patavium was known for its Republican leanings during the civil wars that raged during the first century b.c.e.⁵ Since Livy grew to maturity during the great conflicts between Julius Caesar's assassins, Octavian and Antony, the consequences of unbridled ambition and the ravages of war left a deep impression on the blossoming historian. Consequently he appreciated the peace and tranquility finally established by Caesar's heir. But at the same time he was wary of the newfound and increasing power of the young Octavian, soon to be Augustus.

Ab Urbe Condita

Livy's masterpiece, *Ab Urbe Condita*, survives in thirty-five books, which makes it the most substantial single piece of literature to survive from Classical Rome.⁶ However, when one realizes the tremendous size of Livy's history—142 books—it is easy to understand the poet Martial's dismay that his library was not large enough to hold the work.⁷ It has been proposed that to compose a work of similar magnitude today would require composing roughly a 300-page book every year for forty years!⁸

For the purpose of this paper, it will not be necessary to discuss the date of composition for any books other than the first. From internal evidence it is clear that Livy composed book 1 sometime between 27 and 25 b.c.e. In 1.19.3 Livy mentions, "Bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit . . . iterum, quod nostrae aetati di dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parata." Because Livy calls Octavian (which was still his name at the Battle of Actium) by the name "Augustus," which he adopted January 16 27 b.c.e., the *terminus ante quem* for book 1 would be this important date.⁹ This same passage, making reference to the closing of the temple of Janus, allows us to posit a *terminus post quem* for book 1. Livy mentions that the temple

4. Stephen Usher, *The Historians of Greece and Rome* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 166.

5. Usher, *Historians of Greece and Rome*, 165–66.

6. Ronald Mellor, *The Roman Historians* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 48.

7. Martial, *Epigrams* 14.190.

8. Usher, *Historians of Greece and Rome*, 166.

9. Although Syme mentions that this specific use of "Augustus" could have been added at a later time ("Livy and Augustus," 43), he uses this argument as an illustration of how Livy is merely an Augustan propagandist. He does not reconcile this with the fact that Augustus closed the temple of Janus on three separate occasions. If such was the case, a careful historian like Livy would undoubtedly have mentioned the other closures.

has been closed on only two occasions, once under Titus Manlius, and again under “Caesar Augustus.” Since Augustus closed the doors to the temple on three separate occasions, first in 25 b.c.e. and twice again after the completion of the Spanish campaigns, book 1 could not have been composed later than 25 b.c.e. since only the first closure is recorded. Since Livy would have composed the first of his 142 book history at this time, when Augustus was looking for ways to connect himself with the great Romans—specifically the founding figure of Romulus—many of the allusions Livy used can be understood not only as promoting Augustus and his new government, but also indicating to Augustus to proceed with caution so as not to have a similar fate as the early kings.

After Actium there was a sense of anxiety and apprehension, as has been understood by Livy’s preface, “donec ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus.” Syme believes this melancholy statement is a result of the apprehension that existed throughout the empire, but in Rome especially, because although Octavian had triumphed over his enemies at Actium, the empire was not yet entirely secure and even if the war was concluded, there were certainly questions yet to be answered.¹⁰ Would the returning Octavian begin a new round of proscriptions? Would he simply seize total control of the government? Would he really restore the Republic? Would he bring back those times that remained only in memory, when Romans were truly Romans, and Virtus and Romanitas still meant something? The empire that Augustus was to build would be built upon tradition, and Augustus did not miss any opportunity to exploit any connections with antiquity.

Romulus

During the first years of the Principate, there seems to have been a tangible undercurrent, of which Livy and others were aware, that sought to connect Augustus and his regime with the original fathers of Rome and those who had laid the foundations for her future greatness. Augustus even wished to be viewed as a second Romulus and took many steps to ensure that the connection was made.¹¹ Livy records the story that when Romulus and Remus took up their respective places for conducting their auguries—Romulus on the Palatine, Remus the Aventine—Remus was the first to view a heavenly sign of six vultures, but Romulus immediately saw double the number and was thus declared the founder of the new city (1.6.6–1.7.2). Likewise when Octavian performed his first augury as consul in 43 b.c.e. he is reported to have seen twelve vultures, a fact he proudly displayed on the pediment of the temple of Quirinius.¹² That Suetonius records the appearance of these twelve

10. Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 42. Syme and others have mentioned the supposed marriage law that was attempted in 28 b.c.e. in order to identify the remedia, but the only mention of anything remotely related is found in Propertius alone and is inconclusive.

11. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 7.

12. Kenneth Scott, “The Identification of Augustus with Romulus-Quirinus,”

most auspicious birds, "as they had appeared to Romulus"¹³ illustrates it was understood even at a later date that there was some sort of connection between Augustus and Rome's great founder.

Livy also mentions that Romulus obtained sole power through force and violence (1.7.3), that Rome had been strengthened by the dual attributes of war and peace, and that the power of Rome and ensuing peace was due solely to Romulus' powerful personality and charisma (1.15.6–7). The ruthlessness of Octavian was well known, as evidenced in accounts from ancient historians. After the fall of Perusia when prisoners petitioned for their lives and attempted to explain their presence in the city, he coldly told each one: "You must die!" Although he kept 300 prisoners as a human sacrifice to his deified father on the Ides of March.¹⁴ Whether this story is exaggerated by Suetonius, as was probably the case, is immaterial it suggests the brutality of which Octavian was capable. His willingness to use force and his powerful personal charisma are likewise recorded in accounts preserved respectively by Dio (46.43) and Velleius Paterculus (2.80.3). Dio recounts how some of Octavian's soldiers, after the siege of Perusia, went to the Senate to request that Octavian be granted the consulship. When rebuffed, one of the soldiers produced his sword and insisted, "If you do not grant the consulship to Caesar, this shall grant it." According to Paterculus, after the defeat of Sextus Pompey in Sicily, Octavian marched into Lepidus' military camp with "nothing but his name" and persuaded the soldiers to abandon their commander and join his cause. Nothing would stand in the way of Octavian's vengeance on his adopted father's killers and supreme power in the Roman state.

Once Octavian, now Augustus, had obtained this power, he was quick to change his tactics and show the people the benefits that would undoubtedly come under his rule. Augustus reportedly exclaimed, "I found Rome built of bricks; I leave her clothed in marble."¹⁵ This proclivity for building was something Augustus shared with Romulus. Both leaders built many temples, but one in particular provided a special connection between the two. Romulus built the temple of Jupiter Feretrius after he slew the prince of Caenina (1.10) and it was later rebuilt by Octavian.¹⁶ Both Romulus and Augustus built temples that they had vowed during times of personal or national crises. Romulus built the temple of Jupiter Stator in gratitude for his help in turning the tide of battle against the Sabines (1.12), and likewise Augustus built the temple of Mars the Avenger in fulfillment of his vow during the campaign against Caesar's assassins at Philippi.¹⁷

Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 56 (1925): 93. Quirinus was the deified Romulus.

13. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 95.

14. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 15.

15. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 28.

16. Nepos, *Atticus* 20.3 (in Syme, "Livy and Augustus").

17. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 29.

The first founder of Rome had done great things: he had conquered many enemies and beautified Rome with marvelous buildings. The second founder of Rome, as Augustus may have viewed himself, followed in those popular footsteps. Livy appears to be more than willing to illustrate the connection between Rome's two great founders, but he also provides a somber warning to the would-be Romulus. When he recounts the famous story of Romulus' being taken to heaven in a cloud, he also relates a more sinister variation: Romulus had been ripped apart by the Senators, who felt that Romulus was gaining too much power (1.16). Livy may have been subtly warning Augustus of the dangers inherent in monarchical rule.

Numa Pompilius

Though Romulus was viewed as the founder of Rome, he had a reputation for violence and warfare, and after Actium, the soon-to-be Augustus was eager to place the bloodier aspects of his past behind him. Establishing a conscious connection with Numa Pompilius, the great father of Roman religion, would allow for that. Speaking of the religious founding of Rome by Numa, Livy says, "qui regno ita potitus urbem novam conditam vi et armis, iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat" (1.19.1). This concept of a religious founding was something that Augustus was willing and desirous to fully embrace. The Roman people were tired of war. There had been wars between competing Romans since the days of Marius and Sulla, and many religious institutions, like the calendar, had been neglected during the seemingly endless conflicts. Although his famous (or infamous) moral legislation would not be officially introduced for some years, the similarities between the Sabine king Numa and the young-man-turned-Princeps are clear even before the moral reforms.

Foremost is the explicit mention of Augustus by Livy during the reign of Numa. While discussing the temple of Janus, which had just been completed by the new king, Livy mentions that the doors to the temple, which were only shut when there was peace throughout the Roman world, had only been closed twice: once under Titus Manlius and again under Caesar Augustus (1.19.3). Indeed, this is one of only three explicit references to Augustus in the extant works of Livy,¹⁸ and by mentioning Augustus by name Livy leaves no doubt about the religious connection he wished to make between the two rulers. Not only does this reference tie Augustus to the religious significance of the temple of Janus, but also connects him to Numa and the peace enjoyed under his reign, a peace which also existed during the time of Augustus, which Augustus was quick to mention and memorialize.¹⁹

All the connections that Livy makes between Numa and Augustus are on religious grounds. Livy recounts that Numa established various priesthoods, most particularly the Vestals and Salii (1.20). Augustus was interested

18. The other two are at 4.20 and 28.12.9.

19. The *Ara Pacis* is the best known example.

in the Vestals, evidenced by his commitment that if any of his daughters or granddaughters had been of the appropriate age, he would have nominated them for service.²⁰ Augustus likewise seems to be particularly proud that his name was inserted into the Salian Hymn.²¹ Both Numa and Augustus supervised the state priesthoods. Augustus later became *pontifex maximus* after the death of Lepidus, and although this title is not attested at the time of Numa, it is probable that in the archaic days of Rome many of the responsibilities of the *pontifex maximus* had their founding. Likewise the establishment of the calendar, which was a religious undertaking under Numa (1.19.6–7), is mirrored by the adjustments made by Augustus, in which he renamed the month Sextilis, as August.²²

Servius

The reign of Servius Tullius was filled with many developments, but Livy places special emphasis on the census that was conducted during his reign (1.43–44), even mentioning that it was his most important task.²³ Livy is very thorough in his description of the various centuries and their respective requirements. This may have been because Augustus conducted three censuses, the first in 28 b.c.e., immediately before Livy composed his first book²⁴ and thus having an immediate effect on the historian personally. The detail with which Livy records Servius' census illustrates that he was very interested in this concept of grouping citizens and assigning them responsibilities based on their wealth. For Augustus's first census, he changed the requirements for inclusion in the Senate, and later used language similar to Livy's in describing the religious aspect of his own census, possibly following the precedent set by Servius: "quo lustrum civium Romanorum."²⁵ As a consequence of the realization that the population was becoming cramped within the walls, Servius extended the pomerium of the city (1.44), bringing two more hills, the Quirinal and Viminal, within the boundaries of Rome. The territorial expansion of the Roman Empire under Augustus may also be considered an extending of the empire's pomerium, for during his reign Augustus not only annexed Egypt as a kind of personal province, he also pushed the frontiers further out, conquering the Dacians and extending Roman authority to the Danube.²⁶ The Roman presence was felt in ever-distant places, with Augustus sending expeditions into Ethiopia and Arabia Felix.²⁷

20. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 31.

21. Augustus, *Res Gestae* 10.1.

22. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 31. This was the month when he first obtained the consulship. He may also have been proposing some kind of succession idea, since the previous month was now July, after Julius Caesar.

23. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 1.42.4–5.

24. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 40; Augustus, *Res Gestae* 8.

25. Augustus, *Res Gestae* 8.

26. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 20–21.

27. Augustus, *Res Gestae* 27.

Tarquinius Superbus and Sextus Tarquinius

With the accession of Tarquinius Superbus to the Roman throne, the positive allusions to Augustus cease and are replaced with subtle warnings. Livy demonstrates through Tarquinius and his son Sextus how tyrants rule and the effect and ultimate end of that kind of rule. The portrayal of Tarquinius and his son Sextus in the narrative invites the question of whether Livy was hinting at some sort of vague allusion to Julius Caesar and his adopted son Augustus. Both Tarquinius and Sextus did horrible, inexcusable things in Livy's account, but it was the younger, more rash Sextus who ultimately destroyed the monarchy. It may be possible to view Sextus as a foil for Augustus, who has snuffed out the final flickering flame of the Republic.

One of the first acts of Tarquinius was to reduce the number of senators and begin to judge cases by himself and even secretly (1.49.4–7). The later emperors were to be the ones who perfected this style of governance, but Augustus reduced the number of senators in the early part of his reign.²⁸ Although this move was taken ostensibly to remove the more unsavory senators from an office of which they were unworthy, it may have appeared to be a political action that shifted the power base in favor of Augustus.

Much of Livy's narrative during Tarquinius' reign focuses on his son Sextus, which is interesting if one considers succession and family dynamics in regard to both the original and new rulers. When Sextus was sent to Gabii, he confiscated land and money (1.54) to enrich himself and enhance the power and prestige of his friends and supporters. One cannot help but think of the proscriptions that took place under the Second Triumvirate, which served to finance the continuing wars and personal feuds between members of Rome's social elite, in which then-Octavian played a significant role. "For Antonius there was some palliation, at least—when consul he had been harried by faction and treason, when proconsul outlawed. For Octavian there was none, and no merit beyond his name: 'puer qui omnia nomini debes,' as Antonius had said, and many another. That splendid name was now dishonoured. Caesar's heir was no longer a rash youth but a chill and mature terrorist."²⁹ Sextus likewise won many supporters by giving large donations, no doubt financed by his recent "acquisitions" (1.54.10). While still attempting to solidify his power base, Octavian paid extravagant sums to his supporters (especially his legionnaires), and many supporters found themselves with newfound wealth and prestige. Augustus himself records all the various donatives he gave to soldier and citizen alike, in the form of cash, doles, or games. Augustus' generosity did not stop once he came to power, and he continued to give gifts of largesse in many forms throughout his reign.³⁰

28. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 35; Augustus, *Res Gestae* 8.1.

29. Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 191.

30. Tacitus, *Annals* 1.2; Augustus, *Res Gestae* 15.

Plausible Connections and Conclusions

It seems obvious that Livy was drawing positive allusions by utilizing appropriate stories from the lives of the early Roman kings. There are too many parallels to Livy's own time and circumstances for these connections to be merely coincidental.³¹ But after making numerous allusions to kings that the Romans would have viewed in a positive light, Livy spends a good portion of his narrative at the close of the first book discussing a powerful father and son who were universally hated by Romans anciently and in Livy's own time and were understood to be examples of tyranny and corruption.

Livy undoubtedly agreed with the underlying and guiding principles espoused during his time and was excited to usher in the new era of peace and prosperity. He was also keenly aware of the underlying theme of re-birth and refounding that Augustus and his supporters wanted to portray. But as a careful student of history, he was also cautious of the dangers inherent in having one man hold so much power, and the examples of Tarquinius and Sextus only intensified that sense of worry. Monarchical Rome had Tarquinius and Sextus, and now Republican Rome had witnessed Julius Caesar and his heir. Would Augustus be another Sextus? Livy may have included these negative allusions as a warning to Augustus of the limits of his power. The Roman people had rid themselves of a tyrant once, and they would do it again if their hand was forced.

31. Petersen, "Livy and Augustus," 444.

SCANDAL AT SKYROS: THE DELIAN LEAGUE, PLUTARCH, AND THE MALIGNING OF THE DOLOPIANS

CHRISTOPHER J. DAWE

In 475 b.c.e. Kimon, the *strategos* of the Athenian led Delian League, took control of the small island of Skyros. Ostensibly, this was done under the jurisdiction of the Delian League and, as the widely accepted story goes, the action was to rid the island of an infestation of pirates. While a number of surviving ancient sources detail Kimon's conquest of the island, only Plutarch, writing more than half a millennium after the event, mentions piracy. Though modern scholarship has largely taken Plutarch at face value,¹ the lack of agreement of the sources ought to raise an eyebrow. As will be shown, Plutarch is the only reason that modern scholarship sees Skyros as a bastion of piracy.

Plutarch's *Life of Kimon*

Though not the earliest mention of Kimon's conquest of Skyros, Plutarch's *Lives* does provide the most detailed extant account. As it is relatively brief, it is worth quoting in its entirety.

They settled Scyros too, which Cimon seized for the following reason. Dolopians were living on the island, but they were poor tillers of the soil. So they practiced piracy on the high sea from of old, and finally did not withhold their hands even from those who put into their ports and had dealings with them, but robbed some Thessalian merchants who had cast anchor at Ctesium, and threw them into prison. When these men had escaped from bondage and won their suit against the city at the Amphictyonic assembly, the people of Scyros were not willing to make restitution, but called on those who actually held the plunder to give it back. The robbers, in terror, sent a letter to Cimon, urging him to come with his fleet to seize the city, and they

1. Michael Grant, for instance, claims that Skyros was "notorious for its pirates" until "Cimon conquered and enslaved its inhabitants" (*A Guide to the Ancient World: A Dictionary of Classical Place Names* [New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1997], 569). Russell Meiggs agrees, writing, "The Athenians drove out the pirates" (*The Athenian Empire* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972], 69).

would give it up to him. In this manner Cimon got possession of the island, drove out the Dolopians and made the Aegean a free sea. On learning that the ancient Theseus, son of Aegeus, had fled in exile from Athens to Skyros, but had been treacherously put to death there, through fear, by Lycomedes the king, Cimon eagerly sought to discover his grave. For the Athenians had once received an oracle bidding them bring back the bones of Theseus to the city and honor him as became a hero,² but they knew not where he lay buried, since the Scyrians would not admit the truth of the story, nor permit any search to be made. Now, however, Cimon set to work with great ardour, discovered at last the hallowed spot, had the bones bestowed in his own trireme, and with general pomp and show brought them back to the hero's own country after an absence of about four hundred years. This was the chief reason why the people took kindly to him.³

Three other sources (listed in chronological order), Thucydides, Diodorus, and Pausanias, cover the Skyrian invasion. Not one mentions piracy. In fact, there is not a single source before Plutarch that links the Dolopians with piracy. Thucydides account is telling in its brevity; "Next they [the Athenians] enslaved Skyros the island in the Aegean, containing a Dolopian population, and colonized it themselves."⁴

As Thucydides was, to some extent, a contemporary of Kimon,⁵ and Plutarch lived centuries later, this casts some question on the idea of Dolopian pillagers. If the Dolopians were as "notorious" as now believed, it is quite odd that Thucydides left out any reference to it. Unfortunately, Thucydides does not provide an alternative reason for Kimon's rationale for seizing the island. This, however, is quite possibly because the ancient historian expected the location of his passage on Skyros to speak for itself.

Thucydides situates the conquest of Skyros within a larger narrative describing the aggressive nature of Athens' and the Delian League. Thucydides records the following:

Following the destruction of Skyros, Kimon moved onto Naxos and, waged war upon the Naxians, who had revolted, and reduced them by siege. And this was the first allied city to be enslaved in violation of the established rule; but afterwards the others also were enslaved as it happened in each case.⁶

2. More time will be spent on the odd story of the "bones of Theseus." The story is attested to in a number of accounts but modern scholars have seen it as problematic due to its mythological nature and its similarities to a story in Herodotus in which the Spartans are commanded by the Oracle at Delphi to locate and recover the bones of Orestes (A. J. Podlecki, "Cimon, Skyros and Theseus' Bones," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 91 [1971]: 141–43).

3. Plutarch, *Life of Cimon* 8.3–7.

4. Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.98.2.

5. Kimon lived from 510–450 b.c.e. and the historian lived from 460–395 b.c.e.

6. Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.98.4.

As Thucydides continues, it is obvious that the Naxians were not the only people to fall victim to an increasingly militant Athens. In describing the Athenian reaction to dissent, the historian wrote:

Now while there were other causes of revolts, the principal ones were the failures in bringing in the tribute or the quota of ships and in some cases, refusal of military service; for the Athenians exacted the tribute strictly and gave offense by applying coercive measures to any who were unaccustomed or unwilling to bear the hardships of service. And in some other respects the Athenians were no longer equally agreeable as leaders; they would not take part in expeditions on terms of equality, and they found it easy to reduce those who revolted.⁷

Diodorus, likewise, makes no reference to piracy, stating that Kimon “captured by siege Scyros, which was inhabited by . . . Dolopes; and setting up an Athenian as the founder of a colony he portioned out the land in allotments.”⁸ Once again, it is the Athenians who can be seen in a piratical nature—their conquests are being portrayed as militant expansion, seizure of land, and colonization, not of League members, but of Athenians. These actions were backed by fearful allies. Meiggs’s contention that the allies “are not likely to have protested, for the suppression of piracy would have been popular in the Aegean”⁹ does not take into account what happened to allies who did protest or resist: loss of autonomy, lands, and for some, freedom.

The final source detailing the Skyrian expedition was Pausanias, who also makes no reference to piracy. The focus of the invasion, in his account, was the recovery of Theseus: “Cimon, son of Miltiades, ravaged Scyros, thus avenging Theseus’ death, and carried his bones to Athens.”¹⁰

If the Dolopians were not practicing piracy, and aside from Plutarch, there is no evidence that they were, two questions arise. First, why did Kimon seize Scyros? Second, why did Plutarch describe the Dolopians as pirates?

The first question is readily answered. By conquering Scyros, Kimon accomplished three objectives. First, he decreased Persian influence by removing a Medizing people from the Aegean.¹¹ Second, he helped to expand the influence of Athens. Third, he added to his own political capital by fulfilling the edict of the Delphian oracle and returning the lost “bones of Theseus” to Athens. To discuss the first and second points, a brief description of the Athenian-dominated Delian League is necessary.

7. Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.99.1.

8. Diodorus, *Historical Library* 11.60.2.

9. Meiggs, *Athenian Empire*, 69.

10. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.17.6.

11. According to Herodotus, the Dolopians, amongst others, “paid tribute” to Xerxes. Against those favorably disposed to Persia, the Greeks, “entered into a sworn agreement, which was this: that if they should be victorious they would dedicate to the god of Delphi a tithe of the possessions of all Greeks who had of free will surrendered themselves to the Persians” (Herodotus, *Histories* 7.132.2–4).

The Persian Dispersion and Subsequent Delian League

Following the failed Persian invasion of Xerxes 1 in 488 b.c.e. Greek troops, under the command of the Spartan Pausanias crossed the Hellespont with the goal of liberating Ionian *poleis* in Asia Minor.¹² Two victories, one at Mycale and the other at Plataea, assured a complete Greek victory, and the question of how to proceed was discussed.¹³ The Spartans proposed to evacuate the entire Greek population from Asia Minor back to the Greek mainland. Athens staunchly maintained the need for these colonies. The end result involved the colonies staying put, the Spartans returning to their city and the formation of the Delian League—a collection of *poleis* in or around the Aegean.¹⁴

The initial actions of the League (largely what may be termed “police actions”¹⁵ and attacks against Persia) were considered beneficial for all members. Athens, however, was slowly turning the League, created solely for defense against the Persians, into a militant arm of Athenian expansion. In beginning the section of his history that discusses Skyros, Thucydides describes how Athens wielded the military arm of the Delian League:

Exercising then what was at first a leadership over allies, . . . the Athenians, in the interval between this war and the Persian, undertook, both in war and in the administration of public affairs, the enterprise now to be related which were directed against the Barbarian, against their own allies when they attempted revolution, and as such of the Peloponnesians as from time to time came into conflict with them in the course of each attempt.¹⁶

Kimón and the Beginning of Empire

Kimón was given command of the Delian fleet and launched a campaign to remove all Persian influence in the Aegean. His fleet’s first stop was Eion, occupied by the Persians. According to Plutarch:

Cimon, now that the allies had attached themselves to him, took command of them and sailed to Thrace, for he heard that men of rank among the Persians and kinsmen of the King held possession of Eion, a city on the banks of the Strymon, and were harassing the Hellenes in that vicinity. First he defeated the Persians themselves in battle and shut them up in the city; then he expelled from their homes above the Strymon the Thracians from whom the Persians had been getting provisions, put the whole country

12. This being Pausanias the general as opposed to the earlier quoted Pausanias the geographer (William Watkiss Lloyd, *The Age of Pericles: A History of the Politics and Arts of Greece from the Persian to the Peloponnesian War* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1875), 100).

13. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire*, 41.

14. John B. Bury, et al., ed., *The Cambridge Ancient History: The Fifth Century B.C.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 34.

15. Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.97.1–2.

16. Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.96.1–2.

under guard, and brought the besieged to such straits that Butes, the King's general, gave up the struggle.¹⁷

After eliminating the population, Kimon then initiated a drastically new policy—Athenian colonization.

And so it was that though Cimon took the city, he gained no other memorable advantage thereby,¹⁸ since most of its treasures had been burned up with the Barbarians; but the surrounding territory was very fertile and fair, and this he turned over to the Athenians for occupation.¹⁹

Two important points must be noted. The Delian League was actively conquering foreign holdings and the subjugated territory was not being handed over to the League—it was going straight to Athens. A. French notes that this was part of an overall Athenian strategy aimed not so much at restricting the Persians to the north of the Hellespont as financial gain.²⁰

Athens was not alone in benefiting from Kimon's militancy—his military offensive was the beginning of his rise to the summit of Athenian politics.²¹ The conquest of Skyros would add significantly to Kimon's résumé. It was at Skyros that Kimon located the bones of the legendary Theseus and "made political capital out of bringing back his bones from Scyros, burying them in the heart of the city [Athens] and formally establishing his cult."²²

The Bones of Theseus

Theseus, son of Poseidon²³ (or possibly Aegeus, king of Athens),²⁴ was credited by ancient authors with the unification of various Attic tribes into Athens. After falling from favor with Athens, Theseus fled to Skyros, where he was

17. Plutarch, *Life of Cimon* 7.1–2.

18. Butes, the Persian general in charge of Eion, burned the city, destroyed the treasury and committed suicide before Kimon could take the city (Plutarch, *Life of Cimon* 7.2).

19. Plutarch, *Life of Cimon* 7.3.

20. Desirable objectives were to protect and divert supplies, to commandeer money and treasure, and to seize land for colonists. The leadership of the alliance was of immediate value because it apparently enabled the Athenians practically to decide where and how the allied fleet would be deployed, and how the spoils were to be divided. Athens' losses in the war had been severe, but her post-war economic recovery was startling; it was her use of the allied fleet which enabled her to recoup what she had lost (A. French, "Athenian Ambitions and the Delian Alliance," *Phoenix* 33.2 [Summer 1979]: 140).

21. N. G. L. Hammond, "Strategia and Hegemonia in Fifth-Century Athens," *Classical Quarterly*, New Series 19.1 (May 1969): 111–44.

22. Walter R. Agard, "Theseus: A National Hero," *Classical Journal* 24.2 (November 1928): 6.

23. Sophie Mills, *Theseus, Tragedy, and the Athenian Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 163.

24. Mills, *Theseus, Tragedy, and the Athenian Empire*, 5.

betrayed by Lycomedes and unceremoniously pushed off a cliff. Later we read: [While] the Athenians were consulting the oracle at Delphi, they were told by the Pythian priestess to take up the bones of Theseus, give them honourable burial at Athens, and guard them there. But it was difficult to find the grave and take up the bones, because of the inhospitable and savage nature of the Dolopians,²⁵ who then inhabited the island. However, Cimon took the island, as I have related in his *Life* and being ambitious to discover the grave of Theseus, saw an eagle in a place where there was the semblance of a mound, pecking, as he says, and tearing up the ground with his talons. By some divine ordering he comprehended the meaning of this and dug there, and there was found a coffin of a man of extraordinary size, a bronze spear lying by its side, and a sword. When these relics were brought home on his trireme by Cimon, the Athenians were delighted, and received them with splendid processions and sacrifices, as though Theseus himself were returning to his city. And now he lies buried in the heart of the city, near the present gymnasium, and his tomb is a sanctuary and place of refuge for runaway slaves and all men of low estate who are afraid of men in power, since Theseus was a champion and helper of such during his life, and graciously received the supplications of the poor and needy.²⁶

Kimon fulfilled the edict of the Pythian priestess and “ravaged Scyros, thus avenging Theseus’ death.”²⁷ Plutarch adds, “This was the chief reason why the people took kindly to him.”²⁸

Plutarch

Now to address the second, and more difficult, question, “why did Plutarch describe the Dolopians as pirates?” There are a number of possibilities: (1) Plutarch was basing his claim of Dolopian piracy on a now-lost tradition, either oral or written, (2) Plutarch made a simple, if long-lasting, mistake, or (3) Plutarch intentionally inserted a reference to piracy into an otherwise accurate account.

There is no way to prove a negative—this paper cannot show that a record never existed accusing the Dolopians of piracy. That being said, no extant pre-Plutarch record shows the Dolopians engaged in anything that resembles piracy. As there are numerous references to the Dolopians²⁹ without any mention of piracy, it would appear that the modern perception of the Dolopians as notorious pirates goes back to Plutarch.

25. Plutarch provides the fullest account of the exhuming of Theseus and his subsequent transference, thus his account has been included here. It is important, however, to note that Plutarch is once again using less-than-favorable language to describe the Dolopians. It might be expected that a conquered people would be “inhospitable” to their subjugators.

26. Plutarch, *Life of Theseus* 36.1–3.

27. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.17.6.

28. Plutarch, *Life of Cimon* 8.7.

29. Including Thucydides, who predates Plutarch by centuries.

This brings up a very thorny problem—what to do with Plutarch? Dismissing him is risky business. If nothing else, the modern Classicist owes the biographer a monumental debt for providing reams of secondary source material. Further, it is never wise to just discount an ancient source. Unfortunately, that seems to be the only way to proceed, given the evidence.

Plutarch, by his own account in his oft-quoted introduction, wrote “It must be borne in mind that my design is not to write histories, but lives.”³⁰ These lives were always a couplet—one Greek and one Roman. The Roman counterpart to Kimon is Lucius Licinius Lucullus (ca. 115–86 b.c.e.). One of Lucullus’ most significant actions was his prosecution of the Third Mithridatic War (75–65 b.c.e.). Mithridates, “King” of Pontus, openly allied himself with pirates going so far as to appoint Cleochares, a known *laestes*, in a triumvirate rule of the island of Sinope.³¹ Lucullus eventually took this island, spelling the end of Cleochares.³²

It is quite possible that Plutarch, either intentionally or anachronistically, included the description of Skyros as a “parallel” for Lucullus’ actions on Sinope. One later commentator has noted that “the bases for the comparisons [given by Plutarch] are very inadequate,”³³ and this may be another example. This is, of course, as equally impossible to prove as the assumption that there were never pre-Plutarch records of Dolopian piracy.

Dolopians Reconsidered?

Aside from a few scholars who suggest that Plutarch’s account be taken with a grain of salt,³⁴ the Dolopians are almost universally seen as dangerous pirates. At least for modern authors, this view starts and ends with Plutarch’s *Life of Kimon*. As has been shown, this paradigm ought to be reconsidered. Far from piracy, all other sources describe the motivations of the Skyrian invasion as colonial expansion and political capital for the strategos. As all other sources describe the motivations of the Skyrian invasion as colonial expansion and political capital for Kimon, Skyrian piracy simply cannot be accepted lock, stock, and barrel.

30. Plutarch, *Fall of the Roman Republic*, trans. Rex Warner (New York: Penguin Books, 1972), 1.

31. Peter Green has noted that at this time, “Piracy ruled the seas from Sicily to Crete, from Crete to the Cilician coast. The straits between Crete and the southern Peloponnese yielded such booty that the pirates referred to this stretch of water as the Golden Sea” (Peter Green, *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990], 655).

32. Memnon, *History of Heraclea* 37.

33. Plutarch, *Fall of the Roman Republic*, 8.

34. Podlecki is one who views Dolopian piracy as a possible “post factum justification by the Amphictyons, glad to be rid of a troublesome branch of their own kinsmen” (Podlecki, “Cimon, Skyros and Theseus’ Bones,” 142).

THE BATTLE OF THERMOPYLAE: PRINCIPLES OF WAR ON THE ANCIENT BATTLEFIELD

JOSEPH KLEIST

The tenacity of warriors in a battle can have a far greater influence toward victory for a civilization than a single battle's outcome. It is an interesting phenomenon in the history of warfare how unexpected results have occurred in numerous engagements between unevenly matched opponents on the ancient and modern battlefield. This was especially evident in the Battle of Thermopylae waged between the Greek and Persian forces in the late summer of 480 b.c.e. From a numerical standpoint, the massive Persian force led by King Xerxes should have easily wiped out the small Greek defense gathered at Thermopylae and continued on to victory against a seemingly inferior and disunited Greece. Instead, the Persians faced a prolonged three-day battle against the small Greek force led by King Leonidas and his three hundred Spartan warriors. The battle may have ended in defeat for the Greeks, yet it failed to crush the Greeks' morale and unity inspired by Leonidas's heroic example, and the Persians were defeated soon after. How was it possible for the Greeks to hold out and suppress the overwhelming Persian offense at Thermopylae longer than reasonably expected? Certain principles of warfare such as terrain, unity of command, mass, and maneuver, enabled the Greeks to prolong their defense at Thermopylae for three days and hinder the Persians from neutralizing the Greek defense immediately and securing an ultimate victory in this campaign.

In the first place, the terrain of Greece itself hindered the Persians from gaining immediate victory at Thermopylae and conquering all of Greece. By the year 480 b.c.e., the Persian Empire had expanded to become one of the greatest in history. Their rule extended from the east in modern Pakistan to the west through Asia Minor and Macedonia and south to Egypt.¹ In the spring of this same year, Xerxes ordered his army to cross the bridged peninsula at Hellespont and invade Greece from the northern countries of Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly. Complete control of the whole of Greece and access to the

1. Barry Strauss, "Greco-Persian Wars: Battle of Thermopylae," <http://www.history-net.com/magazines/mhq/3033206.html> (accessed 22 January 2007).

rest of Europe was Xerxes' ultimate objective.² Yet, how would his immense force perform in the foreign territory of Greece compared to their earlier success in Asia Minor and Egypt? Knowledge of the terrain and how it will affect your forces and the enemy is critical for the success of any military operation.³ Even though the Persians came from a mountainous region, they could have hardly prepared themselves for the type of terrain they would encounter upon entering Greece. Even for a light infantry soldier, the ruggedness of the Greek country and hillside, coupled with sharp rocks and thorny vegetation along the way, made for a tedious and severe journey.⁴ Such difficulty impeded Xerxes' attempts to achieve surprise and effective force of action had he reached the battlefield at Thermopylae earlier to await the oncoming Greeks. Since no detailed maps or charts of Greece were at his disposal, Xerxes also lacked the local knowledge that native Greeks possessed, which put him and his forces at an even greater disadvantage.⁵

Consequently, Xerxes faced another dilemma with the land not sufficiently supplying his forces with the basic essential resources for the conquest. Hardly any vegetation for Xerxes' pack animals to graze upon was found in the rugged Greek countryside. The natural water supply was also limited because Greece suffers annually from a dry period of eight months.⁶ It is not surprising that "the waters of some rivers failed" and huge amounts of food were used up every day for the thousands upon thousands of fighting men, not counting the sustenance needed for the supporting groups and draft animals of the invading expedition.⁷

The countryside of Greece and its failure to supply the Persians sufficiently proved to be a constant burden for Xerxes. At the same time, it became one of the most advantageous allies for the Greeks.

Even with their recent triumph over the Persians at Marathon in 490 b.c.e., the Greeks knew that the extreme deficit in numbers between their forces and the Persians in this particular campaign made the issue of key terrain all the more important. Unlike most of the northern Greek territories, the two most prominent city-states, Athens and Sparta, refused to pay as tribute the tokens of earth and water that Xerxes had demanded from Greece as a symbol of their willing submission to the invaders.⁸ This defiance prompted Xerxes to push his offensive further along the coastline into Greece toward Athens. Unknown to Xerxes, the route he chose along the coastline answered the question

2. Herodotus, *Histories*, trans. Robin Waterfield (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 7.157.

3. United States Dept. of the Army, *Foundations of Leadership: MSL II* (Person Custom Publishing, 2006), 244.

4. Ernie Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980), 68.

5. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 99.

6. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 68.

7. Herodotus, *Histories* 7.187.

8. M. Haskew, "Greco-Persian War: Xerxes' Invasion," http://www.historynet.com/wars_conflicts/ancient_medieval_wars/3035381.html (accessed 20 February 2007).

as to where the Greeks should position themselves to fight the Persians. King Leonidas decided that the Pass of Thermopylae, or “the Hot Gates,” a narrow valley stretching three and a half miles long adjacent to the Euripus Channel, would provide the best advantage for the Greeks to intercept and engage the Persians.⁹ The pass was extremely narrow at the East and West Gates and the Middle Gates where the mountains were the sharpest in the center. It was at the Middle Gates, where the pass was no more than twenty meters wide, that the Greeks chose to stand and defend the pass.¹⁰ It was the choice geographical setting for “a comparatively small force to check a large one, which would not be able to deploy and take advantage of its numbers.”¹¹ Sun Tzu, ancient Chinese realist and strategist, commented that to fight a larger force, you only need the right position. An army’s position will also increase its strength.¹² With the right position determined, the Greeks’ test to defend the Hot Gates would also be determined in how well their commander King Leonidas led them in the engagement.

Success in warfare comes not merely from the troops’ fighting abilities but from the leadership proficiency of the group’s commander. It “demands that a single commander holds the authority to direct all forces toward the objective in a unified, coordinated effort.”¹³ This defines the principle of unity of command, which the Greeks had to muster from their commander, King Leonidas. According to Sun Tzu, a leader in war must be smart, trustworthy, caring, brave, and strict.¹⁴ Unfortunately, neither the Greek historians Herodotus nor Xenophon provided a clear description of Leonidas’s qualifications or leadership skills. Yet, some of Leonidas’s words recorded by Plutarch shed light on his courage and devotion for his country, qualifying him to be a choice leader for such a task set before him. When someone questioned his reasoning for taking only a few men to engage the massive Persian army, he replied, “If you think I should rely on numbers, then not even the whole of Greece is enough, since it is a small fraction of their horde; but if I’m to rely on courage, then even this number is quite enough.”¹⁵ His devotion to Greece was evident when Xerxes wrote to him demanding his submission by explaining, “It is possible for you not to fight the gods but to side with me and be a monarch of Greece.” Leonidas wrote back, “If you understood what is honorable in life, you would avoid lusting after what belongs to others. For me, it is better to die for Greece than to be a monarch of the people of my race.”¹⁶ From the audacity and resolve of his words, it was no mistake

9. Strauss, “Greco-Persian Wars: Battle of Thermopylae.”

10. Strauss, “Greco-Persian Wars: Battle of Thermopylae.”

11. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 95.

12. Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, trans. Gary Gagliardi (Seattle, Wash.: Clearbridge Publishing, 2004), 62.

13. *Foundations of Leadership: MSL II*, 172.

14. Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, 22.

15. Plutarch, *On Sparta*, trans. Richard J. A. Talbert (London: Penguin Books, 1988), 170.

16. Plutarch, *On Sparta*, 171.

or coincidence that King Leonidas and the rest of his Spartans were chosen to lead the miniscule force in the first land encounter with the Persians at Thermopylae. The extreme militarism that defined Spartan society throughout the ages further explains why Leonidas and his three hundred warriors were ideal participants to defend Thermopylae.

Spartan warriors epitomized the Greek military muscle. The Spartan society stressed the importance of rearing their children to become absolutely proficient in the arts of war. Taken from their mothers at age seven or eight, the boys were sent to a rigorous training regime called the *agoge*. For the next thirteen years, they were trained vigorously in military drill, weapons training, athletics, hunting, and endurance against every form of deprivation to make them into Spartan warriors and citizens.¹⁷ Thievery was encouraged and even necessary for the young boys to survive the rigors of combat training and was punishable only if they were caught in the act.¹⁸ The law system given by Lycurgus, the father of Sparta who first established the military oriented reformation of Spartan society, "taught the children from a desire to render them more dexterous in securing provisions and better qualified for warfare."¹⁹ Abused into submission and eventually molded into the established order, a Spartan warrior, priding himself on entering into one of the most elite and formidable fighting forces ever in history, emerged fully prepared to defend or die for the state that shaped him. Such was the fortitude and military proficiency that prepared Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans to lead the defense at Thermopylae.

With the pressure of Xerxes' advancing force closing in on the heart of Greece in the summer of 480 b.c.e., King Leonidas desired to march his force northward towards Thermopylae, even against the council of the elders. They insisted that Leonidas stay in Sparta with his force and honor the Carneia, the holiest of all religious festivals among the Peloponnesians.²⁰ Leonidas' loyalty to the law was steadfast enough, yet his concern with the Persians threatening the freedom of his countrymen forced him to proceed with only three hundred of his finest warriors. With the bulk of the Spartan army not at his disposal, why would Leonidas advance so suddenly with only a handful of his warriors? First, Sparta always held the reputation of being Greece's strongest land force. Second, Leonidas believed that his presence would "inspire the rest of the allies to arms, and discourage them from joining the ranks of those who were already collaborating with the enemy, as they might if they got the idea that the Spartans were holding back."²¹ Such a strong notion as that of a king marching forward with his warrior elite was convincing enough for several more city states to deploy their limited manpower for Greece's defense. At this stage of events, Leonidas needed to implement his unity

17. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 61.

18. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 61.

19. Xenophon, "On The Spartans," <http://www.csun.edu/~hcfl1004/sparta-a.html> (accessed February 26 2008).

20. Strauss, "Greco-Persian Wars: Battle of Thermopylae."

21. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:206.

of command within the ranks of his defenders.

When the actual fighting began, the unity of command had to somehow take effect within the ranks of his individual soldiers. This concept mirrors the modern chain-of-command model wherein “authority passes down from the top through a series of military ranks in which each person is accountable to a superior.”²² Because Leonidas could not have trusted the morale, skill, and loyalty of the other Greek states, he designated his three hundred Spartans as the main phalanx officers.²³ According to Greek military protocol, the phalanx structure was divided into six *morai* or regiments. Each hoplite *morai* had one colonel (*po-lemarchos*), four captains (*lochagoi*), eight lieutenants (*penteconters*), and sixteen sergeants (*enomotarches*).²⁴ The purpose of this subdivision was for every soldier in the hoplite to receive and follow the orders of formation and attack from the commander with the utmost reliability. This leadership structure enabled Leonidas to maintain complete control and unity of command throughout his force. Any chance for a formidable defense depended upon every individual soldier to perform any task at hand with the utmost prestige according to the commands of Leonidas in every phase of the battle waiting to commence.

King Leonidas and his defending force held off the Persian offense successfully for three days by their superior use of mass. Mass as a principle of war means “organizing all the elements of combat power at your disposal to have decisive effect on your enemy.”²⁵ In the Battle at Thermopylae, this principle applies to the unit’s size, arms and armor, and battle formations under the Persian and Greek’s commands. In regard to the Persians’ use of mass, their strength in numbers had been their saving grace in all previous conquests.

Strength in numbers had favored the Persian army as they had been unharmed and increased in size from their departure from Asia until they finally reached Thermopylae. According to Herodotus, the Persian army and naval forces totaled around two million two hundred thousand fighting men. Based on recruiting strength gained from the northern countries and Greek city-states who submitted to Xerxes, the force had increased to over two million six hundred thousand.²⁶ Historians lately have disputed whether Herodotus was exaggerating his calculations of Xerxes’ numbers and have set them at around five hundred thousand.²⁷ Xerxes’ forces from Asia consisted of Persians, Medes, and Sacae while recruits from the various northern countries such as Thrace, Paenonia, Macedonia, Magnesia, and many others replenished his infantry, cavalry, and naval power. This great diversity among Xerxes’ warriors implied

22. Foundations of Leadership: MSL II, 160.

23. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle For The West*, 118.

24. Xenophon, “The Spartan War Machine,” in *A Source Book of Ancient Greek*, ed. Fred Fling (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1907), 73–75. See also Foundations of Leadership: MSL II, 171.

25. Herodotus, *Histories* 7.184–85.

26. Haskew, “Greco-Persian War: Xerxes’ Invasion.”

27. Herodotus, *Histories* 7.184–85.

that their weaponry was equally diverse among each soldier.

Hence, the Persians would have used almost every conceivable weapon available at their disposal, including bows, slings, spears, swords, javelins, and daggers.²⁸ Their primary weapon for both hunting and warfare was the bow, which the cavalry and infantry units used extensively.

The javelin, made for thrusting and throwing, was their next prime weapon. After this, they relied on simple daggers and short bladed swords if the fight came in close proximity.²⁹ Their choice of arms suggested they preferred to fight at longer ranges with support from their cavalry and mounted archer units. Such a fighting style required them to wear little or no body armor. An exception to this would apply to Xerxes' elite unit, the Immortals, who were about ten thousand strong at Thermopylae. While carrying a wickerwork or leather shield effective against projectile weapons, they wore leather corselets covered with bands of iron and bronze, but had no armor protection for their legs.³⁰ Unfortunately, little is known about their specific battle formations or organizations. The Persians managed to secure one of the largest empires ever by fighting in the open areas of Asia and Egypt, where mobility had been their primary advantage.³¹ Yet the narrow passageway at Thermopylae showed the ineffectiveness of this kind of warfare and proved hardly a match for the heavily armored Greek hoplite phalanx.

Even with a limited fighting force comprising around four thousand warriors, the Greeks' method of fighting with the hoplite phalanx proved ideal in such a restricted area as Thermopylae presented. The basic principle of the phalanx was to form a wall of armor with every soldier holding the shield in his left hand protecting the right side of the neighboring soldier. This presented a line of shields and armor able to deflect the onslaught of an oncoming assault.³² Appearance in battle was every bit as important to the Spartan warriors as their ability to fight. The Greek historian Xenophon, who served along with the Spartan army some years after the Persian war, describes the appearance of one of these elite Spartan hoplite warriors.

For the actual encounter under arms, the following inventions are attributed to Lycurgos: the soldier had a crimson-colored uniform and a heavy shield of bronze, his theory being that such equipment has masculine association and is altogether warrior-like. He further permitted those who were about the age of early manhood to wear their hair long. For so, he conceived, they would appear of larger stature, more free and indomitable, and of a more terrible aspect.³³

The appearance of just one of these heavily armored Spartan warriors

28. Jacob Abbott, *Makers of History: Xerxes* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1904), 131.

29. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 73.

30. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 73.

31. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 74.

32. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 69.

33. Xenophon, "The Spartan War Machine," 73–75.

must have looked intimidating indeed to the primitively clad Persians. The Greek hoplites generally used the Corinthian-style helmet of bronze or iron that protected the entire head, face, and collarbone, which was especially vulnerable to a sword slash. The torso and trunk were either protected by a composite corselet of leather covered with metal scales or two bronze plates covering the front and the back and laced together at the sides.³⁴ The armored hoplites were still vulnerable to archer and missile fire, which the Persians used heavily. The hoplites were able to advance quickly on the Persians before they could fire their arrows.³⁵ Yet the best strategy was to remain stationary and wait for the enemy to charge into them. The main source of protection came from the heavy shields the hoplites bore made of wood and covered in bronze. The shield's average diameter, depending upon personal preference, was between three to five feet, enough to protect the neck down to the thigh.³⁶ The hoplites also wore greaves carefully molded to fit their legs in case the shield missed a low sword slash. Being protected as thus, the hoplites stood prepared to slaughter the enemy close in with their simple but highly effective weaponry.

With a wall of hoplite shields positioned forward in the phalanx, the principle weapon in such a tight formation was the bronze-tipped ash-shafted spear measuring six feet long.³⁷ Such a weapon was not intended to be thrown like a javelin but to form a fence with the other spears, to impale the advancing enemy. As a thrusting weapon, the spear held in the hands of master warriors such as the Spartans had the advantage to overcome any adversary armed with the swords or shorter spears commonly used by the Persians.³⁸ But as the battle progressed and spears were splintered, the hoplites relied on a short sword with a curved blade representing that of an Indian Gurka knife.³⁹ The Greeks would have used the sword extensively within the final moments of fighting before the Persians finally overwhelmed them. Surprisingly at this period in Greek history, the hoplites never relied on the bow and arrow as a prominent weapon in combat.⁴⁰ Such would have been Xerxes' intent to first engage and attempt to reduce the armored Greek enemy from a distance prior to deploying his foot soldiers. Accordingly, Leonidas, his Spartan elite, and the rest of the Greek hoplites had to depend on Xerxes' troops to meet them head on in attempts to bypass the mountain pass. Luckily for Leonidas, Thermopylae served as the perfect setting for the Greeks to showcase their true fighting proficiency and capability.

The third principle of war that helped Leonidas in his defense was maneuvering ability. Maneuver in principle is the ability "to exploit your

34. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 70.

35. Tim Everson, *Warfare in Ancient Greece: Arms and Armour from the Heroes of Homer to Alexander The Great* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), 130.

36. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 71.

37. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 71.

38. Everson, *Warfare in Ancient Greece*, 28.

39. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 72.

40. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 72.

successes, preserve your freedom of action, and reduce your vulnerability. It also implies in creating new problems for your enemy by thwarting their planning and actions.⁴¹ Leonidas' strategy of maneuver began as soon as his force arrived at the Hot Gates with a little over four thousand hoplites from a dozen different city-states.⁴² Upon arriving and wasting no time, Leonidas set about preparing the battlefield by denying the use of land to the enemy and securing his defensive position. He utilized the scorched-earth policy by burning the fertile plains lying between the pass and the northern city of Lamia where the Persians were expected to march to attack his positions.⁴³

Farms, livestock, buildings, and granaries denied to Xerxes helped supply the Greek soldiers repairing the defensive wall stretching out to the sea. The wall was intended to funnel the attacking Persians right into the Middle Gates, where the hoplites would stand, waiting eagerly to receive them. The village of Alpeni lying behind his defensive position provided the much-needed supply line for Leonidas and his men.⁴⁴ He next turned his attention to providing security for his chosen position and considered every possible route the Persians could use to outflank his force. Upon hearing of one such vulnerable route on the mountain of Kallidromos to his left, he sent a security force of one thousand Phocians to defend the mountain pass on his left flank.⁴⁵ It was now a question whether these Phocians would perform their duty effectively to deny Xerxes the advantage of a flanking assault around Leonidas's position, which could spell the Greeks' doom. Either way, the Greeks had prepared all they could with what they had to meet the Persians who were forming up on the other side of the valley near the town of Lamia. Xerxes had only known victory at practically every conquest up to this moment. As far as Leonidas was concerned, "it was a man, not a god invading Greece. No mortal man was ever born, or will ever be, without his allotted share of misfortune—the greatest misfortunes fall upon the greatest men."⁴⁶

Arriving on the other side of the valley was King Xerxes' innumerable force, which had proven themselves successful in battle by overwhelming and outmaneuvering any other previous army throughout their conquests. Upon arriving at Thermopylae, they now faced an enemy vastly inferior to their own in numbers, yet confident and competent enough to dare stand forth and block Xerxes' advance past the Hot Gates. While waiting for his delayed supply line on ship to arrive, King Xerxes asked a Greek defector named Demaratus to explain the bizarre report he received from one of his forward scouts sent to observe the Greeks.⁴⁷

Herodotus records that Demaratus, once a Spartan himself, explained to

41. *Foundations of Leadership: MSL II*, 172.

42. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:202.

43. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 115.

44. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 115.

45. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:217.

46. Herodotus, *The Persian War*, trans. William Shepherd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 54.

47. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle For The West*, 122.

Xerxes:

These men have come to fight us for the pass and they are getting ready to do just that. It is their custom to do their hair when they are about to risk their lives. But you can rest assure that if you defeat these men and the force that awaits you in Sparta, there is no other race on earth which will take up arms and stand up to you, my lord, because you are now up against the noblest and most royal city in Greece, and the bravest men.⁴⁸

Such a bold notion seemed preposterous to the self-proclaimed god king Xerxes. Having been expertly trained in warfare since childhood himself and claiming the special protection of the supreme god Ahura-Mazda,⁴⁹ Xerxes arrived at Thermopylae with the sense of divinity within him. His qualities as the great king indubitably “made him a leader of men and a supreme commander.”⁵⁰ Therefore, he expected his potential subjects, or the Spartans now as his opponents, to acknowledge such divine greatness and make way for his presence. When no such acknowledgment or retreat by the Greeks was made after four days of waiting, Xerxes determined that the time had come for the Greeks to pay for their apparent impudence in denying him access.

On the fifth day, Xerxes unleashed his assault and sent his Medes and Cissian forces forward in the initial attack.⁵¹ Taking up their formations in the phalanx with the Spartans at the front, Leonidas stood firm and ready in the opening phase of battle. The Medes and Cissians crashed against the hoplites’ shields and spears. Wave after wave came in but had little effect. Whenever the attacking troops turned and withdrew, the Greeks advanced slowly from the pass and broke into a fast march to overtake the Persians to keep control over the Thermopylae valley.⁵²

The attack continued throughout the day despite the heavy losses the Persians suffered with each failed attack.⁵³ If Xerxes had one element that surpassed Leonidas, it was the number of troops he had at his disposal. But the Greeks made it clear for everyone that though Xerxes had many men, he had few proficient enough to overcome the Greeks.⁵⁴ The Medes and Cissians, badly mauled by the Greeks, finally withdrew from their attack. The late hours of the first day of the battle wore on as the second phase commenced at nightfall.

When the night came, Xerxes decided to send in his own warrior elite, the ten-thousand-strong Immortals, to give them an equal match. They marched forth possessing almost the same military precision as the Spartans possessed,

48. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:209.

49. Pierre Briant, “The Achaemenid Empire,” in *War and Society in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, ed. Kurt Raaflaub and Nathan Rosenstein (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1998), 112.

50. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:210.

51. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:210.

52. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 69.

53. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:210.

54. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:210.

confident that they would breach the hoplite defense without much difficulty.⁵⁵ Yet their shorter spears and weapons failed to bypass the hoplites' bronze shields and longer spears. As the Medes and Cissians before them had experienced, their large numbers accounted for nothing in the restricted valley and Middle Gates.⁵⁶

Herodotus described one of the most memorable tactics the Spartans used to exploit the Immortal's confidence. A feint they used was to pretend flee all at once. Seeing them take to their heels, the barbarians would pursue with great clatter and shouting whereupon the Spartans would wheel and face them and inflict innumerable casualties. In doing this, the Spartans has some losses too, but only a few. In the end, since the Persians could make no headway towards winning the pass, whether they attacked in companies or whatever they did, they broke off the engagement and withdrew. It is said that Xerxes, who was watching the battle from his throne, three times sprang to his feet for his army.⁵⁷

Whatever tactics the Immortals tried on the Greeks, Leonidas' forces proved that they were the experts and that they were fighting against amateurs.⁵⁸ Perhaps the next day would see a change in fortune for the god king to crush the seemingly weakened and fatigued Greek defenders after the first full day of battle.

With the first day and night gone by without any progress in the attack, Xerxes expected the Greeks to be ineffective as they dressed their comrades' wounds, given that there were so few of them and that they had already taken so many casualties.⁵⁹ On the contrary, the Greeks continued to fight valiantly as Xerxes sent in another wave of crack troops who were supposedly forced under the whip to fight.⁵⁹ To an extent, Leonidas reduced his vulnerability of his lesser sized force by rotating his warriors with every chance he had. To compensate for any shortage of defenders due to casualties, the Greeks organized themselves in divisions based upon their nationality which took turns to fight.⁶⁰ Between attacks, the fresh ranks behind stepped up to replace the fighters up front in the phalanx. A steady wave of battleready hoplites met the bewildered Persians and the destruction of Xerxes' forces continued. The second day ended with the same results. Not one successful attack was made to dislodge the Greeks from the pass. It was not until treacherous measures were used on the third day of battle that Xerxes' success against Leonidas' impenetrable defense was realized.

It is unknown to any historian or speculator whether Leonidas and his defense had a chance to withstand the constant onslaught Xerxes continued to throw at them. It was at this phase of the battle that the Greek traitor Ephialtes, seeking a handsome reward, came to Xerxes and revealed to him the vulnerable

55. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 129.

56. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:211.

57. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:211.

58. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:211.

59. Bradford, *Thermopylae: Battle for the West*, 132.

60. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:212.

mountain pass at Leonidas's left flank, which was guarded by the thousand-strong Phocians.⁶¹ On the third day, Xerxes sent the Immortals to the mountain pass, where they quickly overcame the astonished Phocians who were still arming themselves.⁶² Having scattered the Phocians with a volley of arrows, the Persians advanced quickly down the mountain to confront Leonidas on his left flank.

Having been warned of the Immortal's flanking move early on, Leonidas and his remaining hoplite band, advanced farther out of the narrow pass, much farther than they had previously ventured. The Greeks knew their fate was sealed "at the hands of the Persians who had come around the mountain, and so the Greeks spared none of their strength, but fought the enemy with reckless disregard for their lives."⁶³ Many Persians died in the closing moments of the battle as the hoplites pressed forward and fought on. At this time, most of their spears had been splintered, and they continued valiantly to kill the Persians with their swords. Leonidas fell at this point in battle, having "fought to the death with the utmost bravery."⁶⁴ Herodotus retells the last stand with the utmost fervor:

The Persians and Spartans grappled at length over the corpse of Leonidas, but the Greeks fought so well and so bravely that they eventually succeeded in dragging his body away. Four times they forced the Persians back, and the contest remained close until Ephialtes and the Immortals arrived. As soon as the Greeks realized they had come, they drew back again into the narrow neck of the Pass and formed themselves into a compact body. Here, the Greeks defended themselves with swords, if they still had them, and otherwise with hands and teeth. Then the Persians from in front and those who closed in from behind, overwhelmed them in a hail of missiles.⁶⁵

Their courageous last stand against Xerxes' horde prompted those who buried these brave hoplites to inscribe as their epitaph:

Here once were three million of the foe
Opposed by four thousand from the Peloponnese
Stranger, tell the people of Lacedaemon
That we who lie here obeyed their commands.⁶⁶

The manner in which Leonidas and his hoplites maneuvered and engaged the enemy within the narrow pass certainly prolonged the stand at Thermopylae that Xerxes was so confident to overthrow in the first skirmish. Xerxes' underestimation of the Spartan and Greek forces would have prolonged the engagement further had a traitor not stepped forward and offered the Greeks

61. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:213.

62. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:218.

63. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:223.

64. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:224.

65. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:225.

66. Herodotus, *Histories* 7:228.

into his hands.

How Leonidas and his Greek defenders managed to deny Xerxes' innumerable force access for three days is a testament to their proficient understanding and use of terrain, unity of command, mass, and maneuver throughout the battle. Though Leonidas and every Greek who stood by his side fell in the end, their example became a fanfare for the divided Greek nation to come together and resist the advance of Xerxes' innumerable host. In the end, Leonidas's sacrifice did not spell out the ultimate triumph of the Persians over the Greeks. It only strengthened the resolve for Greece to unite and eventually defeat the Persian aggressors. The inspiration from a valiant few, therefore, can become the greatest influence toward victory for a civilization.

THE STRENGTH OF RHODES AND THE CILICIAN PIRATE CRISIS

KEITH FAIRBANK

In the years following the Third Mithridatic War, the Roman Republic faced an alarming number of pirates. The impact these pirates had on shipping became severe enough to result in almost unprecedented powers being voted to Pompey in 67 b.c.e. His brilliant and successful campaign in the Mediterranean wiped out the pirate forces that had impeded Rome's precious grain supply and had been a thorn in the side since at least 102 b.c.e.¹ Until Pompey's success, however, the pirates had almost free reign in the regions around Cilicia. Several other commanders had been thrown at them with special powers from the Senate, but with little success. For 35 years the western seas were crawling with pirates.

Piracy in the ancient world has long been associated closely with Rhodes, the pirate police of the Mediterranean. The island republic, though not very large, managed to maintain a great deal of political independence for a great many years, even when surrounded by large, competing powers. Its campaigns against piracy can be attributed to its dependence on the sea. Tarn wrote, "It was only states like Rhodes, subsisting entirely on sea-borne commerce, or Athens, dependent on sea-borne corn, that felt any real interest in clearing the seas."² Indeed, Rhodian forces had for so long patrolled the Mediterranean that the pirate crisis of the late republic is often blamed on the downfall of Rhodes.

Rhodes managed to stay out of Rome's way and provide suitable assistance until an unfortunate turn of events in the early second century b.c.e. As a result of some poor political maneuvering by Rhodes and aggressive tactics by Rome actions were taken against the island in 167 and 166 b.c.e. First, the regions of Lycia and Caria, formerly gifted to Rhodes in the treaty of Apamea in 189 b.c.e., were revoked. Then, in a decree in 167 b.c.e., the Senate declared the island of Delos a free port. Lycia and Caria had been sources of significant income for Rhodes in

1. Henry A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 192.

2. William Woodthorpe Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1964), 88.

a period when it stood at the “peak of its power.”³ Delos, the slave center of the ancient world, benefited enormously from its new tax-free status, and Rhodes lost a great deal of business.

These strokes against the Rhodian economy, the financial means of that state which had, for so many years, held pirates in check, has long been seen as one of, if not the, principal cause behind the pirate crisis 100 years later. Ormerod wrote in 1924, “With the rapid decline that followed the withdrawal of Roman favour after the third Macedonian war, it became obvious that the Rhodians were no longer equal to the task.”⁴ Much evidence has come to light since Ormerod’s *Piracy in the Ancient World*, which certainly would have changed some of his conclusions. Even recent books, however, have continued this opinion. Starr wrote in 1989, “instead it [the Senate] struck at the heart of Rhodian strength. . . . Thereafter Rhodes did not have the financial power to keep up its navy, though it continued to have some warships down to 42 b.c.e.”⁵ A 2003 textbook stated the following: “The loss of revenue from her Asiatic possessions and from harbor dues and banking so crippled the finances of Rhodes that she was compelled to reduce her navy and was no longer able to keep piracy in check in the eastern seas.”⁶ Further, “Ever since the destruction of Rhodes as a naval power, the pirates and slave traders of Cilicia and Crete had enjoyed unrestricted freedom of the seas.”⁷

Interest in Hellenistic Rhodes has yielded a great deal of new information from which fresh conclusions may be drawn concerning the role of Rhodes in the pirate crisis of the late republic.

A focus on the culture and economy of Rhodes has uncovered the means by which its economy might have weathered Roman actions against it. New archaeological evidence, especially ceramic evidence, has pointed to the long stability of Rhodes, followed by gradual decline, as opposed to a previously supposed steep and permanent one. Further study into the practicality of naval warfare against the Cilician pirates further minimizes the involvement of the island republic. In short, it appears that the fall of Rhodes had little to do with the pirate crisis of the early first century b.c.e. In fact, it appears that there was hardly any “fall of Rhodes” at all.

Let us first examine the Rhodian economy, the nature of its wealth, and the means by which it funded its naval campaigns. Then, let us review the problematic ceramic evidence in order to examine the wellbeing of the Rhodian economy in the years following 167 b.c.e. Then let us briefly study the force necessary to push out the pirate lords of Cilicia. Let us in conclusion see to the

3. Richard M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (London: Cornell University Press, 1984), 165.

4. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, 189.

5. Chester G. Starr, *The Influence of Sea Power on Ancient History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 60.

6. Allen M. Ward, Fritz M. Heichelheim, and Cedric A. Yeo, *A History of the Roman People*, 4th ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2003), 123.

7. Ward, Heichelheim, and Yeo, *A History of the Roman People*, 171.

influence which Rhodes may or may not have had in the crisis and the implications of our hypotheses.

In considering the effects of the Senate's decree in 167 b.c.e., it is interesting to note that Polybius writes of a Rhodian envoy's complaints concerning a drop in revenue after that decree. Speaking to the Senate in 165 or 164 b.c.e., the envoy claimed that the country's harbor income had dropped from 1 million drachmas to 150,000 per year.⁸ This is a very large sum, "yet either figure (one million or 150,000 drachmas) represents merely a fraction of the wealth flowing into Rhodes, the total of which we are unable to estimate."⁹ As Gabrielsen points out, the sum probably referred to a 2 percent harbor tax, which would have been directly influenced by the new position of Delos as a duty-free port.¹⁰ A much more significant blow to the economy would have been the loss of Lycia and Caria and the respective incomes they provided the state. But all things considered, "The sanctions imposed on the Rhodians by the Senate were a heavy but far from mortal blow to the economy."¹¹ The very nature of that economy dictated that it would remain stable for a great many years.

The Rhodian economy was most famously associated with the Egyptian grain trade.¹² The island's proximity to both the great grain centers of the world, and their principal customers gave it a unique position in that market.¹³ Gabrielsen argued that there were strong political ties between Egypt and Rhodes which went back several centuries before any of the events mentioned here. Certainly a country producing grain in such volume depended very heavily on the safe shipment, storage (and the subsequent freeing of filled Egyptian silos), and sale of grain, all services which Rhodian merchants provided.¹⁴ Famously the Egyptians underscored this dependence on Rhodes when they, admittedly among others, provided immense aid to the island after the tragic earthquake in 224 b.c.e.¹⁵ In short, the grain trade and, more important, the economic relationship Rhodes shared with Egypt as a result of that particular grain trade, was very firmly entrenched and was not likely to be uprooted by a decree concerning Delos.

Not only was the grain trade a strong source of ongoing stability, but "the Rhodian part in the grain trade was entirely in the hands of private entrepreneurs."¹⁶ Thus not only was the island a partner with Egypt in a very profitable enterprise, this business was also carried out in the private sector, where it was even more insulated from actions against the state. For

8. Polybius, *Histories* 30.31.

9. Vincent Gabrielsen, *The Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes* (Aarhus, DK: Aarhus University Press, 1997), 64.

10. Gabrielsen, *Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes*, 64.

11. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, 205.

12. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, 51.

13. Gabrielsen, *Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes*, 71–72.

14. Gabrielsen, *Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes*, 71–74.

15. Polybius, *Histories* 5.88–90.

16. Gabrielsen, *Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes*, 80.

instance, Berthold wrote, "The island republic still possessed perhaps the largest merchant marine in the east, and whether or not these vessels employed the island's harbors in the shipment of their cargoes, it was still Rhodian merchants that were carrying the goods and taking the profits."¹⁷ Thus even if merchants bypassed Rhodian harbors for the untaxed ones at Delos (although unlikely due to Delos's inability to accommodate grain ships¹⁸) the profits of the ventures would still be Rhodian. For all these reasons, the senatorial decree may have set back the Rhodian economy but certainly not crippled it.

There were many wealthy citizens in Rhodes, and the aristocracy they formed centered on naval service. As a solid military career was a prerequisite for success in Roman politics, so a naval career was the launching pad for the youth of hellenistic Rhodes. Gabrielsen wrote, "Naval service constituted a paramount element in their self-perception."¹⁹ This naval service more often than not concerned the pirates of whom Rhodes was the sworn enemy. And, as Gabrielsen went to great lengths to show, "A good part of the Rhodian fleet probably consisted of ships owned by private individuals, who put them in the service of the state."²⁰ If indeed private entrepreneurs were the driving force behind the Egyptian grain trade, it would only make sense that they would be highly invested in the safety of the seas. Even neglecting the strong ancient tradition of the wealthy providing lavish gifts to the state, which in the case of Rhodes would very fittingly be the supporting of warships, this would strongly suggest that merchants and nobility kept their own fleets. This privately funded pirate-fighting force would be relatively unaffected by the events of 167–166 b.c.e.

While it is fine to talk about the potential stability of the Rhodian economy after 166 b.c.e. and its subsequent ability to launch warships, evidence is hard to come by. One of the few remaining indicators of economic health available to the historian is the often problematic, however incredibly abundant, ceramic evidence. Stamped amphora handles have been used in a variety of studies for measuring the well-being of the Rhodian economy. It is a delicate science, to be sure, and one must first get past the sheer number of handles to be found. As Berthold wrote, "It is no exaggeration to say that there is hardly a site in the Mediterranean where Rhodian handles have not appeared."²¹ However, if one assumes, as most scholars have, that the fluctuation in numbers of handles does indeed indicate proportionate economic growth and decline, it can suggest what happened to the Rhodian pirate fighting strength in the second century.

Many analyses of the distribution of Rhodian amphorae rely on political events to explain significant statistical changes. The definite peak in numbers

17. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, 207.

18. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, 207.

19. Gabrielsen, *Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes*, 17.

20. Gabrielsen, *Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes*, 101.

21. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, 50.

is associated with the unprecedented prosperity Rhodes enjoyed in the early second century. The decline in distribution is explained by the aftermath of the Roman actions in 167 and 166 b.c.e. This view makes it significantly easier to explain the fluctuations but can be problematic. Vincent Gabrielsen explains:

In quantitative terms, the “peak” remains incontrovertible. . . . Yet, according to the accepted chronology, its terminal year—after which the precipitous “drop” occurs—is 175 b.c.e. Even more disturbing for the prevalent historical explanation is a new and very plausible calculation . . . which dates the termination of the “peak” to 180 b.c.e. Whichever of the two years one chooses (175 or 180 b.c.e.), they both fall within the period that definitely distinguishes the apogee of Rhodes’ political power—while the grant of *ateleia* to Delos is still nine or fourteen years ahead.²²

Such a dating of the drop nullifies the historical explanation, and thus some reports find elaborate means of forcing the dates to coincide.²³ However, by far the simplest solution would be to accept that the decrees of 167 and 166 b.c.e. and their aftermath did not spell the end of Rhodian trade.

A new study by Lund found the following:

The combined evidence from Rhodes suggests that the number of stamped amphora handles found in the island culminated between 200 and 180 b.c.e. A decline set in over the next decade, but the situation stabilized itself at a relatively high level after about 170 b.c.e. and throughout the rest of the century.²⁴

This study shows that the Rhodian economy did not suffer a drastic blow but was in decline years before 167 b.c.e. Further, it claims that the economy remained stable thereafter. It is most noteworthy that the stable level which it stayed through the end of the second century was much higher than the level it had held before the “peak.”²⁵

Gabrielsen, drawing on the studies of Lund and others, wrote that had it not been for the unexplained peak, “we would have been perfectly entitled to speak of a relative stability, and in certain places even growth, in the number of handles, at least until 146 or perhaps 120 b.c.e.”²⁶ If one accepts that Rhodes was privileged with significant economic growth around 200 b.c.e., followed by the fortunate acquisition of very profitable territories, Lycia and Caria, it makes sense that the island would experience unprecedented growth. It further stands

22. Gabrielsen, *Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes*, 67.

23. Gabrielsen, *Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes*, 67–71.

24. John Lund, “Rhodian Amphorae in Rhodes and Alexandria as Evidence of Trade,” in *Hellenistic Rhodes: Politics, Culture, and Society*, ed. Vincent Gabrielsen, et al. (Aarhus, DK: Aarhus University Press, 1999), 202.

25. Lund, “Rhodian Amphorae in Rhodes,” figs. 1–14.

26. Gabrielsen, *The Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes*, 70.

to reason that having lost Lycia and Caria and having suffered a minor blow in the establishment of Delos as a free port, the Rhodian economy would sink back to its original prosperity and continue on the course it followed before stumbling across all this circumstantial wealth. As a logical extension, Rhodian naval power should remain at that level at which it became famous for its prowess in policing the seas. In other words, the actions of the Roman Senate should not have hurt the Rhodian military significantly and brought about the pirate crisis of later years.

Now, while it should be clear that Rhodes did not die a sudden death when it fell under the disfavor of Rome, it would be irresponsible to suggest that the island's economy continued unimpeded forever. In truth, the same archaeological studies which show the stability of Rhodes before and after the "peak" show that the island's economic output declined greatly around the beginning of the first century b.c.e.²⁷ Berthold calls this period the "Long Twilight" and states that Rhodes sank into the background of a Roman world like many other Greek states.²⁸ This decline of Rhodian power is not, he suggests, due to severe blows to its economy but rather to the loss of freedom it suffered after the Third Mithridatic War. Concerning the Rhodian alliance with Rome in 164 b.c.e., he wrote:

The conclusion of the alliance with Rome brought Rhodes relief from the anxieties and insecurities stemming from Roman disfavor, but it also marked the formal end of Rhodes' independence and the final exhaustion of the policy that had for over a century and a half maintained that independence in the face of powerful neighbors.²⁹

This foreign policy—"the avoidance of entangling alliances and the concern for the power balance among the great states"³⁰—had been the brilliant key to the survival of Rhodes. In the aftermath of its alliance it certainly lost some of its influence in the sea, but not to such a drastic extent as to render it incapable of policing for pirates. However, the great pirate crisis of the late republic was alarming to say the least, and certainly called for more than policing. Ormerod described it, writing, "Four hundred cities are said to have been sacked . . . so great was the impunity of the pirate, who, without fear of molestation, caroused on every shore and carried his raids inland, till all the coastal districts were uncultivated, and the Romans themselves were deprived of the use of the Appian Way."³¹

The menace was so great that it warranted the dangerous powers voted to Pompey in 67 b.c.e. Rome must have been truly desperate to entrust so much authority to one man. He eliminated the problem in short order.

27. Lund, "Rhodian Amphorae in Rhodes," figs. 1–14.

28. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, 213.

29. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, 212.

30. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, 213.

31. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, 227–28.

The sheer force Pompey brought to bear against the pirates of Cilicia is indicative of their sheer numbers and strength. Ormerod describes a force of 120,000 men, 6,000 cavalry, and 270 ships.³² After sweeping the sea of pirates, Pompey focused on their strongholds in Cilicia and, perhaps through sheer intimidation, eliminated the threat decisively. The great many pirates who surrendered were relocated, and Pompey went on to greatness.³³

The vast and devastating strokes with which Pompey cleared the Mediterranean contained one important element unavailable to Rhodes: a sizeable land force. The Cilician pirates were firmly entrenched. The term “pirate strongholds” certainly does not describe lightly defended bases waiting to be sacked. The force Pompey brought to bear against them proved sufficient, but it was a force far beyond any Rhodes could ever have raised. Indeed, Berthold wrote, “Even in its heyday the Rhodian navy could not have dealt adequately with a menace of this magnitude, since the problem called for land forces and a large rather than an especially skilled navy.”³⁴ In truth, had the pirate crisis come about in 180 b.c.e., when Rhodes stood at the height of its power, its extremely skilled navy and superior ships could not have begun to deal with the problem. Without naval bases and a vast land force in the region, Rhodian forces could only have picked away at the vastly superior numbers of the Cilician rebels.

In conclusion, the “fall of Rhodes” did not bring about the Cilician pirate crisis of the first century b.c.e. In fact, there was no decisive “fall of Rhodes.” The Senatorial decrees of 167 and 166 b.c.e. did not cripple the Rhodian economy and its ability to continue its longstanding tradition of fighting pirates. The Rhodian grain trade with Egypt and the private nature of its commerce ensured its economic longevity. Similarly, the often private nature of the Rhodian fleet guaranteed that actions against the state would not necessarily reduce its naval capabilities. The island republic’s ability to launch warships continued steadily throughout the second century b.c.e.

In truth, the Cilician pirate crisis was so large that Rhodes could never have dealt with it. To say that a few actions of Rome crippled so great a state is to cheapen the achievements of a truly fascinating entity in the ancient world. Furthermore, to assert that Rhodes was responsible for the growth of such a threat in the Mediterranean is to misunderstand the abilities and contributions of the island republic.

32. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, 234.

33. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, 234–41.

34. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, 228.

JUDAISM
&
CHRISTIANITY

THE BOOKS OF KINGS AND CHRONICLES: THEIR VALUE AND LIMITATIONS FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT ISRAELITE HISTORY

S. MICHAEL GADD

Recently I studied the history of ancient Israel while living in modern Israel. The professor for the course, Ray Huntington, selected a textbook that closely followed the “histories” found in Kings and Chronicles. The author of the textbook is an evangelical Christian who accepts much of the Bible as inerrant.¹ Having made introductions with the history of ancient Israel previously, I found the textbook problematic. On a few occasions, such as dating the exodus from Egypt, the author neglected significant scholarship because it did not fit with his religious model. Once on a fieldtrip I saw Professor Huntington reading *The History of Ancient Israel*, edited by Hershel Shanks. Having at the time read only the first (and most minimalist) chapter of Shanks’ book, I wondered why Dr. Huntington would read a book on one end of the spectrum² and assign a book on the opposite end. As he and I discussed my question, it became clear that every scholar and student had to decide the value and limitations of using the Bible, especially Kings and Chronicles, as a source of historical data. My objective here is to evaluate Kings and Chronicles as historical sources, looking specifically at 1 Kings 15:1–25 and 2 Chronicles 13:1–17:1.³

Place and Time of the Origin of Chronicles

In determining the place and time of Chronicles’ origin place seems much easier to determine. As one scholar writes, “Jerusalem is clearly the place of authorship.”⁴ If you adhere to the idea that Chronicles was composed by the same author as Ezra and Nehemiah, whose title characters each labored in Jerusalem, placing Chronicles’ origins in Jerusalem is a natural conclusion.

1. The author does not explicitly state his personal beliefs, but it seems apparent from the text and particularly the publisher.

2. As I supposed, since I had only read the first chapter.

3. Unless otherwise stated, I use the NIV.

4. Ralph W. Klein, “Chronicles, Book of 1–2,” *ABD* 1.94.

As modern historians we cannot know with certainty when Chronicles was written. We are then left to look for clues and evidence that suggests approximate dates. After reviewing the evidence, Meyers believes Chronicles to have been written in the fourth century, a time when, “the concern with insularity was paramount in Judah.”⁵ However, this is not the only view. “Other scholars, who see the Chronicler as much more of a royalist, situate Chronicles within historical contexts characterized by renewed nationalism. For some, the late sixth century (the time in which the temple is rebuilt) holds the key to explaining the Chronicler’s emphasis on the Davidic promises, Solomon’s temple, and David’s ordering of its personnel.”⁶

When we look inside the text for evidence, we can gain insight by looking at 1 Chr 3:17–24. If you assume the author recorded genealogy down until his time, “this genealogy of the sons of Jeconiah (= Jehoiachin, exiled in 597 B.C.E.) extends for six generations in the MT. . . . Depending on how many years one allows per generation, MT suggests a date between 400–350.”⁷

Further textual evidence, found in 1 Chr 29:7, suggests a cap for dating Chronicles. “The mention of darics, a Persian coin not minted before 515 B.C.E., in the reign of Darius I, is here used anachronistically of contributions for the temple in the time of David.”⁸

Place and Time of the Origin of Kings

Finding the date and time for Kings can be equally challenging. “The view associated with Frank Moore Cross and his students [is], namely, that Kings developed in two stages: the first major edition appeared during the reign of Josiah and was redacted and extended in a second edition during the exile.”⁹ So Kings, according to Cross, was first compiled about 600 B.C.E. and finished about 560 B.C.E.

The author of Kings has been called the Deuteronomist or Deuteronomistic Historian because of “telltale signs that indicate his adoption of Deuteronomic thought and its application in conceptualizing the history of Israel.”¹⁰ Much of the Deuteronomistic School’s work involved centralizing the cult at Jerusalem, so, without additional evidence, Jerusalem is a likely site for the first compilation of Kings.

5. Gary N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles* (AB 12; New York: Doubleday, 2003), 104, citing Freedman and Cross.

6. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles*, 104.

7. Klein, *ABD* 1:994.

8. Klein, *ABD* 1:994.

9. Mordechai Cogan, *1 Kings* (AB 10; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 97.

10. Cogan, *1 Kings*, 96.

Main Themes and Emphases of Chronicles

In Chronicles a number of themes recur. Chronicles ends with Cyrus's decree to return and rebuild the temple.¹¹

Additionally, the reigns of David and Solomon are a major theme. "The Chronicler devotes an extraordinary amount of attention to David and Solomon, and in fact treats the two of them in equal or parallel fashion."¹² Each receives unanimous approval to reign. This contradicts the account in Kings. The Chronicler notes how David and Solomon both interacted with the temple-building initiative. In Chronicles, "the work of David and Solomon centered on building the temple, with its completion appropriately noted in 2 Chronicles 8:16. . . . The two of them were concerned both with the ark and the temple. Their words and efforts gave legitimacy to the Jerusalem temple as the only appropriate worship site."¹³

The Chronicler also focuses on Levites, including their roles at the Jerusalem temple. Sermons in Chronicles are often called Levitical sermons—by Von Rad, for example. Levite genealogies occur in 1 Chr 5:27–41; 6:1–15, and 16–32. Levitical cities are delineated in 1 Chr 23–26.¹⁴

Finally, retribution as a theme occurs repeatedly in Chronicles. "The Chronicler often interprets divine punishments or blessings as a retributive response to a king's behavior. Rehoboam, for example, was attacked by Shishak I in his fifth year (1 Kgs 14:25–26) because he had forsaken the law of Yahweh the previous year (2 Chr 12:1). Asa became seriously ill in his old age (1 Kgs 15:23) because he had not relied on Yahweh in a war with Baasha and had imprisoned a prophet who rebuked him (2 Chr 16:7–10)."¹⁵

Main Themes and Emphases of Kings

As one reads Kings, main themes focused on by the Deuteronomist become discernable. Kings focuses on the conflict between the correct, divinely invested cult and the wrong, man-made cults. The most dramatic example of this conflict occurs on Mount Carmel, where Elijah challenges the priests of Baal to a contest of divine power between yhwh and Baal (1 Kgs 18:20–40). Another example of this reoccurring theme in Kings occurs with the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib, especially attested in the speech of Rabshakeh (2 Kgs 18:19–25; 27–35). This conflict also explains why Josiah is so well received by the Deuteronomist: he centralized the worship of yhwh and took efforts to disengage worship of any other god.¹⁶

11. See Knoppers, *1 Chronicles*, 137.

12. Klein, *ABD* 1:999–1000.

13. Klein, *ABD* 1:999–1000.

14. Klein, *ABD* 1:999.

15. Klein, *ABD* 1:1000.

16. See Steven W. Holloway, "Kings, Book of, 1–2," *ABD* 4.77.

Another theme in Kings concerns prophecy. Having an interest in prophecy, “Dtr regularly noted fulfillment of the word of yhwh.”¹⁷ Further, Steve Holloway writes, “In contrast to the prophetic corpus in the Hebrew Bible, virtually every prophecy (by a true prophet) in Kings pointedly linked with its fulfillment in the realm of history.”¹⁸ This theme becomes all the more interesting to modern scholarship when Josiah is killed by Necho and when the Davidic line of rule is broken by Nebuchadnezzar.

Additionally, Cogan writes “the two pervasive themes of Kings, the sins of Jeroboam and the promise to David of an eternal dynasty, find their culmination in the actions of Josiah.”¹⁹

Similarities between Kings and Chronicles

While much of scholarship (and this paper) concerns the differences between Kings and Chronicles, many similarities exist. This is due, in part, to homogenous subject matter. Knoppers suggests that “Chronicles complements and supplements the primary history, that is, Genesis through 2 Kings.”²⁰ Further, the Chronicler would have had access to the Deuteronomistic history (Deuteronomy through 2 Kings) when he compiled his book. Additionally, although Auld and Ho disagree, “some passages in the Chronicler’s narration of Judahite history presuppose texts known from Kings dealing with the northern kingdom, even though the Chronicler does not include these texts within his own narration.”²¹

From a theological standpoint, Kings and Chronicles are even more similar. Each pays specific attention to the Jerusalem temple and the worship of yhwh. Each lauds David and Solomon.²² Each carries a bias against the Northern Kingdom of Israel. Each is primarily didactic.²³

Differences between Kings and Chronicles

Kings, especially the second redaction, has a decidedly pessimistic view of Israelite/Judahite history. Only the slightest hint of optimism for the people of Yhwh is found. In the final lines of Kings, mention is made to Jehoiachin, the last, legitimate, Davidic ruler, being restored to a position of prominence while in exile by the Babylonian king Amel-Marduk. This may suggest hope

17. Cogan, *1 Kings*, 98.

18. Holloway, *ABD* 4:77.

19. Cogan, *1 Kings*, 97.

20. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles*, 135.

21. See Knoppers, *1 Chronicles*, 66–67.

22. Although, this admiration has limits within Kings.

23. Additionally, “Both works are profoundly concerned with the land—how Israel emerges in, consolidates its control over, and is finally expelled from the territory Yhwh gave it. The Primary history ends with Judah’s exile from the land, but the Chronistic History supplements this earlier work by announcing the people’s return” (Knoppers, *1 Chronicles*, 135).

for a return of the Davidic line to rule Judah. More so than Kings, Chronicles maintains some optimism for the people of yhwh. The last lines of Chronicles highlight Cyrus's decree in which Jews are encouraged to return to Jerusalem to build a temple to yhwh. Hope has been restored and permeates the Chronicler's work.

When comparing Kings and Chronicles historiographically, more differences emerge. Holloway argues, "More so than DTR, the Chronicler altered his sources and introduced midrashim to 'rectify' his historical datum according to the exigencies of his theological program."²⁴ Chronicles also includes more specifics and details, including conversations, than found in Kings.

Main Differences in 1 Kings 15:1–25 and 2 Chronicles 13:1–17:1

Looking specifically at 1 Kgs 15:1–25 and 2 Chr 13:1–17:1, I see three main areas of digression among the two histories. The first concerns Abijah's treatment in the histories. The second area of digression occurs when the two histories discuss the reign of Asa's, and specifically his reforms. The final divergence between the two histories centers on Hanani's rebuke of Asa. We will discuss each of these in turn.

2 Chronicles 13: 3–14:1: Abijah's Reign

Kings dedicates only eight verses to Abijah's reign, comparing Abijah negatively with the nearly ideal David. The Chronicler, however, writes 23 verses, including an impassioned diatribe in which Abijah exhorts the army of the northern kingdom to desist from attacking Judah's army. The account pits 800,000 Israelite soldiers against a force of 400,000 Judahites. These numbers are inflated for emphasis. While Kings comments about continuing hostilities between north and south, the events of the battle and the speech are found only in Chronicles. Kings recommends the "book of the annals of the kings of Judah" (1 Kgs 15:7) to the reader for further accounts, while Chronicles recommends "annotations of the prophet Iddo" (1 Chr 13:22). However, this last difference may not be significant after all.

The difference between the passages could be attributed to the Chronicler writing historical fiction or using additional sources. It is also possible the didactic purpose of Kings was not directly served by the inclusion of the passage and thus was omitted. While we are unable to check the sources available to the compilers of each history, looking at the apparent didactic themes and purposes of each book does shed light on this divergence. The variant passage in Chronicles shows a king who is wicked, by the Deuteronomist's account, triumphing in battle through providential intervention. Including this passage in Kings would not teach that the kings who prosper are exclusively kings who centralize worship and serve yhwh alone.

24. Holloway, *ABD* 4:79.

On the other hand, including this passage in Chronicles fits with one of the main themes of the Chronicler. Retribution, specifically divine retribution, is a main theme in Chronicles. Jeroboam, according to Abijah's speech, committed a grave offense against God when he rebelled and set up competing shrines in Dan and Bethel. Despite Jeroboam's superior army, God handed Jeroboam a crushing defeat. This defeated condition continued until his death (2 Chr 13:20).²⁵

2 Chronicles 15:1–15: Asa's Reform

While both Kings and Chronicles mention that Asa reformed the cultic worship in Judah towards a disavowal of Asherah and a renewed commitment to yhwh, only Chronicles highlights how Asa gained courage to enact his reform after hearing a prophesy from Azariah son of Oded (2 Chr 15:2–8). Similarly, only Chronicles records a large gathering of Judahites to Jerusalem where they renewed their covenantal relationship with yhwh and killed any and all who would not likewise covenant.

This variance between the Kings and Chronicles is less easily explained. Each book focuses on the temple and worship in Jerusalem.²⁶ Each gives praise to Asa as having a heart like David's. Perhaps the Deuteronomistic Historian figured the reader would have access to and consult "the book of the annals of the kings of Judah" (1 Kings 15:23), while the Chronicler felt that if he did not include the account, it would not be readily accessible to his audience. This argument, however, is tenuous.

2 Chronicles 16:7–10, 12: Hanani Rebukes Asa; Asa Afflicted

When Hanani rebukes Asa, he references Asa's battle with the Cushites, which may in part explain the earlier inclusion of the battle in Chronicles but not Kings (see 2 Chr 14:9–15). Hanani declares that Asa sinfully relied on Ben-Hadad to save Judah rather than relying on yhwh. Asa responds poorly to the rebuke Hanani gave him and throws Hanani into prison. Asa later is struck with a severe foot disease.

The Chronicler likely included this passage to illustrate his theme of divine retribution. The Deuteronomist, however, had no incentive to include a passage where an otherwise admirable king sins against God. In Kings, the focus centers on worshipping yhwh and excluding other gods from the pantheon. This story would not directly support the theme in Kings, so it was deemed unnecessary.

It could easily be argued that one might ascribe some of the above diver-

25. Additional variations occur in the texts but due to space constraints, I have omitted them. For example, in this section, Kings describes Maacah as the "daughter of Abishalom" (1 Kgs 15:2), while Chronicles describes Maacah as "a daughter of Uriel of Gibeah" (1 Chr 13:2).

26. See section on themes for Kings and Chronicles.

gences to disproportionate space constraints faced by the compilers. This is an especially valid argument for topics where one book, usually *Kings*, is silent. However, we have little evidence to support the claim that the compilers of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, who seem to have been connected to the ruling class (Josiah and Nehemiah, respectively), had significantly greater space constraints under Josiah's reign than under Nehemiah's governance.

The General Value of *Chronicles* as a Source

In evaluating historical sources, primary sources are preferred. In the case of *Chronicles*, it is compiled much after the majority events took place. Time duration between events and the record is vital in determining historical value of records. When Jerusalem was destroyed in 586 B.C.E., and the literate class taken into exile, historical information and records (king lists, for example) were most likely lost. Since *Chronicles* was compiled after the fall of Jerusalem, its value as a historical source is lessened.

The Chronicler had access to Genesis, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Zachariah, and the Deuteronomistic history. However, on a less positive note, Klein feels that the external sources mentioned in *Chronicles* are, in fact, sources from Deuteronomistic history that have been renamed. He doesn't believe the Chronicler had these sources available. While evidence exists for the Chronicler having additional source material, such as knowledge of Hezekiah's tunnel, none of these additional sources are explicitly named.²⁷

When we keep in mind that "the Chronicler altered his sources and introduced midrashim to 'rectify' his historical datum," the overall value of *Chronicles* overall value as a historical source is lessened.²⁸

The General Value of *Kings* as a Source

When compared with *Chronicles*, *Kings* gets slightly higher marks due to its earlier date of composition. *Kings* also relies on additional sources. The Deuteronomist explicitly mentions three sources utilized in compiling *Kings*: Book of the Deeds of Solomon (1 Kgs 11:41), Book of the Daily Deeds or *Chronicles* of the Kings of Israel (1 Kgs 14:19; 15:31; 16:5), and the Book of the Daily Deeds or *Chronicles* of the Kings of Judah (1 Kgs 14:29; 15:7).²⁹ Additionally, the author must have had access to "prophetic tales and narratives and Temple records."³⁰ These sources hint that they are close to what modern historians define as primary sources. Because the Deuteronomistic Historian used these sources, our using *Kings* as a source for modern historiography gains increased credibility.

27. Klein, *ABD* 1:996–97.

28. Holloway, *ABD* 4:79.

29. See also Holloway, *ABD* 4:71.

30. Cogan, *1 Kings*, 89.

However, less approving view points exist. Holloway writes, "1 and 2 Kings is a theological history; it does not attempt to offer an objective or dispassionate reportage of the 'facts.' Its authors were primarily concerned with the didactic possibilities of the reigns of their Kings for illustrating the interplay of the divine and human wills in light of the [audience.]"³¹

Regardless of the didactic intent of the Deuteronomist, historical kernels can still be gained from the text. For example, "generally speaking, the names and order of reigns of the monarchs of Israel and Judah in Kings are historically accurate."³²

Combined Value as Historical Sources

In assessing the combined value of Kings and Chronicles, we may benefit greatly from looking at these books from a relative perspective. Certainly, they do not in most instances qualify as primary sources under the modern historian's definition. But with that point being made, without Kings and Chronicles, historical knowledge of ancient Israel would be pitiful. Modern historians would, at best, be able to piece together an incomplete skeleton of the events that took place in Palestine from 1200 B.C.E. to 586 B.C.E. The historical knowledge of earlier years would be especially sparse. So then, a modern historian is faced with a dilemma. Do we use Kings and Chronicles, flawed as they are, to provide a framework (or a more complete skeleton) to which we can attach material data and related ancient Near Eastern primary sources? Answers to this question run the full spectrum of choice. My opinion is that modern scholars should use these books with caution, leading them to correlate the data in Kings and Chronicles with external evidence wherever possible. With that said, I see moderate historical value in a Kings-Chronicles bundle.

Conclusion

More so than any other book, the Bible inspires its readers to learn more about its subject matter. This inspiration led me to spend a summer term in Israel, just as it leads students and scholars of the Bible to continually learn more and delve deeper. As we try to flesh out a skeleton of historical events in the Hebrew Bible, we are confronted with dilemmas. What of the "histories" is actually history in the modern, critical sense? In using Kings and Chronicles as historical sources, we should take care to note the differences in the two and reason out whether what we are reading is valuable to historiography. The books of Kings and Chronicles have historical value. Our challenge is to define it.

31. Holloway, *ABD* 4:79.

32. Holloway, *ABD* 4:80.

CALLING A SPADE A SPADE: MEASURING THE RHETORICAL MERIT OF 2 AND 3 JOHN AGAINST DEMETRIUS'S *ON STYLE*

JONATHAN HARMON

When trying to gain insight into the occasion and background of the fourth Gospel, scholars often compare the Evangelist's language, ideas, and literary character against that of the first Johannine epistle. The differences found convince some critics that the two works are from different authors.¹ One such critic made the harsh statement that the author of 1 John had "a mind inferior to that of the evangelist in spiritual quality, in intellectual power and in literary artistry."² On the other hand, those convinced that the gospel and epistle share common authorship point to the Hebraisms more pervasive in Johannine literature than in any other New Testament writing. Wescott says of the epistles, "Generally it will be felt that the writing is thoroughly Hebraistic in tone."³ Neither argument, whether for common or different authorship, reflects well on the status of the author as a capable Greek author. In fact, generally, the capabilities of the author are thought to be mediocre at best. Raymond Brown characterizes a common opinion by stating, "Despite the almost elementary character of his Greek, the author's sentences are often infuriatingly obscure," and elsewhere refers to "the pervading obscurity of the grammar in these epistles."⁴ And yet, because the author of 1 John is generally considered the author of 2 and 3 John, it might be assumed that the author of 2 and 3 John was just such a humble Jew with meager literary training. However, examination of both contemporary Hellenistic educational practices not only allows for, but even suggests, a solid rhetorical education in the Hellenistic fashion.

1. Raymond E. Brown gives a daunting list of critics in, *The Epistles of John* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1982), 20.

2. C. H. Dodd, "The First Epistle of John and the Fourth Gospel," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 21 (1937): 129–56.

3. Brooke Foss Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John: The Greek Text with Notes and Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1892), 1340; see also Nigel Turner, "The Style of the Johannine Epistles," in *Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1980), 4.132–38.

4. Brown, *Epistles of John*, 10, 13.

A Hellenistic rhetorical background must be allowed for because rabbinic learning had been influenced as early as the second century c.e. by Hellenistic rhetorical practice. Saul Lieberman quotes a second-century rabbi commenting on the type of instruction at his father's school: "There were a thousand young men in my father's house, five hundred of whom studied the Law while the other five hundred studied Greek wisdom."⁵ Lieberman makes his own conjectures: "It is hard to believe that this attitude toward Greek culture was limited only to the house of the patriarch. We know how eagerly the middle class imitates the upper class and how readily the lower strata follow the example of the middle groups."⁶

We may be presented with a picture of a rabbinic school model from Palestine which taught both Jewish and Greek culture. Elsewhere Lieberman comes just short of proposing that certain rabbinic methods of exegesis, particularly *gezerah shavah*, were close or equivalent to rhetorical techniques prescribed in Hellenistic rhetorical theory, especially since evidence for them both appears to be synchronic.⁷ Much research has been done comparing *chreia*, or "pronouncement stories" used as grammatical exercises in Greek schools, to Midrashic Aggadah. This similarity is manifested in Rabbinic commentaries on scripture that used Greek rhetorical tropes and methods of argumentation.⁸ It is not unreasonable, then, to conclude that *progymnasmata*, or at least techniques from their pages, may have been used in Jewish education of the first and second centuries.

Rhetorical education seems even more within John's reach because it trickled down through all stages of Hellenistic education—from advanced grammar students to elementary pupils learning how to read and write Greek. Raffaella Cribiore has shown that the view of Greek education in three stages—first letters, then grammar, and finally rhetoric for the most advanced students—was less rigidly distinguished than originally thought. She describes ancient models of schools, particularly for which Libanius' *Hermeneumata* provides witness, that range from elementary schools teaching a little grammar, schools with both elementary and grammar instruction, grammar schools teaching a few students to write, and grammar schools giving its pupils initial rhetorical exercises and reading assignments from the orators. Cribiore points to Augustine as a product of this type of rhetorical exercise.⁹ Furthermore, she cites the expediency for private tutors to teach whatever their employers wanted as sufficient motivation for even a

5. Saul Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Life and Manners of Jewish Palestine in the II–IV Centuries C.E.* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1942), 20.

6. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, 21.

7. Saul Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950).

8. Burton L. Visotzky, "Midrash, Christian Exegesis, and Hellenistic Hermeneutic," in *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash*, ed. Carol Bakhos (Supplements of the Journal for the Study of Judaism; Boston: Brill, 2006), 125.

9. Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), 38.

common grammarian to also be a rhetorician. For Hellenistic educators to increase job security, she says, “the division into three distinguished levels [primary teacher, grammarian, and rhetor] was not so rigid.”¹⁰ Overall, after having presented the ancient witnesses, she concludes, “The extant evidence challenges not only the rigid and uniform organization of ancient schooling that past historians of education have pronounced the norm, but also the recently proposed, more realistic model of a two-track system.”¹¹

Thus even if the author of the Johannine epistles had no access to the same world-class Hellenistic education as later Christians, such as Tertullian, Augustine, Clement of Alexandria, or Origen, his Jewish background did not preclude a firm command of Greek and rhetorical theory. In light of this evidence presented, we may construct a much more inclusive view of education in Palestine—one that may have included the basics of epideictic and deliberative rhetoric in Hellenistic argumentation. There is no reason to doubt that Jewish teachers, even at an intermediate level, would have taught methods of speech and presentation attested from the Greek *progymnasmata* as well.

But admitting the possibility of some rhetorical training is not the same as recognizing good rhetoric in the author’s writing. Just because a good education was available to John does not mean he actually had one. Critics may still point to the frequent Hebraisms and especially to the unintelligibility (at least to a modern audience!) of some of the Greek in parts of the first epistle as mistakes that should have been avoided had John been adequately trained. This argument, however, does not allow for the author’s ability to vary his style to fit his audience. Brown has even posited the likelihood that certain expressions and phrases would have been received with more comprehension by the Johannine first-century audience than by modern readers.¹² It is certainly possible for a skilled writer to alter his or her style to fit the immediate audience. Evidence for this is provided by Marcus Aurelius, who writes his meditations in the standard literary Koine of the day, yet nevertheless apologizes, in a letter to his mother, for using any words that may not be sufficiently Atticized.¹³ Even though Atticized Greek may not be an issue in 2 and 3 John, Marcus Aurelius’ statement suggests the author’s freedom to vary style depending on the context of the composition, whether the variation is between Atticized and Koine Greek or merely between elevated and simpler Koine.

Nevertheless, allowance for stylistic variation must be supported by evidence that the author is in command of his Greek. If John has purposefully simplified his Greek, what evidence is there that his style is deliberate and not simply an effort to write in a language in which he has limited skill? What

10. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 45.

11. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 17–18.

12. Brown, *Epistles of John*, 18.

13. Marcus Aurelius, *Epistles* 22.16–20, as cited in James K. Aitken, “Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecclesiastes,” *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 38 (2005): 55–77, 174. M. Aurelius also praises similar letters to his mother from Rusticus which were “without affectation” (ἀφελώς) (*Meditations* 1.7).

is the difference, a critic may ask, between an author who “dumbs down” his language and an author who is himself “dumb”? In his influential work on New Testament rhetorical criticism, Kennedy has advocated the use of Græco-Roman rhetoric as a means by which the text can be understood in a first-century setting:

My goal . . . is the more historical one of reading the Bible as it would be read by an early Christian, by an inhabitant of the Greek-speaking world in which rhetoric was the core subject of formal education and in which even those without formal education necessarily developed cultural preconceptions about appropriate discourse.¹⁴

Therefore, if Kennedy is correct and the second and third epistles of John can be understood through rhetorical criticism as understood in antiquity, ancient rhetorical handbooks must be consulted to determine whether John, or any other ancient writer, applies rhetorical principles with skill. As Porter rightly points out, some rhetorical technique may be gleaned simply from the surrounding environment,¹⁵ so if any evidence of the author’s training is to be established within a text, there should be a close correlation between the techniques in a handbook and how they are employed in a text.

Demetrius’s *On Style* offers such a correlation between John’s style in the second and third epistles and what Demetrius calls the “plain style.” Plain rhetoric, according to Demetrius, is characterized by common diction (the same words), among which there should be no compound or newly coined words. The writing should be “lucid,” which he interprets as a clarity and ease of reading. “Ambiguity should be avoided,” says Demetrius, and among it the figure of *epanalepsis*, or long lists separated by a repeated conjunction. Repetition also contributes to clarity. Where concision is charming, repetition is often clearer. Dependent clauses are also cautioned against, which makes text a bit longer but certainly clearer. Demetrius advocates ending clauses, dependent or otherwise, with precision so as not to delay the conclusion of a sentence.

It would be a mistake, for instance, to say that the lack of diversified diction in John is a sign of poor education or lack of knowledge of Greek. Upon deeper examination, John’s diction reveals a more strict adherence to Demetrius’s guidelines. John uses simple common diction when he wants to be clear, as Demetrius advocates.¹⁶ ἀγάπη and its derivatives (2 John 1, 3, 5, 6; 3 John 5, 6) are used to the exclusion of any synonym, as is ἀληθεία (2 John 1, 2, 3, 4; 3 John 3, 4, 8, 12) and, to lesser degrees, ἐντολή (2 John 4, 5, 6), μαρτυρία (3 John 3, 6, 12), and χάρις (2 John 3, 4, 12; 3 John 3, 4). As Demetrius cautions, John uses coined or rare words sparingly, the only example being φιλοπροτεύων in 3

14. George Alexander Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation Through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 5.

15. Stanley E. Porter, “Paul of Tarsus and His Letters,” in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period: 330 B.C.–A.D. 400*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (New York: Brill, 1997), 535.

16. Demetrius, *On Style*, § 190–92.

John. The words are simple enough to be recognized even by a modern audience and even exemplify another of Demetrius's plain virtues: repetition. "For the sake of clarity," says Demetrius, "the same thing must often be said twice over."¹⁷ Demetrius explicitly mentions "twice over" as if it is not endless repetition he advocates, but coupled emphases. When tracking the above-mentioned words in John, they are found always to come in couplets, of which no less than 17 can be identified in the latter two letters.¹⁸ Two of them are in the first three verses of 2 John:

- 1) καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐγνωκότες τὴν ἀλήθειαν.
- 2) διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὴν μένουσαν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἔσται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα·
- 3) ἔσται μεθ' ἡμῶν χάρις ἔλεος εἰρήνη. . .

The underlined words mark couplets. Their sharing of the same case is an example of what *ad Herrenium* refers to as *conduplicatio*,¹⁹ which, according to Lanham, is the repeating of words in succeeding clauses.²⁰ Another characteristic of coupled repetition in 2 and 3 John is the author's strict care to keep his repetitions together. In 2 John 4–6, forms of the word ἐντολή appears four times. Nevertheless, the four are divided into two by the repetition of ἀγάπη in two different forms:

- 4) καθὼς ἐντολὴν ἐλάβομεν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός.
- 5) καὶ νῦν ἐρωτῶ σε, κυρία, οὐχ ὡς ἐντολὴν γράφω σοι καινὴν ἀλλὰ ἣν εἶχαμεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἵνα ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους.
- 6) καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγάπη, ἵνα περιπατῶμεν κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ· αὕτη ἡ ἐντολή ἐστίν. . .

The three couplets help to connect three teachings. The first teaching establishes truth in the original commandment received from the father. The second teaches that the original commandment was to love one another, and the third defines love as walking according to the commandments. A third couplet exists in 3 John 3–4, in which the couplets are not just words but whole phrases:

- 3) καθὼς σὺ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ περιπατεῖς.
- 4) μειζότεραν τούτων οὐκ ἔχω χαρὰν, ἵνα ἀκούω τὰ ἐμὰ τέκνα ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ περιπατοῦντα.

Couplets with entire phrases also exist in 2 John 9 "μένων ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ," and

17. Demetrius, *On Style*, § 197.

18. 2 John 1, 2–3, 4–5, 5–6, 6, 7a, 7b, 9, 10–11a, 10–11b, 3 John 1–2, 2, 3, 3–4, 7–8, 12a, 12b.

19. *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.28.38.

20. Richard A. Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

v. 3, “μεθ’ ἡμῶν.” These and the aforementioned couplets of single words help both to insulate ideas within other ideas (ἐντολή/ἀγάπη) and to link other ideas for the sake of unity and clarity.

Another characteristic of John’s clarity is his predominant preference for paratactic over hypotactic sentences. Demetrius recommends these over longer, more complex sentences:

Try not to make your periodic sentences too long. Take this sentence: “For the river Achelous, flowing from Mount Pindus, passing inland by the city of stratus, runs into the sea.” Make a natural break here and give your listener a rest: “For the river Achelous flows from Mount Pindus, and runs into the sea.” This version is far clearer. Sentences are like roads. Some roads have many signposts and many resting places; and the signposts are like guides. But a monotonous road without signposts seems infinite, even if it is short.²¹

Demetrius’s first example from Thucydides exhibits a high degree of subordination within a short sentence with the two subsequent clauses subordinated to the first. Thucydides’s phrasing is quite effective at conveying the sense of rambling appropriate to a winding river before it empties into its destination. Nevertheless, Demetrius’s rephrasing, although it omits detail is more straightforward. It matches his model of a road with signposts giving the reader a good sense of where the sentence is headed. This “signposting” is accomplished through ending clauses quickly rather than having the reader wait for a thought to resolve itself.

In the plain style the members should end with precision and rest on a sure foundation as in the examples just quoted. Prolonged endings belong rather to the elevated style as in the words of Thucydides: “the river Achelous flowing from Mount Pindus, etc.”²²

Although it may be unclear what Demetrius means by “precision,” a clue to its meaning may be present in his advocating only the accusative or nominative cases to begin clauses.²³ Finally, it is interesting to note that this avoidance of hypotaxis is recommended explicitly as it applies to letter writing:

There should be a certain degree of freedom in the structure of a letter. It is absurd to build up periods, as if you were writing not a letter but a speech for the law-courts. And such labored letter-writing is not merely absurd; it does not even obey the laws of friendship, which demand that we should “call a spade a spade,” as the proverb has it.²⁴

Long members must be particularly avoided in composition of this type. Length always tends to elevation.²⁵

21. Demetrius, *On Style*, § 202.

22. Demetrius, *On Style*, § 206 (cf. § 45, 202).

23. Demetrius, *On Style*, § 201.

24. Demetrius, *On Style*, § 229.

25. Demetrius, *On Style*, § 204.

Although Demetrius does not specify why he excludes periodic style from “plain speaking,” calling a spade a spade, it is clear that he associates the two not only with each other, but with letter writing.

John’s letters contain no examples quite so illustrative as Thucydides’s passages, but he nevertheless demonstrates an affinity for parataxis over subordination—especially at the closing of his letters, where it is especially preferable to keep the most important parting paranesis clear. Examples of such closing paraneses come in both letters. From 2 John comes an exhortation to forbid hospitality for false teachers:

9) πᾶς ὁ προάγων καὶ μὴ μένων ἐν τῇ διδασκῇ τοῦ χριστοῦ θεὸν οὐκ ἔχει· ὁ μένων ἐν τῇ διδασκῇ, οὗτος καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἔχει.

10) εἴ τις ἔρχεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ταύτην τὴν διδασκίαν οὐ φέρει, μὴ λαμβάνετε αὐτὸν εἰς οἰκίαν καὶ χαίρειν αὐτῷ μὴ λέγετε·

Both verses 9 and 10 contain conditional phrases which exhibit a small degree of subordination. In verse 9, the singular nominative present active participles serve as the protasis (“if someone does not remain in the teaching,”) of the apodosis (“then they do not have God”). The parataxis becomes evident when the ease of inserting an adverb is observed. The sentence might easily read, θεὸν οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ὁ μένων ἐν τῇ διδασκῇ. Verse 10 likewise joins its thoughts together with conjunctions rather than subordinate participles or adverbs, “If someone comes to you and does not have this teaching, do not receive him AND do not greet him.” Using participles, the sentence might be more neatly put, “εἴ τις μὴ ταύτην τὴν διδασκίαν φέρων ἔρχεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς . . .” or simply replace a conjunction with a relative pronoun, “εἴ τις ἔρχεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ᾧ ταύτην τὴν διδασκίαν οὐ φέρει, . . .” Another example of a plain closing comes in 3 John 12, in which the character of a witness is commended: “Δημητρίῳ μεμαρτύρηται ὑπο πάντων καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ μαρτυροῦμεν, καὶ οἶδας ὅτι ἡ μαρτυρία ἡμῶν ἀληθὴς ἐστίν.”

The lack of subordination is almost awkward here, and its prominence emphasizes Gaius’s, the recipient’s, acknowledgment of the Presbyter’s integrity as a witness. Instead of beginning the clause with a καὶ as if joining together two clauses that were important enough to be taken each as distinct units, the author could very easily have subordinated the last clause to the first, since both are in actuality talking about the same thing: “καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀληθῶς μαρτυροῦμεν, ἦν ἀληθεῖαν οἶδας,” or just “καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀληθῶς μαρτυροῦμεν, ὥς οἶδας.” The resulting clauses are shorter, retain of the specificity of the first, and yet are not as clear. In the first rephrasing, ἦν ἀληθεῖαν might refer to what is expressed ἀληθῶς, but it does not directly link the true witness to ἡμεῖς, as in the example from the letter. The second example is even more vague, as it could refer to simply the act of witnessing or to the truth of the witness.

For further contrast between the plain and elevated styles, the closings of

the Johannine letters could be compared to how Ignatius, writing in second century c.e. Asia Minor, closes his letters. His style is much more elevated and employs a greater degree of subordination, as can be seen in his parting words to the Ephesians:

προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ,
ὅθεν δεδεμένος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπάγομαι,
ἔσχατος ὢν τῶν ἐκεῖ πιστῶν,
ὥσπερ ἡξιώθην εἰς τιμὴν θεοῦ εὐρεθῆναι.²⁶

Not only does the passage display a greater level of subordination than the two examples from John, but it has violated Demetrius's injunction not to delay the resolution of a clause too long; the relative clause beginning with ὅθεν is the result of the cause given in the last relative clause beginning with ὥσπερ, but cause and effect are interrupted by the participial phrase beginning with ἡξιώθην. Examine Ignatius' closing to the Magnesians:

Σπουδάξετε οὖν βεβαιωθῆναι ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων,
ἵνα πάντα,
ὅσα ποιεῖτε,
1 κατευοδωθῇτε σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι,
2 πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ,
3 ἐν υἱῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἐν πνεύματι,
4 ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ ἐν τέλει,
μετὰ τοῦ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτου ἐπισκόπου ἐμῶν
καὶ ἀξιοπλόκου πνευματικοῦ στεθάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου ὑμῶν
καὶ τῶν κατὰ θεὸν διακόνων.²⁷

The ἵνα purpose clause introduces a large subordinate clause, made even more prominent by the asyndeton of datives beginning with σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι in the middle. This clause exhibits further qualities of elevation by interlacing schemes of homoteleuta in every other line (πνεύματι, πνεύματι; ἀγάπῃ, τέλει), and amplifying the homoteleuta by making the alternating lines isocola (lines 1 and 3 each contain eleven syllables, and 2 and 4 contain six and seven syllables, respectively).

Finally, it must be pointed out that a plain style is not, according to Demetrius, the result of a feeble imagination or lack of stylistic finesse, but rather a careful effort to make ideas clear. He names the "arid" style as a "faulty counterpart" of the plain style, which, although it is not elevated, is nevertheless unclear because of its lack of vividness, a quality Demetrius praises in the plain style: "We shall treat first of vividness, which arises from an exact narration overlooking no detail and cutting out nothing."²⁸

26. Ignatius, *Ephesians* 21.2.

27. Ignatius, *Magnesians* 13.1.

28. Demetrius, *On Style*, § 209.

Contrast this with the arid style “found when a writer describes a great event in terms as trivial.”²⁹ Then Demetrius gives examples of epic battles described in trivial terms. Yet this objection is not only against using trivial terms when describing the great, but against obscuring the true character of something using inappropriate or euphemistic words. Later Demetrius uses a euphemism for sexual intercourse to illustrate this arid style. In short, the arid style can be spotted by its failure to “call a spade a spade.”³⁰

John, especially in his invective, takes care not to mask the activities and character of his opponents with vague words. Before even mentioning Diotrephes’ name in 3 John, the author calls him φιλοπρωτεύων, a *hapax legomenon*, and goes on to accuse him of slandering members of the church and uses the word φλυαρῶν to do so. The verb φλυαρέω (“to speak nonsense”), says Brooke, “emphasizes the emptiness of the charges which Diotrephes brings against the Elder in so many words.”³¹ The word is found only here in the New Testament, yet it is fairly common in other writers;³² in other words it is rare enough to be vivid yet not rare enough to be excluded from the plain style. Then, to make sure his audience knows he is not leaving out any details, he prefaces his next accusations with καὶ μὴ ἀπκούμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις, to give the feeling that he is heaping fault upon fault. He then accuses Diotrephes of not only rejecting emissaries to the church but also of throwing out sympathizers. The last line is especially vivid:

10) . . . οὐτε αὐτὸς ἐπιδέχεται τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους κωλύει καὶ
ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλει

The already violent act of throwing out members of the congregation is amplified by the assonance of the κ repeated in such close proximity to each other. The style here is consistent with the context. Consistently, Demetrius cites this kind of assonance or “cacophony” as characteristic of vividness.³³ It may be too much to speak of the style here as forced, since it avoids brevity, metaphor, and other features which Demetrius attributes to the forceful style, but the indictment remains vivid and avoids the euphemisms and bland words which might result from an arid style.

In both letters John maintains a close correlation with Demetrius’s prescriptions for a plain style, assumedly done for clarity; he wants his audience to make no mistake about receiving only authorized missionaries, his feelings against his opponents, and his love for his congregations. In both letters he uses common,

29. Demetrius, *On Style*, § 237.

30. Demetrius, *On Style*, § 229.

31. Alan England Brooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Johannine Epistles* (International Critical Commentary 43; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1912), 190.

32. Herodotus, *Histories* 2:131, 7:104; Aristophanes, *Equites* 545; Isocrates, 575; Plato, *Republic* 337b, *Gorgias* 490e, Diogenes Laertius, 173.

33. Demetrius, *On Style*, § 219.

consistent diction; in both letters he repeats those words and ideas which he considers important and in need of clarification. In both letters he favors paratactic sentence construction rather than clause subordination, exactly as prescribed by Demetrius. In both letters he maintains vividness and uses appropriate words to avoid the "aridity" Demetrius attributes to the careless or incapable stylist. Demetrius makes the correlation close by prescribing this style to letter-writing. Thus, it becomes likely that the author of the second and third epistles follows, if not the handbook itself, then principles derived from it in some degree of formal rhetorical training.

Demetrius himself cautions critics against disparaging the style of an author on grounds of simplicity; they may mistake careful lucidity and vividness for unremarkable mediocrity. He specifically cites critics of Ctesias as having made this mistake: "The charge of garrulity often brought against Ctesias on the ground of his repetitions can perhaps in many passages be established, but in many instances it is his critics who fail to appreciate the writer's vividness."³⁴

Although observations may be made concerning obscure grammar in some places, this should not lead to suppositions that John the Elder's Greek composition is crude or that he had little Hellenistic training. It has already been shown that at least some rhetorical training was available to those in Palestine during the period and that this rhetorical training was not necessarily restricted to what was observed in everyday speech or in observed orations. Furthermore, even though it is possible John learned rhetoric from simple observations, his careful constructions and the closeness with which he adheres to Demetrius's guidelines cannot be ignored. It is more likely that he made good use of formal rhetorical training in whatever degree he received it.

34. Demetrius, *On Style*, § 219.

TEMPLES, COINS, AND PERSECUTION: WHY THE PAGANS PERSECUTED THE EARLY CHRISTIANS

SAMUEL FLETCHER

It is common knowledge that the Romans were tolerant of most religions, as long as they posed no threat to the political or social structure. In fact, the worship sites of these various sects provided for an intricate network of cash flow within the Empire. These worship sites included the temples of the ancient world, and with trends in Christian conversion they faced a dramatic change in their economic utility. Temples were central to the economy. The Romans persecuted the Christians in part because the government saw the rapid growth of Christianity as a threat to that economic utility. Surely this was not the only reason for the persecutions, but it does offer some color to what may often appear black and white.

Jesus Christ, the very symbol and centerpiece of Christianity, went up into Jerusalem “and found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting” (John 2:14). Like the pagan temples of the time, the temple in Jerusalem had become a hub of commerce. This was nothing extraordinary for that time period, considering that it was common practice in pagan temples. Temples were the banks of old, the economic catalysts in which trade was the name of the game. They served as the vessels for very large endowments in money from “all over the Roman Empire as well as from Babylonia and Arabia.”¹ These large endowments of money, as well as the buying and selling of goods and other related practices, enabled the temples to serve as locations for state currency exchange (hence the term “money changers”). Furthermore, some of these “holy places” maintained complete sales monopolies regulated by law.²

If these temples were indeed keystones to economy then it makes sense that the Roman Empire would concern itself with keeping their activity continuous and stable. An unstable economy is the last thing any government wants to deal with. It is not easy to win the support of your people when the economy is

1. F. M. Heichelheim, “Rome Syria,” in *An Economic Survey of Rome*, ed. Tenney Frank (Paterson, N.J.: Pageant Books, 1959), 4.228.

2. Heichelheim, “Public, Municipal and Temple Finances,” 225.

collapsing. Whether the government is actually to blame is irrelevant. However, the government certainly cared about the temples, and was directly involved with their operations on multiple levels. It was already mentioned that in some districts the government maintained sales monopolies that controlled the commerce of the city markets. In a city where purchasers of animals for sacrifice were scarce, the economy again flourished near a temple estate after Pliny got his hands in on its operations by carrying out many Christian trials and executions. Writing of these trials and of his first encounter with Christianity, Pliny tells Trajan:

For the contagion of this superstition has spread not only to the cities but also to the villages and farms. But it seems possible to check and cure it. It is certainly quite clear that the temples, which had been almost deserted, have begun to be frequented, that the established religious rites, long neglected, are being resumed, and that from everywhere sacrificial animals are coming, for which until now very few purchasers could be found. Hence it is easy to imagine what a multitude of people can be reformed if an opportunity for repentance is afforded.³

Notice that Pliny tells us that it did not spread only to the cities but also to the villages and to the farms. This “contagion” of Christianity disrupted the norm. The already established religious rites shifted the worship practices, and their temples to a large degree lost their magnetism. Pliny expressed relief for the economy’s balance of supply and demand when he said that “from everywhere sacrificial animals are coming, for which until now very few purchasers could be found.” Due to the spread of Christianity, a previous center of commerce had come into disuse, at least until Pliny took care of things. Clearly, the Christian trials brought the desired reconciliation.

In addition to the economic role that temples played for society as a whole, they were also a means of generating both mass imperial and personal fortunes. Those who controlled the temples gained power and wealth. This economy was developed and in place before the Christian persecutions began, and our records tell us that these temple estates were used for that very purpose—to beef up the royal properties and wealth.

Pompey gained control of a number of territories where there were several “petty princes and high-priests of small temple-states who were confirmed in their offices, placed under the protection of the provincial governors, and ordered to pay tribute to Rome. The annual revenues that accrued from these new dependencies almost doubled Rome’s public income.”⁴ Tenney continues noting that Pompey did this primarily with an “interest in the revenues to be collected.”⁵

3. Pliny, *Letters* 10.96–97.

4. Frank Tenney, *An Ancient History of Rome* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1962), 177.

5. Tenney, *Ancient History of Rome*, 177.

No matter the location or the sect, temples were the center of significant commerce. Again, it is not difficult to imagine why it was so important to the leaders of Rome that the temples were not suddenly forsaken. Consider another economic example that would set the stage for Christian persecutions.

In 25 b.c.e., Amyntas, the king of Galatia, was killed in battle. Augustus Caesar, who took over his kingdom, inherited all the temple estates of the Galatians and accrued a substantial sum of wealth.⁶ Besides increasing his royal properties and wealth with these temple estates, he did a few other things that contributed to temples being central pieces in the developing economy of the empire. These accomplishments played a part in the persecution of the Christians on the basis of their disruption of temple activity.

First, Augustus Caesar established peace and united the empire after years of civil war. This new peace was certainly beneficial to trade within the empire, not to mention the many miles of road he both constructed and renovated to better connect its various lands. The easier trade became, the more important temples became as banks. As trade became more and more universal, so did the demand for a common measure of value. This is more easily understood in light of Caesar's second accomplishment, the establishing of the empire's universal currency—the denarius.

"For the first and last time in their history," Harl says, "the peoples of the Mediterranean enjoyed, in the denarius, a common measure of value."⁷ This new Augustan coinage, he continues, "owed its success foremost to the economic growth stimulated by the Roman peace, but the coinage itself contributed to this growth by facilitating transactions, both large and small."⁸ The denarius he explains is the keystone "against which all other coins, including provincial and civic ones, could be reckoned and exchanged."⁹ This exchange took place in the temples by the money-changers or bankers.

Banking is as old as coinage sponsored by a state. Because of the confusion of uncoordinated local coinage the earliest bankers were money-changers who sat at their tables."¹⁰ The temples also "attracted the surplus funds of states." In "addition to currency exchange, deposits, and loans temple banks could arrange transfer of funds from one part of the ancient world to another."¹¹

The conductors of these transactions were the money-changers that Jesus alluded to. They sat at the tables of the temples, and the busier the temple the more important the money changers because they helped to facilitate the

6. Tenney, *Ancient History of Rome*, 375–76.

7. Kenneth Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy, 300 B.C. to A.D. 700* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 73.

8. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy*, 73.

9. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy*, 73.

10. Neill Q. Hamilton, "Temple Cleansing and Temple Bank," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 83 (1964): 365–72.

11. Hamilton, "Temple Bank," 366.

expansion of the denarius as “a currency whose design and engraving could not fail to inspire confidence.” The iconography “depicted the emperor and his family at the heart of Roman traditions.”¹² Christ asked the chief priests to bring him a penny and asked them, “Whose is this image and superscription?” (Matt 22:20–21) And what was the answer? “Caesar’s.”

Temples played such a significant role in the established economy of the empire that as attendance dropped, the local economic results were unsettling. Later, commercial banks would develop, but for the time being too much centered around temple activity. What happened at the temples was, of course, more than just sacrificial rites. People came to sell animals and others to purchase. Taxes and loans ran through the temple. It was more than religion; it was economy. People’s jobs were being affected. After his trials Pliny noted with approval that purchasers could again be found for the sacrificial animals brought to the temple. I submit the lessening support of temples as a contributing factor to the persecution of the Christians.

12. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy*, 74.

THE *KERYGMATA PETRI* RECONSTRUCTED

JASON OLSON

The following are excerpts from the Clementine Homilies as translated in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* series. The choice, arrangement, and titles of excerpts follows the reconstruction given by Johannes Irmscher and George Strecker in *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2.531–41. The *Kerygmata Petri* is known only from the Pseudo-Clementine literature and must be distinguished from the Preaching of Peter quoted by Clement of Alexandria. The *Kerygmata Petri* is a series of fictional sermons of Peter and his disputations with Simon the Gnostic. Though scanty and fragmentary, the evidence concerning Jewish-Christian sects indicates their practices and beliefs were diverse and that there was not one such sect at a certain point in history but a variety of movements at different stages of development. The *Kerygmata Petri* is believed to be a source for the basic document (dating to the third century c.e.) of the *Pseudo-Clementines*, which was incorporated into the Recognitions and the Homilies of Clement. The *Pseudo-Clementines* achieved their final form in the fourth century c.e.

The *Kerygmata Petri* is evidence that Jewish Christians continued to obey the Law of Moses long after Jesus' Resurrection. They believed that Jesus himself had commanded them to do so forever. There is also evidence that the Jewish Christians and even Jesus taught that the Jewish nation is a part of God's plan and was to be governed by the Law of Moses.

Clementine Homilies 3.51–52

And His sending to the scribes and teachers of the existing Scriptures, as to those who knew the true things of the law that then was, is well known. And also that He said, "I am not come to destroy the law," and yet that He appeared to be destroying it, is the part of one intimating that the things which He destroyed did not belong to the law. And His saying, "The heaven and the earth shall pass away, but one jot or one tittle shall not pass froth the law," intimated that the things which pass away before the heaven and the earth do not belong to the law in reality. Since, then,

while the heaven and the earth still stand, sacrifices have passed away, and kingdoms, and prophecies among those who are born of woman, and such like, as not being ordinances of God.

Polemic against Paul: Clementine Homilies 7.19

If, then, our Jesus appeared to you in a vision, made Himself known to you, and spoke to you, it was as one who is enraged with an adversary; and this is the reason why it was through visions and dreams, or through revelations that were from without, that He spoke to you. But can any one be rendered fit for instruction through apparitions? And if you will say, "It is possible," then I ask, "Why did our teacher abide and discourse a whole year to those who were awake?" And how are we to believe your word, when you tell us that He appeared to you? And how did He appear to you, when you entertain opinions contrary to His teaching? But if you were seen and taught by Him, and became His apostle for a single hour, proclaim His utterances, interpret His sayings, love His apostles, contend not with me who accompanied with Him. For in direct opposition to me, who am a firm rock, the foundation of the Church, you now stand. If you were not opposed to me, you would not accuse me, and revile the truth proclaimed by me, in order that I may not be believed when I state what I myself have heard with my own ears from the Lord, as if I were evidently a person that was condemned and in bad repute. But if you say that I am condemned, you bring an accusation against God, who revealed the Christ to me, and you inveigh against Him who pronounced me blessed on account of the revelation. But if, indeed, you really wish to work in the cause of truth, learn first of all from us what we have learned from Him, and, becoming a disciple of the truth, become a fellow-worker with us.

Peter in this quote is responding to Paul's preaching against the Law of Moses. Peter is showing the difference between his physical revelation of Christ compared to Paul's vision. He is accusing Paul of rebellion against him and the other Apostles's authority. This would support the Jewish Christian claim that Paul was trying to destroy the Law and the Jewish nation.

Clementine Homilies 11.19

Therefore He made use of this memorable expression, speaking the truth with respect to the hypocrites of them, not with respect to all. For to some He said that obedience was to be rendered, because they were entrusted with the chair of Moses. However, to the hypocrites he said, "Woe to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye make clean the outside of the cup and the platter, hut the inside is full of filth."

Here Peter is quoting from Matthew 23:1–3, where Jesus commands the Jews to obey the Mosaic teachings of the Pharisees. Jesus had trust in some of the Pharisees to teach the Law, but others he considered hypocrites.

Clementine Homilies 11.19

But who is there to whom it is not manifest that it is better not to have intercourse with a woman in her separation, but purified and washed. And also after copulation it is proper to wash. But if you grudge to do this, recall to mind how you followed after the parts of purity when you served senseless idols; and be ashamed that now, when it is necessary to attain, I say not more, but to attain the one and whole of purity, you are more slothful. Consider, therefore, Him who made you, and you will understand who He is that casts upon you this sluggishness with respect to purity.

Peter is commanding the Jewish disciples of Jesus to continue with the ritual Mosaic purification laws.

Conclusion

We hope to find more of these ancient sources that will tell us how the early Jewish Christians saw the Roman world around them, and how they felt about the Law of Moses. These sources argue that Jesus himself taught the Jews to never give up the dream of an independent Jewish national homeland. This would mean Jesus is the protector and preserver of the Jews, and is not equated with the destroyer of the Jews as some Christian commentators have historically portrayed him.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Earliest Christian Manuscripts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins, by Larry W. Hurtado. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006. 248 pp. \$22.00 (paperback). ISBN: 0802828957.

As one of the best recognized scholars of early Christianity, Larry Hurtado has spent much of his career analyzing the history and context of early devotion to Jesus. His most recent authored publication, *Earliest Christian Artifacts*, has earned him world-wide recognition as a papyrologist. The book seeks to bridge a chasm that exists between classical papyrology and Christian theology. There is a hole in the field of New Testament studies, one that swallows most students and scholars. Surprisingly, most are not familiar with the most important documents from which we derive our New Testament. Eerdmans has done it again and published a book that must be negotiated by anyone who wishes to merge the fields of textual criticism and traditional history and theology.

A brief glance at the textual apparatus of the Greek New Testament will illustrate the point. Whenever possible the editors will turn to the papyri to settle textual disputes, their reasoning being that the earlier the text is, the closer it must be to the original reading. These most ancient witnesses are not only important because of the text that is on them, but also for what the texts themselves can tell us about the communities that used them. Thus, the manuscripts serve as artifacts the same way that a coin or vase would to a Roman archaeologist digging in Italy. Hurtado's masterful study is divided into two main sections that treat the texts themselves (i.e. their contents), as well as the scribal features that are contained in them to discuss the texts from earliest Christianity.

This first section comprises two chapters; one on the contents of the texts and the another on the form of the books. First, Hurtado summarizes the types of works that survive from the second and third centuries. One would think that the Christians of the post-apostolic era used something similar to our Bible, this is not the case. From Old Testament texts to those of our new testa-

ment to apocryphal writings to those of second and third generation leaders, the corpus is rich and varied. While it is true that some works were localized and important only to those who lived in those locations, some texts spread rapidly and survive in incredible numbers considering the conditions that have had to exist for millennia for them to survive. One such text is the Shepherd of Hermas. It is universally accepted that Hermas was written in the first half of the second century c.e. There are, however, texts that survive from the sands of Egypt from the latter half of the second century and early years of the third. In fact, the Shepherd of Hermas was the most popular book to the early Church save the Psalms and the gospels of Matthew and John. This is but one example of many that could be shown to illustrate Hurtado's point, namely that texts were shared across huge regions and shows that, based upon the texts themselves, the early Church was more communal and translocal than has been previously argued.

Another way to distinguish between Christian works, Hurtado notes, is the form which the book takes. There is a striking contrast between traditional pagan works and Christianity's preference toward the codex. Indeed, one of the lasting contributions of Christianity to the world was the emphasis on the codex. It was easier for them to gather their different groups of texts (gospels, Pauline writings, etc.) in this form, and it took the rest of the world over three hundred years to begin using this style of book production at the same pace. Indeed, one of the early and lasting contributions of Christianity to the world at large was the emphasis on using the codex.

The second main emphasis of the book is an in-depth analysis of the distinctive Christian features of Christian manuscripts. Unfortunately, we can only sample two of the many that Hurtado describes in his book. First is the *nomen sacrum*, Latin for "sacred name." These *nomina sacra* (plural) are distinctly Christian features that almost certainly identify the theological provenance of the text. These *nomina sacra* are simply abbreviated forms of the Greek words they stand for, being the first and the last letters of the Greek name with a super linear stroke above them. Originally these belonged to a group of four words that were consistently modified but eventually grew to a group of 15 around the fourth century.

Another example of what a manuscript can tell the scholar about its usage has to do with its size. Simply stated, large texts were used in public, smaller ones were not. Readers' aids and other features (that are generally never found in non-Christian texts) are inversely proportional to smaller texts. Generally, anything smaller than 10 centimeters squared is considered to be a "mini-codex" and were used as personal travel scriptures and single passage amulets. Larger texts took much more time to prepare and were treated with more respect. There are breathing marks and visible dividers that separate sentences and thoughts in the texts. Obviously, the texts that have these features were seen as more important because they were used in a public setting and for the benefit of many. Since most people could not afford their own set of scriptures, hearing

them read aloud in church was the way they learned the doctrines and teachings that they considering binding to them and their salvation.

The great thing about this book is that it fills a definite void in the field of New Testament studies but does it in a way that will allow both the layman and scholar to access its groundbreaking information. All technical terms are thoroughly explained in their historical and textual contexts so as to convey knowledge to the reader as well as allow them to gain confidence to a very complex period in Christian history. The only thing remotely bad thing Hurtado can be accused of is perhaps being too simplistic on certain topics and not exploring the other side to his argument. But overall, this is a work that, in only a year and a half since its publication, has already proven itself to be seminal to the field of New Testament studies and required reading for anyone who wishes to approach a full understanding of early Christianity.

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BOOK NOTICES

AVALOS, HECTOR. *The End of Biblical Studies*. Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 2007. In this radical critique of his own academic specialty, biblical scholar Hector Avalos calls for an end to biblical studies as we know them. He outlines two main arguments for this surprising conclusion. First, academic biblical scholarship has clearly succeeded in showing that the ancient civilization that produced the Bible held beliefs about the origin, nature, and purpose of the world and humanity that are fundamentally opposed to the views of modern society. The Bible is thus largely irrelevant to the needs and concerns of contemporary human beings. Second, Avalos criticizes his colleagues for applying a variety of flawed and specious techniques aimed at maintaining the illusion that the Bible is still relevant in today's world. In effect, he accuses his profession of being more concerned about its self-preservation than about giving an honest account of its own findings to the general public and faith communities.

BOTTA, ALEJANDRO. *The Aramaic and Egyptian Legal Traditions at Elephantine: An Egyptological Approach*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2008. This is a study of the interrelationships between the formulary traditions of the legal documents of the Jewish colony of Elephantine and the legal formulary traditions of their Egyptian counterparts. The legal documents of Elephantine have been approached in three different ways thus far: first, comparing them to the later Aramaic legal tradition; second, as part of a self-contained system, and more recently from the point of view of the Assyriological legal tradition. However, there is still a fourth possible approach, which has long been neglected by scholars in this field, and that is to study the Elephantine legal documents from an Egyptological perspective. In seeking the Egyptian parallels and antecedents to the Aramaic formulary, Botta hopes to balance the current scholarly perspective, based mostly upon Aramaic and Assyriological comparative studies.

BROWER, KENT E., and ANDY JOHNSON, eds. *Holiness and Ecclesiology in the New Testament*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007. Throughout the biblical story, the people of God are expected to embody God's holy character publicly. Therefore, holiness is a theological and ecclesial issue prior to being a matter of individual piety. *Holiness and Ecclesiology in the New Testament* offers serious engagement with a variety of New Testament and Qumran documents in order to stimulate churches to imagine anew what it might mean to be a publicly identifiable people who embody God's very character in their particular social setting.

COLLINS, BILLIE JEAN. *The Hittites and Their World*. Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007. Lost to history for millennia, the Hittites have regained their position among the great civilizations of the Late Bronze Age Near East, thanks to a century of archaeological discovery and philological investigation. *The Hittites and Their World* provides a concise, current, and engaging introduction to the history, society, and religion of this Anatolian empire, taking the reader from its beginnings in the period of the Assyrian Colonies in the nineteenth century b.c.e. to the eclipse of the Neo-Hittite cities at the end of the eighth century b.c.e. The numerous analogues with the biblical world featured throughout the volume together represent a comprehensive and up-to-date survey of the varied and significant contributions of Hittite studies to biblical interpretation.

CRAWFORD, SIDNIE WHITE. *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008. The biblical manuscripts found at Qumran, contends the author, reflect a spectrum of text movement from authoritative scriptural traditions to completely new compositions. Treating six major groups of texts, she shows how differences in the texts result from a particular understanding of the work of the scribe—not merely to copy but also to interpret, update, and make relevant the scripture for the contemporary Jewish community of the time. This scribal practice led to texts that were “rewritten” or “reworked” and considered no less important or accurate than the originals. Propounding a new theory of how these texts cohere as a group, Crawford offers an original and provocative work for readers interested in the Second Temple period.

DUNN, JAMES G. D. *The New Perspective on Paul*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007. This collection of essays highlights a dimension of Paul's theology of justification that has been neglected—that his teaching emerged as an integral part of his understanding of his commission to preach the gospel to non-Jews and that his dismissal of justification “by works of the law” was directed not so much against Jewish legalism but rather against his

fellow Jews' assumption that the law remained a dividing wall separating Christian Jews from Christian Gentiles.

FINKELSTEIN, ISRAEL, and AMIHAI MAZAR. *The Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel*. Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007. Three decades of dialogue, discussion, and debate within the interrelated disciplines of Syro-Palestinian archaeology, ancient Israelite history, and Hebrew Bible over the question of the relevance of the biblical account for reconstructing early Israel's history have created the need for a balanced articulation of the issues and their prospective resolutions. This book brings together for the first time and under one cover a currently emerging centrist paradigm as articulated by two leading figures in the fields of early Israelite archaeology and history. Although Finkelstein and Mazar advocate distinct views of early Israel's history, they nevertheless share the position that the material cultural data, the biblical traditions, and the ancient Near Eastern written sources are all significantly relevant to the historical quest for Iron Age Israel. The results of their research are featured in accessible, parallel syntheses of the historical reconstruction of early Israel that facilitate comparison and contrast of their respective interpretations. The historical essays presented here are based on invited lectures delivered in October of 2005 at the Sixth Biennial Colloquium of the International Institute for Secular Humanistic Judaism in Detroit, Michigan.

GILLIS, CAROLE. *An Introduction to Ancient Greece: The Aegean and Its Neighbors from c. 7000–700 bc*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007. Carole Gillis's *Ancient Greece* is more than a concise synthesis of the Aegean area from Neolithic times to the rise of the Greek polis. It takes into consideration also the neighbouring areas of the Near East and Egypt and sets earlier Aegean civilizations in their wider context, removing them from the splendid isolation that seems sometimes to characterize the Minoan, Helladic, and Cycladic civilizations, as well as the Geometric and archaic periods.

GOODMAN, MARTIN. *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilizations*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007. In 70 c.e., after a four-year war, three Roman legions besieged and eventually devastated Jerusalem, destroying Herod's magnificent temple. Sixty years later, after further violent rebellions and the city's final destruction, Hadrian built the new city of Aelia Capitolina where Jerusalem had once stood. Jews were barred from entering its territory. They were taxed simply for being Jewish. They were forbidden to worship their god. They were wholly reviled. What brought about this conflict between the Romans and the subjects they had previously treated with tolerance? Martin Goodman—equally renowned in Jewish and in Roman studies—examines this conflict, its causes, and

its consequences with unprecedented authority and thoroughness. He delineates the incompatibility between the cultural, political, and religious beliefs and practices of the two peoples. He explains how Rome's interests were served by a policy of brutality against the Jews. He makes clear how the original Christians first distanced themselves from their origins and then became increasingly hostile toward Jews as Christian influence spread within the empire. The book thus also offers an exceptional account of the origins of anti-Semitism, the history of which reverberates still.

GREGORY, ANDREW, and CHRISTOPHER TUCKETT, eds. *The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. This two-volume set incorporating *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* and *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*, offers a comparative study of two collections of early Christian texts: the New Testament; and the texts, from immediately after the New Testament period, which are conventionally referred to as the Apostolic Fathers.

HOGAN, PAULINE. *"No Longer Male and Female": Interpreting Galatians 3:28 in Early Christianity*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2008. Galatians 3:28, in particular the phrase, "There is . . . no longer male and female; for you all are one in Christ Jesus," would seem to point towards an ethos of gender equality among Christians. Acting on this assumption, a number of scholars have considered the phrase significant in reconstructing attitudes towards women in early Christianity. Until now, however, a study of the history of interpretation of Gal 3:28 has been lacking. The exploration of the post-New Testament career of the verse is therefore the focus of this book. The approach is historical-critical, discussing the exegesis of Gal 3:28 in the context of attitudes about the roles of women in the first four centuries CE. This study reveals that early Christians did not always approach this verse with the same concerns as modern readers. Ancient commentators brought several different questions to their discussion of Gal 3:28, and it is impossible to discover the trajectory in exegesis of this verse that might have been expected. It becomes apparent that during the first four centuries of Christianity most writers treated Gal 3:28 as a statement about the identification of Christians with Christ and therefore an indication that in the resolution of various differences into unity, they could achieve an ideal state. While some writers applied this concept to status differences between men and women, others used it to discuss the qualities of the ideal disciple, the character of the first created human beings, the state of the believer in heaven, and even the nature of God.

KNOHL, ISRAEL. *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007. Israel Knohl offers a

different perspective on the history and theology of the Priestly source of the Pentateuch. By means of an analysis of specific texts—for example, texts that deal with the Sabbath and the Festivals—Knohl demonstrates the existence of two separate priestly sources, loosely connected with what we have known as P and the Holiness Code. The “Holiness School” is shown to be active subsequent to that of the Priestly Torah and, in fact, to be responsible for the great enterprise of editing the Torah. Knohl examines the conceptions of divinity and ritual reflected in Priestly thought and legislation in ancient Israel and the changes revealed in these conceptions over time.

LUIJENDIJK, ANNE MARIE. *Greetings in the Lord*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008. This is the first book-length study on Christians in the ancient Egyptian city of Oxyrhynchus, the site where some of the most important and oldest fragments of early Christian books were unearthed. Bringing back to life the people in these dry papyrus letters and documents, the book reveals how diverse Christians lived in this city of diverse situations.

METTINGER, TRYGGVE N. D. *The Eden Narrative: A Literary and Religio-Historical Study of Genesis 2–3*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007. The Eden Narrative transforms our understanding of the story of Eden and the fall in Genesis 2–3, a text of cardinal importance in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Using the tools of literary and religiohistorical analysis, Mettinger demonstrates that this is a well-integrated text about the divine testing of the first two human beings. The author goes on to show that the ontological boundary between the divine and human realms was a theme known to other ancient Near Eastern cultures as well. He proceeds by means of step-by-step analysis, with discussions of narratology, theme, genre, and the tradition history of the biblical text; he includes significant sidelights from Mesopotamian literature.

NICKELSBURG, GEORGE W. E. *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007. In this groundbreaking publication, originally published in 1972, George Nickelsburg places ideas in their historical circumstances as he probes biblical and postbiblical texts and challenges widely accepted scholarship. This book provides a window into aspects of the ancient apocalyptic worldview whose dynamics and functions are often misunderstood.

PETRAPOULOU, MARIA-ZOE. *Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greek Religion, Judaism, and Christianity, 100 BC to AD 200*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. A study of animal sacrifice within Greek paganism, Judaism,

and Christianity between 100 b.c.e. and 200 c.e. After a vivid account of the realities of sacrifice in the Greek East and in the Jerusalem Temple, Maria-Zoe Petropoulou explores the attitudes of early Christians toward this practice and the reasons why they ultimately rejected it.

RUSSELL, NORMAN. *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. Deification was not only a pagan concept but a metaphor for a deeply Christian view of the purpose of human life. Norman Russell brings together much recent research on the Church Fathers from the second to the seventh centuries, offering an analysis of their spiritual teaching and setting it within the context of the times.

SABIN, PHILIP. *Lost Battles: Reconstructing the Great Clashes of the Ancient World*. London: Hambledon & London, 2008. The great battles of Alexander, Hannibal, and Caesar arouse endless interest, but our understanding of them is marred by the weakness of the surviving source material from so long ago. *Lost Battles* employs simple simulation techniques to make traditional battle diagrams “come to life.” Readers will actually be able to reflight engagements for themselves, gaining greater insights into whether proposed tactics and deployments make military sense, and experimenting with alternative possibilities such as the presence or absence of the Persian cavalry at Marathon. This book is the culmination of ideas and models developed and refined by Sabin in the course of over 15 years.

VAN DER TOORN, KAREL. *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007. The scribes of ancient Israel are indeed the main figures behind the Hebrew Bible, and this book tells their story for the first time. Drawing comparisons with the scribal practices of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, van der Toorn details the methods, assumptions, and material means that gave rise to biblical texts. Traditionally seen as the copycats of antiquity, the scribes emerge here as the literate elite who held the key to the production and the transmission of texts.

VAN SETERS, JOHN. *The Edited Bible: The Curious History of the “Editor” in Biblical Criticism*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2006. A generally accepted notion in biblical scholarship is that the Bible as we know it today is the product of editing from its earliest stages of composition through to its final, definitive, and “canonical” textual form. So persistent has been this idea since the rise of critical study in the seventeenth century and so pervasive has it become in all aspects of biblical study that there is virtually no reflection on the validity of this idea” (from the Introduction). Van Seters proceeds to survey the history of the idea of editing, from its origins in the pre-Hellenistic Greek world, through Classical and Medieval times,

into the modern era. He discusses and evaluates the implications of the common acceptance of “editing” and “editors/redactors” and concludes that this strand of scholarship has led to serious misdirection of research in modern times.

VOGT, PETER T. *Deuteronomic Theology and the Significance of Torah: A Reappraisal*.

Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007. One of the few areas of consensus in modern Deuteronomy scholarship is the contention that within the book there is a program of reform that was nothing short of revolutionary. Although there are divergent views regarding the specific details of this revolutionary program, most scholars agree that, in fundamental and profound ways, Deuteronomy was radical in its vision. This vision was expressed in key ideas: centralization of worship, secularization, and demythologization (of earlier traditions). However, Vogt argues that these ideas fail to account adequately for the data of the text of Deuteronomy itself. Instead, he claims, at the heart of Deuteronomic theology is the principle of the supremacy of Yahweh, which is to be acknowledged by all generations of Israelites through adherence to Torah. Thus, the book of Deuteronomy is in fact radical and countercultural, but not in the ways that are usually adduced. It is radical in its rejection of ANE models of kingship and institutional permanence, in its emphasis on the holiness of life lived out before Yahweh, and in its elevation of Yahweh and his Torah.

WILLIAMSON, H. G. M., ed. *Understanding the History of Ancient Israel*.

Proceedings of the British Academy 143. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. In popular presentation, some treat the Bible as a reliable source for the history of Israel, while others suggest that archaeology has shown that it cannot be trusted at all. This volume debates the issue of how such widely divergent views have arisen and will become an essential source of reference for the future.