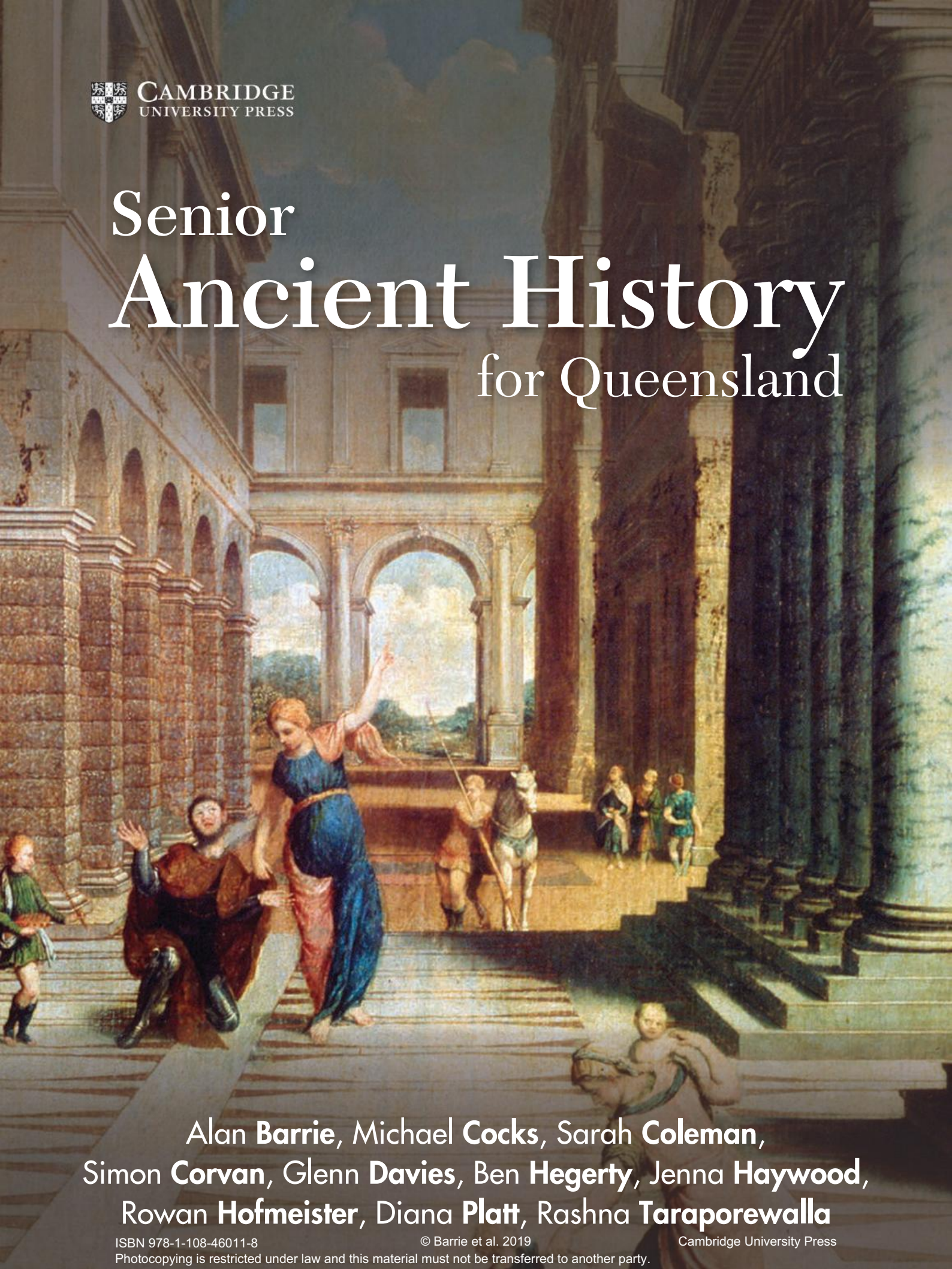


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Senior Ancient History for Queensland

Alan **Barrie**, Michael **Cocks**, Sarah **Coleman**,
Simon **Corvan**, Glenn **Davies**, Ben **Hegerty**, Jenna **Haywood**,
Rowan **Hofmeister**, Diana **Platt**, Rashna **Taraporewalla**

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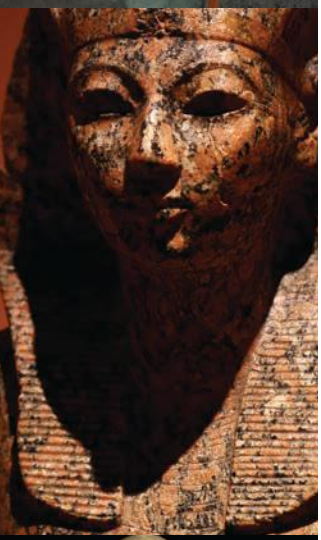


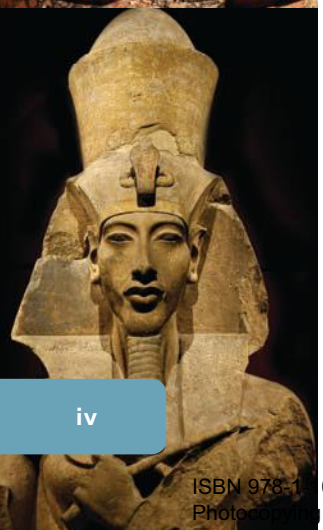



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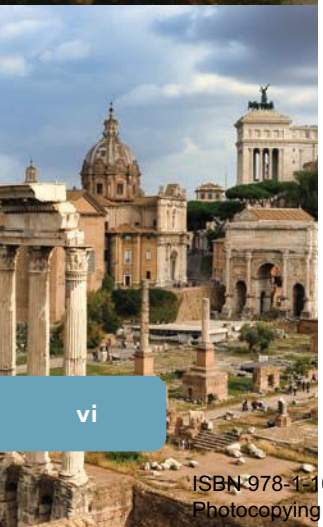


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ADDITIONAL RESOURCES (available for download from Cambridge GO)

- Historical Skills Toolkit
- Primary sources – general information summary
- Exemplar historiography exercise (Crusades)
- Greece – the Persian Wars (to be read in conjunction with Chapter 19)
- Greece – the Peloponnesian War (to be read in conjunction with Chapter 20)

For a list of links to all the websites referred to in this book, go to www.cambridge.edu.au/snrancientqld

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About the authors



Alan Barrie

Alan has been a teacher of history and ancient history at Brisbane Grammar School for 19 years. He has also worked with QCAA for 13 years as a Panel Member and as chief examiner of the Queensland External Ancient History Examination. Alan has presented at numerous conferences, was a member of the expert panel writing team for the new Queensland Ancient History Syllabus, and has developed further resources for QCAA with regard to the new syllabus.

Michael Cocks



Michael began teaching in 2011 and is a senior history teacher at Toowoomba Grammar School in Queensland. Michael also runs the educational history website, www.HistorySkills.com. Furthermore, he is a fact-checker for *BBC History Magazine*, was a 2015 finalist in the QCT Teaching Excellence Awards and is a Microsoft Innovative Education Expert.



Sarah Coleman

Sarah is currently employed at Trinity Anglican School in Cairns, where she is Head of Faculty – English. With 13 years of teaching experience in the independent and Catholic sectors in Queensland, Sarah is a passionate history educator, and has presented at both the QHTA and HTAA conferences.

Simon Corvan



Simon is currently employed at All Hallows' School as the Head of Teaching, Learning and Professional Practice where he is responsible for the continuous improvement of teaching and learning practices, and the further enhancement of the school's academic culture. Previously Simon was the Head of Social Sciences at All Hallows'.



Glenn Davies

Glenn has been a secondary history teacher in Queensland schools since 1991. He has been a Head of Department since 1997, and is currently Head of Social Science at Craigslea State High School and lectures in history method at Australian Catholic University. He has been member of the State Executive, Queensland History Teachers' Association since 2003, presented at QHTA and HTAA National Conferences, participated in various QCAA committees and previously written five secondary history textbooks.

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Jenna Haywood

Jenna currently teaches English and History at Genesis Christian College in Brisbane. Along with holding positions such as Head of English (Senior) across her career, she specialises in ancient history and was part of the staff team who led a group of senior students on the college's first humanities European study tour to Italy, France and the United Kingdom.

Ben Hegerty



Ben Hegerty is an ancient history teacher and the Leader of Learning – Humanities and Social Sciences at Stuartholme School in Brisbane. He has been the vice-president of the Queensland History Teachers' Association (QHTA), a Brisbane Central District panellist and acting panel chair for Ancient History and organiser of QHTA's ancient and modern history student seminars. Ben has also been a presenter at state and national education conferences and workshops.



Rowan Hofmeister

Rowan Hofmeister is currently employed with Education Queensland as an ancient history and social sciences teacher. Previously he was employed in the independent education sector for nine years teaching ancient history and serving in curriculum leadership. Since 2013, Rowan has served as a district review panellist for ancient history, involved in the moderation of student work.

Diana Platt



Diana Platt is currently employed as an ancient history and study of religion teacher at Carmel College Thornlands, where she has taught for the last seven years. She has been a teacher of ancient history for over five years, in two different schools, and has been a district panel member for three years. She is excited to be involved in projects that create worthwhile resources for students and teachers.



Rashna Taraporewalla

Rashna holds a master's degree in classical archaeology from the University of London and a doctorate in ancient history from the University of Queensland. She has lectured in ancient history within the School of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics at the University of Queensland and has also lectured at Queensland University of Technology, teaching education students the content of the ancient history syllabus. Rashna is currently Head of Curriculum Development in Humanities (Years 7-8) at Brisbane Girls Grammar School.

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How to use this resource

Unit openers

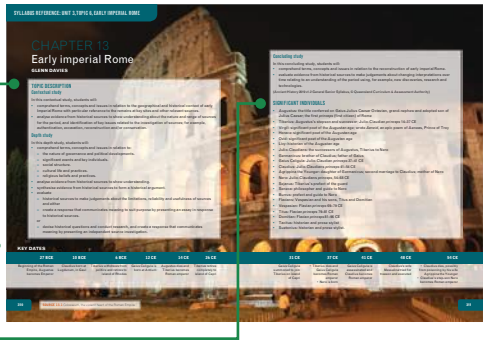
Each Unit of *Senior Ancient History for Queensland* begins with an opener that contains the unit description, unit objectives, key conceptual understandings and key inquiry questions from the Ancient History Senior Syllabus. It also shows a list of the chapters contained within the Unit.

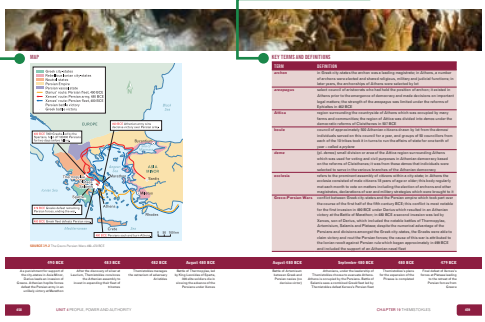


Chapter openers

Each chapter opens with several pages of relevant information, including:

- syllabus reference
- topic description from the syllabus
- list of key dates
- significant individuals in the topic
- map of the area relevant to the topic
- key terms and definitions





Objective headings

Syllabus objectives are shown throughout the chapters, indicating how the content aligns to the outcomes.

Sources

In line with the inquiry approach, the book contains a wide array of primary and secondary sources, both textual and visual.



Activites

Activity questions help you engage with the sources, with questions that support you in developing skills across all the objectives.

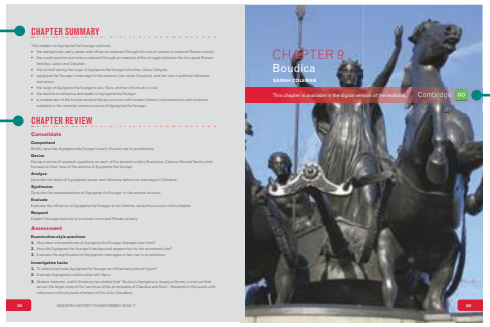
Activities are also available as Word files, **downloadable** from Cambridge GO or within the Interactive Textbook.

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End of chapter sections

At the end of each chapter you will find a:

- **chapter summary** – outline of the main ideas covered in the chapter
- **chapter review** – a set of Consolidate questions, aligned to the objectives, as well as examination-style questions and assessment tasks.



Additional digital chapters and resources

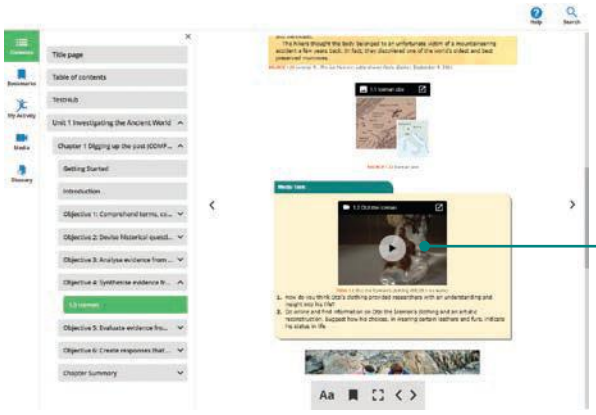
The book contains seven full digital-only chapters, available within the Interactive Textbook, or for offline use.

Other digital resources, available for download as PDFs from Cambridge GO, include a Historical Skills toolkit and materials to help you use sources in this book for study of some other topics in the syllabus.

Interactive textbook

The online Interactive Textbook contains the full text of the print book, plus the seven digital-only chapters. In addition, it includes:

- **videos**, with related **media tasks**, to enrich the learning experience
- additional **sources** and **activities** to extend on material in the print version
- the ability to **zoom** in on maps, for a closer examination



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Foreword

I would like to thank Cambridge University Press for having the foresight to plan a textbook for the new Queensland Ancient History Syllabus through the collaboration and contributions of Queensland teachers themselves. Every contributor in this textbook has an underlying passion and love of ancient history and a professional desire to truly help both the teachers and students who read this work feel comfortable with understanding the new system; in providing relevant historical content knowledge and narrative; providing enriching source based analytical and evaluative exercises and experiences; and step by step guidance in explicit thinking skills and skills development.

Each chapter in this textbook is specifically structured around the syllabus objectives, and content is aligned with the skills requirements required for each objective. While many activities fulfill more than just one objective, nonetheless the appropriateness or 'best fit' for the activities has been considered about their placement within each chapter.

A blend of narrative and inquiry

The chapters are constructed such that the investigation and inquiry into primary sources link consistently and specifically to the coherence of subject narrative. Narrative is the bedrock to understanding, framing, and organizing knowledge, using the discourse (story) to create meaning using chronology, causality, issues of change, and continuity. Narrative connects the reader to the story, creating historical empathy and giving to the reader, through contemporarization and relevance, an appreciation as to the importance of history in preparing students for the demands and challenges of the 21st century. Blending narrative to inquiry - the investigation and exploration of types of historical sources, differences in perspective, bias, audience, motives and patters of evidence, to enhance historical thinking and use of appropriate terminology and language – helps construct meaning and understanding. Out textbook chapters are constructed in a way that the investigation and inquiry into primary sources link consistently and specifically to the coherence of subject narrative.

Additional resources

In addition to the chapters in this print book, and the digital-only chapters, there are some important additional downloadable resources. Two of these are the Historical Skills Toolkit and the Assessment Guide.

- Generally, the explicit teaching of skills has sadly been lacking in previous textbooks, and there is demand by the teachers in Queensland to have this situation rectified. The Historical Skills Toolkit seeks to address this through step-by-step guidance in processes that lead a) to the attainment of specific aspects of skills and b) the utilization of those skills in measuring against (and helping students succeeding in) the syllabus Objectives. Through instruction and example, skills pedagogy becomes accessible to everyone.
- The Assessment Guide seeks to give teachers and students direction and guidance into what all four assessment instruments, required under the new Syllabus to gain an ATAR, will look like.

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Selection of chapter topics

The textbook hopes to provide a range and balance of Ancient History topics, especially in the regions of Greece, Rome, Egypt, and the Middle Ages, and to avoid any overlap regarding topics. Many of the chapters on specific people to be used for the External Assessment are provided in digital format, to allow for potential updating when QCAA releases the topics for the External Exam in future years. Thus, the printed textbook uses several topics from Units 1 and 2 to help model the application of skills to objectives. Unit 3 topics have more historiographical elements suited to the Unit theme of Reconstructing the Ancient World, while the Unit 4 topics and enriched in detail to help develop further inquiry and investigation. There are also extra downloadable resources which support the study of some topics not explicitly covered by chapters.

All the chapters are designed in such a way that even if teachers wish to do a topic that is not covered in the textbook, they can still design a unit of work based on the example framework and skills focus of our textbook chapters.

Finally, it is our wish that this textbook is not only accessible and relevant to the students and teachers of Ancient History in Queensland, but can also be of value to and used by any teacher, and any student, in any educational institution that offers Ancient History, and that even the causal lay-reader might also find this publication of interest.

Alan J Barrie
Lead writer

The authors and publisher would like to thank Kay Bishop for kindly reviewing the textbook and providing feedback, and Chris Price for assisting with the Assessment component of the *Historical Skills Toolkit*.

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UNIT 1
Investigating the Ancient World

UNIT DESCRIPTION

In Unit 1, students investigate how the ancient past has been represented. Students explore the remaining sources and how they have been interpreted. Students focus on issues relevant to the investigation of the Ancient World in order to develop the skills of historiography. Students study issues related to evidence, including authentication, preservation, ownership and/or display of material from the Ancient World. Students also investigate how people lived in the Ancient World through an examination of the evidence of the social, political and economic institutions, and other significant features of society.

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UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to archaeology and ancient societies.
2. Devise historical questions and conduct research in relation to archaeology and the features of an ancient society.
3. Analyse evidence from historical sources to show an understanding about the Ancient World.
4. Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument in relation to archaeology and ancient societies.
5. Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about the Ancient World.
6. Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose in relation to the Ancient World.

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KEY CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDINGS

- reliability and usefulness of sources
- custodianship of the past
- interpretations, representations and perspectives
- the nature of evidence
- continuity and change
- cause and effect
- significance
- empathy
- contestability.

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KEY INQUIRY QUESTIONS

- What can archaeological evidence tell us about the lives of ancient peoples?
- How do ancient societies reflect the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of ancient peoples?

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CHAPTERS IN THIS UNIT

CHAPTER	
Chapter 1	Digging up the past (COMPULSORY)
Chapter 2	Slavery in Roman society 753–133 BCE
Chapter 3	Weapons and warfare of the Vikings 700–1100 CE
Chapter 4	The family in Spartan society c. 700–371 BCE
Chapter 5	Beliefs, rituals and funerary practices in Egypt during the Ramesside period (19th and 20th Dynasties)

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CHAPTER 1
Digging up the past (COMPULSORY)

DIANA PLATT

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - differences between primary and secondary sources as well as literary and non-literary sources.
  - ways in which archaeological sites have been discovered.
  - various methods of excavation, including grid excavation.
  - roles and responsibilities of members of an archaeological team.
  - ways in which evidence from the Ancient World has been lost and rediscovered.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about:
  - problems of authenticity; for example, the identification and origin of ancient artefacts, human remains and documents.
  - the reliability of ancient writers who did not witness the events they describe.
  - the condition of artefacts and the impact on their use as evidence.
  - methods and results of scientific analysis (forensic techniques) and modern preservation of remains.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - methods of authentication; for example, scientific and comparative dating techniques for documents and objects, and cross-referencing of ancient sources.
  - the nature of the site(s), and the condition and extent of the remains.
  - the role of museums in acquiring, collecting and storing artefacts and cultural materials.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about archaeological issues.
- devise historical questions and conduct research.
- synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument.

KEY DATES

1748 CE	1784 CE	1799 CE	1819 CE	1822 CE
Discovery of the ruins of Pompeii. The destruction of the ancient Roman city by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE left the city trapped in time	First scientific excavation undertaken by Thomas Jefferson	Discovery of the Rosetta Stone by French soldiers during the Napoleonic Wars in the port city of el-Rashid in Egypt	Three-age system developed by Danish scholar Christian J. Thomsen	Egyptologist Jean-François Champollion deciphers the Rosetta Stone

SOURCE 1.1 An archaeological dig site

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- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about archaeological sites and issues. Some examples include:
  - ancient sources that have been deemed to be fakes or forgeries over time and the difficulties of authentication associated with these sources, the motivations of the perpetrators of fakes and forgeries, and the significance of the evidence they were intended to provide about the ancient past.
  - the nature and significance of cultural property for the society to which it belongs, and arguments for and against the return of cultural property to descendants or peoples who claim ownership.
  - the condition of human remains and how they were preserved, discovered and/or removed from where they were found; issues of conservation and preservation of the site(s), for example, factors that threaten the integrity or survival of the ancient site (environmental factors, war, terrorism, pillaging, poverty); the effectiveness and appropriateness of methods used to preserve, conserve and/or reconstruct the site(s); relevant national or international charters or conventions (such as UNESCO's charters) and international efforts to protect sites of world heritage significance.
  - the nature and impact on cultural heritage of looting, and the illegal trade of antiquities.
  - the significance of human remains for an understanding of the life and times in which they lived, such as the social status of individuals, the beliefs and practices of the society, the health of ancient populations, and the nature of the environment.
  - ethical issues relevant to the treatment, display and ownership of remains, such as the use of destructive methods of scientific analysis.
  - the reconstruction of ancient site(s), such as paintings, historical fiction, film, documentaries, museum displays and virtual worlds, and understanding their use for propaganda.
  - contributions of museums to an understanding of ancient ways of life, and the question of whose past is represented in museum displays and exhibitions.
- create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose.

Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

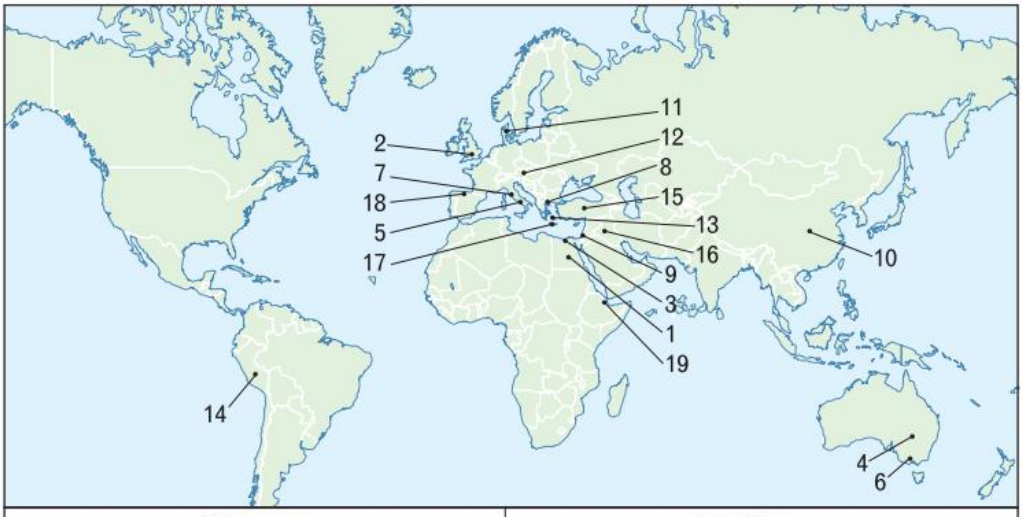
- comprehend terms, concepts and issues around the discovery, treatment and preservation of archaeological evidence.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about modern cultural depictions of archaeology and archaeologists; for example, in literature or films such as the Indiana Jones series and *The Mummy*.

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1827–1900 CE	1850s CE	1859 CE	1860–70 CE	1868 CE
General Pitt-Rivers develops organised excavations in southern England	Henry Rawlinson cracks Mesopotamian cuneiform script	Theory of evolution developed by Charles Darwin	Excavation at Pompeii by Giuseppe Fiorelli	The Paleolithic cave of Altamira was discovered by a hunter, in the modern town Santillana Del Mar of the Cantabria region in northern Spain

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MAP



	Discovery	Location
1	Tutankhamun's Tomb	The Valley of the Kings, Egypt
2	Grave of Richard III	Leicester, England
3	Rosetta Stone	El-Rashid, Egypt
4	Mungo Man and Mungo Woman	Lake Mungo, Australia
5	Pompeii	Near Naples, Italy
6	Lake Condah	Victoria, Australia
7	Herculaneum	Ercolano, Campania, Italy
8	Tomb II Vergina	Vergina, Imathia, Macedonia
9	Dead Sea Scrolls	Wadi Qumran, West Bank Isreal
10	Terracotta Army	Xi'an, China
11	Tollund Man	Jutland peninsula, Denmark
12	Ötzi the Iceman	Ötzal Alps, Austria
13	Akrotiri, Thera	Santorini, Greece
14	Machu Picchu	Machu Picchu, Peru
15	Priam's Treasure	Hisarlik, Turkey
16	Royal Tombs of Ur	Desert, Iraq
17	Palace Of Knossos	Heraklion, Greece
18	Cave of Altamira	Santillana Del Mar, northern Spain
19	Lucy	Afar Triangle, Ethiopia

SOURCE 1.2 Map of major archaeological discoveries

1873 CE	1878 CE	Nineteenth century CE	1880s CE
Heinrich Schliemann discovers Priam's Treasure of Troy in the Turkish town of Hisarlik	Rediscovery of the Palace of Knossos, Crete, by Minos Kalokairinos	Stratification developed by geologists. Further developed and used by Petrie in 1890; Schliemann 1871–90; General Pitt-Rivers and pioneered by Giuseppe Fiorelli 1860 in Pompeii	Oscar Montelius refines the concept of seriation (typology) different from those developed by Pitt-Rivers and Petrie

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SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

- Heinrich Schliemann
- Howard Carter
- Sir Arthur Evans
- Louis Leakey
- Mary Leakey
- Sir Leonard Woolley
- Zahi Hawass
- Brian M. Fagan
- Tatiana Proskouriakoff
- Jean-Francois Champollion
- Henry Rawlinson
- Manolis Andronikos
- John Marshall
- Sarah Parcak
- Matthew Stirling
- General Augustus Henry Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers
- Sir John Gardner Wilkinson
- Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie
- John Lubbock
- Dorothy Garrod
- Lewis Binford
- Sir Mortimer Wheeler
- Hiram Bingham
- Vere Gordon Childe
- Carlo Lerici.

KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

TERM	DEFINITION
ancient sources	any written or non-written materials created that can be used to investigate the past. Ancient sources include: written materials (such as extracts from historical narratives, literary works, biographies and letters), archaeological materials (such as archaeological sites, human remains, inscriptions – epigraphic sources, coins – numismatic sources, tombs, buildings, reliefs and artwork, statues, weapons, and tools and artefacts), and maps or diagrams. These sources are analysed by the historian to answer questions about the past. Sources created between 650–1500 CE may also be important to the study of some ancient societies
archaeologist	a person who studies the physical aspects of human history and prehistory across three categories: field, university or academic and museum. *Field archaeologists* often work in the field through excavating sites and recording the results *University or academic archaeologists* conduct their own research and often teach and train archaeology students *Museum archaeologists* work to preserve places and objects for the future

1892 CE	1900 CE	1911 CE	1922 CE
Sir William Flinders Petrie, considered the father of Egyptology, becomes the first Professor of Egyptology in England	The 35-year excavation of the Palace of Knossos by Arthur Evans begins	Discovery of the Incan citadel Machu Picchu by Hiram Bingham III in Peru	• Discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb by Howard Carter • Sir Leonard Wooley excavates the Royal Tombs of Ur, an ancient Sumerian city

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TERM	DEFINITION
archaeology	the study of human history and prehistory through the excavation of sites and the analysis of physical remains
artefact	object made by a human, typically of cultural, social and historical importance
authentication	process of verifying the origins of an artefact or object and establishing it as genuine
baulk	the unexcavated ground between the trenches on an excavation site, often used as a section face
botanist	expert on plant life
Bronze Age	time period categorised by weapons and tools made from bronze, an alloy of copper and tin; followed by the Iron Age
cartographer	a person who creates maps
conservation	methods of preserving material, artefacts and sites
context	often includes the place of discovery or information regarding artefacts or authors, and assists in providing meaning about purpose to assist in interpretation
cultural heritage	protection of sites, places and artefacts that are of cultural significance
culture	the way a group of people lived their everyday lives
datum point	a fixed point at an excavation site used to make measurements when drawing a map, plan or stratigraphic diagram; often made permanent with the use of a brass marker or concrete
dendrochronology	dating method based on the cross section of trees using the tree rings, which are indicative of annual growth as well as environmental factors
epigrapher	expert on inscriptions
ethnographer	expert on peoples and cultures, focusing on customs, beliefs and political systems, kinship, material culture and mutual differences
excavation	the process of removing earth to discover what lies beneath

1930–1935 CE	1946 CE	1949 CE	1950 CE	1952–58 CE
Mortimer and Tessa Wheeler develop the grid excavation technique	Dead Sea Scrolls discovered by a shepherd in Wadi Qumran; the retrieval of the scrolls took 10 years	Willard F. Libby develops radiocarbon dating	The discovery of the remains of Tollund Man in the peat in the Jutland, a peninsula in Denmark	Kathleen Kenyon refines the method of excavation developed by Mortimer and Tessa Wheeler

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TERM	DEFINITION
evidence	the information obtained from sources that is useful for a particular inquiry (for example the relative size of historical figures in an ancient painting may provide clues for an inquiry into the social structure of the society); evidence can be used to help construct a historical narrative, to support a hypothesis or to prove or disprove a conclusion
frequency seriation	the measurement of the frequency or abundance of design styles
Gondwanaland	a vast ancient continental area believed to have existed in the Southern Hemisphere and to have resulted from the break-up of Pangaea in Mesozoic times which comprised present-day Arabia, Africa, South America, Antarctica, Australia, New Zealand and the peninsula of India
historiography	the study of how history is constructed by exploring the way history has been written in the past (usefulness may include relevance, authenticity and accuracy depending on the source and the context in which it is used)
Iron Age	time period categorised by weapons and tools made from iron, although stone and bronze weapons were still used
keyhole excavation	excavation of small narrow trenches, carefully placed to check critical details of the site
modern sources	any written or non-written materials created after the end of the late Middle Ages (around 1500 CE) that can be used to investigate the ancient past. These sources are often accounts about the past, which use or refer to ancient sources and present a particular interpretation. Modern sources include written materials such as extracts from historical narratives, literary works, biographies, historiographical texts, reconstructions, documentaries, maps, diagrams and websites
numismatist	expert on coins and medals
open area excavation	an excavation method where the entire area is excavated, it has a horizontal layout which provides better understanding of the site

1960 CE	1967 CE	1969 CE
Underwater archaeology is developed with the discovery of the Bronze Age Cape Gelidonya shipwreck off the coast of Turkey by George Bass	Discovery of Akrotiri, Thera, a Minoan Bronze Age settlement. Similar to Pompeii, the Theran eruption of 1627 BCE preserved the town	• Discovery of Mungo Man and Mungo Woman at Lake Mungo in New South Wales confirms the ancient origins of the Aboriginal peoples of Australia • Discovery of settlement at Lake Condah in Victoria

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TERM	DEFINITION
palaeoanthropology	the study of the members of the genus *Homo* (humans are *Homo sapiens*), to investigate the origins and traits of the often extinct members over millions of years
palynologist	expert on pollen, grains and other spores
Pleistocene	a geological time that was important due to the human evolution of the hominid of which *Homo sapiens* are the only remaining species; it was characterised by extensive ice and glaciers in the Northern Hemisphere and was thought to be around 11 000 to 2 million years ago
primary sources	objects and documents created or written during the time being investigated (that is during an event or very soon after); examples of primary sources include official documents (such as laws and treaties), personal documents (such as diaries and letters), photographs, films and documentaries. These original, firsthand accounts are analysed by historians to answer questions about the past
radiocarbon dating	method used to determine the age of organic material by testing the residual level of carbon-14
repatriation	the return of objects or human remains to their original homeland
secondary sources	accounts about the past that were created after the time being investigated, and which often use or refer to primary sources and present a particular interpretation; examples include writings of historians, encyclopaedias, documentaries, history textbooks, and websites
section face	the edge of a trench and baulk which is exposed to show a vertical face that can be used to record stratigraphy
seriation	a dating method which establishes a timeline based on the types of sites or artefacts as a result of shape, feature or method of creation

1970s CE

Development of dendrochronology

1974 CE

- Farmers in Xi'an, in the province of Shaanxi, China, discover the Terracotta Warriors of Qin Shi Huang, the first Emperor of China
- The discovery of 'Lucy', the skeletal remains of a female Australopithecus afarensis by paleoanthropologists in the Afar Triangle, Ethiopia

1977 CE

Discovery of Tomb II at Vergina by Professor Manolis Andronikos. Believed to be the burial site of Phillip II of Macedon

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TERM	DEFINITION
significance	the importance that is assigned to particular aspects of the past, for example events, developments, and historical sites. Significance includes an examination of the principles behind the selection of what should be investigated and remembered, and involves consideration of questions such as: How did people in the past view the significance of an event? How important were the consequences of an event? What was the duration of the event? How relevant is it to the contemporary world?
step trench	an excavation method that uses open area excavation. The deeper the excavation, the smaller the area being excavated, which leads to steps being formed at the site
Stone Age	time period categorised by human development, and weapons and tools made from stone; dates vary across the world from 2 million to 6000 years ago; followed by the Bronze Age and then the Iron Age
stratigraphy	usually the vertical section which shows the layers in the excavation; Greek for 'writing the layers'
stratum	layers of soil at an excavation site
three-age system	naming and categorising artefacts according to their material, which became the basis of the archaeological cultures of the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages
trench	(also known as squares) an excavation area of approximately 5 x 5m, bound on the sides by baulks
trowel	metal hand tool used for fine digging; it has a thin, flat triangular blade with a slightly rounded point
Wheeler box-grid	grid excavation method using squares of 2 x 2m surrounded by unexcavated baulks; developed by Sir Mortimer Wheeler
Wheeler-Kenyon method	grid excavation method of trenches (squares) usually 5 x 5m, bound by unexcavated sides, called baulks. The method was refined by Kathleen Kenyon, based on her mentor Sir Mortimer Wheeler's box-grid
zoologist	expert on animals and animal behaviour

1991 CE

Hikers in the Italian Alps discover the remains of 'Ötzi' or the Iceman

2009 CE

Discovery of the Staffordshire Hoard; Anglo-Saxon treasure containing approximately 3500 pieces – the largest Anglo-Saxon hoard discovered

2012 CE

The University of Leicester's archaeology team discover the grave of Richard III, last of the Plantagenet dynasty and House of York

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Introduction

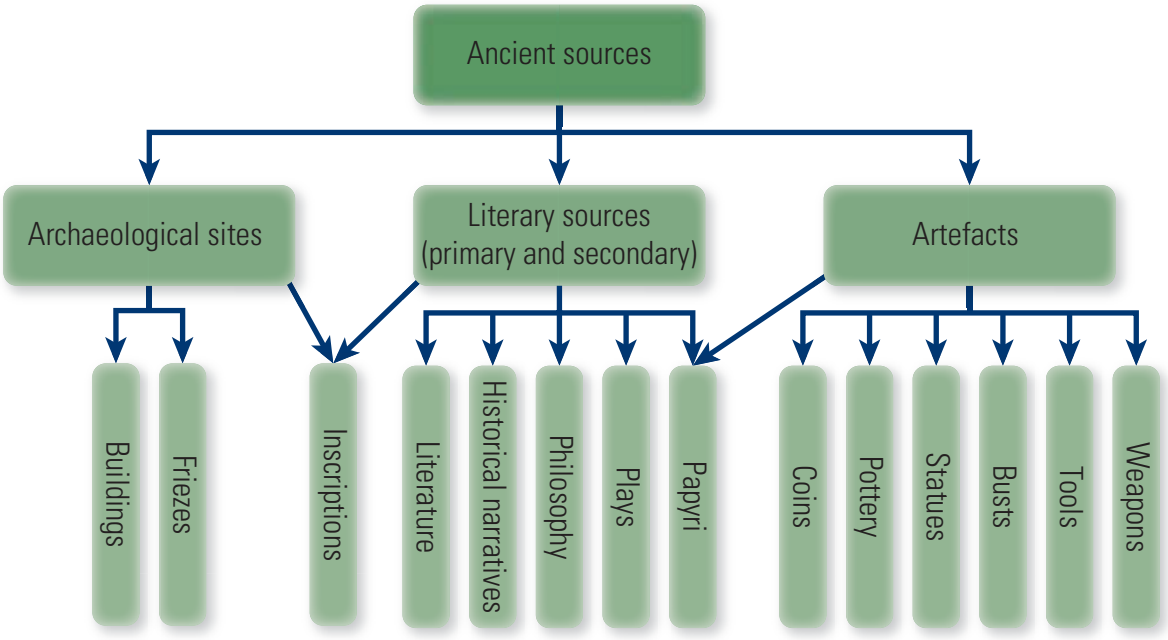
Establishing a distinction between the work of the archaeologist and the work of the historian is required when 'digging up the past'. As the discovery of archaeological sites emerge, historians are able to use the artefacts, along with literary sources, to piece together the story of the Ancient World. An archaeologist may work in the field, excavating, documenting and dating artefacts, while historians use sources to deal with the narrative. Students of ancient history note that there are ancient sources, which can be primary or secondary sources, as well as modern sources. As such, the role of source analysis is of paramount importance to the study of ancient history for ensuring a reliable, balanced representation of the story. Furthermore, over time, archaeological methods, dating methods and archaeological discoveries have changed, evolved and developed. It has become obvious that, when digging up the past, there are issues which must be considered by anyone attempting to reconstruct the past, including the nature and condition of sources, the authentication of sources, human remains, cultural property and heritage, the role of museums, ethics of archaeology, and the interpretations and perceptions of archaeology.

Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to archaeology and ancient societies

Syllabus objective 1 focuses on comprehending. When you examine a period of history, it is important to understand key terms, issues and concepts as they relate to a particular historical context. Once those are grasped, you will establish links between pieces of information to understand their nature and significance.
This section of Chapter 1 will focus on terms, issues and concepts relating to archaeology.

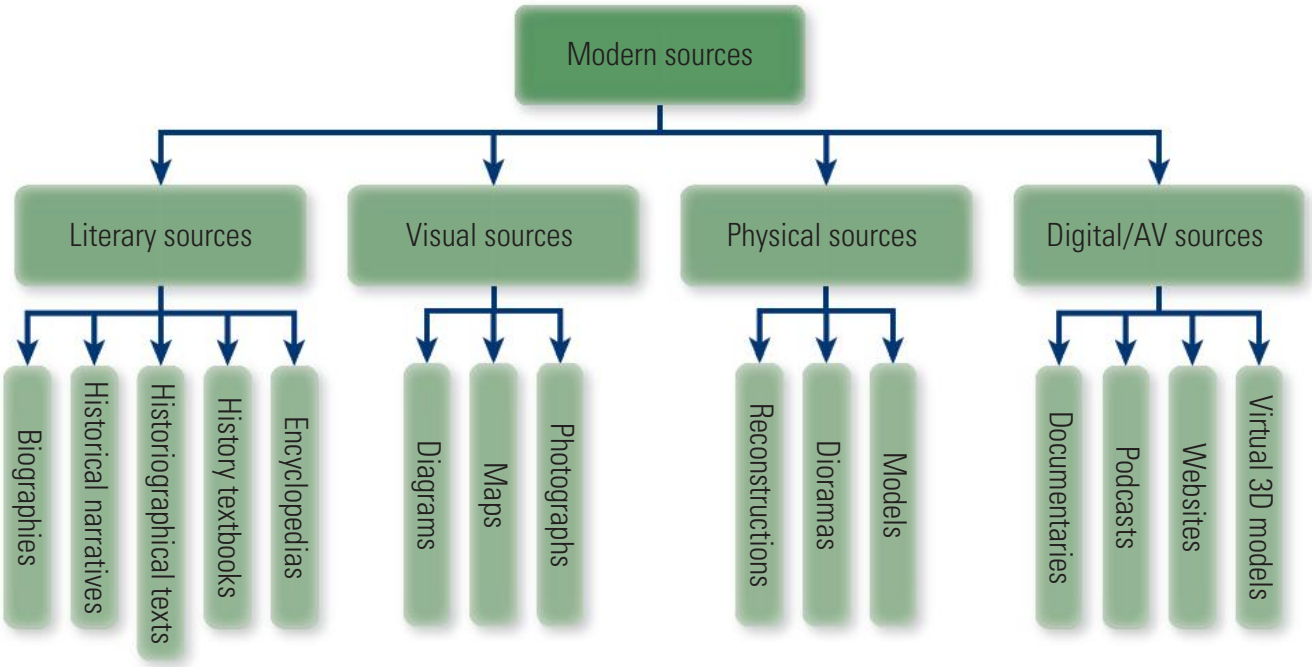
1.1 Archaeology

The study of history relies on distinguishing the types of sources used, which can be ancient or modern. Sources 1.3 and 1.4 describe different source types.



SOURCE 1.3 Ancient sources for studying the Ancient World

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SOURCE 1.4 Modern sources for studying the Ancient World

ACTIVITY 1.1

1. For each of the following sources, identify it as ancient or modern, and name its source type.

a.



SOURCE 1.5

b.



SOURCE 1.6

c.

> This is the display of the inquiry of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, so that things done by man not be forgotten in time, and that great and marvelous deeds, some displayed by the Hellenes, some by the barbarians, not lose their glory, including among others what was the cause of their waging war on each other.

SOURCE 1.7 Herodotus, *Histories*, 1:1:0

(continued)

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d.



SOURCE 1.8 Terracotta Army

Archaeologists

Archaeological evidence gives historians a window into the past. Excavating an archaeological site requires many people to take on a variety of different roles. In addition to this, there are various methods of excavation and ways of dating artefacts and sites, as well as issues of authentication and the role of museums.

TABLE 1.1 An archaeological team

Team member	Roles and responsibilities
Director	• supervises dig • maintains site records
Assistant director	• assigns and cares for equipment • financial administrator
Site supervisor	• responsible for specific section of a site • responsible for supervision of site notebook • labels artefacts excavated • records relevant information
Digger	• uses tools to remove soil without damaging artefacts • records and measures finds (if team does not include recorders and measurers) • removes artefacts from ground
Recorder	• logs artefacts with a serial number • records positions of artefacts in pit • records levels of discovery • records specifics • sends artefacts to washers once measurers have finished

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TABLE 1.1 *(continued)*

Team member	Roles and responsibilities
Measurer	• records pit number • measures horizontal distances • measures depth of artefacts
Washer	• washes objects removed from pits
Sifter	• sifts soil to locate small items
Photographer	• documents strata profiles • documents finds
Surveyor	• inspects the site • assists in plan and position of pits
Laboratory specialist	• repairs artefacts • preserves artefacts
Illustrator (draughtsperson)	• draws scaled record of artefact and features
Specialist	• assists in providing information on finds

ACTIVITY 1.2

1. Copy and complete the table below, providing brief description of each of the following archaeological excavation methods.

Excavation method	Description
 **SOURCE 1.9** Keyhole excavations	
 **SOURCE 1.10** Step trench excavation	

(continued)

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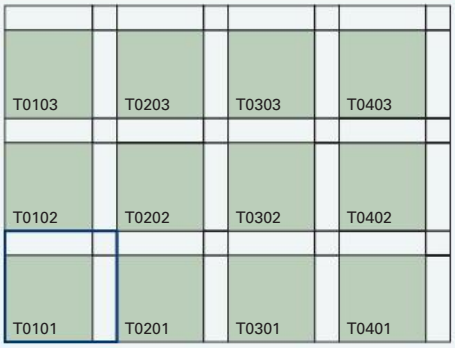
ACTIVITY 1.2 continued



SOURCE 1.11 Open area excavation



SOURCE 1.12 Wheeler box-grid



SOURCE 1.13 Kenyon Wheeler method

2. Label each part of the dig site in Source 1.14.
3. Why would there be a need for diverse roles in an archaeological team?
4. Explain the importance of the role of museums in archaeology.
5. What are some issues that may arise with the authentication of artefacts and sites?



SOURCE 1.14 Dig site

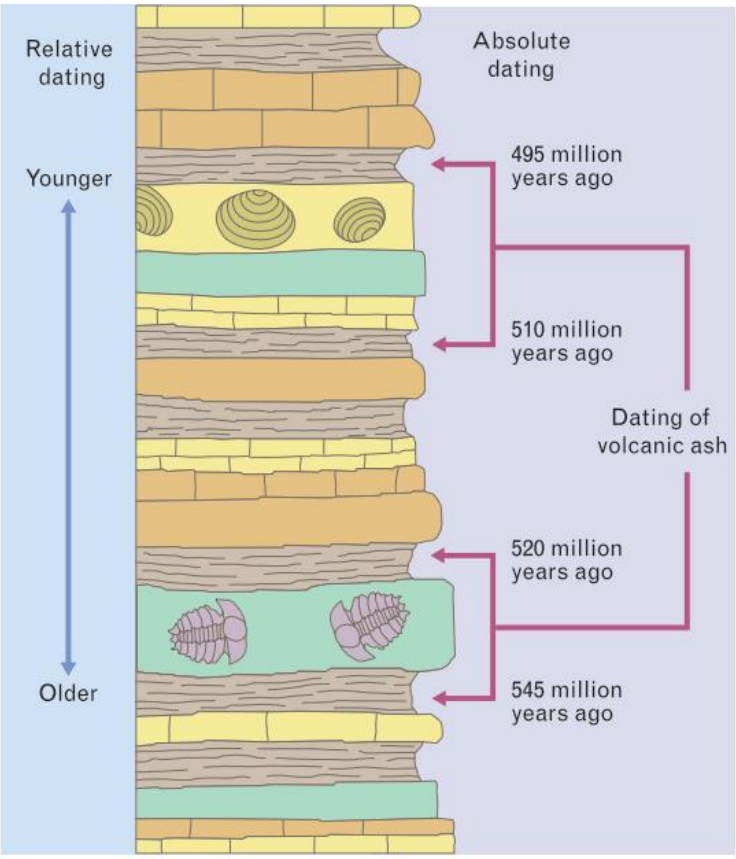
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Scientific dating

Absolute dating is the method used to give rocks an actual date or date range in number of years. Relative dating involves comparing how old something is in relation to something else, which is then used to put rocks and geological events in correct chronological order.

The following data can be used in scientific dating:

- sedimentary rocks
- fossils
- soil strata.

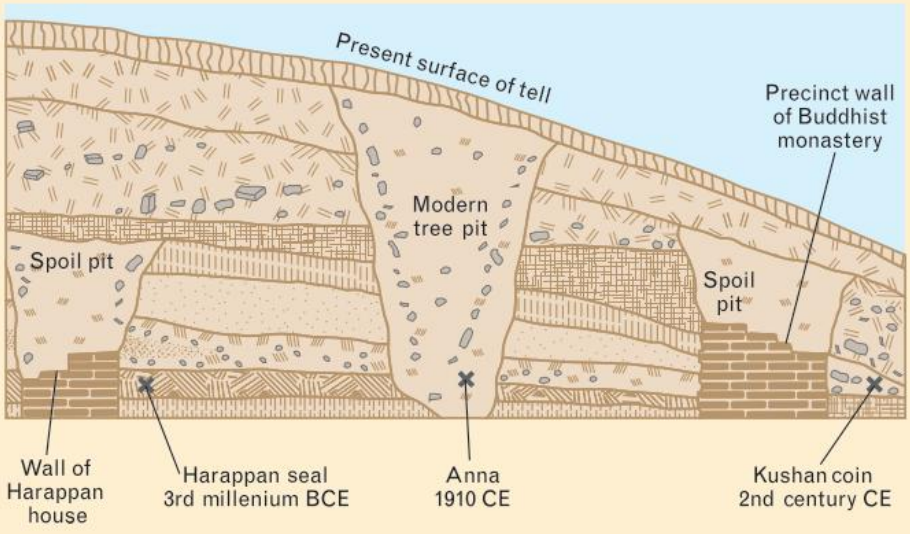


SOURCE 1.15 Authentication methods of relative and absolute dating

ACTIVITY 1.3

1. For each of the following diagrams, label and define the dating method by using the key terms and definitions outlined in this chapter.

a.



SOURCE 1.16

(continued)

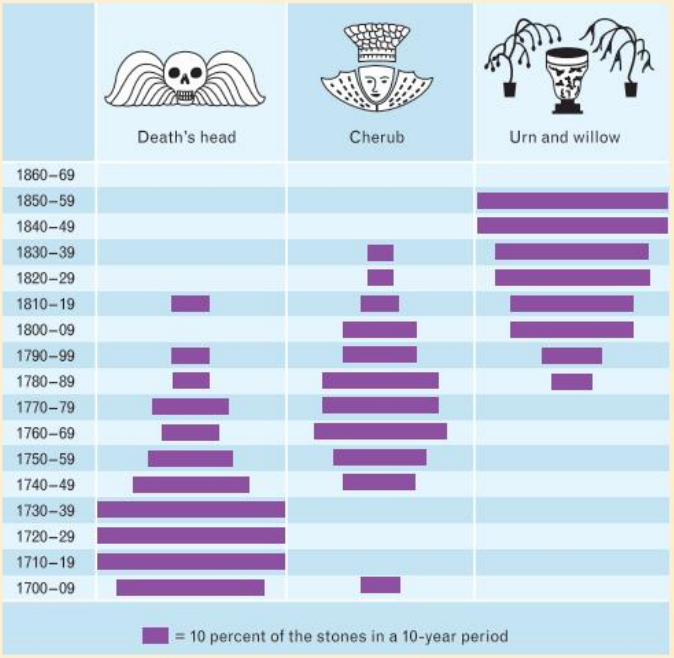
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b.



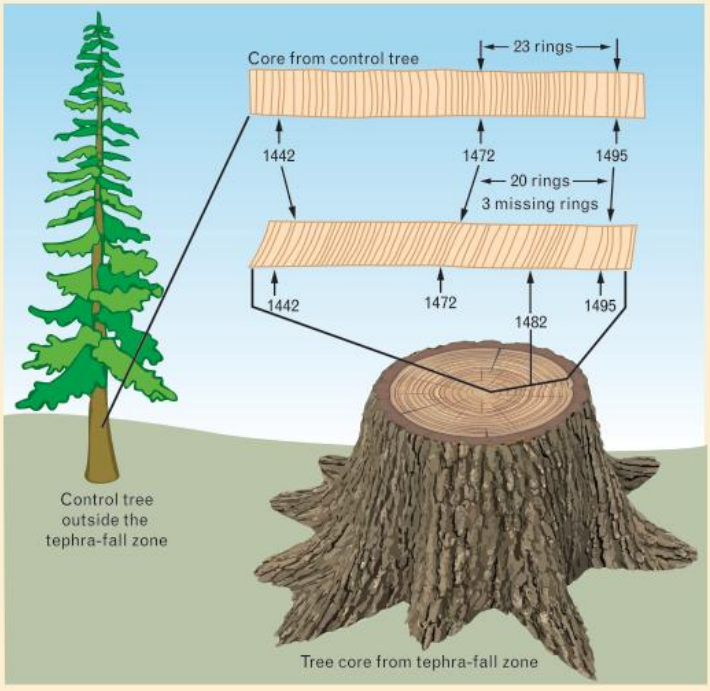
SOURCE 1.17

c.



SOURCE 1.18

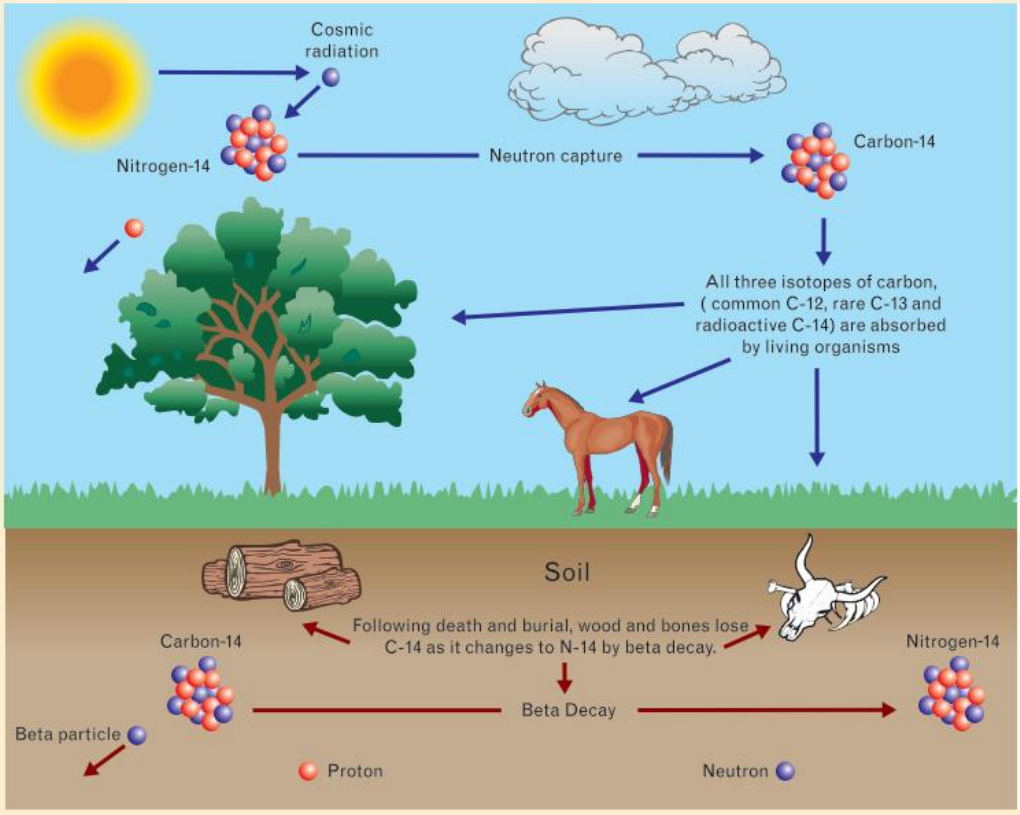
d.



SOURCE 1.19

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e.



SOURCE 1.20

f.



SOURCE 1.21

GO

Objective 2: Devise historical questions and conduct research in relation to archaeology and the features of an ancient society

A key skill for ancient historians is to devise historical questions and conduct research. This is the focus of syllabus objective 2, and you can achieve it by framing a key inquiry question and sub-questions, as well as developing a plan to guide the investigation. You should use a variety of primary and secondary sources to ensure a wide mixture of perspectives and opinions are present. Through this process, you will develop an understanding of the issues and complexities of research, and the ability to locate and organise primary and secondary sources while practising ethical scholarship.

1.2 Researching people and sites

The following activities will help introduce you to the approach of developing key inquiry questions and relevant sub-questions to guide your research.

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ACTIVITY 1.4

1. Select one of these significant people or archaeological discoveries:
   - Heinrich Schliemann
   - Louis Leakey
   - Tatiana Proskouriakoff
   - Manolis Andronikos
   - Sarah Parcak
   - General Augustus Henry Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers
   - Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie
   - Lewis Binford
   - Sir Mortimer Wheeler
   - discovery of Tutankhamun's Tomb
   - discovery of Rosetta Stone
   - discovery of Pompeii
   - discovery of Dead Sea Scrolls
   - discovery of Terracotta Army
   - discovery of Tollund Man
   - discovery of Ötzi
   - discovery of Ur.
2. Consider this key inquiry question: Why is the person or discovery significant to the field of archaeology?
3. What questions (and sub-questions) would you need to develop to answer the key inquiry question?
4. Find six sources (using the library or the internet) that demonstrate a balance of ancient and modern, literary and non-literary sources that are relevant to your questions. Ensure an appropriate reference, with a context statement, is included with each source.
5. Investigate your chosen significant person or discovery to respond to the questions you have devised.
6. What issues did you face in the investigation process? How did or could you overcome these?

ACTIVITY 1.5

1. Go to the UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization) website and choose one of the World Heritage List sites.
2. Frame a key inquiry question that focuses on the issues of conservation and preservation of sites of world heritage significance.
3. Using this inquiry question, create a case study for the site that includes:
   - description of the site
   - rationale for inclusion on World Heritage List
   - issues of conservation or preservation
   - map of site
   - cultural significance.

Objective 5: Evaluate

4. Evaluate the cultural significance of the site to its people.
5. Evaluate any archaeological issues surrounding the site.

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Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the Ancient World

Objective 3 requires you to analyse evidence from historical sources. When doing this, identify any distinguishing features before forming a response. These features may include origin, motive, audience, perspective and context. Identifying distinguishing features is essential because once you get inside the mind of the writer or creator you can reach an informed, critical conclusion about history.

Digging up the past can highlight problems of authenticity, such as the identification and origin of ancient artefacts, human remains and documents. The process also calls into question the reliability of ancient writers who did not witness the events they describe, as well as the condition of artefacts and the impact of this on their use as evidence. Furthermore, issues surround methods and results of scientific analysis (forensic techniques) and modern preservation of remains.

1.3 Analysis of historical evidence

Here are five written sources dealing with different historical events. In the activity that follows, you will be asked to complete a Source Analysis Table for some of them.

The first source is by Livy, who was a Roman historian (59 BCE–17 CE) from Patavium, a rich city known for its strict morals. He did not study in Greece, although he was widely read in Greek literature. Despite this, Livy is known to have made errors in his translations.

After the expulsion of that citizen whose presence, if there is anything certain in human affairs, would have made the capture of Rome impossible, the doom of the fated city swiftly approached. Ambassadors came from Clusium begging for assistance against the Gauls. The tradition is that this nation, attracted by the report of the delicious fruits and especially of the wine – a novel pleasure to them – crossed the Alps and occupied the lands formerly cultivated by the Etruscans, and that Arruns of Clusium imported wine into Gaul in order to allure them into Italy. His wife had been seduced by a Lucumo, to whom he was guardian, and from whom, being a young man of considerable influence, it was impossible to get redress without getting help from abroad. In revenge, Arruns led the Gauls across the Alps and prompted them to attack Clusium.

I would not deny that the Gauls were conducted to Clusium by Arruns or some-one else living there, but it is quite clear that those who attacked that city were not the first who crossed the Alps. As a matter of fact, Gauls crossed into Italy two centuries before they attacked Clusium and took Rome. Nor were the Clusines the first Etruscans with whom the Gaulish armies came into conflict; long before that they had fought many battles with the Etruscans who dwelt between the Apennines and the Alps. Before the Roman supremacy, the power of the Tuscans was widely extended both by sea and land. How far it extended over the two seas by which Italy is surrounded like an island is proved by the names, for the nations of Italy call the one the 'Tuscan Sea', from the general designation of the people, and the other the 'Atriatic', from Atria, a Tuscan colony. The Greeks also call them the 'Tyrrhene' and the 'Adriatic'. The districts stretching towards either sea were inhabited by them. They first settled on this side [of] the Apennines by the western sea in twelve cities, afterwards they founded twelve colonies beyond the Apennines, corresponding to the number of the mother cities. These colonies held the whole of the country beyond the Po as far as the Alps, with the exception of the corner inhabited by the Veneti, who dwelt round an arm of the sea. The Alpine tribes are undoubtedly of the same stock, especially the Raetii, who had through the nature of their country become so uncivilised that they retained no trace of their original condition except their language, and even this was not free from corruption.

SOURCE 1.22 Livy, *History of Rome,* Book 5:33

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The next source is from Appian of Alexandria (95–165 CE), a Greek historian. He held public office in Alexandria, Egypt before becoming a Roman citizen and moving to Rome, where he practised as a lawyer and held the office of procurator during the reign of Emperor Antonius Pius.

Pompey, while lying sick in Italy, wrote an artful letter to the Senate, praising Caesar's exploits and also recounting his own from the beginning, saying that he had been invested with a third consulship, and with provinces and an army afterward, which he had not solicited, but had been called to serve the public weal. He added that the powers which he had accepted unwillingly he would gladly yield to those who wished to take them back, and would not wait the time fixed for their expiration. The artfulness of this communication consisted in showing the fairness of Pompey and in exciting prejudice against Caesar, as though the latter was not willing to give up his command even at the appointed time. When Pompey came back to the city, he spoke to the senators in the same way and then, also, promised to lay down his command. As a friend and marriage connection of Caesar he said that the latter would very cheerfully do the same, for his had been a long and laborious contest against very warlike peoples; he had added much to the Roman power and now he would come back to his honors and his sacrificings and take his rest. He said these things in order that successors to Caesar might be sent at once, while he (Pompey) should merely stand on his promise. Curio exposed his artifice, saying that promises were not sufficient, and insisting that Pompey should lay down his command now and that Caesar should not be disarmed until Pompey himself had returned to private life. On account of private enmity, he said, it would not be advisable either for Caesar or for the Romans that such great authority should be held by one man. Rather should each of them have power against the other in case one should attempt violence against the commonwealth. Throwing off all disguise, he denounced Pompey unsparingly as one aiming at supreme power, and said that unless he would lay down his command now, when he had the fear of Caesar before his eyes, he would never lay it down at all. He moved that, unless they both obeyed, both should be voted public enemies and military forces be levied against them. In this way he concealed the fact that he had been bought by Caesar.

SOURCE 1.23 Appian, *The Civil Wars*, 2.4.28

Herodotus (c. 484–425 BCE) was a Greek historian from Halicarnassus, a Greek city under Persian rule.

I cannot say exactly how each of the other barbarians or Hellenes fought, but this is what happened to Artemisia, and it gave her still higher esteem with the king: when the king's side was all in commotion, at that time Artemisia's ship was pursued by a ship of Attica. She could not escape, for other allied ships were in front of her and hers was the nearest to the enemy. So she resolved to do something which did in fact benefit her: as she was pursued by the Attic ship, she charged and rammed an allied ship, with a Calyndian crew and Damasithymus himself, king of the Calyndians, aboard. I cannot say if she had some quarrel with him while they were still at the Hellespont, or whether she did this intentionally or if the ship of the Calyndians fell in her path by chance. But when she rammed and sank it, she had the luck of gaining two advantages. When the captain of the Attic ship saw her ram a ship with a barbarian crew, he decided that Artemisia's ship was either Hellenic or a deserter from the barbarians fighting for them, so he turned away to deal with others.

Thus she happened to escape and not be destroyed, and it also turned out that the harmful thing which she had done won her exceptional esteem from Xerxes. It is said that the king, as he watched the battle, saw her ship ram the other, and one of the bystanders said, 'Master, do you see how well Artemisia contends in the contest and how she has sunk an enemy ship?' When he asked if the deed was truly Artemisia's, they affirmed it, knowing reliably the marking of her ship,

(continued)

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and they supposed that the ruined ship was an enemy. As I have said, all this happened to bring her luck, and also that no one from the Calyndian ship survived to accuse her. It is said that Xerxes replied to what was told him, 'My men have become women, and my women men.' They say this is what Xerxes said.

SOURCE 1.24 Herodotus, *The Histories*, 8.87-88

Flavius Josephus was a Jewish priest, scholar and historian born 37 CE into an aristocratic priestly family in Jerusalem. He joined the Pharisees and died in Rome in 100 CE.

Now at the time when this great concussion of affairs happened, the affairs of the Romans were themselves in great disorder. Those Jews also who were for innovations, then arose when the times were disturbed; they were also in a flourishing condition for strength and riches, insomuch that the affairs of the East were then exceeding tumultuous, while some hoped for gain, and others were afraid of loss in such troubles; for the Jews hoped that all of their nation which were beyond Euphrates would have raised an insurrection together with them. The Gauls also, in the neighborhood of the Romans, were in motion, and the Geltin were not quiet; but all was in disorder after the death of Nero. And the opportunity now offered induced many to aim at the royal power; and the soldiery affected change, out of the hopes of getting money. I thought it therefore an absurd thing to see the truth falsified in affairs of such great consequence, and to take no notice of it; but to suffer those Greeks and Romans that were not in the wars to be ignorant of these things, and to read either flatteries or fictions, while the Parthians, and the Babylonians, and the remotest Arabians, and those of our nation beyond Euphrates, with the Adiabeni, by my means, knew accurately both whence the war begun, what miseries it brought upon us, and after what manner it ended.

SOURCE 1.25 Flavius Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*, 1.2

An ancient Greek philosopher and scientist, Aristotle (384–322 BCE) studied in Athens under Plato and was there at the time of Phillip II's conquest of Athens.

Two years later, in the archonship of Nicomedes, in consequence of the discovery of the mines at Maronea, the working of which had given the state a profit of a hundred talents, the advice was given by some persons that the money should be distributed among the people; but Themistokles prevented this, not saying what use he would make of the money, but recommending that it should be lent to the hundred richest Athenians, each receiving a talent, so that if they should spend it in a satisfactory manner, the state would have the advantage, but if they did not, the state should call in the money from the borrowers. On these terms the money was put at his disposal, and he used it to get a fleet of a hundred triremes built, each of the hundred borrowers having one ship built, and with these they fought the naval battle at Salamis against the barbarians. And it was during this period that [Aristides] son of Lysimachus was ostracised. Three years later in the archonship of Hypsechides they allowed all the persons ostracised to return, because of the expedition of Xerxes; and they fixed a boundary thenceforward for persons ostracised, prohibiting them from living within a line drawn from Geraestus to Scyllaeum under penalty of absolute loss of citizenship.

SOURCE 1.26 Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 22.7–8

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GO

ACTIVITY 1.6

1. For at least two of the above sources, complete a Source Analysis Table: a template is available in the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 3*. As you continue with your studies, you will find this a very useful tool when analysing sources.
2. Why might it be important to critically examine sources?

1.4 Schliemann's discoveries

Heinrich Schliemann was a German archaeologist who was fascinated by the existence of Troy as discussed by Homer in his *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Although the historic accuracy of Homer's poems have often been questioned, Schliemann made some deductions from them. He used this as the basis for his excavations, and found what he believed to be Troy. You can read an overview of Schliemann's approach to archaeology at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8214.

One of Schliemann's artefacts is the Mask of Agamemnon.



SOURCE 1.27 Mask of Agamemnon. Is this truly the face of Agamemnon or an elaborate forgery?

Gold death-mask, known as the 'mask of Agamemnon'. Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V, 16th cent. BC. The mask depicts the imposing face of a bearded man. It is made of a gold sheet with repoussé details. Two holes near the ears indicate that the mask was held in place over the deceased's face with twine.

Excavated by Heinrich Schliemann (1876) who believed it belonged to Agamemnon. However, it was dated to an earlier time. The authenticity of the mask has been questioned several times given Schliemann's reputation.

SOURCE 1.28 Mycenaean Funerary Gold Mask, text from the website of the National Archaeological Museum, 2008–2014, Athens, Greece

ACTIVITY 1.7

Refer to Source 1.28 and answer the following questions.

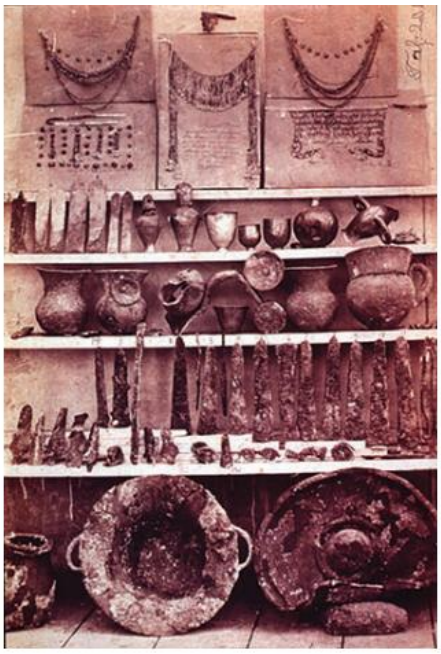
1. What issues arise for the authentication of the Mask of Agamemnon?
2. Why do these issues exist?

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Thomas Day Seymour (1848–1907) was an American classical scholar. He was a professor of Greek at Yale University and his published works focused on Homer. Here he writes about Schliemann.

> Gold was rare in Greece before the Persian wars, but was abundant in Asia Minor. Schliemann, however, has found treasures of gold ornaments not only at Hisarlik (which many think to be the site of the ancient Ilios) but also at Mycenae.

SOURCE 1.30 Seymour, Thomas D, 1891, *Commentary on Homer's Iliad, Books I-III*, Ginn and Company, 2.229



SOURCE 1.29 Items from the Troy II treasure (Priam's Treasure) discovered by Heinrich Schliemann. The collection was divided in 1880, so this photo must have been taken prior to this. Could this really be Priam's treasure?

Wolfgang Schindler (1929–1991), a German art historian and classical archaeologist, wrote a paper on the 'Schliemann controversy'.

> and, as the excavator of Troy and Mycenae, he became the founder of a new scholarly discipline, modern archaeology, that is field-archaeology.
>
> As far as the identification of Hisarlik with Troy goes, we know now that he owes this entirely to Frank Calvert, an Englishman who served as American Consul in the Dardanelles and had purchased part of Hisarlik with the intention of excavating it. But at the end it was Schliemann who dug through the various levels and began the excavation on a scale which Calvert simply could not have managed.
>
> For him [Schliemann] Homer was poetry with a kernel of real history which he believed one could discover archaeologically.
>
> Schliemann's intention to have an exact copy of his Trojan treasures made in Paris (this is attested by his letter to Beaurain in Paris) fit easily into such a context, but they are not proof that an object such as the so-called Mask of Agamemnon is a forgery buried by Schliemann at Mycenae.
>
> With the exposure of this fiction in Schliemann, the treasure itself fell under suspicion, Sophia had been inserted as an eyewitness for what she never saw. Comparison of the report of the find in the Trojan diary with the letter to his publisher Brockhaus and the published version of the excavations revealed that first only in Athens after the completion of the campaign did he write up the description of the whole treasure. Traill hastened to present Schliemann in the light of a forger. The excavator of Troy had possibly purchased new pieces or even had them made. The 'warfare' against Schliemann had been carried so far that his scholarly reputation was now in jeopardy.
>
> Traill had accused Schliemann of unscrupulously planting together pieces from the 1872 and 1878 excavations. This seemed to him to be a further example of Schliemann's deceit. Easton put his finger again on this passage and could show that Schliemann had put together objects from different excavations in Troy without maintaining that he had excavated them at the same time.
>
> The authenticity of the Mask of Agamemnon is still in question. Stylistic considerations prove that the mask is not like the others found at Mycenae but are not sufficient to deny authenticity. Schliemann's letter to his Parisian colleague Beaurain with the request to ask a discreet goldsmith to make exact copies of the Treasure of Priam is not an argument of sufficient cogency to question the authenticity of the mask.

SOURCE 1.31 Schindler, W. 1992, An Archaeologist on the Schliemann Controversy, *Illinois Classical Studies, 17*(1)

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Only part of Priam's Treasure discovered in Turkey on the hill of Hisarlik (site of Troy) in 1873 by Heinrich Schliemann was restored by Russia to Germany at the end of World War II. The jewels rendered are exhibited in the Neues Museum. These jewels are dated from an earlier period of nearly 1000 years prior to the Trojan War, probably from the Mycenaean period.



SOURCE 1.32 Priam's Treasure, Neues Museum, Berlin

ACTIVITY 1.8

Refer to Sources 1.29–1.32 to complete this activity.

GO

Objective 3: Analyse

1. Use the Source Analysis Table available in the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 3* to analyse each of these three sources.
2. What issues arise with the archaeological discovery by Schliemann?

Objective 4: Synthesise

3. Write a hypothesis in response to the question: To what extent could Schliemann be considered a fake and forger?

Objective 5: Evaluate

4. How useful are these sources to determine if Schliemann was a fake?
5. How reliable are these sources for making this determination?

Objective 6: Create responses

6. Refer to the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 6* for guidelines on writing a PEEEL paragraph. Write a PEEEL response that proves the hypothesis you wrote in question 3.

Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument in relation to archaeology and ancient societies

Objective 4 in the syllabus deals with synthesising. When information is synthesised, different elements and pieces are taken and formed into a new whole. In the case of history, you will take evidence from a variety of sources to come to a new understanding or interpretation. By combining different features, ideas and characteristics of sources (such as the significance, cause and effect, perspectives and interpretations) into a coherent whole, you can develop a new historical argument.

1.5 Iceman

In 1991, two hikers in the Alps discovered the naturally preserved body of a man who had lived between 3400 and 3100 BCE. This body became known as the Iceman.

Konrad Spindler (1939–2005) was a professor of pre- and early history at Innsbruck University, Austria. He was the head of the Iceman investigation team at the university and, in 1995, he wrote a book about the discovery.

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The body's position when it was found was more or less in line with a natural dying posture. But there were a few anomalies. For one there is the unnatural position of the left arm which is extended to the right and appears to have been pressed flat against the neck directly under the chin. Likewise the left outer ear is folded over ... obliquely toward the front ... [The] nose and upper lip are shifted upwards to the right ... [which] suggests that after the Iceman's death there must have been small dislocations of the body due to ice pressure and ice movement.

...

He lay down on his left side. Given an unhealed serial rib fracture on his right side, this is the least painful position. The head was resting on a boulder. Both arms were extended forward, their muscles relaxed. The feet were lying on top of the other. The left ear was folded forward. In this position the man probably froze to death within a few hours. There are no indications of distress

...

Wind action produces even deeper snow cover through drifts and cornices ... such snow remains air-permeable for several years. It was during this phase that combined freeze-drying resulted in the body's mummification ... Snow takes about ten to twenty years to turn to ice. As soon as the ice above that spot reached a certain thickness the glacier began to flow downhill. This releases enormous forces ... [but at] the bottom of the gully the ice movement is unlikely to have exceeded 30 to 50 centimetres ... [so] compared to the position in which he died minor changes have taken place. As a result of ice pressure and a slight sliding movement of the ice mass in the lower part of the gully the body was rotated about 90 degrees, from a position on its side to one on its stomach. This caused the soft tissue displacements in the face, which was then lying directly on the rock. The nose and upper lips were displaced towards the right and upwards.

SOURCE 1.33 Spindler, K., 2013, *The Man in the Ice,* Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 31 January 2013

The following description was written by Rossella Lorenzi, an Italian archaeology correspondent for *Discovery News*.

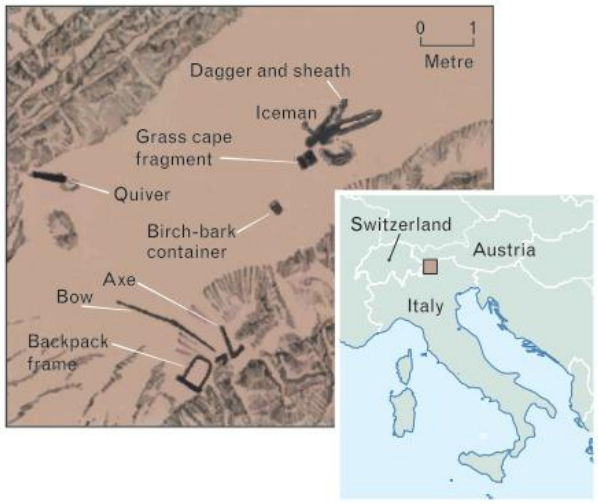
Exactly 20 years ago, on Sept. 19, 1991, German hikers Erika and Helmut Simon spotted something brown while walking near a melting glacier in the Ötztal Alps in South Tyrol.

As they got closer, they realized with horror that it wasn't just some sort of rubbish: a human corpse was lying with the chest against a flat rock.

Only the back of the head, the bare shoulders and part of the back emerged from the ice and meltwater.

The hikers thought the body belonged to an unfortunate victim of a mountaineering accident a few years back. In fact, they discovered one of the world's oldest and best preserved mummies.

SOURCE 1.34 Lorenzi, R., 'The Ice Mummy: Little-Known Facts', *seeker.com* September 19, 2011



SOURCE 1.35 Iceman site

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GO

Reinhold Messner (right) and Hans Kammerlander (left) at the site on 21 September 1991. The Iceman's leggings can be faintly made out through the meltwater. In the background, top right, the bow leans diagonally against the rock, its lower end firmly held in the ice. To the right of the oblong stone, beneath the ski-pole held by Messner, lies the crushed birch-bark container with its contents scattered about. Kammerlander supports himself with his right hand on a section of the Iceman's pannier.



SOURCE 1.36 Messner and Kammerlander at the Iceman site

In an article for *National Geographic*, David Roberts discusses how the body of Iceman was mishandled.

> Four days almost undid 5 000 years of preservation as rescuers manhandled an archaeological treasure. Assuming they had found an accident victim, climbers trampled the depression where the Iceman lay. Trying to free the body, a policeman summoned to the 10 530-foot site on the Austrian-Italian border tore into the left hip with a jackhammer. Finally a forensic team from Innsbruck, Austria, arrived. Workers digging with ski poles scattered the Iceman's garments ... Not until archaeologists viewed the body and belongings in a lab was the Iceman's antiquity revealed.

SOURCE 1.37 David Roberts, 'The Ice Man: Lone Voyager from the Copper Age', *National Geographic*, June: 36–6, 1993

ACTIVITY 1.9

Refer to Sources 1.33 to 1.37 to complete this activity.

Objective 3: Analyse

1. What do these sources tell us about the condition of the Iceman and the issues surrounding his discovery?

GO

Objective 4: Synthesise

2. Write a PEEEL response (see the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 6*) to the hypothesis: Given the condition of the Iceman's remains, it could be argued the preservation of the remains resulted in the ill-treatment of the site upon discovery.

Objective 5: Evaluate

3. How did the circumstances of the discovery of the Iceman affect the preservation of the site, artefacts and his remains?

Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about the Ancient World

Syllabus objective 5 requires you to evaluate evidence from historical sources. You will need to consider the reliability and usefulness of sources to develop a judgement. You should also take into account the changing interpretations of sources over time and their influence on understanding the period, particularly the meaning that is constructed from historical evidence.

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1.6 Ethics

Ethics in archaeology is significant, as archaeologists have to make serious decisions regarding how they interpret the past, present and future, as well as how they present those findings. Ethics in archaeology includes issues such as custodianship, management of cultural heritage, conservation and interpretation of the past.

Schliemann and management of cultural heritage

Heinrich Schliemann took Priam's Treasure back to Germany with him. This challenged the concept of who owns history.

Adolf Furtwangler (1853–1907), a German archaeologist, teacher, art historian and museum director, wrote about Schliemann's visit to the Archaeological Society in Berlin in 1881.

> There is a tremendous reception for Schliemann here. Nonetheless, he is and remains a half-crazy and confused human being, who has no idea whatsoever of the meaning of his excavations.
>
> In spite of his passion for Homer, Schliemann is fundamentally a speculator and businessman. He can never get rid of that.

SOURCE 1.38 Adolf Furtwangler, letter to his mother on 13 July 1881

ACTIVITY 1.10

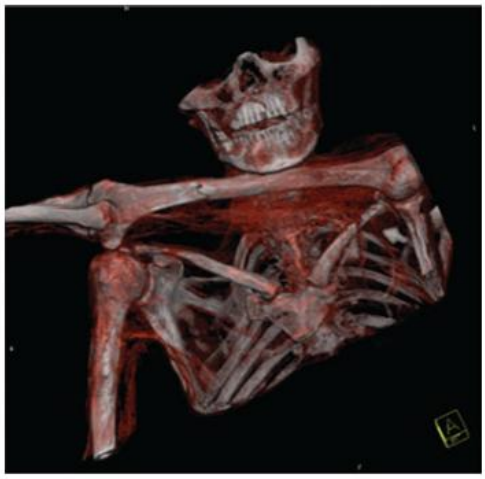
GO

Refer to Source 1.38 and answer the questions below.

1. What issues arise with the use of this source as evidence for Schliemann's ethics?
2. Analyse the source using the source analysis table from the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 3*.
3. Using the example evaluation in the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 4* as a guide, complete the evaluation of the source.
4. How could the use of these sources like this affect the way the Ancient World is understood?

Iceman and science

Scientists have an important role to play in the examination and management of ancient remains, such as those of Iceman.



SOURCE 1.39 CT scan shows the arrow still imbedded in the Iceman's shoulder – what does this CT scan suggest happened to the Iceman?



SOURCE 1.40 The use of an endoscope to examine the arrow – how has the advancement in science assisted investigating the past?

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In 2011, *National Geographic* published an article about the examination of the Iceman.

After Austrian authorities first recovered the mummy in 1991, scientists in Innsbruck cut a large gash across his lower torso as part of their initial investigation, along with other incisions in his back, at the top of the skull and on his legs. ... Over the years, numerous less invasive explorations of the remains were conducted there, including x-ray and CT scan imaging studies and an analysis of the mummy's mitochondrial DNA. ...

Analysis of chemical traces in his bones and teeth indicated that Ötzi ... grew up northeast of Bolzano ...

...

A head-to-toe investigation involving seven separate teams of surgeons, pathologists, microbiologists, and technicians. ... [meant that] intervention would be accomplished without making any new incisions in the Iceman's body.

SOURCE 1.41 Stephen Hall, Unfrozen, *National Geographic*, November: 118–133, 2011

ACTIVITY 1.11

Objective 1: Comprehend

1. Investigate issues in the ethics of archaeology. Issues include:
   - **a.** who owns the past
   - **b.** repatriation
   - **c.** custodianship
   - **d.** cultural heritage management.
2. What scientific techniques have been used to investigate the Iceman?

Objective 5: Evaluate

3. What ethical issues arise with the treatment of the Iceman's remains?
4. Explain how archaeological techniques have evolved over time and the significance of this on reconstructing the past.
5. Explain the continuity that exists within the field of archaeology.

The bust of Nefertiti and custodianship

There is a long history in archaeology of remains being excavated and then taken to the country of the archaeologist, rather than remaining the property of the country in which they were found. The following is from a story on BBC News.

7 April 2015

The Greek government says Germany owes Greece nearly €279bn (£204bn; US $303bn) in war reparations for the Nazi occupation during World War Two. It is the first time Greece has officially calculated what Germany allegedly owes it for Nazi atrocities and looting during the 1940s. However, the German government says the issue was resolved legally years ago.

Greece's radical left Syriza government is making the claim while struggling to meet massive debt repayment deadlines.

SOURCE 1.42 'Greece Nazi Occupation: Athens asks Germany for €279bn', *BBC News*, April 7, 2015



SOURCE 1.43 Bust of Nefertiti at the Egyptian Museum in Berlin

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German archaeologist Ludwig Borchardt discovered the bust of Nefertiti while digging at Armana in 1912. He did not declare the discovery to the Antiquities Services in Tell el-Armana. Upon his return to Germany, the bust was put on display in Berlin, which angered Egypt. In 1933, Egypt offered an exchange with another sculpture but the offer was overruled by Hitler.

ACTIVITY 1.12

1. Outline the arguments for and against the reparation for damage caused by the Nazi looting.
2. Outline the arguments for and against the return of the Nefertiti bust to Egypt.

1.7 Pompeii

Despite the devastation of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, it has frozen the ancient Roman way of life for modern interpretation and scholarship.



SOURCE 1.44 An ornate strigil (used to scrape sweat and dirt from the skin), found at Pompeii



SOURCE 1.45 Cast of a guard dog from the House of Orpheus, Pompeii



SOURCE 1.46 A glass cremation urn found at the Necropolis of Nuceria Gate, Pompeii

The 'Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Port Stabia' has been undertaking archaeological excavations in Pompeii. The project co-directors Stephen Ellis and Gary Devore have been interviewed about their work.

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Ellis's team is particularly interested in a corner of the city near the Porta Stabia gate that is a bit off the beaten archaeological path.

'It's kind of a lost neighborhood of the city. When they first cleared it of debris in the 1870s, they left this block for ruin (because it had no large villas) and it was covered over with a terrible jungle of vegetation', he says.

Much research has centered on public buildings and breathtaking villas that portray the artistic and opulent lifestyle enjoyed by the city's wealthy elite.

'We're trying to see how the other 98 per cent of people lived in Pompeii', Ellis says. 'It's a humble town block with houses, shops, and all the bits and pieces that make up the life of an ancient city.'

But while his quest is knowledge of the living Pompeii, Stanford University's Gary Devore, the project's co-director, notes that the eruption still resonates because of the intimate connection it created between past and present.

'We're digging in an area where a lot of Pompeiians died during the eruption', he says. 'I remind myself all the time that I can investigate in such detail this ancient Roman culture as a direct result of a great human disaster.

'At the end of a day of intense mental processing and physical labor, when the tools are being packed up and put away for the night, I often take a moment to remind myself of that connection with the individuals whose homes and workshops we're digging up', he says.

SOURCE 1.47 Owens, J., 'Pompeii', *nationalgeographic.com*

ACTIVITY 1.13

1. From the sources, what can you interpret about life in Pompeii c. 79 CE?

Objective 6: Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose in relation to the Ancient World

For syllabus objective 6 you need to create a response that communicates meaning. This communication should suit your intended purpose. All of your responses should integrate evidence from historical sources that explain the past and develop the intended argument. You should also use correct language and referencing conventions.

In this section, you will be creating responses in connection with archaeological discoveries at Australia's Lake Mungo.

1.8 Lake Mungo

Lake Mungo is one of Australia's significant cultural and historical archaeological sites. Through the exploration of this site, you will gain an understanding of issues like archaeological ethics, cultural heritage, and the significance and preservation of human remains.

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SOURCE 1.48 Tanya Charles of the Mutthi Mutthi and Junette Mitchell of the Paakantji examine the footprints left by their ancestors more than 20 000 years ago – what significance do the footprints have for Aboriginal peoples today?

In 1969, the cremated remains of a woman were found at Lake Mungo; known as Mungo Woman, the remains are over 19 000 years old. In 1974, Mungo Man was discovered.

Professor Jim Bowler, a geomorphologist and Honorary Professorial Fellow in Earth Sciences at the University of Melbourne, writes about this discovery.

> ... metres from the site of her cremation, erosion of the dunes by the wind revealed yet another human burial. This was Mungo Man, who had been buried lying on his side, his body ritually prepared with ochre. Analysis of his bones showed that Mungo Man was around 50 years old when he died, and that he suffered from osteoarthritis in his right elbow – probably the result of the constant use of a spear-thrower or woomera. The care with which Mungo Man had been buried and the fact that the ochre must have been brought from over 100 km away suggested to archaeologists that he may have been an important person in his tribe. It also suggested that his people believed in an afterlife, and that they may have travelled over substantial distances and engaged in trade with other tribes.

SOURCE 1.49 Jim Bowler, 2010, 'Heir of all the Ages: The Secrets of Lake Mungo', *Heritage Australia*



SOURCE 1.50 The remains of Mungo Man, discovered in 1974, estimated to be older than 40 000 years – what does this suggest about Aboriginal culture?

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In 1992, the remains of Mungo Woman were unconditionally returned to the traditional owners. Mungo Man's remains were held at the Australian National University until 2017. The following article from ABC News talks about his return.

Mungo Man returned to ancestral home where he died 40 000 years ago

Traditional owners say the return of the remains of the historic Mungo Man, who was removed by scientists from his resting place more than 40 years ago, will provide closure and is a step toward reconciliation. More than four decades ago anthropologists removed the ancient skeleton of an Aboriginal man – the discovery of which rewrote Australian history. Now he has been returned home to his descendants, travelling for days in a hearse from Canberra.

Traditional owners hosted a welcome home ceremony attended by hundreds to celebrate the historic return of the 42 000-year-old remains of Mungo Man to his original resting place.

'Today is one of those catalytic moments that we need to enhance Australian society, and bring empathy into, understanding the Aboriginal culture,' said Paakantyi man Michael Young, who is also a member of the Aboriginal Advisory Group for Mungo Man's return.

'The delays and everything are now forgotten because today is the time to move on [so] I thank everybody who was involved in this momentous occasion.'

Ngiyampaa elder Aunty Joan Slade added: '[It is] so good to have him back after all those years he has been taken away, and we've been waiting all those years to get him back and I'm so glad he is back, to put him in his resting place.'

In the spirit of unity, all those gathered at the ceremony, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, were invited to take part in a traditional dance to welcome home Mungo Man.

SOURCE 1.51 Higgins, I., 'Mungo Man returned to ancestral home where he died 40 000 years ago', *ABC News*, 17 November 2017



SOURCE 1.52 Lake Mungo from what would have been the shore

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ACTIVITY 1.14

As you become more experienced with research tasks, you will learn to adapt the following step-by-step approach to your own needs.

Objective 1: Comprehend

1. For each of the sources, complete the following table:

Source	What is the source?	Is the source ancient or modern?	Is the source literary or non-literary?
1.48			
1.49			
1.50			
1.51			
1.52			

Objective 2: Devise

2. Frame a key inquiry question which focuses on the issues of cultural significance, ethics or ownership of remains for the Lake Mungo site.

3. Identify the sub-questions necessary to collect the type of information needed to answer the key inquiry question.

Objective 3: Analyse

4. Locate, identify and organise information relating to the questions, and ensure you use correct references.

5. Use the Source Analysis Table available in the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 3* to analyse each of the sources listed above.

6. What does this tell us about the nature and significance of cultural property?

Objective 4: Synthesise

7. Develop a hypothesis in response to the key inquiry question you posed in question 2.

8. Develop three main arguments to support the hypothesis.

9. Categorise information and evidence for these using the graphic organiser in the *Historical Skills Tooklit – Objective 6*:

Objective 5: Evaluate

10. Using the example evaluation in the *Historical Skills Tooklit – Objective 4* as a guide, evaluate each of the sources used.

11. What are the contested views on this issue?

Objective 6: Create

12. Write an essay in response to the key inquiry question you created earlier in this activity. Refer to the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 6* for guidelines on structuring an essay.

GO

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

- There are ancient and modern sources that can be literary and non-literary.
- There are two major dating methods: relative and absolute dating.
- When analysing sources of evidence, it is important to consider origin, content and context, motive, audience, perspectives as well as usefulness and reliability.
- Ethics in archaeology includes issues of custodianship, repatriation, conservation, interpretation and management of cultural heritage.
- There have been developments in technology and science to assist in the analysis of archaeological evidence such as use of CT scans, satellite imaging, x-ray and chemical analysis.
- Evidence can assist people in understanding life in the past through analysis and evaluation.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend

Identify key concepts around the discovery, treatment and preservation of archaeological evidence.

Devise

Devise a key inquiry question into the ethics of archaeology. Investigate one of the following case studies in response to your question:

- Nazi Germany in Greece
- the Ishtar Gate
- the Elgin Marbles, Greece
- the Koh-i-Noor diamond, India
- the imperial treasures, China.

Analyse

Choose one source from this chapter. Consider the source's condition (for example, if it is translated, damaged or incomplete) and the impact of its use as evidence (because of its perspective, bias or accuracy).

Synthesise

Discuss whether Mungo Man and Mungo Woman should have a permanent memorial built at national expense.

Evaluate

What are the ethical issues to consider with the Lake Mungo case?

Assessment

Examination-style questions

1. Assess the usefulness of Sources 1.30 and 1.38 to a historian investigating Schliemann's discoveries. In your answer, consider the perspectives provided and the reliability of each one.
2. Assess the usefulness of Sources 1.33 and 1.41 to a historian investigating the issues of human remains as evidence. In your answer, consider the reliability of each one.
3. Assess the point of view of Source 1.49 and 1.51 and the implications when considering issues of the custodianship of Mungo Man and Mungo Woman.

Investigation tasks

1. To what extent did the lack of archaeological techniques used by Schliemann affect his credibility?
2. How might the discoveries at Lake Mungo be significant to Aboriginal peoples?
3. To what extent could science continue to use the remains of Iceman?

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CHAPTER 2
Slavery in Roman society 753–133 BCE

GLENN DAVIES

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this contextual study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - a broad chronological overview, from the origins of the society to the period that is the focus for investigation.
  - the geographical location, the nature of the environment and its influence on the society.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

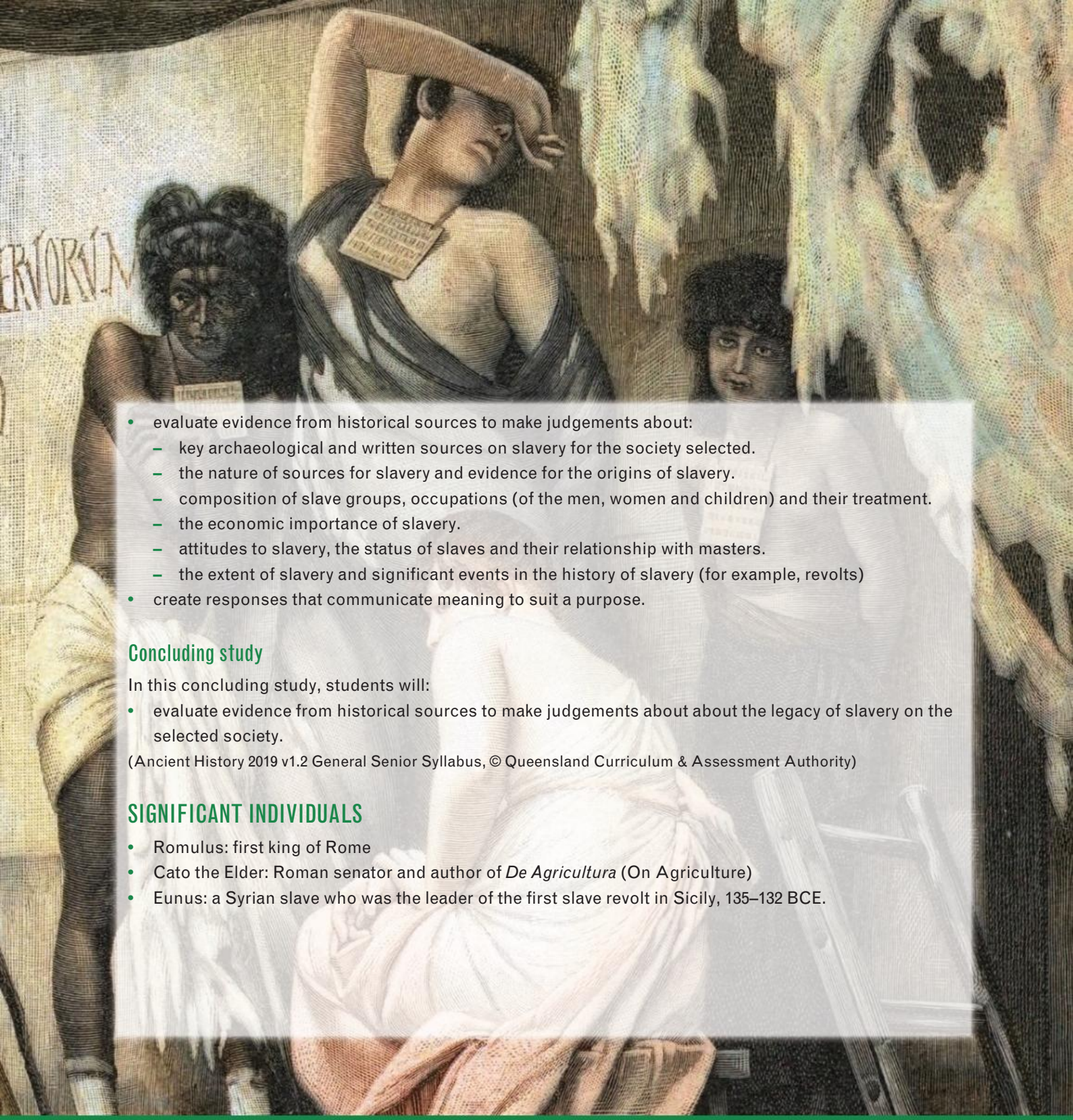
- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - the social structure; for example, the main social hierarchies (elites, workers, slaves, ethnic groups and foreigners), role and status of women and children, and the attitudes towards women, children and education.
  - political institutions; for example, an institution's organisation (monarchy, kingship, tyranny, republic or democracy), the role and function of key political institutions, and political positions, and key legal structures.
  - economic activities; for example, the nature and importance of economic activity (agriculture, commerce, industry, trade and building programs), the organisation of free and indentured labour, and economic exchange (tribute, taxation and coinage).
- devise historical questions and conduct research.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding.
- synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument.

KEY DATES

753 BCE	Late seventh and sixth centuries BCE	509 BCE	496–275 BCE
Mythical founding of the city of Rome by Romulus and Remus	Etruscans dominant in central Italy	The establishment of the Roman Republic	Through its military expansion within Italy, the social and political structure of the republic gradually evolved and slavery became more common

SOURCE 2.1 *The Slave Market*, Gustave Boulanger, 1882

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- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - key archaeological and written sources on slavery for the society selected.
  - the nature of sources for slavery and evidence for the origins of slavery.
  - composition of slave groups, occupations (of the men, women and children) and their treatment.
  - the economic importance of slavery.
  - attitudes to slavery, the status of slaves and their relationship with masters.
  - the extent of slavery and significant events in the history of slavery (for example, revolts)
- create responses that communicate meaning to suit a purpose.

Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about about the legacy of slavery on the selected society.

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SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

- Romulus: first king of Rome
- Cato the Elder: Roman senator and author of *De Agricultura* (On Agriculture)
- Eunus: a Syrian slave who was the leader of the first slave revolt in Sicily, 135–132 BCE.

451–450 BCE	264 BCE	264–241 BCE	218–201 BCE	167 BCE
The Laws of the Twelve Tables introduced	First Roman gladiator contest held at a funerary games	First Punic War	Second Punic War	Roman general Aemilius Paullus sacked the city of Epirus and captured 150 000 people as slaves

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MAP



SOURCE 2.2 Extent of Roman Republic in the early second century BCE

c. 160 BCE	146 BCE	135–132 BCE	133 BCE
Cato the Elder writes *De Agricultura* (On Agriculture)	• Rome totally destroyed the ancient trading cities of Corinth and Carthage. End of Third Punic War.	First slave revolt, Sicily	Tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

WORD	DEFINITION
damnati in metallum	those condemned to work in the mines
delenda est Carthago	'Carthage must be destroyed'; the phrase used by Cato the Elder whenever he spoke in the Roman senate
familia	family, or household
fugitivarii	professional slave catchers
gladiatora munera	a commemorative duty owed by the person's descendants where gladiators fought during funeral games
Hellenisation	the adoption of Greek culture by Roman society
latifundia	extensive Roman rural estates
liberti	freedmen and women
manumission	the process of freeing a slave
nexum	a contract in the early Roman Republic where a free man pledged himself as a bond slave
pater familias	head of the Roman household
servi	slaves in the Roman Republic and empire
servus	slaves born into a household, family farm or agricultural estate
servus publicus	public slaves

Introduction

Most modern nations banned slavery about 150 years ago. Slavery is prohibited under the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, which states: 'No one shall be held in slavery or servitude: slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all forms.' However, slavery today still exists on every continent and in many countries in the forms of forced labour, people trafficking, debt bondage and child marriage.

Slavery was a normal part of life in the Ancient World. It existed in one form or another in most ancient cultures. In *Politics*, the Greek philosopher Aristotle said that slavery was 'a fundamental feature of civilised life' and it occurred to few people of his time to doubt this fact. This was because not many Romans saw that slavery should be abolished. Any who did worried about stopping the harshness of slavery rather than the system itself.

Slavery is a human invention; it is not found in nature. Indeed, another human invention, war, is what provided the bulk of slaves during Roman times, but slaves were also the bounty of piracy or the product of breeding. The Romans realised that slavery was contrary to natural law but that was not sufficient reason for them to abolish it. Slaves were not only cheap to purchase but in abundant supply through wars, piracy, and the slave trade. As more and more free men were drawn from agriculture into the army during the wars of the second century BCE, the rich purchased slaves since slaves were exempt from military service. Cato the Elder was one of the many who purchased slaves out of the captives taken in war to work on his large estate, his *latifundia*. The potential for slaves to revolt in the second century BCE was high.

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Slavery became a pillar of Roman society for almost a thousand years. In the modern world, slavery has been outlawed but, as mentioned, it still exists in many places in one form or another.

Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to archaeology and ancient societies

2.1 Problems with ancient Roman sources on slavery

The scope of this topic on ancient Roman slavery is from the establishment of Rome as a city in 753 BCE until the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus in 133 BCE. However, it is only towards the end of the second century BCE that slavery becomes established as part of the mass economy of Rome. For the majority of this period slavery was not a dominant feature of Roman society and so there is not a significant amount of source material available. The sources that are available consist mainly of evidence from the rich and patrician class. This is important because these people not only had the most slaves, but they also created fashionable opinion and changed laws.

TABLE 2.1 The written sources historians have used to gain information about the institution of slavery in Roman history

Author	Title and description
Plutarch c. 46–120CE	*Lives of Cato*: a brief account of how Cato treated his slaves
Polybius c. 200–118 BCE	*Histories*: details of Rome's conquests in the third–second centuries BCE
Diodorus Siculus c. 60–30 BCE	*Bibliotheca Historica*: written between c. 60 and 30 BCE, it is the full story of the first slave revolt in Sicily and conditions of those who worked in the mines
Livy c. 59 BCE–17 CE	*From the Foundation of the City*: the Carthaginian and Macedonian Wars
Cato the Elder 234–149 BCE	*De Agri Cultura* (On Agriculture): outlines how to manage farm slaves
Columella 4–70 CE	*Res rustica* (On Rural Affairs): reveals his attitude to slaves and describes how to house them

Ancient Roman writers rarely discussed slavery in terms of morals as their society did not view slavery as the moral issue we do today. The history of Roman slavery is at an extra disadvantage as there are no surviving written records, if indeed any ever existed, of what life was like from a slave's point of view. This difficulty is compounded by the problem that, although there are material remains available, it is often difficult to identify individual men, women and children as slaves in sculptures, reliefs and paintings. As a result, it is almost impossible to identify representations of individual slaves or to know their views on the institution of slavery in ancient Rome. In addition to this, the majority of written records and material remains on the institution of Roman slavery occur after 133 BCE, particularly in the late Roman republic writings of Cicero, and the gladiatorial schools and events in the Roman colosseum during the Roman Imperial period.

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ACTIVITY 2.1

1. According to Table 2.1, which written sources would be the best to consult for:
   a. the conditions of rural slaves
   b. the place of domestic slaves with the family
   c. the slave revolts
   d. rights and obligations of a slave under the law?
2. What do you think are the difficulties faced by a historian researching Roman slavery?
3. The source material on the topic of Roman slavery is almost all material records. Why do you think this would be a challenge for historians?

2.2 The nature of Roman slavery



SOURCE 2.3 Relief from Smyrna (present-day Izmir, Turkey) depicting a Roman soldier leading captives in chains. Using the text on this page, describe three different possible outcomes for the 'captive in chain'.

Slavery in ancient Rome played an important role in society and the economy. As the Romans became more aware of their complete dependence on the services of slaves, the government made more laws regarding their treatment.

All human beings are born free, *liberti*, under natural law, but slavery was held to be a practice common to all nations, which might then have specific civil laws pertaining to slaves. Slavery was an institution of the *ius gentium* (natural law innate in all people) where someone is subject to the *dominium* of another, contrary to nature. In ancient warfare, the victor had the right under the *ius gentium* to enslave a defeated population; however, if a settlement had been reached through diplomatic negotiations or formal surrender, the people were, by custom, to be spared violence and enslavement.

Slaves in ancient Rome were individuals owned by another person and deprived of most, if not all, of their rights. In principle, and sometimes in practice, the slave master had the power to put the slave to death. Slaves had no rights. They were bought and sold in the slave market where they were put on display for buyers to inspect them. Healthy, strong slaves were purchased as labourers, or after the second century BCE, as gladiators. Women and children were used as house servants. Educated slaves were employed to carry out administrative tasks, and many teachers, doctors, accountants and entertainers were slaves. The slaves born within a household, *familia*, on a family farm, agricultural estate or villa were called *servus*.

The origins of slavery changed over time from conquests producing massive numbers of captives and the kidnapping activities associated with widespread piracy to those domestically bred in the Roman household. There was also the practice of enslaving foundlings, based on the large number of child exposures and abandonments throughout the Mediterranean. Roman society legally considered slaves as chattels or property, but masters were not required to mark their slaves in any way to distinguish them from free people, unless they had run away.

Slaves were seen as their master's shadows, their doubles, who never left their master's side. Roman sources are full of accounts of slaves who remained faithful to their masters in times of trouble. Rome allowed freed slaves to become citizens.

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Freedmen constituted a numerous and important class in the life of the Roman Empire. It became almost customary for a master to free at least part of his slave household in his will, as a means of showing gratitude for faithful service. In addition, even during his master's lifetime, slaves were frequently able to purchase their own freedom with the savings they were allowed to accumulate, and many were granted manumission as a free gift.

After manumission, a male slave who had belonged to a Roman citizen not only enjoyed passive freedom from ownership, but also active political freedom, or *libertas*, including the right to vote. The master of a slave who had acquired *libertas* became his patron. However, a freedman was not entitled to hold public office, or enter the Senate.

Types of slaves

The living conditions and expectations of slaves in ancient Rome were versatile, and strongly linked to their occupations. Slaves involved in exhausting activities such as agriculture and mining did not enjoy promising prospects. Mining, in particular, had a reputation of being a brutal activity, whereas household slaves could expect more humane treatment.

Slaves were used in all areas of Roman life except in positions of elected public office. There were roughly five major categories of slaves depending on their occupations.

1. *Household slaves* were under the power of the master and at his constant disposal. Some households had just a few slaves while very wealthy Romans kept hundreds as a means to display power and wealth.
2. *Urban crafts and services slaves* could be skilled or unskilled.
3. *Agricultural slaves* usually worked on very large estates, generally owned by absentee landowners who lived and worked in Rome, such as Cato the Elder. The workforce on large agricultural properties – producing grain, cattle, wine and olives – were mostly slaves and managed by an overseer who was often a slave himself. For many, their lot was miserable as they were usually housed in barrack buildings in poor, prison-like conditions and some worked in chain-gangs. Their lives were usually short.
4. *Mining and quarrying slaves* were public slaves known as *damnati in metallum* ('those condemned to work in the mines'). They numbered in the tens of thousands, and were forced to work in the gold and silver mines and marble quarries. They suffered notoriously brutal conditions and treatment, and their status under the law was different from that of other slaves: they could not buy their freedom, be sold, or be set free. They were expected to live and die in the mines.
5. *Public slaves* or a *servus publicus* was a slave owned by the state rather than a private individual. Some of these slaves worked:
   - in temples doing basic tasks as servants of the various priesthoods.
   - in public buildings in Rome and municipalities as accountants and secretaries for magistrates and other officials.
   - on government building programs.
   - on maintaining the aqueduct system.
   - for a time, protecting the city from fire.

ACTIVITY 2.2

GO

1. Create a Visual Organiser to summarise the above information on types of slaves. Refer to the information about nonlinear note-taking in the *Historical Skills Tooklit – Objective 1*.

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Pliny the Elder reported the arduous conditions of slaves who worked in mines:

> Mountains are excavated by the light of torches, the duration of which forms the set times for work, the workmen never seeing the light of day for many months together ... not infrequently clefts are formed on a sudden, the earth sinks in, and the workmen are crushed beneath; so that it would really appear less rash to go in search of pearls and purples at the bottom of the sea, so much more dangerous to ourselves have we made the earth than the water!

SOURCE 2.4 No daylight for months: Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History*, Chapter 21.4 – How Gold is Found

The following two sources are mosaics: artworks made from assembling small pieces of coloured glass, stone or other material.



SOURCE 2.5 Mosaic showing living conditions of household slaves, National Museum of Carthage



SOURCE 2.6 Mosaic of slaves pouring wine, Bardo National Museum, Tunisia



SOURCE 2.7 Always watching the slaves: this fragment of a wall painting shows Roman workers building a wall while the slave taskmaster watches on

When the city of Epirus, on the western Greek coast, was captured by Roman soldiers in 168 BCE, the entire population of 150 000 people was sold into slavery. Slaves were usually prisoners captured in battle or from conquered lands, criminals charged and sentenced to slavery, or children of slaves. By the first century BCE slaves made up one-third of the population of Rome.

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The Roman historian Livy describes how as Rome conquered other countries, captured men, women and even children were made into slaves.

> The signal was given to the soldiers to sack the cities. So great was the amount of booty secured that 400 denarii were distributed to each cavalryman and 200 to each foot soldier, and 150 000 human beings were carried off. Then the walls of the plundered cities, some seventy in number, were destroyed, the booty sold and the proceeds furnished ... to the [Roman] troops.

SOURCE 2.8 Livy, *The History of Rome. Book 45.34.4–7*

ACTIVITY 2.3

1. Create a table from the previous sources summarising the different types of slaves in ancient Rome.
2. Write one or two sentences comparing the lives of slaves in Sources 2.4 and 2.5.
3. The slaves in Source 2.6 appear larger than their masters. Consider the likely creator of this source and what emotion is underlying this mosaic.
4. Why do you think the slave master is watching the slaves in Source 2.7?
5. What are the limitations of mosaics in understanding Roman slavery?
6. The previous section states: 'By the first century BCE slaves made up one-third of the population of Rome'. Consider what different means would be required to ensure the masters stayed in control as slave numbers swelled.

2.3 Rights and responsibilities of slaves

The treatment of slaves varied according to the attitude of their owners, and to the particular slave's status within society. There was certainly much abuse, but there were also masters who treated their slaves reasonably well. The written sources present a range of attitudes towards slaves.

The Roman playwright Plautus, writing his comedies following the end of the Second Punic War in 201 BCE, gives a picture of an inconsiderate master, Ballio, and the kind of treatment his slaves were likely to get.

> *Ballio:* Get out, come, out with you, you rascals; kept at a loss, and bought at a loss. Not one of you dreams minding your business, or being a bit of use to me, unless I carry on thus!
>
> [He strikes his whip around on all of them]
>
> Never did I see men more like asses than you! Why, your ribs are hardened with the stripes. If one flogs you, he hurts himself the most.
>
> [Aside] Regular whipping posts are they all, and all they do is pilfer, purloin, prig, plunder, drink, eat, and abscond! Oh! they look decent enough; but they're cheats in their conduct.
>
> [Addressing the slaves again] Now, unless you're all attention, unless you get that sloth and drowsiness out of your breasts and eyes, I'll have your sides so thoroughly marked with thongs that you'll outlive those Campanian coverlets in color, or a regular Alexandrian tapestry, purple-broidered

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all over with beasts. Yesterday I gave each of you his special job, but you're so worthless, neglectful, stubborn, that I must remind you with a good basting.

SOURCE 2.9 Plautus, *Pseudolus or The Cheat*, Act 1, Scene 2

Another curious method to combat fugitive slaves was the use of slave collars with instructions on where to return them. A surviving example reads:

I am Asellus, slave of Praeiectus, who is an official in the Department of the Grain Supply. I have escaped from my post. Detain me, for I have run away. Take me back to the barber's shops near the temple of Flora.

SOURCE 2.10 Slave collars: 'Select Latin Inscriptions 8727' in J.C. McKeown, *A Cabinet of Roman Curiosities. Strange Tales and Surprising Facts from the World's Greatest Empire*, Oxford University Press, 2010

Branded as a FUG

Slaves running away from their masters was a common problem among slave owners. A way to deal with this was to hire professional slave catchers known as *fugitivarii*, who would track down, capture, and return the slave to the owner in exchange for a fee. Some of the punishments for more serious slave crimes included:

- flogging
- putting the slave in chains
- torturing
- imprisoning
- fitted the slave with an inscribed metal collar, which described the misdemeanor
- the slave being branded on the forehead with the letters FUG, for *fugitivus*.



SOURCE 2.11 Slaves were shackled to prevent them running away. Why do you think it would be important to ensure slaves did not run away?

If someone wants to inflict punishment on a male or female slave privately, he will get the punishment inflicted according to his wishes. If he wants to affix the slave to a cross or gibbet, the contractor should provide planks, chains and ropes for the whipmen and provide the whipmen ... Whenever the magistrates inflict punishment publicly and give the order, the contractor must be ready to inflict the punishment, to set up the crosses, and he must offer for free nails, pitch, wax and tapers ... If he is ordered to drag off the body with a hook, a workman dressed in red will drag off the body, or several bodies, to the ringing of bells

SOURCE 2.12 'Inscription from Puteoli, On the Public Funeral Service' in Tim Parkin and Arthur Pomeroy, *Roman Social History: A Sourcebook*, Routledge, London, 2007

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SOURCE 2.13 Roman relief of a scene showing a slave rebuked by his master



SOURCE 2.14 Different view of slavery, relief of a Roman woman at her morning toilette being assisted by four female slaves



SOURCE 2.15 Relief depicting the manumission of slaves, marble, first century BCE

Professor Keith Bradley, University of Notre Dame, Indiana, is a modern authority on the history of Roman slavery and in the excerpt below describes slavery as a contest fought in the arena of the mind:

> Running away was less dangerous than rebellion, but it was still a hazardous enterprise. Slave-catchers apart, Roman law forbade the harbouring of fugitives, so slaves on the run were always in danger and if caught could be savagely punished. To many therefore it must have made sense not to risk life and limb by running away, but to carry out acts of wilful obstruction or sabotage that harmed slave-owners' interests at minimal risk to themselves. Slaves, for example, might steal food or other supplies from the household. Those in positions of responsibility might falsify record books, and embezzle money from their owners, or arrange for their own manumission (setting free). Ordinary farm labourers might deliberately go slow on the job, or injure the animals they worked with to avoid work – or they might pretend to be ill, destroy equipment, or damage buildings. If your job was to make wine and you had to produce a certain quota, why not add in some sea-water to help things along? Almost any slave could play truant or simply waste time. All these petty forms of day-to-day resistance appealed to Roman slaves. They allowed slaves to frustrate and annoy their owners, and offered the satisfaction of knowing that their owners' powers were not absolute – that even the most humble of human beings could take action to empower themselves. Owners complained that their slaves were lazy and troublesome – instead of working they were always pilfering food or clothing or valuables (even the silverware), setting fire to property (villas included), or wandering around the city's art galleries and public entertainments. But it was in the decisions they made to cause vexation that slaves most forcefully expressed their humanity, and their opposition to the institution that oppressed them. Their sporadic acts of defiance created a permanent undercurrent of low-level resistance to slavery that was deeply embedded in Roman society. The slaves were motivated not by a sense of class solidarity – Rome's slave population was far too heterogeneous for that – but by the desire to find ways in which, as individuals, they could find relief from their subject status, if only temporarily. The relationship between slaves and masters at Rome was a contest fought in the arena of the mind. Masters could draw on all the weapons of law, status and established authority – there was never in Roman history any movement to abolish slavery – whereas slaves had little more to fight with than their wits.

SOURCE 2.16 Keith Bradley, 'Resisting Slavery in Ancient Rome', *BBC History*

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ACTIVITY 2.4

1. How were runaway slaves tracked down? How does the writer of Source 2.12 make sure he gets his slave back?
2. What could happen to a first-time runaway slave?
3. What other fate could await a slave accused of a more serious crime?
4. Source 2.14 shows a relief of a Roman woman at her morning toilette being assisted by four female slaves. In what way does this scene appear different from the many ancient written sources on Roman slaves?
5. In what way do Sources 2.13 to 2.15 show different aspects of Roman slavery?
6. Are plays valid sources about society? What might be the strengths or weaknesses of this kind of source?

Objective 2: Devise historical questions and conduct research in relation to archaeology and the features of an ancient society

2.4 Source investigation on ancient Roman slavery until 133 BCE

ACTIVITY 2.5

Task instructions

You are required to use a research process to find and evaluate four historical sources that will help you answer a chosen inquiry question. This independent source interrogation is an opportunity for you to demonstrate a range of historical skills by selecting sources with different points of view.

What is not good source?

To succeed in this task, you need to find primary and secondary sources that are relevant, accurate, and reliable. To determine this, you need to identify the name and background of each source's creator. Therefore, Wikipedia and random websites are not deemed 'good sources' to use, primarily because you cannot find the author of the page or the author is not well known enough for you to discover anything about them.

Step 1: Develop an inquiry question

We tend to see slavery as an immoral and inhumane institution today. However, there is no evidence of any serious questioning of the morality of slavery in Roman society before 133 BCE. Why did all major economic, social, and legal forces in ancient Rome conspire to make slavery a perpetuated system?

Step 2: Background research

The purpose of background research is to improve your background knowledge. Encyclopaedias or Wikipedia (in this instance) help give you some background to a topic.

1. Who was involved?
2. What were the main events and when did they occur?
3. Where were the important locations?
4. What new words or phrases do you need to know?

(continued)

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ACTIVITY 2.5 continued

Step 3: Creating sub-questions

Break your inquiry question into smaller questions in order to answer it sufficiently.

Sub-questions

1. What were the economic pressures upon ancient Rome around ownership of slaves?
2. What were the social implications upon ancient Roman society around the different types of slaves?
3. What were the legal issues around the rights and responsibilities of ancient Roman slaves?

Step 4: Source research

Once you know what inquiry question you need to answer, start finding primary and secondary sources that will help you answer the sub-questions.

Step 5: Critical summary of your research

Once you have completed your research and source evaluation, answer the following question in paragraph format (topic sentence, explanation, evidence and concluding sentence):

Why are these four sources highly valuable in answering your inquiry question?
(In order to successfully answer this question, you need to draw upon what you have said about the sources' *relevance*, *reliability* and *accuracy* in your source research from Step 4.)

Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the Ancient World

2.5 Slavery as a Roman institution

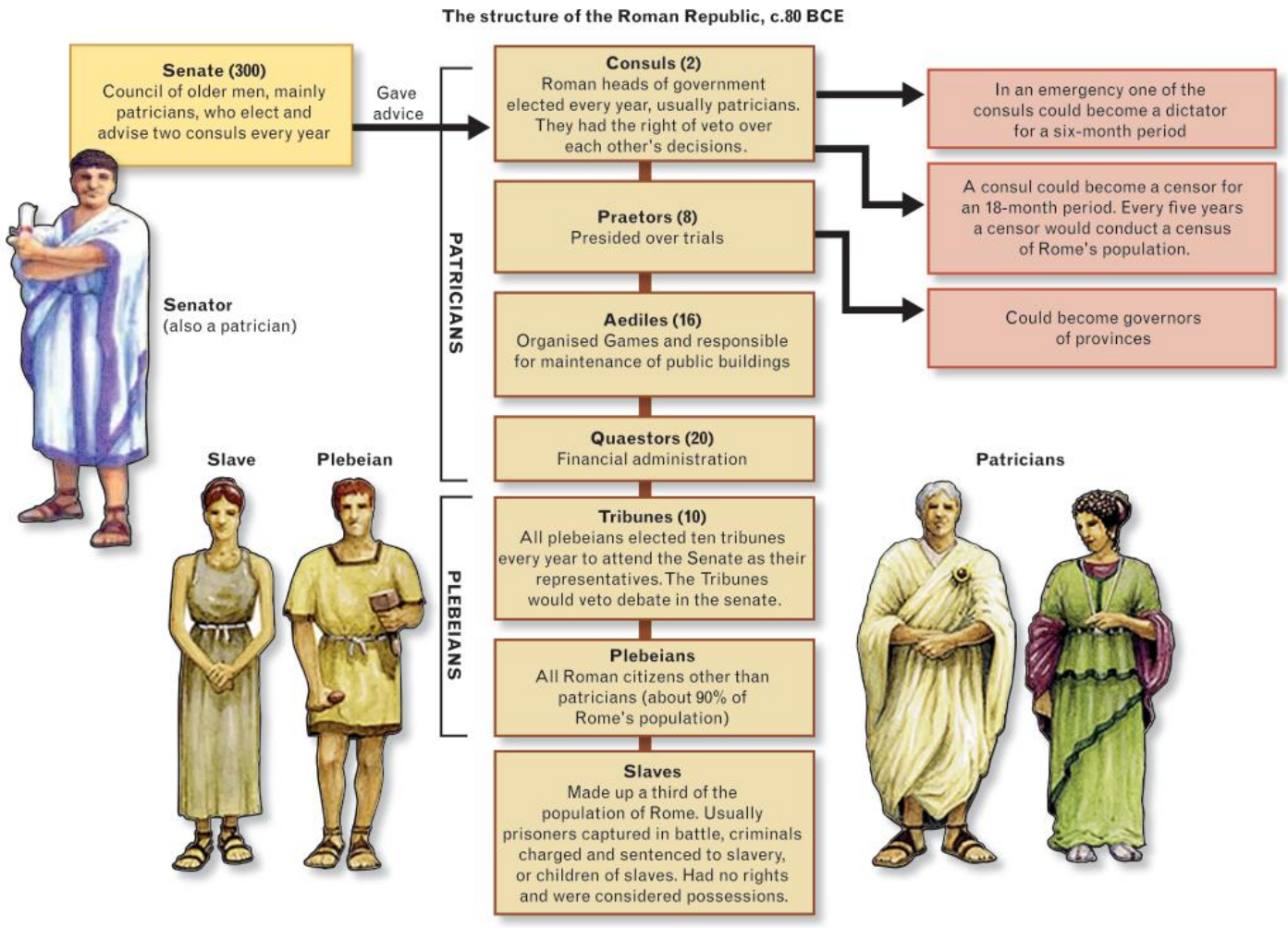
Family life was the central element of Roman society. The father was called *pater familias*, father of the house, and was firmly in control of the family. A Roman family consisted of the father, his wife, his sons and unmarried daughters. If his sons were married their wives and children were also part of the household, as were slaves.

The Roman word for household was *familia*. In early Rome, the *pater familias* could legally execute any member of his household if they went against his authority. The earliest power that the father could exercise over a family member was that of exposure. At birth, in a highly symbolic ritual, male and female newborns were deposited at the feet of the father. Then, without explanation or justification, he either recognised the child as his by picking it up, or withheld his recognition by leaving it where it was. The recognised child became a member of the *familia* whereas the unrecognised child was abandoned to the river or left to die by starvation. These abandoned children often became slaves.

There was a struggle for power within the early Roman Republic between the aristocrats (the patricians) and the commoners (the plebeians). In 451–450 BCE, a compromise was reached and codified in the Laws of the Twelve Tables, with the aristocratic Senate having the greater say in most matters of state, but the plebeians having also obtained certain rights and privileges. The Romans did not have a written constitution, but rather one that evolved over time. These Twelve Tables set out the customs and legal practices of early Rome, and became the basis of Roman civil law and a continuing source for its interpretation.

The first century BCE Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus wrote in the first two volumes of his *Roman Antiquities* that the Roman institution of slavery began with the legendary founder Romulus giving Roman fathers the right to sell their own children into slavery, and kept growing with the expansion of the Roman state.

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SOURCE 2.17 Ancient Roman hierarchy. Identify in the Roman republican system examples of 'checks and balances'. Why do you think this would be beneficial to Rome?

The elements of Roman society and the slave's place in it were bound to change over time, although there were some features that remained the same. These are as follows.

1. The importance of the *familiae* and its patriarchal nature (control by a leading male, the *pater familias*). The Roman family included:
   - many generations, such as the oldest couple, their married sons with their wives and children, and their unmarried sons and daughters.
   - slaves, who were generally prisoners of war taken by the Romans in their conflicts with the Italian tribes around them. A slave could be freed by the *paterfamilias*. Freedman, or *liberti*, became clients.
2. The significance of being freeborn and having Roman citizenship; freedmen and women were people who had been slaves but who had gained their freedom by manumission. Any children born of freedmen were classified as freeborn. A freed slave was the *libertus* of his former master, who became his patron.
3. The patron–client relationship was one of the most long-lasting features of Roman society and was of considerable influence in politics. Clients were considered dependents and enjoyed some of the privileges of the family. They were granted land and protection by their patron in return for economic and political services.

Roman tradition speaks of a body of royal laws, or *leges regiae* promulgated by the first Roman king, Romulus, and the succeeding kings, and codifying the reign of the last king, Tarquinius Superbus.

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The Royal Laws of Romulus are outlined below:

> [These laws] gave virtually full power to the father over his son during his whole life, whether he thought proper to imprison him, to scourge him, to put him in chains and keep him at work in the fields, or to put him to death, and this even though the son were already engaged in public affairs, though he were numbered among the highest magistrates, and though he were celebrated for his zeal for the commonwealth ... And not even at this point did the Roman lawgiver stop in giving the father power over the son, but he even allowed him to sell his son, without concerning himself whether this permission might be regarded as cruel and harsher than was compatible with natural affection ... He even gave leave to the father to make a profit selling his son as often as three times, thereby giving greater power to the father over his son than to the master over his slaves. For a slave who has once been sold and has later obtained his liberty is his own master ever after, but a son who had once been sold by his father, if he became free, came again under his father's power, and if he was a second time sold and a second time freed, he was still, as at first, his father's slave; but after the third sale he was freed from his father.

SOURCE 2.18 Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold (eds), *Roman Civilization, Selected Readings, Volume 1: The Republic and the Augustan Age* (Third Edition), Columbia University Press, New York, 1990, pp. 66–67

The Twelve Tables, Rome's oldest legal code, has brief references to slavery, indicating that the institution was of long standing.

> **Table V**
>
> A father can lawfully leave his estate and slaves to anybody he likes. If somebody dies without making his will, and has no son, the next of kin will receive the whole of the inheritance.
>
> If there is no next of kin, the inheritance will go to the members of the 'gens'.
>
> A madman cannot look after his own property, and it must be taken away from him and given to his next of kin or the members of his 'gens'.
>
> **Table XII**
>
> If a slave steals or does damage, he must be handed over as compensation.

SOURCE 2.19 The Law of the Twelve Tables

The Twelve Tables were drawn up by a commission at the request of the plebeians, 451–40 BCE.

Nexum was a contract in the early Roman republic where a free man pledged himself as a bond slave, a *nexus*, as surety for a loan. He might also hand over his son as collateral. Although the bondsman could expect to face humiliation and some abuse, as a legal citizen he was supposed to be exempt from corporal punishment. *Nexum* was abolished in 326 BCE. Livy records a story that provides insight into how the Romans viewed the potential problems with *nexum*.

Livy recalls the story of the patriotic soldier:

> A certain person advanced in years threw himself into the forum with all the badges of his miseries on him. His clothes were all over squalid, the figure of his body still more shocking, being pale and emaciated. In addition, a long beard and hair had impressed a savage wildness on his countenance; in such wretchedness he was known notwithstanding, and they said that he had been a centurion, and compassionating him they mentioned openly other distinctions (obtained) in the service: he

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himself exhibited scars on his breast, testimonies of honourable battles in several places. To persons repeatedly inquiring, whence that garb, whence that ghastly appearance of body, (the multitude having now assembled around him almost like a popular assembly,) he says, 'that whilst serving in the Sabine war, because he had not only been deprived of the produce of his land in consequence of the depredations of the enemy, but also his residence had been burned down, all his effects pillaged, his cattle driven off, a tax imposed on him at a time very distressing to him, he had incurred debt; that this debt, aggravated by usury, had stripped him first of his father's and grandfather's farm, then of his other property; lastly that a pestilence, as it were, had reached his person. That he was taken by his creditor, not into servitude, but into a house of correction and a place of execution'. He then showed his back disfigured with the marks of stripes still recent. At the hearing and seeing of this a great uproar takes place. The tumult is now no longer confined to the forum, but spreads through the entire city. Those who were confined for debt, and those who were now at their liberty, hurry into the streets from all quarters and implore the protection of the people.

SOURCE 2.20 Livy, *The History of Rome*, Book 2. 23

ACTIVITY 2.6

1. Define the term *pater familias*.
2. What does *libertus* mean?
3. Describe the system of clients–patrons and its importance within Roman society.
4. What power does Source 2.18 state a father had over his son? How could a son finally be free from the father?
5. Source 2.19 lists all the references to slavery in the Twelve Tables. In what way is the Twelve Tables different from the Royal Laws of Romulus?
6. Summarise the story in Source 2.20. Why would Livy have used this as a cautionary tale?
7. Hypothesise why two slaves had a funeral urn such as in Source 2.21 in the second century BCE.



SOURCE 2.21 Funeral urn of two slaves, second century BCE

2.6 Gladiators

The Etruscans were the dominant society in central Italy during the late seventh and sixth centuries BCE. As they expanded their influence they brought Rome under their control and supplied perhaps three of Rome's six kings. The Etruscans did much for Rome but, by the end of the sixth century BCE (the traditional date is 509 BCE), the Romans rid themselves of their king and founded a republic.

The Etruscan lifestyle was quite sophisticated and luxurious. They hunted, made war, banqueted, enjoyed festivals at which there would be dancing and mimed 'plays', and held funerary games which would involve human sacrifices in the form of a fight to the death. These were the forerunner of Roman gladiatorial combats in the arena. On the vase in Source 2.23, two young Etruscan athletes box, while a judge interferes with a rod.

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In the late first century BCE, Nicolaus of Damascus stated where he believed the gladiators and gladiator games originated:

> Romans presented the games of gladiators ... a practice they were given by the Etruscans.

SOURCE 2.22 Nicolaus of Damascus, Athletics 4.153

The Roman writer Livy places the first Roman gladiator contest in 264 BCE at the funeral games held in honour of the aristocrat Brutus Pera. Pera's two sons organised three pairs of gladiators to fight to the death in Rome's Forum Boarium (cattle market). This was known as a *gladiatora munera*, a commemorative duty owed by the person's descendants where gladiators fought during funeral games.



SOURCE 2.23 Two young Etruscan athletes box, while a judge interferes with a rod.



SOURCE 2.24 Etruscan gladiators, base of Etruscan grave marker with reliefs about funerary games, early fifth century BCE



SOURCE 2.25 First Roman gladiator contest, nineteenth century engraving



SOURCE 2.26 Etruscan tomb painting of slave being attacked by dogs at funeral games

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ACTIVITY 2.7

1. Where does Nicolaus of Damascus state the concept of gladiators originated in Source 2.22?
2. The Etruscans did not leave any written accounts of fighting sports or funeral games. However, the Etruscan fighting sports have been documented through vases, bronze artworks, and tomb paintings, which depict wrestling scenes, including boxers. Write two or three sentences on what type of ancient source (written or non-written) would be considered more valuable for this topic and why.
3. Look at Sources 2.23 to 2.26. What do they show about the purpose of funerary games?
4. When does Livy state was the first Roman gladiator contest?
5. Explain the purpose of a *gladiatora munera*.
6. The funeral games held in 264 BCE were for a Roman aristocrat. Look closely at Source 2.25. Why do you think only wealthy Romans would hold a *gladiator munera*?

Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument in relation to archaeology and ancient societies

2.7 Roman brutality

From 496 to 275 BCE the Roman Republic extended its influence, at first over Latium and then, in a time of near-constant warfare, over all of Italy except the northern plain of the Po River. Through its military expansion within Italy, the social and political structure of the republic gradually evolved and slavery became more common.

The Romans became engaged in a series of wars against the Carthaginian Empire in the western Mediterranean: the First Punic War (264–241 BCE) and the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE). During the wars of conquest, a very large number of prisoners of war were brought to Italy to be sold as slaves. They came from all the regions where fighting took place: Africa, Spain, Greece, Asia Minor and northern Italy itself.

When the wars came to an end, drying up that source of slave supply, the demand was satisfied by breeding slaves in Italy and also via a very active slave trade with its eastern centre on the island of Delos. Piracy, kidnapping and the purchase of slaves from the barbarian fringe of the Hellenistic East supplied the Delian market.

In the 50 years after the Second Punic War, Rome became involved in events in Macedon (four wars) and in Greece. In 167 BCE, the Roman general Aemilius Paullus captured 150 000 people in Epirus. The Punic Wars and the Macedonian Wars flooded Rome and Roman territories with new slaves. Rome had slave labour before the second century BCE, but the influx now of such massive numbers saw a major shift in the Roman economy from a labourer economy to a slave economy.

The two events that changed the Roman world were the destruction of Carthage and Corinth in 146 BCE in the Third Punic War. These were the events that played a transformative role in the future of Rome and changed the nature of slavery and numbers of slaves in Roman society.

The city of Carthage had dominated the western Mediterranean both politically and economically, while Corinth was the powerhouse commercial city in the eastern Mediterranean. Carthage had already been stripped of its Sicilian and Spanish territories, but by 146 BCE, Rome's attitudes had hardened. When Rome totally destroyed the ancient trading cities of Carthage in northern Africa and Corinth in Greece in 146 BCE, Rome gained access to untold wealth and hordes of slaves.

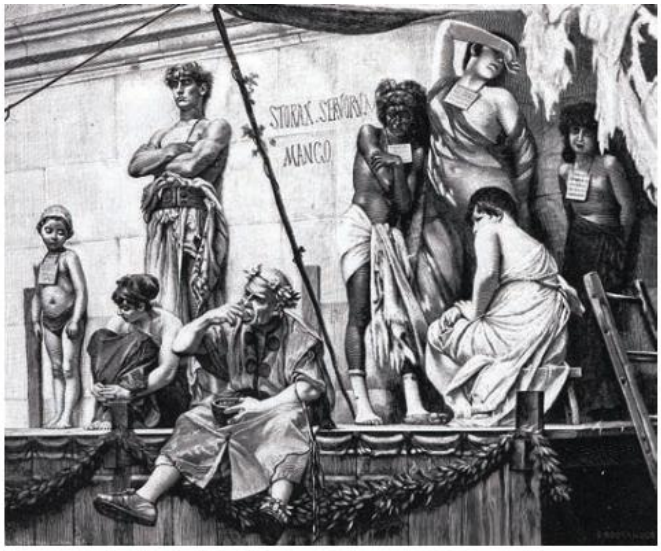
After the destruction of Carthage, it is believed around 30 000 men and 25 000 women were enslaved. It has been estimated that there were approximately 250 000 prisoners of war taken by the Romans in the first half of the second century BCE.

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Few records have survived from Roman slaves to enable modern historians to deduce a slave's perception of life. Instead, the evidence available comes overwhelmingly from people such as Plutarch and Cato, who represented the slave-owning classes. However, the evidence does show that Roman slaves managed to demonstrate their opposition to slavery in a number of ways.

There were only three serious slave revolts in Roman history, and all occurred in the sixty-five years between 135 and 70 BCE. In 135 BCE, a slave war broke out in Sicily, which involved 70 000 slaves and which took several years to be put down by the Roman army.

When Rome defeated Carthage in the First Punic War in 241 BCE, it annexed the Carthaginian-controlled island of Sicily. This was to be Rome's first overseas province and its principal supplier of grain; it was the beginning of a transformation in the traditional Roman way of life. In Sicily, wealthy Romans took the land previously owned by the Carthaginians, and according to Diodorus Siculus, 'after sixty years of good fortune in all respects', during which they 'shot up in all prosperity', they bought large numbers of slaves and began 'at once to apply marks and brands to their bodies'. The wealth that began to flow into Rome saw the growth of the rural estates, or *latifundia,* owned by the upper classes. Moreover, the lives of the upper classes became more luxurious as the number of slaves they employed increased.



SOURCE 2.27 *The Slave Market*, painting by nineteenth century French artist Gustave Boulanger

The policy of slavery

Of all the changes brought to Rome as a result of the wars of expansion, the introduction of mass slave labour was undoubtedly the most negative. Slavery was not only abhorrent in itself, but also inflicted great damage on the economic structure of Roman society and gave later Rome that peculiar, unpleasant stamp. Livy describes the new brutal foreign policy of Rome when, in 167 BCE, the city of Epirus was sacked by the Romans:

> 150 000 human beings were led away into slavery.
>
> Livy, *History of Rome*, XLV, xxxiii, 8-xxxiv, 6

SOURCE 2.28 Livy, *History of Rome*, XLV, xxxiii, 8-xxxiv, 6

After this new mass slavery policy, Valerius Maximus describes how the Roman army ranks were replenished with slaves.

> For during the Second Punic War the Roman youth of military age having been drained by several unfavourable battles, the senate, on motion of the consul Tiberius Gracchus, decreed that slaves should be bought up out of public moneys for use in repulsing the enemy. After a plebiscite was passed on this matter by the people through the intervention of the tribune of the plebs, a commission of three men was chosen to purchase 24 000 slaves, and, having administered an oath to them that they would give zealous and courageous service and that they would bear arms as long as the Carthaginians were in Italy, they sent them to the camp. From Apulia and Paediculi were also bought 270 slaves for replacements in the cavalry ... The city which up to this time had disdained to have as soldiers even free men without property added to its army as almost its chief support persons taken from slave lodgings and slaves gathered from shepherd huts.

SOURCE 2.29 Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Deeds and Sayings*, VII. Vi. i.

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SOURCE 2.30 The lettering SPQR refers to the government of the Roman republic: Senatus Populusque Romanus, or 'The Senate and People of Rome'

ACTIVITY 2.8

1. Look at Source 2.27, and identify the slaves in the painting. Explain your choices.
2. What role did the island of Delos in the Aegean Sea play in Rome's slave trade?
3. In reference to Source 2.29, why did Rome purchase slaves to replenish the Roman army? Do you agree that Rome could be referred to as a hypocrite in regards to slavery? Expand on your answer using Sources 2.27 to 2.30.
4. Write a paragraph response to the statement: The introduction of mass slave labour was undoubtedly the most negative of all the changes brought to Rome as a result of the wars of expansion.

Cato the Elder, who lived in the second century BCE, was a harsh Roman statesman who was the most persistent advocate for the total destruction of Carthage. He is remembered for his repetitive statement, *Delenda est Carthago,* or 'Carthage must be destroyed', which he uttered every time he rose to speak in the Senate.

In this extract, Polybius records the Roman attitude to Carthage prior to its destruction in 146 BCE.

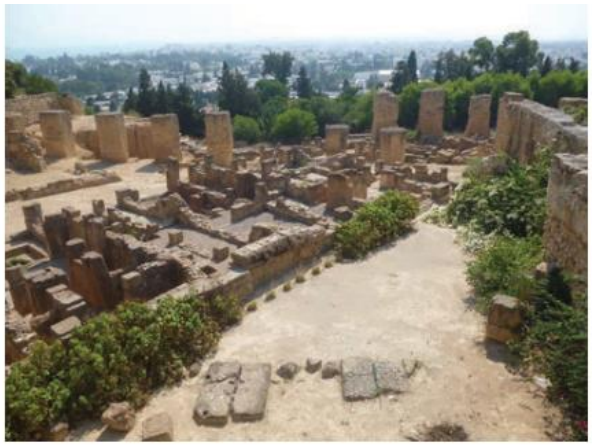
> For the Carthaginians had been guilty of no immediate offence to Rome, but the Romans had treated them with irremediable severity, although they had accepted all their conditions and consented to obey all their orders.

SOURCE 2.31 Polybius, *The Histories*, Book XXXVI.2. Affairs of Greece, 8



SOURCE 2.32 Carthage and its harbour today

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SOURCE 2.33 The ruins of Carthage today



SOURCE 2.34 The remains of Carthage

Pausanius describes the storming of Corinth, when the Greek city was taken in 146 BCE:

> Though the gates stood open, Mummius hesitated at first to enter the city, for he suspected that an ambush might be lurking inside the walls. But on the second day after the battle he stormed the city and set it on fire. Most of the people found in it were massacred by the Romans, and Mummius sold the women and children. He sold also such of the liberated slaves as had fought in the ranks of the Achaeans [Greeks], and had not met their death on the battle-field. The most admired monuments of piety and art he carried off.

SOURCE 2.35 Pausanius, *Description of Greece*, Book 7. chs. xvi. 5.7–8



SOURCE 2.36 Ruins of Corinth

A 20th-century historian comments on the death penalty on Corinth and Carthage:

> It is hard to find rational grounds for the death penalty on Corinth and Carthage, two great civilized cities. The Romans applied their old Samnite policy of annihilating opposition where it hindered their will – a brutal method, since they need not fear any threat to themselves.

SOURCE 2.37 J.P.V.D. Balsdon (ed.) 1965, *Roman Civilization*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, p. 36

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ACTIVITY 2.9

1. How would Cato the Elder's repetitive statement *Delenda est Cathago* every time he rose to speak in the Senate, correlate with Polybius's comment in Source 2.31?
2. Use the images in Sources 2.32 to 2.36 to create a brief graphic story.
3. Polybius (author of Source 2.31) was a Greek hostage in Rome for 17 years but mixed with the top members of Roman society and was present at the sack of Carthage. Evaluate Polybius's reliability as a source on Roman history.
4. What four things does Pausanias attribute to the Roman general Mummius in his treatment of Corinth in 146 BCE?
5. Why do you think Rome adopted a new brutal foreign policy of mass slavery?

2.8 Slave revolts

The first serious slave uprising against the Romans occurred in Enna, on the island of Sicily from 135–132 BCE. The potential for slaves to violently resist their masters in the late second century BCE was enormous and constant. Only the opportunity and the slaves' resolve was necessary for the potential to be realised.

Diodorus Siculus (Diodorus of Sicily) was a Greek historian who lived during the first century BCE. He wrote his monumental history, *Bibliotheca Historica* from c. 60-30 BCE. He explains the reason for the first slave revolt:

> but their masters were very strict and severe with them, and took no care to provide either necessary food or clothing for them, so that most of them were forced to rob and steal, to get these necessities: so that all places were full of slaughters and murders, as if an army of thieves and robbers had been dispersed all over the island.
>
> The slaves therefore being in this distress, and vilely beaten and scourged beyond all reason, were now resolved not to bear it any longer. Therefore, meeting together from time to time as they had opportunity, they consulted how to free themselves from the yoke of servitude they lay under, until at length they really accomplished what they had previously agreed upon.

SOURCE 2.38 Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, Book 34. 2–2 and 4



SOURCE 2.39 View of Hill Town, Calscibetta, Enna, Sicily

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A Syrian slave named Eunus was the leader of the slave revolt in 135–132 BCE in Enna, Sicily. It is said that Eunus presented himself as a prophet and claimed to have a number of mystical visions.

ACTIVITY 2.10

1. What does servile mean?
2. What does Didorous of Sicily identify in Source 2.38 as the reasons for the first slave revolt?
3. Is it reasonable to judge the institution of slavery by twenty-first century standards and understanding of human rights? Explain your answer.
4. Research the first slave revolt 135–132 BCE. Find answers to the following questions.
   - What was the specific cause of the uprising?
   - Who led the revolt?
   - What actions did he and his supporters take?
   - How did the Romans react?
   - How was the revolt finally quelled?

Include in your answers reference to Sources 2.38 and 2.40, and reflection on why Eunus may be represented in this way.



SOURCE 2.40 Statue of Eunus breaking his chains, Enna, Sicily



SOURCE 2.41 A map of Sicily, showing the town of Enna, where the first slave revolt occurred in 135–132 BCE.

Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about the Ancient World

2.9 Mass slavery and the Roman Republic during the second century BCE

Slavery was directly responsible for the ruin of the small independent farmer in Italy, previously the backbone of Roman society and the army, and for the development of a volatile 'urban mob'. Both of these developments would become critical during the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus in 133 BCE.

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Up until the Second Punic War, the plebeians were farmers, craftsmen or labourers. They would farm their own land which, even though modest, was their own property. As labourers or craftsmen, they worked for decent wages. By the early third century BCE the Roman wealthy patrician class had moved away from trade as a means to create wealth, and concentrated their energies in improving and enlarging their holdings of land. This change was as a result of Hannibal's ravaging of the Italian peninsula during the Second Punic War. When Hannibal had destroyed Roman farms and killed their owners, thousands of acres had been declared public land. With no land, the Roman plebeians had no work and so began to flood the cities. The wealthy, who had grown wealthier because of the spoils of war, bought up the farmlands so that by the middle of the second century BCE, Roman agriculture was dominated by large plantations owned by wealthy landowners. The small farmers could not compete with the huge plantations, known as *latifundia*, which were worked on by slave gangs. This, in turn, created other social problems. Unemployed farmers drifted to Rome, but could not find proper work there either. Soon they became the core of the Roman mob, which played a disastrous role in later Roman politics.

Many farmers-turned-soldiers had no desire to take up the hard life of the small farmer again and so the land was sold off in big tracts to the already large landholders of the Senatorial class. The wealthy landowners purchased great numbers of slaves to labour on their *latifundia*, where they specialised in cash crops such as olives and vines, although the majority became cattle ranchers. It was land investment and agricultural production which generated great wealth in Italy at this time. So many slaves were brought to Italy that by the end of the second century, the majority of the population in Italy were slaves. Ancient Rome was no longer an economy with slaves but a slave economy.

Slaves also came from outside of Rome to furnish this slave economy. Greek hostages from city-states and Greek slaves became effective agencies of Hellenisation in Rome at this time; the latter being eagerly sought by rich Romans particularly as tutors for their children or as secretaries. In addition, free Greeks began to flock to Rome to earn their livings: teachers, doctors, book publishers and tutors in rhetoric all found employment and acceptance. In general, Greek migrants were welcomed by the upper-class Romans. Foremost among the *philhellenes* was Scipio Aemilianus whose home was opened to the Greek historian Polybius. A 'scipionic circle' of aristocratic Romans was particularly receptive to Greek culture. Although there always remained among the Romans some suspicion of Greek motives, Greek culture was quickly absorbed by Rome.

Unlike Greek slaves, the slaves from the barbarian lands, on the other hand, had a very desperate existence and seldom gained their freedom. They were bought for work on the big farms of the wealthy or in the labour gangs of the contractors who carried out the public building projects for the state. Since the supply of such slaves was plentiful and the price cheap, their owners paid very little attention to the health and wellbeing of their human tools. When the slaves were worn out, replacement was easy.

Slavery is an economic device to keep the payment of labour at or slightly below subsistence level. This meant that the poor who were not slaves either could not work or had to work at below subsistence wages. This caused massive migrations of the unemployed into cities. The result was not necessarily employment in a new place, but the concentration of a large population of poor, disaffected and angry free Romans. As vast amounts of wealth flowed into the hands of the upper classes, the displaced Romans now lived with overpopulation, food and housing shortages, and violence.

Agriculture was the chief source of income and the chief occupation in the ancient world. The Romans and other Italians were convinced they owed their empire to their hardy peasant stock. They loved to tell how in the early days of the Roman Republic, Cincinnatus was called from the plough to command the army. Slave management is a topic included in many surviving Roman handbooks about farming. In *On Farming*, Varro recommended that free labour be used in unhealthy places. The logic behind this tip was that, unlike the death of free farmers, the death of slaves had a negative financial impact.

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The sole surviving work by Cato the Elder is his *De Agricultura* (On Agriculture), a manual on farm management for absentee landowners written c. 160 BCE. Cato wrote this guide to serve the needs of the increasingly numerous owners of *latifundia*. The *latifundia* were not yet experienced in the operation of these large estates, which were developing in the transformation of Italian agriculture from subsistence farming and be one of the most important sources of income for the Roman ruling class. *De Agricultura* is especially important for its evidence on the beginnings of plantation slavery in Italy. In the text, Cato described slaves as if they were stock or machinery. Behind his attitudes was an ever-present desire to make a profit no matter the result: 'Be sure that a farm is like a man, that however much it brings in, if it pays much out, not a great deal is left.' In his manual he sets out the work done and the rations for his slaves, as well as discussing the growing of crops. Cato ventures the opinion, in his usual forthright way, that grazing is the preferred way of making a living for the gentleman farmer, and slave labour is preferable to the labour of freeman.

As Roman law insisted that its soldiers must own some land, the dispossession of the small landowner farmers lessened the number of recruits available for enlistment into the Roman army, and so the quality of the legions declined.

Pliny the Elder laments the time of the early republic when Italy produced sufficient produce for its needs and prices were cheap. By the second century BCE everything had changed.

> What, then, was the cause of this great fertility? Why, the fact that in those days the lands were tilled by the hands of the very generals, the soil exulting beneath the plowshare crowned with wreaths of laurel and guided by a husbandman graced with triumphs ... But today these same lands are tilled by slaves whose legs are in chains, by the hands of malefactors and men with branded countenance ... And we are surprised that the yields from the labour of workhouse slaves are not the same as from the honest toil of warriors!

SOURCE 2.42 Pliny, *Natural History*, XVIII.iv

Appian writes how the wealthy owners of the *latifundia* employed slaves rather than freemen.

> The rich got hold of the great part of this undistributed land [land which lay uncultivated because of all the warfare in past years] and, encouraged with the passage of time to believe that nobody would ever now take it away from them, they went on to acquire neighbouring lands and the smallholdings of the poor, partly by purchase and persuasion and partly by force, cultivating wide estates in place of single farms and using slaves as field-workers and herdsmen to avoid having free labourers dragged off from their farm-work to serve in the army. At the same time this slave-ownership brought them a lot of profit from the high birth-rate among their slaves, whose numbers increased since they were not exposed to the risks of military service. In consequence the powerful men became extremely rich and the slave population multiplied throughout the land, while the Italians diminished in numbers and quality, worn down by poverty and taxes and conscription. Even if they chanced to have any respite from these burdens, they spent their time in idleness, since the land was held by the rich, and the rich used slaves to work the land in place of free men.

SOURCE 2.43 Appian, *Civil Wars*, 1.7–8

Diodorus Siculus is known for his accounts of the first two slave revolts that occurred in Sicily at the end of the second century BCE. In the following source, he gives some information of the treatment of slaves employed in the mines.

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But to continue with the mines, the slaves who are engaged in the working of them produce for their masters' revenues in sums defying belief, but they themselves wear out their bodies both by day and by night in the diggings under the earth, dying in large numbers because of the exceptional hardships they endure. For no respite or pause is granted them in their labours, but compelled beneath blows of the overseers to endure the severity of their plight, they throw away their lives in this wretched manner, although certain of them who can endure it, by virtue of their bodily strength and their persevering souls, suffer such hardships over a long period; indeed, death in their eyes is more to be desired than life

SOURCE 2.44 Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, Bk 5, 38

Livy describes the triumph of Gnaeus Manlius Vulso in 187 BCE and the beginnings of the introduction of foreign luxury into the city.

The cook, whom the ancients regarded and treated as the lowest type of slave, was rising in value, and what had been a servile task began to be looked upon as a fine art.

SOURCE 2.45 Livy, *History of Rome*, XXXIX. Vi 3–9

ACTIVITY 2.11

1. What action during the second century BCE had allowed the *latifundia* to become the dominant form of farming in ancient Rome?
2. Pliny the Elder lamented that everything had changed since the early republic. Why do you think it was unrealistic for things to stay the same?
3. Why does Appian argue in Source 2.43 that the wealthy owners of the *latifunda* would prefer to have slave workers rather than freemen?
4. What problems according to Pliny and Appian in Sources 2.42 and 2.43 did the *latifundia* create?
5. Apart from the reason stated by Appian in Source 2.43, what other factors probably made slave labour more attractive to landowners than free labour?
6. Why does Diodorus Siculus suggest in Source 2.44 that those who worked in the mines preferred death to life?
7. Why would Livy suggest in Source 2.45 that slaves who could prepare food would be rising in value?
8. Use Sources 2.42 to 2.45 to respond in a well-structured paragraph to the statement: Ancient Rome was no longer an economy with slaves but a slave economy.

Cato's attitudes to slavery

In addition to being a senator and a historian, Cato the Elder was also the owner of a large agricultural property and many slaves. Although he did not advocate deliberate cruelty, Cato's *De Agricultura* records his impersonal attitude to treat his slaves 'according to cold regulations, like so many expensive cattle'. He gave advice on keeping slaves continually at work, on reducing rations when they were sick, and recommended that old and sick slaves should be expelled from the house.

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Cato wrote in the second century BCE of his admiration for the farming class.

> It is from the farming class that the bravest men and sturdiest soldiers come, their calling is most highly respected, their livelihood is most assured ... and those who are engaged in that pursuit are least inclined to be disaffected.

SOURCE 2.46 Cato, *De Agricultura*, 1–19

The Roman poet Virgil described in the *Georgics* the hard, almost unremitting labour and rustic festivities of the farmer's life, expressing his view of the importance of the agricultural tradition.

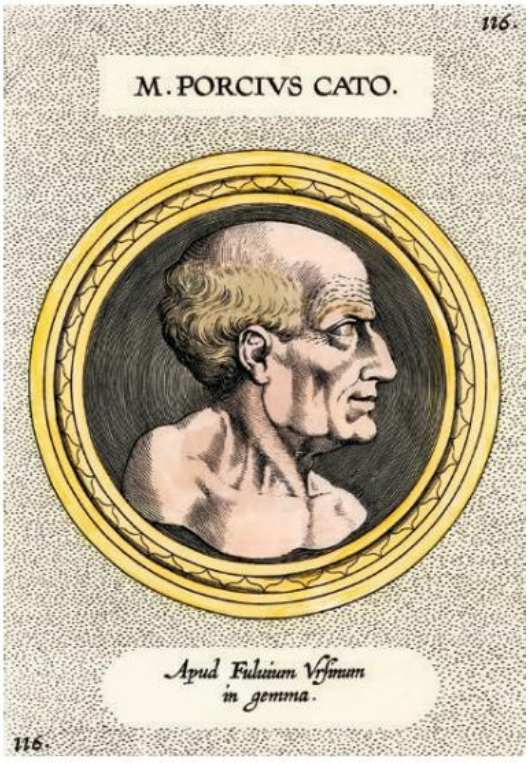
> But still the farmer furrows the land with his curving plough:
>
> The land is his annual labour, it keeps his native country,
> His little grandson and herds of cattle and trusty bullocks ...
>
> Such was the life the Sabines lived in the days of old,
> And Remus and his brother: so it was beyond all question
>
> That Tuscany grew to greatness. Rome became queen of all the world,
> Ringing her seven citadels with a single wall.

SOURCE 2.47 Virgil, *Georgics*, Book II, 513–535

Plutarch discusses the attitude of Cato towards slaves.

> Cato purchased a great many slaves out of the captives taken in war, but chiefly brought up the young ones, who, like whelps and colts, were still capable of being reared and trained. None of these ever entered into another man's house unless sent either by Cato himself or his wife. If anyone of them was asked what Cato did, he answered only that he did not know. When at home, a slave had to be either at work or asleep. Indeed, Cato greatly favoured the sleepy ones, accounting them more docile than those who were wakeful, and more fit for anything when refreshed with slumber than those who lacked it ... He always contrived, too, that his slaves should have some dissension and difference among themselves, always suspecting and fearing harmony among them. Those who were thought to have committed an offence worthy of death he had judged by the entire body of slaves, and put to death if convicted.

SOURCE 2.48 Plutarch, *Life of Cato the Elder*, xxi



SOURCE 2.49 The severe Cato. What impression of Cato do you have when you view Source 2.49? Is your view corroborated or not by Source 2.48?

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In Cato's *De Agricultura* he lists what a slave is allowed to have on a well-managed *latifundia*.

Bread rations for the slaves
Wine for the slaves
Relishes for the slaves
Clothing for the slaves

SOURCE 2.50 Cato, *De Agricultura*

Columella was the most important writer on the agriculture of the Roman Empire. After a career in the army, he turned to farming, and his *Res Rustica* (Farm Topics), in 12 volumes, provided information on the qualities needed in rural slaves and particularly their slave overseers, and the best form of treatment.

Columella offers his advice to slave owners.

Nowadays I make it a practice to call them [his rural slaves] into consultation on any new work, as if they were more experienced, and to discover by this means what sort of ability is possessed by each of them and how intelligent he is. Furthermore, I observe that they are more willing to set about a piece of work on which they think that their opinions have been asked and their advice followed ... Again, it is the established custom of all men of caution to inspect the inmates of the workhouse, to find out whether they are carefully chained, whether the places of confinement are quite safe and properly guarded, whether the overseer has put anyone in fetters or removed his shackles without the master's knowledge. For the overseer should be most observant of both points – not to release from shackles anyone whom the head of the house has subjected to that kind of punishment, except by his leave, and not to free one who he himself has chained on his own initiative until the master knows the circumstances.

SOURCE 2.51 Columella, *Res Rustica*, Book 1, 15–16



SOURCE 2.52 Agriculture workers

ACTIVITY 2.12

1. What is hypocritical about the views held by Cato and Virgil in Sources 2.46 and 2.47.
2. How does Plutarch describe the ways Cato treated his rural and domestic slaves in Source 2.48? Why did Cato prefer the 'sleepy' slaves? Does this source corroborate Source 2.50 and Source 2.51?
3. In your own words, describe how Columella treats his rural slaves in Source 2.51.
4. Cato the Elder was the strongest supporter for the destruction of Carthage. Make a list of three pros and three cons to support this position.

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Cato the Elder believed that the acceptance of Greek sophistication and culture would destroy forever the Roman virtues of *gravitas* (responsability), *pietas* (dutifulness) and *simplicitas* (simplicity). Perhaps he had forgotten that corruption had already gained a hold over the Senatorial class. In any case, opposition was ineffective and the flood of Greek cultural influence on Rome could not be stemmed. This has often been described as the 'Hellenisation of Rome'.

The Roman poet Horace's poem below neatly expresses the influence of the Greeks on Rome, for although the Romans had begun to experience Greek influences as early as the sixth century BCE, it was after Rome's conquest of Hellas (name of Greece in Ancient Greek) that the captives began to have a profound effect on their new masters.

> Captive Greece took captive her proud conqueror and instilled her arts into rustic Latium.

SOURCE 2.53 Horace, *Epistles*

Plutarch described the opposition of Cato the Elder towards Greek culture.

> Cato wholly despised philosophy, and out of a patriotic zeal mocked all Greek culture and learning ... And to prejudice his son against anything that was Greek, in a rasher voice than became one of his age, he declared, as it were with the voice of a prophet or seer, that the Romans would lose their empire when they began to be infected with Greek literature. But indeed time has shown the vanity of this prophecy of doom, for while the city was at the zenith of her empire she made all Greek learning and culture her own.

SOURCE 2.54 Plutarch, *Life of Cato the Elder*

Cicero wrote in his *De Re Publica*:

> For not a gentle stream flowed from Greece into this city, but an abundant flood of arts and knowledge.

SOURCE 2.55 Cicero, *De Re Publica*, Book 93, XIX

Shown in Source 2.56 is a terracotta image of a comedy actor in a comic mask from a Greek play. It represents a slave who has run away and found sanctuary in a temple.



SOURCE 2.56 Runaway slaves

ACTIVITY 2.13

1. Define the phrase 'the Hellenisation of Rome'.
2. Explain in your own words the paradox in Horace's poem in Source 2.53.
3. Plutarch appears to mock Cato in Source 2.54. How is Plutarch's position supported by Cicero's comment in Source 2.55?
4. Source 2.56 represents the often pivotal character of the comic Greek slave in Greek plays and demonstrates the Roman embrace of Greek literary culture. What do you think would be the purpose of Greek plays having a pivotal comic slave character?

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

- Slaves were used in all areas of Roman life, except in positions of elected public office. Five major categories were: household slaves, urban crafts and service slaves, agricultural slaves, mining and quarrying slaves and public slaves.
- The written sources present a range of attitudes towards slaves.
- The evidence shows that Roman slaves demonstrated their opposition to slavery in a number of ways.
- Etruscan funerary games were the forerunner of Roman gladiatorial combats in the arena.
- Following the Second Punic War, many small farmers sold off their land to wealthy landowners, who used slave labour to work the land.
- The first serious slave uprising was in Sicily from 135–132 BCE.
- Cato's *De Agricultura* is evidence of the beginnings of plantation slavery in Italy.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend

Define manumission

Devise

Outline in dot points them changing attitudes towards slavery as documented in Roman law, including the power of *pater familias*.

Analyse

To what extent do the Roman written sources reveal a pro-slavery attitude?

Synthesise

Modern historians have to rely on evidence from the Roman slave-owning classes about how slaves felt about their servitude because very few sources from Roman slaves survive today. How does the source material demonstrate that Roman slaves managed to show their opposition to slavery in a variety of ways?

Evaluate

Ancient Rome was an agrarian and slave-based economy, and its main concern was feeding the vast number of citizens and legionaries of the Mediterranean region. What effect may this have had on its foreign policy?

Respond

Explain why the Romans always feared slave revolts.

Assessment

Examination-style questions

1. To what extent was the institution of slavery a critical pillar of society during the Roman Republic?
2. Why did the ancient Romans appear to feel no guilt towards slavery?
3. What can the material remains tell us about the treatment and punishment meted out to runaway slaves?

Investigation tasks

1. How did Rome establish itself as a mass slave economy in the second century BCE? Respond with reference to primary sources.

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CHAPTER 3
Weapons and warfare of the Vikings 700–1100 CE

SIMON CORVAN

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this contextual study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - a broad chronological overview, from the origins of the society to the period that is the focus for investigation.
  - the geographical location, the nature of the environment and its influence on the society.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - the social structure; for example, the main social hierarchies (elites, workers, slaves, ethnic groups and foreigners), role and status of women and children, and attitudes towards women, children and education
  - political institutions for example organisation (monarchy, kingship, tyranny, republic or democracy), the role and function of key political institutions, and political positions, and key legal structures.
  - economic activities; for example, the nature and importance of economic activity (agriculture, commerce, industry, trade and building programs), the organisation of free and indentured labour, and economic exchange (tribute, taxation and coinage).
- devise historical questions and conduct research.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding.
- synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - key archaeological and written sources on weapons and warfare for the society selected.

KEY DATES

793 CE	840 CE	845 CE	844 CE	859 CE	860 CE
Vikings begin their attacks on Lindisfarne, England	Viking settlers found the city of Dublin, Ireland	Vikings sack France	Vikings raid Seville, Spain but are repulsed	Vikings raid Morocco	• Rus Vikings attack Constantinople (Istanbul) • The Vikings raid along the Mediterranean coast

SOURCE 3.1 An imagining of a Viking

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- the nature of sources for weapons and warfare, and early evidence of military encounters in the Ancient World.
- the composition and role of armies and navies, and changes in forms of weapons and military tactics.
- the significance of the military.
- the political, economic and social impact of warfare and conquest.

• create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose.

Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

• evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about the legacy of weapons and warfare for the selected society and modern times.

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SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

- Alfred the Great
- Rollo
- Ahmad ibn Fadlan
- Erik the Red
- Olaf I
- Leif Eriksson
- Thorfinn Karlsefni
- Cnut (Canute)
- Harold Godwinson
- Harald Hardrada
- William, Duke of Normandy
- Snorri Sturluson
- Ragnar Lodbro.

862 CE	865 CE	866 CE	871 CE	886 CE	900 CE
Novgorod in Russia founded by the Rus Vikings	The Vikings change tactics from raiding England and instead invade England	Danish Vikings establish a kingdom in York, England	Alfred the Great becomes king of Wessex; the Danish advance is halted in England	Alfred divides England with the Danes under the Danelaw pact	The Vikings attack Luni, Italy

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

TERM	DEFINITION
berserker	a Viking warrior who fought with uncontrollable anger
chronicles	annual accounts of significant events
Dane	Danish Vikings
Danelaw	the area of England ruled by the Danish
hoard	a large collection of valuables
jarl	upper class Vikings
karl	farmer and craftsmen Vikings
longship	Viking ships, also known as *drakkars* (dragon) for the shape of the prow
norse	loosely translates as 'north' and refers to Scandinavians
Odin	the Allfather, king of the Viking gods
runestone	a large carved stone, often funerary
Rus	Swedish Vikings who invaded and settled in Eastern Europe
saga	semi-historical and mythical tales
Scandinavia	the countries of Norway, Denmark and Sweden
thrall	Viking slaves
Valkyrie	a powerful warrior woman who took souls to the afterlife
Viking	Scandinavian sea-faring raiders and conquerors

911 CE	922 CE	982 CE	986 CE	995 CE	1000 CE
The Viking chief Rollo granted land by the Franks and found Normandy in France	Ibn Fadlan, an Arab ambassador to the Scandinavian Rus along the Volga, writes his account of their customs	Viking leader Erik the Red discovers Greenland	Viking ships sail in Newfoundland (Canadian) waters	Olav I conquers Norway and proclaims it a Christian kingdom	Leif Eriksson, son of Erik the Red, explores the coast of North America

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Introduction

The term 'Viking' is a complex one because it collectively refers to many different groups who were active over several hundreds of years. In a very general sense, the Vikings were warriors mainly from the Scandinavian nations of Norway, Denmark and Sweden who raided Europe, Northern Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia from the eighth century CE to the end of the eleventh century CE. 'Viking' is also extended to refer more broadly to Scandinavian societies at that time.

The Vikings were highly successful raiders who used longships and advanced sailing skills to engage lightning fast attacks on coastal and riverside communities. Over time the patterns of raiding shifted and many Vikings engaged in trade networks that extended from Russia to Canada. Viking settlers also moved into many areas of Northern Europe, Western Russia and even the coast of North America. There is also archaeological evidence that Vikings reached Baghdad and engaged in trade with the Arabs. The connections and diffusion of Viking culture came to shape many aspects of European history as well as introducing new cultural influences, such as Christianity to Scandinavia.



SOURCE 3.2 Hagby Runestone

The Viking Age stretches from the first recorded raids on Wessex, England in 789 CE through to the Battle of Hastings in 1066 CE. During this time the Vikings had significant influence over the British Isles, Iceland, Greenland and parts of Eastern Europe. There are many runestones that boast of expeditions overseas, and around half tell of raids and travels to western Europe. An example runestone at Hagby, Sweden is above and the translation reads, 'Sveinn and Ulfr had the stones raised in memory of Halfdan and in memory of Gunnarr, their brothers. They met their end in the east.'

Additionally, several groups of Vikings visited Constantinople (known now as Istanbul, Turkey) which was the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, later referred to as the Byzantine Empire. These Vikings formed an elite military unit, the Varangian Guard. One of the most famous Varangians was Harald Hardrada who became the King of Norway and died in 1066 CE during the Battle of Stamford Bridge.

1010 CE	1016 CE	1028 CE	1066 CE	1066 CE	1200 CE
Viking explorer Thorfinn Karlsefni attempts to found a settlement in North America	The Danes under Cnut (Canute) conquer England	Cnut, king of England and Denmark, conquers Norway	Harold Godwinson, king of England, defeats Harald Hardrada, king of Norway, at the Battle of Stamford Bridge	William, Duke of Normandy, defeats the Saxon king Harold at the Battle of Hastings	The Icelandic sagas start with the Orkneyinga saga written by an unknown author

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Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to archaeology and ancient societies

To understand the Vikings, it is important to gain an overall picture of their social structure and some of the motivations for their raids by asking some important questions:

- Who were the Vikings?
- How was their society structured?
- Why did the Vikings go raiding?
- How did the Vikings come to expand beyond Scandinavia?



SOURCE 3.3 Modern day Scandinavians dressed as Vikings

3.1 The origins of Vikings

The Muslim diplomat and traveller Ahmad ibn Fadlan, who visited Volga Bulgaria in 922 CE, described the Rus Vikings:

> I have seen the Rus as they came on their merchant journeys and encamped by the Itil [river]. I have never seen more perfect physical specimens, tall as date palms, blonde and ruddy; they wear neither tunics nor caftans, but the men wear a garment which covers one side of the body and leaves a hand free. Each man has an axe, a sword, and a knife, and keeps each by him at all times. The swords are broad and grooved, of Frankish sort. Each woman wears on either breast a box of iron, silver, copper, or gold; the value of the box indicates the wealth of the husband. Each box has a ring from which depends a knife. The women wear neck-rings of gold and silver. Their most prized ornaments are green glass beads. They string them as necklaces for their women.

SOURCE 3.4 Ahmad ibn Fadlan in Jones, G., 2001, *A History of the Vikings*, Oxford University Press, p. 164

3.2 How was Viking society organised?

Viking society was broadly divided into the three classes: thralls, karls and jarls. The Eddic poem *Rigsthula* explains that it was the god Rig who created the three classes.

Thralls were the lowest ranking class and were effectively slaves. The *Rigsthula* describes the first thrall:

> The skin was wrinkled and rough on his hands, knotted his knuckles, thick his fingers, and ugly his face, twisted his back, and big his heels. He began to grow, and to gain in strength, soon of his might good use he made.

SOURCE 3.5 The first thral, described by Somerville, A. and McDonald, R., 2010, *The Viking Age: A Reader*, 2nd edn, University of Toronto Press, pp. 22–23

While slavery is abhorrent by modern standards, it was critical to Viking society. Thralls were construction workers or farmhands and were considered to be like goods to be bought and sold. The karls and jarls used the thralls for all major physical labour. The *Rigsthula* makes it clear that the thralls were looked down on. Vikings gained new thralls via conquest and raids in which people were captured and enslaved. There was a strong trade with the Arabs in which thralls were exchanged for silver.

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The second social class were known as karls. The karls were free peasants who owned land and were usually farmers. The *Rigsthula* describes the first karl:

> He was ruddy of face, and flashing his eyes. He began to grow, and to gain in strength, oxen he ruled, and plows made ready, houses he built, and barns he fashioned, carts he made, and the plow he managed.

SOURCE 3.6 The first karl, described by Somerville, A. and McDonald, R., 2010, *The Viking Age: A Reader*, 2nd edn, University of Toronto Press, pp. 22–23

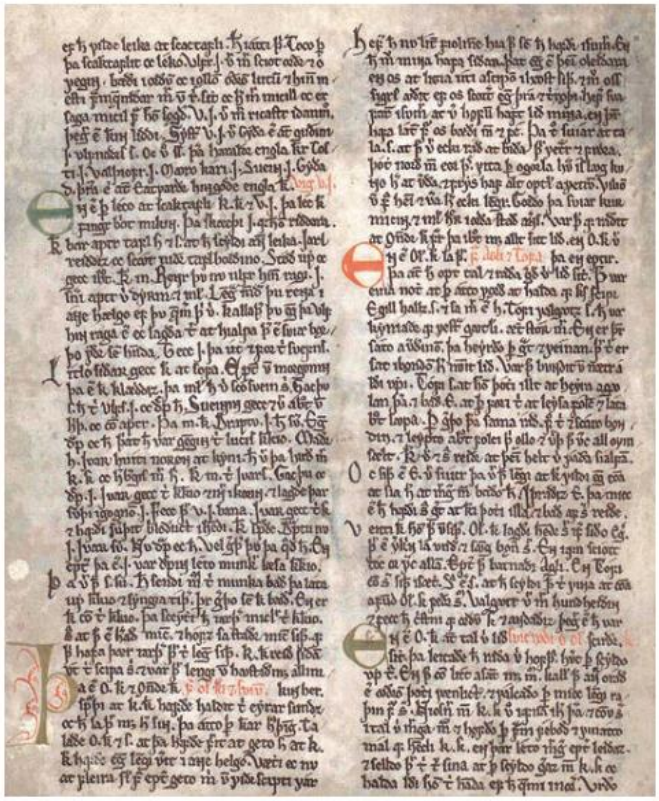
The third social class were the jarls who were the nobility of Viking society. Jarls were usually wealthy, owning large estates and many thralls. The jarls were the political class who ran villages and towns. The *Rigsthula* describes the first jarl:

> Blonde was his hair, and bright his cheeks, grim as a snake's were his glowing eyes ... Shields he brandished, and bow-strings wound, bows he shot, and shafts he fashioned, arrows he loosened, and lances wielded, horses he rode, and hounds unleashed, swords he handled, and sounds he swam.

SOURCE 3.7 The first jarl, described by Somerville, A. and McDonald, R., 2010, *The Viking Age: A Reader*, 2nd edn, University of Toronto Press, p. 25

Sagas

As you have already seen in the *Rigsthula* poem, one of the best sources for understanding Viking society comes from the poems and sagas. Most are Old Norse works of literature written in Iceland in the early thirteenth century. The work is often assumed to have been written, or at least compiled, by the Icelandic scholar and historian Snorri Sturluson around the year 1220 CE. The veracity of the sagas is contested by modern historians and many of them contain highly mythical elements for which there is no evidence.



SOURCE 3.8 Kringlublaðið (the Kringla leaf) is a vellum manuscript leaf dated c. 1260 CE from the historical sagas known as Heimskringla. The leaf was the only one to survive from a manuscript called Kringla that was destroyed in the 1728 great fire of Copenhagen.

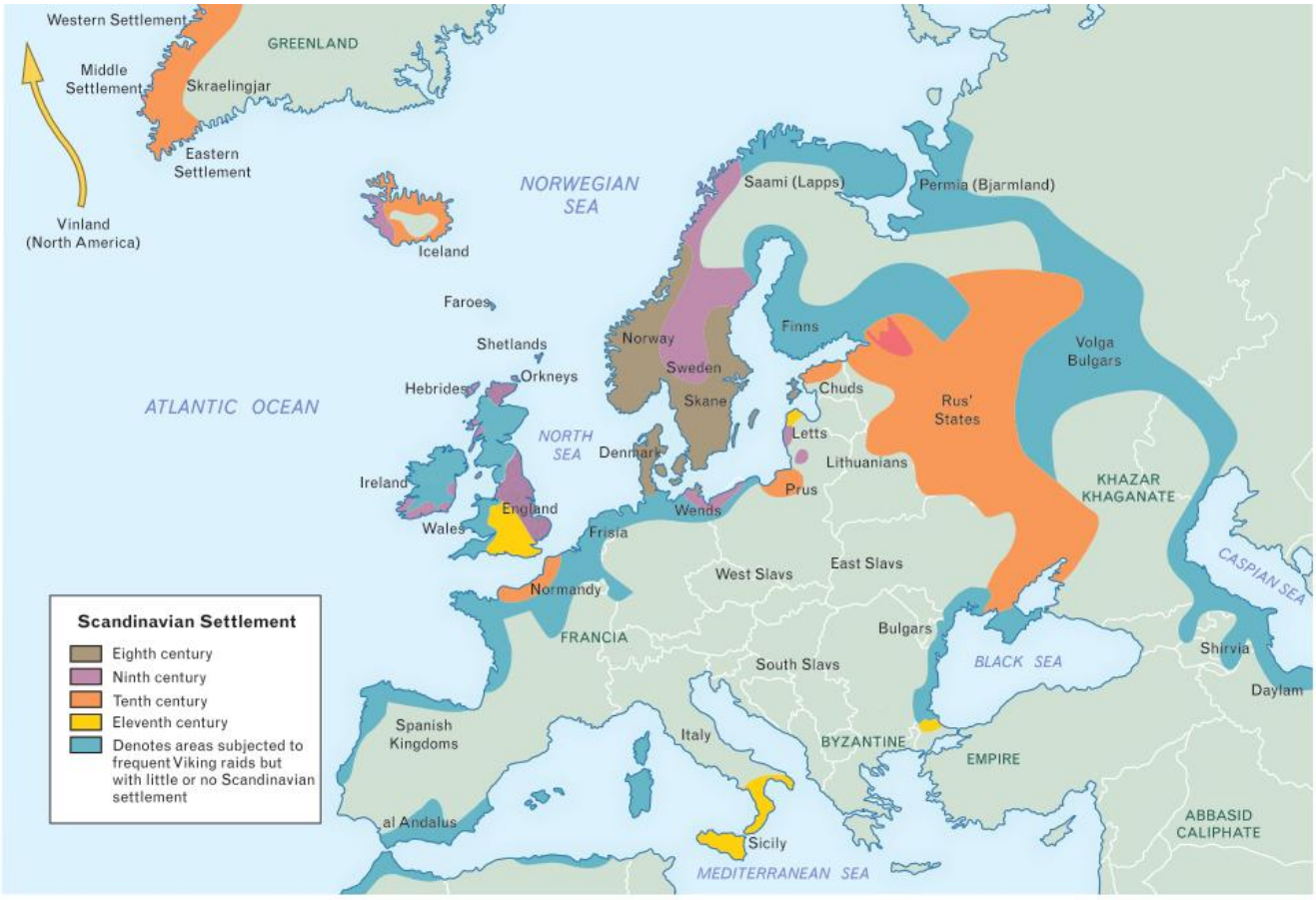
ACTIVITY 3.1

1. Draw a diagram that shows the social structure of the Vikings.
2. Conduct some further research on other aspects of Viking society:
   - women
   - traders
   - craftsmen
   - children.
3. Explain why Icelandic poems and sagas such as the *Rigsthula* are both an excellent source of information and a highly problematic one.

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3.3 Raiding and being 'Vikings'

The map below shows areas of Scandinavian settlement in the eighth (dark red), ninth (red) and tenth (orange) centuries. Yellow denotes areas conquered by the Normans in the eleventh century, partly descendants of the Vikings. Teal denotes areas subjected to Viking raids.



SOURCE 3.9 Viking expansion from the eighth to eleventh centuries

ACTIVITY 3.2

1. What do think the main motive for the Viking expansion was? Discuss in groups and then as a class, particularly if there are differences of opinion.

British historian Jonathon Clements argues that raiding was essential to the Vikings' sense of community:

> This was a small community led by a 'king' and his warriors. The war band was an organism that lived to acquire possessions – it would roam in search of a territory of its own. It could be destroyed by a more powerful adversary, or it could seize the territory of another, acquiring land, women and wealth for itself. At that point, it would have fulfilled its basic function, and fizzle out. A war band was not so much a parasite as an outlet for a community's bad seeds. A generation after the original raiders gave up on their raiding life, their many wives and concubines would have raised another horde of hungry mouths. Eventually a new war band would form and go off in search of plunder.

SOURCE 3.10 Clements, J., 2005, *A Brief History of the Vikings*, Robinson Publishing, p. 52

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The sagas also express this concept of raiding and returning home with wealth and honour. Egil's saga describes the cycle clearly:

> But when Thorolf was twenty years old, then he made him ready to go a harrying. Kveldulf gave him a longship, and Kari of Berdla's sons, Eyvind and Aulvir, resolved to go on that voyage, taking a large force and another longship; and they roved the seas in the summer, and got them wealth, and had a large booty [treasure] to divide. For several summers they were out roving, but stayed at home in winter with their fathers. Thorolf brought home many costly things, and took them to his father and mother; thus, they were well-to-do both for possessions and honour.

SOURCE 3.11 Egil's saga, Chapter 1, quoted in Green, W. C.,1893, 'Egils saga Skallagrímssonar'

The Christian priest Dudo in Normandy, France wrote in 1020 CE that the Vikings left home because:

> these people who insolently abandon themselves to excessive indulgence, live in outrageous union with many women and there in shameless and unlawful intercourse breed innumerable children. Once they have grown up, the young quarrel violently with their fathers, or with each other, about property and riches, and if they increase too greatly in number and cannot acquire sufficient land to farm, a large group is selected by lottery. They are driven away to foreign lands so that they, by fighting, can gain themselves countries.

SOURCE 3.12 Christian priest Dudo, 1020 CE, quoted in Roesdahl, E. (1998), *The Vikings*, Penguin, London p. 187

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle written in England in 793 CE described the arrival of the Viking raiders in apocalyptic overtones:

> In this year came dreadful forewarnings over the land of Northumbria, terrifying the people most woefully: these were immense sheets of lightning and whirlwinds, and fiery dragons were seen flying through the sky. A great famine soon followed these signs and not long after in the same year, on the sixth day before the ides of January, the harrowing inroads of heathen men destroyed the church of God in Lindisfarne by robbery and slaughter.

SOURCE 3.13 Anglo-Saxon Chronicle on the arrival of the Viking raiders, quoted in Roesdahl, E. (1998), *The Vikings*, Penguin, London p. 193

ACTIVITY 3.3

1. Explain the significance of raiding to Viking society.
2. In what ways does Egil's saga suggest that raiding was an honourable activity?
3. Consider the nature of the Christian primary sources.
   a. What claims do the Christians make about the Vikings?
   b. How are the Vikings depicted in these sources?
   c. Suggest why these sources were hostile to the Vikings.

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Objective 2: Devise historical questions and conduct research in relation to archaeology and the features of an ancient society

3.4 The Viking expansion

How did the Vikings explore, raid and conquer?

Ships were the Vikings' most significant technological advantage. The only reason there is a period known as a Viking Age is because their ships allowed them access to the rivers of Europe and the Atlantic Ocean. Viking ships were constructed in a highly sophisticated manner that was copied by others, including one of the Spanish Muslim leaders, who ordered ships to be built in imitation of the Viking ones.

One of the best-preserved Viking warships is the Gokstad ship, a complete ship buried as part of a funeral ritual. During excavations in the 1880s, a human skeleton was discovered lying in a bed placed inside a timber-built burial chamber. The skeleton was that of a powerful man aged in his 40s–50s, around 183 cm tall. The grave also contained three small boats, a tent, a sledge and riding equipment. Other grave goods were probably previously plundered as the excavation found no gold or silver.



SOURCE 3.14 Gokstad ship on display at the Viking Ship Museum in Oslo, Norway

The Gokstad ship is 28 metres long and 5 metres wide and could hold 50–60 seamen, who powered the ship by rowing. The ships were built from strong oak and split with axes so that the grain in between the ship's planks meshed together and added durability. There was a relatively short mast used for gathering speed rather than steering, and steering was accomplished with a single rudder in the stern. Most Viking warships were very sturdy and able to handle either open ocean or small rivers. Some of the larger ships had the capacity to hold an extra set of rowers, which meant that the Vikings did not need to rest at night and could continue sailing or rowing. Viking ships had a shallow draft, usually around 1 metre, which meant they could land directly on sandy beaches and raid quickly rather than being forced to dock in well-fortified harbours. Their low masts, built for speed when the winds were favorable, could also easily pass under bridges erected in rivers. This design feature allowed the Vikings to pass under the fortified bridges that King Charles the Bald constructed in 864 CE to try to block the Vikings.

The Vikings also had trade ships known as Knörr. These trade ships were usually sailing ships in which the rowing seats were removed to create space to hold trade goods.



SOURCE 3.15 Gokstad ship on display at the Viking Ship Museum in Oslo, Norway

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ACTIVITY 3.4

1. Research the Gokstad ship. Below are several questions to get your research started.
   - Where was it discovered?
   - Why was it completely buried?
   - How was it constructed?
   - How does it compare to other ship burials such as the Oseberg ship?
   - How accurate are the 'replica' ships built at places like the Viking Ship Museum at Roskilde, Denmark?
2. What advantages did Viking ships have?
3. What disadvantages did Viking ships have?
4. Explain why Viking skills at shipbuilding and sailing enabled them to be successful raiders.



SOURCE 3.16 Modern replica of a Viking vessel, *Sea Stallion from Glendalough*

Sea Stallion from Glendalough is the largest reconstruction of a Viking Age warship. The original ship on which the reconstruction is based was built at Dublin in 1042 CE. It was used as a warship in Irish waters until 1060 CE, when it ended its days as a naval barricade to protect the harbour of Roskilde, Denmark.

ACTIVITY 3.5

GO

1. Refer to the Historical Skills Toolki – Objective 2 for guidelines on structuring an essay or assignment to create an argument. You will be advised to define your research by using sub-questions. Imagine that the set research question is 'What effect did technology have in the role and success of Viking expansion in the eighth–eleventh centuries?'
   a. What option in the Skills Toolkit do you think best suits this type of question? How would you structure your investigation and response to this question?
   b. Create three to four sub-questions to help you frame your investigation and response.

Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the Ancient World

3.5 Viking weapons

Archaeology has provided modern historians with a fuller picture of Viking weapons than the fragments of medieval literary text. The chroniclers of the times were understandably more concerned with the violence of the raids and conquests than in giving future generations a clear image of the weapons used. There are limitations to the archaeological records; mainly because leathers and wood perish and iron was so highly prized that it was likely reused. Beyond this, the Viking's primary source of iron was 'bog iron', harvested only in tiny ingots from swamps.

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ACTIVITY 3.6

1. After reading the information below and conducting some additional research, create a list of the common equipment, weapons and armour that a Viking would have carried into battle.
2. Explain why the archaeological records for armour and weapons is limited.
3. Construct a list of advantages and disadvantages of the different armour types worn by Vikings.
4. Compare and contrast the major types of Viking weapons.



SOURCE 3.17 Modern day re-enactment of a Viking warrior

The image of the Viking warrior depicts a reasonably common set of equipment and weaponry. The vast majority of Vikings would have been armoured with relatively simple armour constructed from sturdy cloth or leather. Vikings sometimes wore chainmail shirts with thousands of interlocking iron rings, but the expense of iron combined with the need for mobility on raids meant that it was unlikely that these were common. A chainmail shirt could weigh around 12 kg and contain 30 000 individual rings of iron.



SOURCE 3.18 Close-up of Viking warrior re-enactment



SOURCE 3.19 Detail of reconstruction of chainmail

Helmets

Viking helmets are distinct from most others of the same era in that they are typically constructed from multiple pieces of iron riveted together, rather than being a single sheet of iron hammered into shape.

There are multiple theories to explain the difference. Most centre on a lack of large enough sheets of iron. In a similar manner to swords, Viking helmets were expensive and rare, leading to a lack of archaeological evidence as it seems likely that they would have been handed down from generation to generation.

An excellent example of a Viking helmet is the Gjermundbu helmet (Norway) found by accident on a farm in 1943. The Gjermundbu burial chamber contained many grave goods and the most complete Viking helmet ever found. This type of helmet is known as a *spangenhelm*. These helmets must have had some kind of cushioning between the metal and the skull, either a thick felting or a suspended leather liner. However, as these materials rot, no archaeological records remain as to how the helmets were lined.

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SOURCE 3.20 Gjermundbu helmet (Norway)



SOURCE 3.21 Modern reconstructions of Viking helmets

The stereotypical horned Viking helmet has no credible historical evidence to back it up. Instead, it is a costume designed in 1876 by Carl Emil Doepler for the first Bayreuth Festival production of Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen*. It is possible that horns could have been worn on ceremonial helmets for rituals but they would not have been practical in battle.

Weapons

Spears

The most common weapon used in the Viking Age was the spear. This was true of all ancient and medieval armies due to the relatively simple technological threshold and materials required to construct a spear, as well as the low skill level required to wield one. In contrast to a sword, spears could be constructed much more simply, with less metal and with lower quality iron. While we tend to picture swords as the primary Viking weapon it should be noted that the Allfather god Odin used a spear known as Gungnir, and spears had significant cultural value to the Vikings.

Archaeological remains as well as images from the time show that spears consisted of metal heads with a blade and a hollow shaft, mounted on wooden shafts between two to three metres in length. Spear heads measured around forty centimetres with a tendency towards slightly longer and narrower heads in the later Viking Age. Spear heads with winged edges are called *krókspjót* (hooked spear) and could be used to catch the edge of shields and pull enemies off balance. Some larger-headed spears were called *höggspjót* (chopping spear) and could also be used for cutting like a sword as well as stabbing. Lighter spears with narrower spearheads could be thrown like a javelin.

Axes

The second most common weapon for Vikings was the axe. Like the spear, lower production challenges and reduced metal availability are some of the main reasons for the prevalence of axes. Additionally, axes were a tool for chopping wood and thus had practical uses beyond warfare.

The Vikings developed large axes, often known as Danish axes, which had long shafts and large heads. These axes stood close to two metres tall and were designed for two-handed usage over the top of shielded companions. An example of a Danish axe is clearly found on a segment of the the Bayeux Tapestry. These larger axes were also used against cavalry, allowing the wielder to attack the rider. Many Viking axe blades were hooked or bearded to allow the warrior to snag an enemy's weapon or shield.



SOURCE 3.22 Danish axe as depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry, c. 1066 CE

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Small hand axes that could also be thrown were more common than the larger Danish axes. The Mammen Axe, held in the National Museum of Denmark, is a famous example. The complex silver inlaid motifs on the axe can be interpreted as both Christian and pagan. The curators at the National Museum offer the following interpretation:

> On one side a tree motif can be seen. It may symbolise the Christian Tree of Life or the pagan tree Yggdrasil. On the other side is an animal figure – perhaps the rooster Gullinkambi [Old Norse 'golden comb'] or the phoenix. According to Norse mythology Gullinkambi sits on top of the tree Yggdrasil. Here it wakes the Viking warriors every morning and it will crow at the beginning of Ragnarok [the end of the world]. The phoenix is a Christian mythological animal and a symbol of re-birth.

SOURCE 3.23 Brief at National Museum of Denmark



SOURCE 3.24 Mammen axe

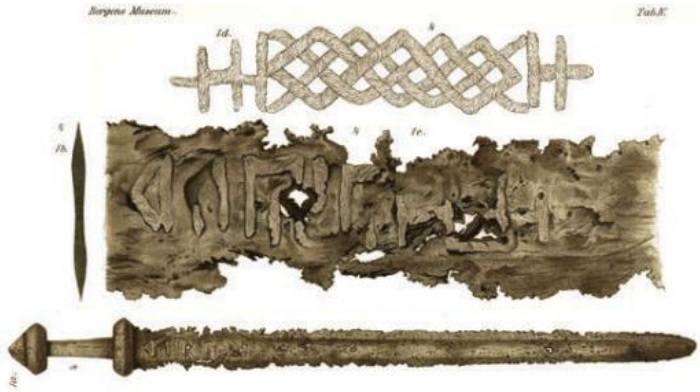
Swords

Swords were the most significant weapon in the Viking world. They were challenging to forge and required large quantities of high quality iron. Owning a sword was a mark of distinction for a warrior and became heirlooms passed down through generations. The Icelandic saga *Fóstbrædra* explains that very few men were armed with swords and, out of more than a hundred weapons found in Viking Age burials in Iceland, only sixteen are swords. In the *Laxdæla* saga the King Hakon gives a sword to the warrior Hoskuldur that is valued at a half mark of gold, approximately equivalent to sixteen milk cows – a fortune in that time. The *Laxdæla* saga from Iceland also tells the cautionary tale of Geirmundr who is planning to leave his wife Thurídr and their baby daughter. When Thurídr discovers his plot, she steals his sword *Fótbítr* (Leg Biter) and leaves their daughter behind on Geirmundr's ship. As Thurídr rows away the baby begins to cry so loudly that Geirmundr wakes up. He tells Thurídr to take her daughter and whatever wealth she wants, but leave his sword; he would give up a great deal of money rather than lose his sword. However, Thurídr takes the sword as Geirmundr has treated her dishonourably.

Viking blades were usually wielded with one hand, leaving the other free to hold a shield. Although they vary significantly in size, most blades would have been around 70–80 cm in length and only became longer much later in the Viking era, when they were up to 100 cm. Blades were typically 4–6 cm wide and usually sharp on both sides. Combined with the hilt and pommel (needed for balance) the swords weighed between 1–2 kilograms and balanced closer to the hilt due to the tapering of the blade.



SOURCE 3.25 Viking swords, originals and replicas



SOURCE 3.26 A detailed drawing of a Viking Age sword from the early ninth century found at Sæbø in the west of Norway with runes still visible

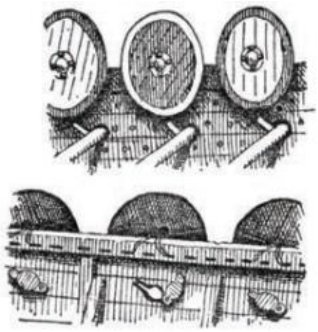
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Shields

Vikings favoured round shields with a central boss (a round cover for the hand, usually made of metal). Archaeological remains of shields at Gokstad and Trelleborg show that they were constructed of surprisingly thin timbers. This made the shields fairly light and easy to use both offensively and defensively. Vikings reinforced their shield rims with leather and strengthened the facing side of the shield with thick fabric or animal skins. Timbers such as linden, fir, alder and poplar were used, and experimental archaeology has demonstrated that the fibres of these timbers can trap blades that bite into the shield.



SOURCE 3.27 Replica shield



SOURCE 3.28 Drawing of shields that fit onto a Drakkar ship from Nouveau Larousse Ilustré (Larousse XIXs. 1866–1877)



SOURCE 3.29 Trellborg Shield remnants

While the image of Vikings creating a wall of shields may seem like an accepted technique of Vikings in battle, there are archaeologists who do not believe that Vikings used their shields in this manner.

According to Rolf Warming, an archaeologist and researcher at the University of Copenhagen, the Vikings did not use shield walls in combat, and Warming discusses this in the article below:

> There is a widespread misunderstanding among Viking enthusiasts and us archaeologists that the Vikings have been standing shield by shield forming a close formation in battle.
>
> His [Warming's] research results are supported by archaeological finds, written texts and known Viking fighting techniques that were based on surprise, speed and weapon skills. The Gokstad shields are, like the shield found at Trelleborg, relatively thin, and research has shown that they would easily split when struck with arrows, swords, and axes. This strengthens the theory that they originally were covered with animal skin: The skin shrinks a little when it dries out, something that increases the strength. By using animal skin, it was also possible to use relatively thin pieces of wood and thereby keep the weight as low as possible. However, the shields were not strong enough (or big enough) to withstand multiple hits from swords and axes in a shield wall.

SOURCE 3.30 Lanesskog, T., 'Research: Vikings Did Not Hide Behind Shield Walls', *thornews.com*, August 30, 2017

Conversely there is some evidence of the shields being used like a wall. The eleventh century Icelandic poet Thjodolfr Arnorsson states in the *Sexstefja* poem that at the Battle of the River Nissa:

> the valiant King of Uppland drew his bow all night; the lord caused arrows to shower against the white shields [of Denmark]. The blood-drenched points inflicted wounds up on the mail-shirted men, where arrows lodged in shields; the volley of spears from the dragon [longship] increased.

SOURCE 3.31 *Sexstefia* poem

Occasionally Vikings chose not to carry a shield when they carried a two-handed weapon such as a Danish axe, or carried a different weapon in each hand. Gunnar Hámundarson was a tenth century

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Icelandic chieftain who carried an axe in one hand and a sword in the other at the battle at Rangá. This was described in Chapter 62 of the *Brennu-Njáls* saga when Gunnar Hámundarson's enemy Thorgeirr urged his brothers Bork and Thorkell to all charge at Gunnar together: 'He has no shield, and we'll have his life in our hands.' The saga says that Gunnar knocked Bork's sword out of his hand with his axe while slicing off Thorkel's head with his sword.

Viking shields could also be used as offensive weapons. In the *Bjarnar* saga *Hítdælakappa*, Björn smashes his shield into his opponent's head to kill him, and in the *Grettis* saga, Grettir kicks Snækollr's own shield into his head so hard that Snækollr's face is torn open and his jaw falls down to his chest. The saga says: 'when he (Grettir) came alongside of the bearserk's [berserker] horse, he sent up his foot under the tail of the shield so hard, that the shield went up into the mouth of him [Snækollr], and his throat was riven asunder, and his jaws fell down on his breast.'

ACTIVITY 3.7

1. Explain why Vikings used light wooden shields.
2. How did the Vikings use their shields both defensively and offensively?
3. Although the sources disagree, make a decision as to whether the Vikings formed shield walls, by considering which sources are the most credible.
4. Consider the role of experimental archaeology in helping understand the ways in which weapons and armour were used. Experimental archaeologists attempt to recreate and re-enact artefacts using only the technology and materials available to people in the past to test a hypothesis. This can involve drawing inferences from sketches and partial archaeological remains. What are the advantages and disadvantages of this approach?

3.6 Viking warriors

Berserker warriors

While Viking warriors were certainly intimidating, there are also claims that elite, rage-filled warriors known as berserkers existed. The earliest surviving reference to the term is in *Haraldskvædi*, a skaldic poem by Thórbiörn Hornklofi in the late ninth century. The poem was composed in honour of King Harald Fairhair, and the beserker were referred to as *ulfhednar* (men clad in wolf skins). This translation from the *Haraldskvædi* saga describes Harald's berserkers:

> I'll ask of the berserks, you tasters of blood, those intrepid heroes, how are they treated, those who wade out into battle? Wolf-skinned they are called. In battle they bear bloody shields. Red with blood are their spears when they come to fight. They form a closed group. The prince in his wisdom puts trust in such men who hack through enemy shields.
>
> Note: The 'tasters of blood' in this passage are thought to be ravens, which feasted on the dead.

SOURCE 3.32 Thórbiörn Hornklofi, *Haraldskvædi*

The Icelandic historian and poet Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241) wrote the following description of berserkers in his *Ynglinga* saga:

> They went without shields, and were mad as dogs or wolves, and bit on their shields, and were as strong as bears or bulls; men they slew, and neither fire nor steel would deal with them; and this is what is called the fury of the berserker.

SOURCE 3.33 Snorri Sturlson, *Ynglinga saga,* Chapter 6

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The twelfth century Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus described a berserk rage in which a warrior killed his own men:

> a demoniacal frenzy suddenly took him; he furiously bit and devoured the edges of his shield; he kept gulping down fiery coals; he snatched live embers in his mouth and let them pass down into his entrails; he rushed through the perils of crackling fires; and at last, when he had raved through every sort of madness, he turned his sword with raging hand against the hearts of six of his champions. It is doubtful whether this madness came from thirst for battle or natural ferocity.

SOURCE 3.34 Saxo Grammaticus, *The Danish History*, Book VII

The Lewis Chessmen, currently in the British Museum, probably made in Norway about 1150–1200 CE, depict warriors biting their shields in a manner consistent with the *Ynglinga* saga and Saxo Grammaticus' work.



SOURCE 3.35 Lewis Chessmen



SOURCE 3.36 A seventh-century Swedish image of a berserker created from a bronze dye used to stamp images onto helmets. Odin is shown on the left with two ravens on his helmet while a berserker wearing a wolf or bearskin is on the right.

ACTIVITY 3.8

1. Consider the evidence for berserker warriors.
   a. What claims are made about berserkers?
   b. How valid do you think the evidence is?
   c. Assuming the evidence is accurate, what impact would a berserker have on the morale of the enemy?

Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument in relation to archaeology and ancient societies

Lightning-fast raids were the most common way that Vikings attacked for around the first sixty years of the Viking Age. Then, in 851 CE, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles state that 'the heathen men stayed in Thanet over the winter.' This indicated a very significant shift in mentality by the Vikings and led to the

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development of conquests and settlements. Some Vikings also became successful at extorting vast payments to not attack.

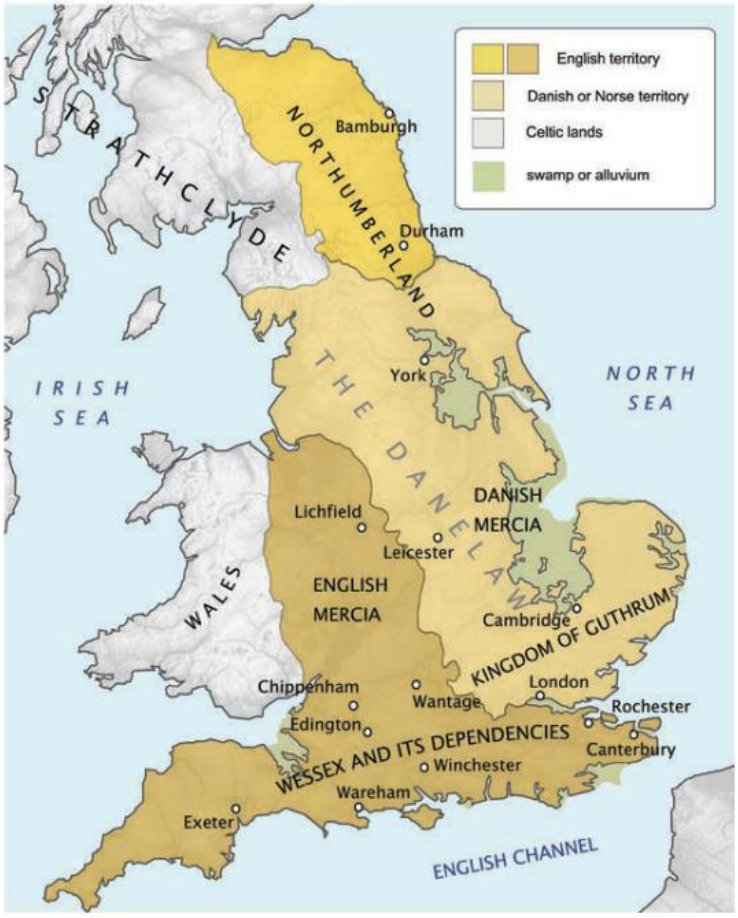
3.7 Viking raids

Else Roesdahl, a Danish historian, describes the ways in which the raids changed over time:

> The first recorded attack was in 820 CE on France. The Frankish Annals claim 13 Viking ships tried to attack but were defeated by the French navy. The same Vikings tried to raid further south at Seine but also failed. Finally, in Acquitaine they were able to seize good booty. Later on, another form of coastal defence was developed: Viking chieftains were given regions around the mouths of rivers in return for providing protection against other Vikings and becoming Christians (or at least pretending to). This control of rivers became control of trade and Vikings who ruled these rivers became very rich. Beyond this, these river mouths became Viking settlements which were used as bases from which to attack places even further south. In 843 CE the Annals of St Bertin described how the Vikings were buying houses and had settled in. In 845 CE the Viking settlers on the coastline struck inland, looting Paris on Easter Sunday. The King Charles the Bald paid them 2600kg of silver to stop attacking, the first of many such payments. During this time several Viking armies were active, in 861 King Charles promised a large sum of money to an army of Vikings to drive out another army of Vikings.

SOURCE 3.37 Roesdahl, E. 1998, *The Vikings*, Penguin, pp. 196–199

The British Isles experienced multiple Viking invasions and conquests. In 865 CE the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles describe the Great Heathen Army composed of thousands of Vikings who invaded and wintered in East Anglia. Battles between the English and the Vikings continued until the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex, led by Alfred the Great, defeated the Great Heathen Army in 878 CE. After this a series of treaties and agreements formed a new balance of power in which the Vikings gained control over the north-eastern areas of England, which became known as the Danelaw. The Vikings did not give up their dreams of ruling England and, in 1016 CE, King Cnut the Great successfully conquered England. Viking claims over England lasted until 1066 CE when William of Normandy won the Battle of Hastings and ended the Viking Age.



SOURCE 3.38 Invasion of England in the ninth century

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The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* describes King Cnut's invading force:

> here were ... so many kinds of shields, that you could have believed that troops of all nations were present ... Gold shone on the prows, silver also flashed on the variously shaped ships ... For who could look upon the lions of the foe, terrible with the brightness of gold, who upon the men of metal, menacing with golden face ... who upon the bulls on the ships threatening death, their horns shining with gold, without feeling any fear for the king of such a force?

SOURCE 3.39 *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, a Latin manuscript devoted to Queen Emma of Normandy c.1041 CE

ACTIVITY 3.9

1. Describe the changes to Viking raids over time.
2. Suggest reasons for the Vikings choosing to conquer and settle rather than raid.
3. Conduct research into the Great Heathen Army.
   a. Who led the army and why?
   b. How large was the army?
   c. What major battles did the army win?

One measure of Viking settlement is the archaeological remains, and historian Anna Ritchie's modern analysis of the spread of Viking culture focuses in part on the significance of Viking brooches:

> One of these everyday objects and something that is found wherever the Vikings settled is the oval brooch. This was a favourite item of jewellery in Scandinavia, and it is so standardised in design that it is instantly recognisable. This makes it very useful to the archaeologist as an indicator of Viking activities. It turns up in Norway, Denmark, Sweden, England, Scotland, Ireland and even as far away as Iceland and Russia. About 10–12 cm long, the oval brooch was mass-produced in hundreds in workshops throughout Scandinavia during the ninth and tenth centuries.

SOURCE 3.40 Anna Ritchie, 'Viking Colonists', *BBC History*, 17 February, 2011



SOURCE 3.41 Viking brooch, c. 900 CE

ACTIVITY 3.10

1. What can archaeology tell modern historians about cultural influences?
2. Other than brooches, what other artefacts might archaeologists uncover that would reveal cultural influence?
3. Linguists also study the effect of invasions on language – research the effect of the Viking invasions on the English language.

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ACTIVITY 3.11

1. Synthesis, like summary, is reducing information from a range of material or a long source extract to its most important features or points. Create five main points that you believe are most important in the understanding of this section. Rank those points (1–5) in order of importance. Give reasons for your prioritisation. Discuss with others in your group or class. Do they agree? Why or why not?

Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about the Ancient World

3.8 Representations of Vikings over time

There have been significant re-evaluations, shifting interpretations and ways of thinking about the Vikings in recent years. While the majority of primary sources are hostile to the Vikings, not all are. While it may be easy to dismiss the Vikings purely as evil raiders sent by God to punish the Christians, there is a lot more to the story.

Many of the enemies of ancient Rome had no written language, or none that is decipherable and known to us today. This tends to lead to a general conclusion (not necessarily true) that the 'civilised' Romans were better than the 'barbarian' opposition to Roman expansion. The Vikings had runes, but little else in the way of written records. That means that most if not all of the written primary sources are from the enemies of the Vikings who possessed a written language – that is, the Christianised remnants of the Old Roman Empire – or are from the later Viking Age after most of the Vikings had been Christianised themselves. How then might this information affect the historical 'truth' concerning the Vikings, and what role does archaeology have to play in confirming or negating the hostile view of the Vikings?

Modern professor of Scandinavian literature Lars Lonnroth argues that many of the early primary sources have created a highly biased view of the Vikings:

> The barbaric brutality of the Vikings was simply taken for granted ... particularly in Western Europe. The Arabs also saw the Scandinavians as barbarians, as can be seen from Ibn Fadlan's ... terrifying eyewitness account ... with its graphic descriptions of violence, filth, drunkenness, and offensive sexual behaviour.

SOURCE 3.42 Lonnroth, L., 1997, 'The Vikings in History and Legend', in Sawyer, P. (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, Oxford University Press, p. 225

The British historian Peter Sawyer offers a similar argument, largely in agreement with Lars Lonnroth:

> Our knowledge of Viking activity in western Europe largely depends on texts written by churchmen. Archaeological evidence, coins, and place-names provide a great deal of additional information, much of it unobtainable in any other way, but that evidence is all the more instructive when set in the framework provided by the chroniclers, charters, laws and other texts produced in the churches and courts of the Christian west.

SOURCE 3.43 Sawyer, P., 1997, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, Oxford University Press, p. 250

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When the Vikings attacked Lindisfarne (Holy Island), the monk Simeon, of Durham Priory, recorded:

> They came ... to the church of Lindisfarne, and laid all waste with dreadful havoc, trod with unhallowed feet the holy places, dug up the altars and carried off all the treasures of the holy church. Some of the brethren they killed; some they carried off in chains; many they cast out, naked and loaded with insults; some they drowned in the sea.

SOURCE 3.44 Symeon of Durham, *History of the Church of Durham*

Regino, the Abbot of Prüm Monastery wrote in 892 CE:

> but when they went into the monastery they destroyed everything, killed some of the monks, slew most of the servants and led the rest away prisoners. When departing they entered the Ardennes, where they attack and without difficulty take a newly built fortress on a prominent mountaintop in which an innumerable amount of people had taken refuge; after having killed them all they return with immense booty to their fleet and sail with heavily laden ships and all their crew to the regions beyond the sea.

SOURCE 3.45 Regino's Chronicle, 892 CE

Ermentarius of Noirmoutier in 860 CE recorded that:

> The number of ships grows; the endless stream of Vikings never ceases to increase. Everywhere the Christians are the victims of massacres, burnings, plunderings. The Vikings conquer all in their path and nothing resists them. They seize Bordeaux, Perigeux and Toulouse. Angiers, Tours and Orleans are annihilated and an innumerable fleet sails up the Seine River and the evil grows in the whole region. Rouen is laid waste, plundered and burned: Paris, Beauvais and Meaux taken.

SOURCE 3.46 Ermentarius, 860 CE

The annals of Xanten, a French monastery, records that in the year 837 CE:

> immense whirlwinds frequently erupted and a comet [Halley's Comet] had been seen with a great train of light in the east, and the pagans laid waste the Walcheren [an island in southern Holland] and abducted many captive women as well as an immense amount of various goods.

SOURCE 3.47 *Annals of Xanten*, 837 CE

Not all primary sources were hostile to the Vikings, particularly the later Christian sources demonstrated a shift in thinking. The Christian priest Adam of Bremen, writing in the eleventh century notes that:

> but after the acceptance of Christianity, they have become imbued with better principles and have now learned to love peace and truth and to be content with their poverty; even to distribute what they have stored up and not as aforetime to gather up what was scattered ... of all men they are the most temperate, both in food and in their habits, loving above all things thrift and modesty.

SOURCE 3.48 Adam of Bremen

The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* is a political tract that praises Queen Emma, wife of the Danish conqueror King Cnut. It clearly outlines the bravery of the Viking warriors who went with King Cnut to invade England in 1016:

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None found among there was a slave, none a freed-man, none of low birth, none enfeebled by age, for all were noble, all strong in the power of maturity, all properly trained in any type of warfare, all of such fleetness that they despised the speed of cavalry.

SOURCE 3.49 *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, c. 1041

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, despite being written by people being invaded by the Vikings, still contains a number of passages that praise the Vikings as heroic and strong warriors. An incident recorded at the Battle of Stamford Bridge in 1066 says:

but there was one of the Norwegians who withstood the English folk so that they could not pass over the bridge and complete their victory. An Englishman aimed at him a javelin but it availed nothing. Then came another under the bridge who pierced him terribly inwards under the coat of mail.

SOURCE 3.50 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

While not condoning the raiding and slavery, the modern historian Winroth argues there was a positive economic impact of the Viking era:

Although no exact statistics are available, it seems that Scandinavians and others who exported slaves, fur, and other articles to the Arab Caliphate and Byzantium rectified for some time the lopsided trade balance between Western Europe and the East, stopping or perhaps even reversing the flow of silver and gold that had been leaving the western economy. The influx strengthened the European stock of silver, the coinage, and thus commerce. It was during the Viking Age that the European economy slowly began to grow again, eventually, in the modern era, leading to Europe's economic, political, and cultural hegemony.

SOURCE 3.51 Winroth, A., 2014, *The Age of the Vikings*, Princeton University Press, p. 126

The modern historian Gwyn Jones offers a clear warning to historians trying to understand the Vikings and defies a Viking stereotype:

the temptation is strong to offer generalisations about the Viking himself, produce a 'typical' figure, and prop him against the museum wall with his catalogue number and descriptive label. It is a temptation to be resisted because of its limiting and misleading consequences. Harald Hardradi, who waged war from Asia Minor to Stamford Bridge for thirty-five years, was a Viking; so was his father Sigurd Sow, who stayed at home and counted haystacks. Hastein, who led the Great Army of the Danes into England in the early 890s, was a Viking; so too was Ottar, who came peaceably to his lord king Alfred's court with walrus tusks and lessons in northern geography. The men who destroyed churches in England, Ireland, and France were Vikings; so too were the woodcarvers of Osberg and the metalworkers of Mammen. The men who said 'With law shall the land be built up and with lawlessness wasted away' were Vikings; so were the practisers and curtailers of blood-feud, the profit-makers and those who robbed them of profit, the explorers and colonisers, the shapers of verse-forms and makers of legend.

SOURCE 3.52 Jones, G., 2001, *A History of the Vikings*, Oxford University Press, p. 348

The modern Danish archaeologist Else Roesdahl uses artefacts to tell a very different story about the Vikings that does not fit the typical berserker raider image. She claims that the majority of Viking men

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had well-groomed hair that was combed regularly. Many wore long moustaches and partial beards (not full around the face) and archaeological remains of nail cleaners, tweezers and washing bowls have been found. Traces of wear on skeletal teeth show that tooth-picks were commonly used. The Spanish Arab At-Tartushi who visited Hededy in the tenth century recorded that both men and women used artificially produced eye makeup (likely mascara). A thirteenth century English chronicler, John of Wallingford, related that earlier sources explained Viking men's success at seducing English women as due to their bathing, combing their hair and being handsomely dressed:

> The Danes, thanks to their habit of combing their hair every day, of bathing every Saturday, and regularly changing their clothes, were able to undermine the virtues of married women and even seduce the daughters of nobles to be their mistresses. Surviving Viking clothes are often made of very rich fabrics, decorated in jewellery and quite complex in ways that were considered highly attractive. An Englishman Aelfric wrote a *Letter to Brother Edward* which gives the impression that the Vikings were dandies and innovators of fashion. It warns that people should not indulge in the 'Danish fashion of bared necks and blinded eyes' (shaved neck and long fringe covering the eyes).

SOURCE 3.53 *The Chronicle of John of Wallingford* (c. 1225–1250)



SOURCE 3.54 Tenth-century Viking comb



SOURCE 3.55 The Jelling beaker, 800–1050 CE

ACTIVITY 3.12

1. Create a table of the sources that show which sources speak positively of the Vikings and which sources do not.
2. Evaluate the sources with a specific focus on their bias, authorship, time and context.
3. Make a decision – how should the Vikings be remembered? Engage in a class discussion in which you justify your decision with evidence.

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Objective 6: Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose in relation to the Ancient World

3.9 Female Viking warriors

The modern mental image of a Viking warrior is a masculine one. However, in recent years there has been significant historical debate over the potential existence of female Viking warriors. While there have always been tales, stories and legends in the sagas about powerful female warriors and Valkyries that took brave souls to the afterlife (Valhalla), these were dismissed as little more than fantasy. The question remains though, were there female Viking warriors? How can recent archaeological finds challenge the orthodox understanding?

ACTIVITY 3.13

GO

1. When completing your response below, refer to the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 6*, particularly the information on integration and incorporation of evidence into a paragraph, using appropriate text forms and language conventions.
   a. Consider the evidence presented below and decide if Viking women could be warriors.
   b. Create and sustain a response that clearly argues your decision and draws on three to four sources of evidence.

The sagas contain many examples of shield maidens such as Brynhildr in the *Volsunga* saga, Hervor in the *Hervarar* saga, the Swedish princess Thornbjorg in *Hrólfs* saga, and Visna and Veborg in *Gesta Danorum*. While much of the primary source evidence comes from the sagas, there are occasionally some more reliable historical sources that mention female Viking warriors. The Greek historian John Skylitzes wrote *A Synopsis of Histories* on the Byzantine Empire and states that women fought against the Byzantines in Bulgaria in 971 CE.

The Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus (c. 1160–c.1220) claimed:

> There were once women among the Danes who dressed themselves to look like men, and devoted almost every instant of their lives to the pursuit of war ...

SOURCE 3.56 Saxo Grammaticus, *The Danish History*, Bk 5

Further, Saxo claims that shieldmaidens fought at the Battle of Brávellir in the year 750 CE:

> Now out of the town of Sle, under the captains Hetha and Wisna, with Hakon Cut-cheek came Tummi the Sailmaker. On these captains, who had the bodies of women, nature bestowed the souls of men.

SOURCE 3.57 Saxo Grammaticus, *The Danish History*, Bk 8

However, Professor Judith Jesch, professor of Viking studies, rejects the notion of female warriors:

> A typical Valkyrie name, like Hild, means 'battle', and many ordinary women in the Viking Age also bore names (like the very common Gunnhild, or 'War-battle') that contained such elements. Yet that did not make them women warriors. Like most periods of human history, the Viking Age was

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not free from conflict, and war always impacts on all members of a society. It is likely that there were occasions when women had to defend themselves and their families as best they could, with whatever weapons were to hand. But there is absolutely no hard evidence that women trained or served as regular warriors in the Viking Age. Valkyries were an object of the imagination, creatures of fantasy rooted in the experience of male warriors. War was certainly a part of Viking life, but women warriors must be classed as Viking legend.

SOURCE 3.58 Jesch, J., 2014, 'Viking women, warriors, and Valkyries', *The British Museum blog*, 9 April 2014

However, Britt-Mari Näsström, a modern professor of Scandinavian religious history argues in favour of female Viking warriors:

The woman's position was so high that she could choose to carry weapons, and enter into one of the most male spheres that exist; the sphere of war. At the same time, this was not such a society ... where sex roles were suspended in a single androgynous chaos. Instead, this society had clear gender roles, but there was an opportunity for those women who felt very uncomfortable with the classic women's ward to choose something else.

SOURCE 3.59 Andersen, J., 2008, 'Shield of Nordic Myth', *Motpol*

Feminist archaeologist Marianne Moen also argues for the existence of female warriors:

Both written and archaeological sources show women trading, travelling, fighting and taking on leading roles in religious activities. There is even evidence of women as chieftains. This evidence is not hard to find, nor is it scarce. Nevertheless, scholars of the Viking Age, both historians and archaeologists, will often confidently state that women did not lead active public lives and were bound to the homestead, whilst positions of power were nearly invariably held by men. We can still read confident statements to the effect that women were not allowed to carry weapons, or participate at legal gatherings ... Such statements are directly contradicted by substantial amounts of written and archaeological evidence.

SOURCE 3.60 Moen, M., 22 August, 2016, 'Women in the Viking Age Then and Now', *DangerousWomenProject.org*

Archaeological remains are highly contested also. There are some female graves that contain weapons, but it is not possible to automatically assume the women buried were warriors. The Norwegian anthropologist Terje Birkedal analysed the evidence:

In the late 19th century a high-status Viking-era grave was excavated at Birka, Sweden. The grave goods included a sword, an axe, a spear, a battle knife, several armor-piercing arrows, and the remains of two shields. Two horses were also buried with the grave's inhabitant. Until 2014 the grave was thought to belong to a man, but a forensic study of the skeleton in 2014 suggested that the buried person was a woman. This hypothesis was confirmed by a DNA study in 2017... As it turns out, this find is not all that unusual. Very similar Viking-era graves of women have been excavated in Nordre Kjølen, Aunvoll, and Solør, Norway. Like the Swedish woman at Birka, these Norwegian women were buried with a sword, an axe, a spear, arrows, and a shield ... Another grave

(continued)

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from Kaupang, Norway, contained a woman seated in a small boat with an axe and a shield boss. Still another high-status grave in Rogaland, Norway, turned up a woman with a sword at her side.

SOURCE 3.61 Birkedal, T., October 9, 2017, 'Who were the Vikings?', *norwegianamerican.com*

The Birka skeleton was DNA tested by bioarchaeologist Kristina Killgrove who argues that the deceased was female, a warrior and an officer, pointing out that the grave included some tools used for planning battle tactics.



SOURCE 3.62 Tjängvide stone, Sweden – a Valkyrie and Odin welcome a warrior into Valhalla

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

- The Viking Age began with raids on England.
- Raiding was a way of life for Viking communities for hundreds of years.
- The sagas are excellent sources but need to be treated with caution.
- Excellent ship building combined with seafaring skills were essential to success in the Viking Age.
- Viking weapons and armour were highly effective.
- Many of the Christian and Muslim primary sources are hostile to the Vikings.
- Berserker warriors, if they existed, were incredibly fierce.
- There is evidence for female Viking warriors, however, there is also scholarly debate about their existence.
- The Viking Age ended in 1066 at the Battle of Hastings.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend
Explain the function of raids for Viking society.

Devise
Devise a series of questions that will enable you to effectively research the impact of the Vikings on England.

Analyse
Analyse the impact of the Christian primary sources on modern understandings of the Vikings.

Synthesise
There are many different types of sources for the Vikings (sagas, Christian, Muslim and archaeological). Create a chart that outlines the major strengths and weaknesses of each type.

Evaluate
Evaluate the evidence of the roles of women in Viking society.

Respond
How should the Vikings be remembered by history?

Assessment

Examination-style questions

1. Evaluate the effect of the Viking raids on Europe.
2. To what extent are modern views on the Vikings misinformed by Christian sources?
3. Analyse the advantages that Viking weapons and warfare gave Viking invaders.

Investigation tasks

1. Devise a series of questions that will allow you to investigate the relationship between the Vikings and Arabs.
2. Research the Viking settlements in Northern America. What were the most significant factors in the Vikings' failure to build permanent settlements there?
3. Investigate the connections between the Vikings and Christianity. What role did Christianity play in ending the Viking Age?

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CHAPTER 4
The family in Spartan society c. 700–371 BCE

RASHNA TARAPOREWALLA

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this contextual study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - a broad chronological overview, from the origins of the society to the period that is the focus for investigation.
  - the geographical location, the nature of the environment and its influence on the society.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

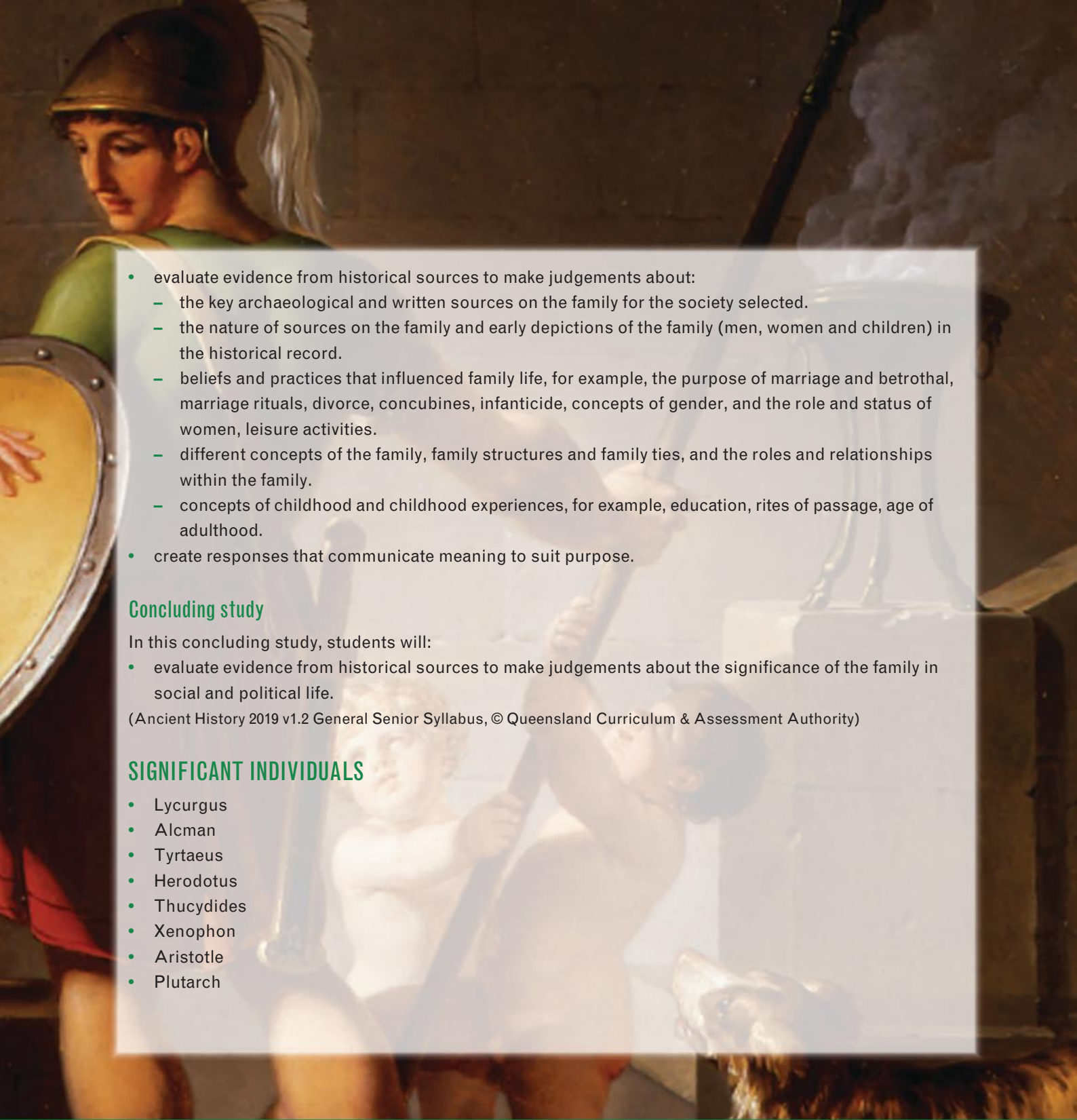
- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - the social structure, for example, main social hierarchies (elites, workers, slaves, ethnic groups and foreigners), role and status of women and children, and attitudes towards women, children and education.
  - political institutions, for example, organisation (monarchy, kingship, tyranny, republic or democracy), the role and function of key political institutions, and political positions and key legal structures.
  - economic activities, for example, the nature and importance of economic activity (agriculture, commerce, industry, trade and building programs), the organisation of free and indentured labour, and economic exchange (tribute, taxation and coinage).
- devise historical questions and conduct research.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding.
- synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument.

KEY DATES

756 BCE	743–724 BCE	669 BCE	550 BCE	480–79 BCE	478 BCE
Ephor list begins	First Messenian War	Defeat by Argos at the Battle of Hysiae	Beginning of the Peloponnesian League	Spartan involvement in Persian Wars	Recall of Pausanias

SOURCE 4.1 *A Spartan Woman Giving a Shield to Her Son*, Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, 1805

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- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - the key archaeological and written sources on the family for the society selected.
  - the nature of sources on the family and early depictions of the family (men, women and children) in the historical record.
  - beliefs and practices that influenced family life, for example, the purpose of marriage and betrothal, marriage rituals, divorce, concubines, infanticide, concepts of gender, and the role and status of women, leisure activities.
  - different concepts of the family, family structures and family ties, and the roles and relationships within the family.
  - concepts of childhood and childhood experiences, for example, education, rites of passage, age of adulthood.
- create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose.

Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about the significance of the family in social and political life.

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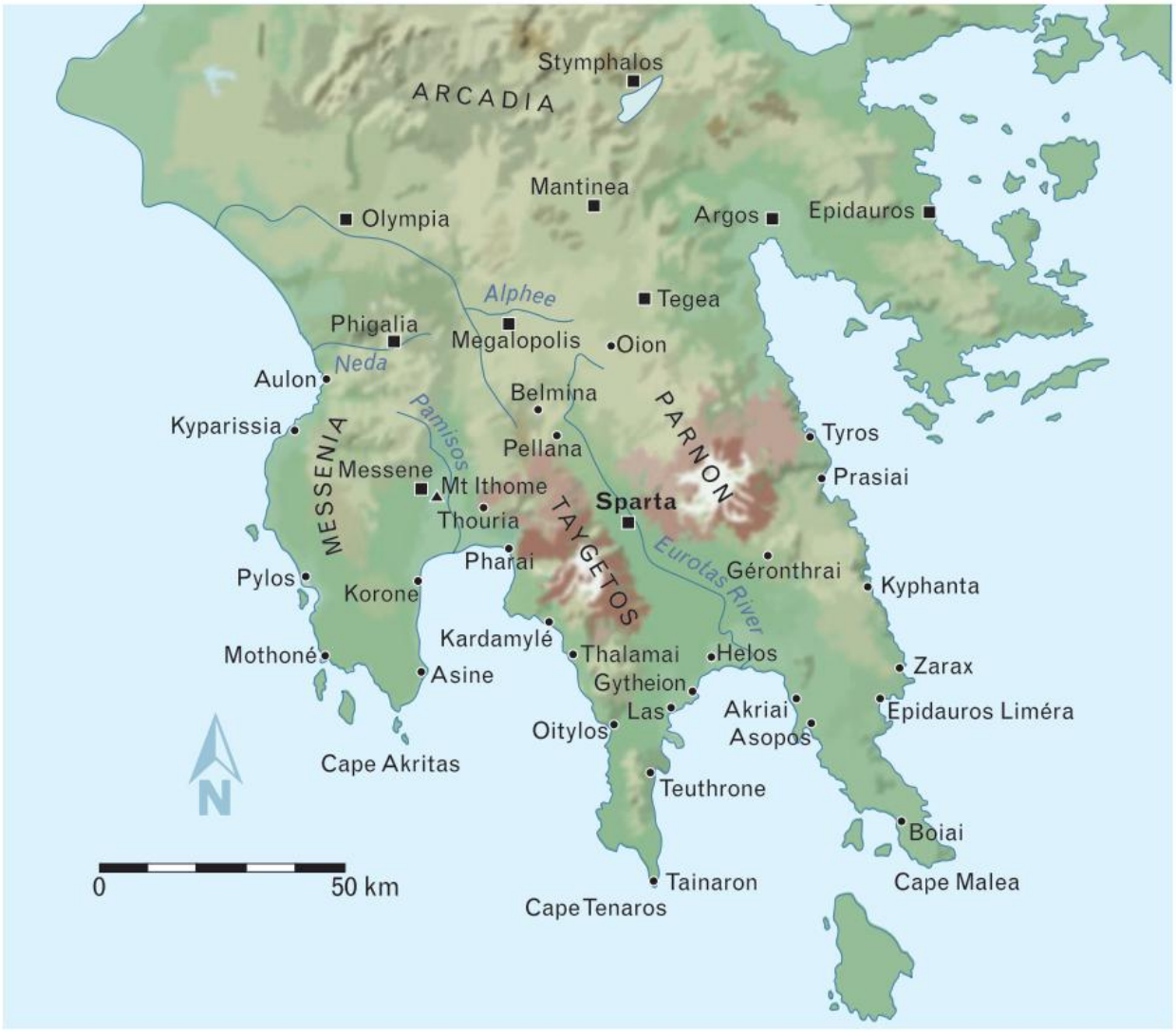
SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

- Lycurgus
- Alcman
- Tyrtaeus
- Herodotus
- Thucydides
- Xenophon
- Aristotle
- Plutarch

464 BCE	457 BCE	457–45 BCE	431–404 BCE	425 BCE	424–22 BCE
Earthquake and helot revolt	Battle of Tanagra	War with Athens	The Peloponnesian War	Surrender at Sphacteria	Brasidas in Thrace

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MAP



SOURCE 4.2 The city of Sparta and surrounding territory

421 BCE	413 BCE	412 BCE	404 BCE	371 BCE
Peace of Nicias	Occupation of Decelea	Alliance with Persia	Sparta defeats Athens	Battle of Leuctra

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

TERM	DEFINITION
agoge	raising or upbringing in Spartan education
asty	city centre
democracy	government by the people; a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or by their elected agents under a free electoral system
ephor	one of five officials elected each year
hoplite	heavily-armed foot soldier
helot	a class of people making up the main population of Laconia and Messenia, mainly working in agriculture for Spartan citizens
kleros	(pl. *kleroi*) an allotment of land
krypteia	secret police
Lacedaemonians	Spartan and *perioikoi*
Laconia	the territory around the *asty* of Sparta
Laconian	term used by other Greeks to refer to both the Spartans themselves and the inhabitants of the surrounding area
Messenia	the fertile territory over the mountains to the west of Sparta
monarchy	supreme power or sovereignty held by a single person
oikos	(pl. *oikoi*) house, household
oligarchy	a form of government in which all power is vested in a few persons or in a dominant class or clique; government by the few
paidonomis	an Spartan official appointed to supervise the military training of children and adolescents boys
perioikoi	free, non-citizen Spartans
***polis* (pl. *poleis*)**	(pl. *poleis*) city-state
rhetra	oracle or law
xenelasia	the practice of expelling unwanted foreigners from Sparta

Introduction

The difficulties faced by ancient historians in reconstructing family life in antiquity are nowhere more confounding than in the case of ancient Sparta. The picture which emerges from ancient sources is of a *polis* where the family was marginalised, and marriage and parenthood were subverted by an invasive state to reproduce formidable warriors for the benefit of the community as a whole. These same sources are deeply problematic and we are heavily reliant upon historically remote writers prone to mythologise, idealise or criticise the city as a model to be either avoided or emulated. Modern interpretations which accept ancient traditions concerning Sparta in an uncritical way must be reassessed.

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There are important lessons in historical methodology to be gained from revising mistaken notions about Sparta and its society. The modern enquirer must be wary of the problems inherent in the extant evidence. The case of Sparta highlights that while a principal task of ancient historians is to reconstruct the past, their role equally involves admitting when adequate evidence for plausible reconstruction is lacking, and thus also involves dispelling myths about the past which can be dangerous when abused by those with their own contemporary agenda.

Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to archaeology and ancient societies

4.1 Sparta and its influence on society

The consequences of geography

The Spartans called themselves Lacedaemonians and their city Lacedaemon. It was located in the south-east of the Peloponnese, the southern part of mainland Greece. The territory around Sparta, known as Laconia, was fertile, alluvial and landlocked. Sparta possessed a port, Gytheion, situated 45 kilometres to the south. Two mountain ranges surrounded Sparta, the Taygetos range dividing it from Messenia in the west, and the Parnon range to the east, separating it from the eastern coastline of the Peloponnese. Sparta's nearest neighbour, Tegea, lay some 57 kilometres to the north over the Arcadian hills. The mountains provided Sparta with a natural defensive barrier. For most of its history, Sparta was not surrounded by a fortification wall.

Their city's position inland led the Spartans to seek a military answer to resolve the problems of overpopulation and land hunger which faced most early Greek *poleis*. By the end of the eighth century, the Spartans had subjugated the inhabitants of Laconia who became known as the *perioikoi* ('dwellers round about [Sparta]'). The *perioikoi* remained free and farmed the fertile plains to the south-east of Sparta, but were required to serve in their own units within the Spartan army and did not possess the full citizenship rights of the Spartiates. Eventually, the *perioikoi* assumed responsibility for trade and commerce in Sparta, freeing the Spartiates to focus upon military endeavours. The Spartans also conquered the territory of Messenia, reducing its people to the status of *helots*, who were hereditary subjects of the Spartan state. A resentful subject population, the helots were bound to their land and obligated to work it for their Spartan masters. It is estimated that helots outnumbered Spartiates by at least seven to one. The constant threat posed by helot revolt dramatically influenced the Spartan way of life, forcing the Spartans to preserve their supremacy through the creation of a unique, militaristic society.

ACTIVITY 4.1

1. Study the map in Source 4.2. Locate the following:
   - **a.** the site of Sparta
   - **b.** the Eurotas river
   - **c.** the port of Gytheion
   - **d.** the Taygetos range
   - **e.** the Parnon range
   - **f.** Messenia.
2. It was atypical for a Greek *polis* to be located inland, distant from the coast. How might this have led Sparta to develop differently to other *poleis*?

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Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the Ancient World

4.2 Reconstructing Spartan society

The modern inquirer who seeks to reconstruct any aspect of Spartan society is faced with a formidable challenge. The Spartans were renowned for their reticence and isolationist customs. They disclosed little to foreigners about their customs and practices, and while an oral tradition may have been strong in Sparta, they were equally reluctant to document their own history and institutions. There is no extant work by a Spartan historian or biographer, and with the exception of some fragmentary verse from the seventh-century BCE poets Alcman and Tyrtaeus, and a meagre epigraphic record, Spartan voices are silent on most issues.

Yet the problem is not one of a scarcity of sources on Sparta. As the *polis* held a fascination for ancient writers, and was regarded as unique and exceptional, we possess various accounts of Spartan society written by non-Spartan and non-contemporary authors. Most of our information about the way of life of the Spartans derives from two key authors, the Athenian philosopher and Laconophile Xenophon (c. 430–354 BCE), and the moralising biographer Plutarch (c. 46–120 CE). Unfortunately, the interest in Sparta which led to a proliferation of writings about the *polis* also had a distorting effect. Non-Spartan writers were prone to approach the *polis* as a curiosity or else as a social model to be either renounced or reproduced.

In consequence, the modern inquirer should always draw upon evidence from the sources in a critical way. When attempting to reconstruct family life in ancient Sparta before the Battle of Leuctra, we must remain aware of the following problems and issues.

- Most information is documented in the ancient sources without chronological references. In some instances, the authors refer to a golden past of Sparta, when society functioned in the way that they describe. They note that Spartans, in the authors' own day, no longer live up to the ideal of the past. Historians are left pondering whether the version of Sparta they describe ever existed in reality.
- The Spartans were highly xenophobic and practised *xenelasia*, whereby magistrates could expel any person deemed a threat to public order or morals. Foreigners were generally not permitted to live in the environs of Sparta, though some exceptions were made, such as Xenophon. Few non-Spartans would have had access to the inner workings of the private lives of the Spartan family.
- Ancient writers tended to comment on the unusual, interesting and sensational aspects of Spartan society. We may rightly suspect that there was much about Spartan life which would have seemed regular, ordinary and 'normal' to any ancient Greek and which thus was not recorded.
- The ancient Greeks tended to organise their thoughts into polarised categories such as Greek versus Barbarian and male versus female. In particular, Spartan society was viewed as diametrically opposed to that of Athens, and differences between the two tended to be emphasised and exaggerated. Both were exceptional city-states and it would be misguided to recognise one as more 'typical' than the other. However, as evidence is most abundant for these two city-states, modern scholars are equally guilty of reinforcing this comparison.
- The main focus of most writers was the impact of an interventionist state upon the functioning of society. On many other issues, such as ordinary family life and relationships, nothing was written.
- The types of sources which can be used to reconstruct the family in Athens are not available for Sparta: there are no vase paintings, tomb sculptures, epitaphs, laws and courtroom speeches delivered in cases of family disputes or portrayals of family life in comedy and tragedy.
- Almost no archaeological evidence has been uncovered relating to the private life of Spartans.
- Almost all evidence concerns the upper class and no information is available relating to families of the *perioikoi* or helots.

Many mistaken notions about Sparta and its society have arisen through an uncritical acceptance of the information provided by problematic ancient sources. The case of Sparta highlights that while a principal task of the ancient historian is to reconstruct the past, their role equally involves admitting when adequate

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evidence for plausible reconstruction is lacking, and dispelling myths which can be dangerous in the wrong hands. The past can be, and has been, abused by those with their own agenda.

ACTIVITY 4.2

GO

The Interactive Textbook contains historiographical information about some key ancient authors on Spartan society. Read this information and then complete the table below in relation to each author as a source on the social history of Sparta.

Author	Date	Key works relating to Sparta	Genre and purpose	Strengths	Limitations

Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about the Ancient World

4.3 The Spartan mirage and Lycurgan Sparta

A significant problem encountered by social historians of Sparta is that many ancient writers so greatly admired Spartan ideals that what emerges from their writings is a vision of a utopian society which may never have existed in reality, a phenomenon which some modern scholars refer to as the 'Spartan mirage'. Fundamental to this utopian vision of Sparta was the figure of Lycurgus. Xenophon's *Constitution of the Spartans* was intended as a pamphlet in praise of Sparta's customs as established by Lycurgus and can be credited as a significant influence in shaping the Spartan mirage. It should be noted, however, that Xenophon also criticised contemporary Spartans for failing to live up to the Lycurgan ideals. Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus* also presents Sparta as an exceptionally well ordered and changeless society, and idealises the Sparta which lay some 700 years in the past at the time the author was writing. One of Plutarch's central concerns is the loss of virtue and Sparta served to illustrate this theme.

By the time Herodotus was writing in the fifth century BCE, tradition credited Lycurgus as the architect of the social and political institutions underpinning this system. According to this tradition, Lycurgus received a series of reforms from the Delphic oracle which he then brought to the Spartans as the Great Rhetra or law. The variety of historical contexts provided for Lycurgus and his reforms in the ancient sources suggest that he was mythical figure; most modern scholars doubt the existence of such a historical individual. It is noteworthy that the seventh-century BCE poet Tyrtaeus refers to the Great Rhetra, but not to Lycurgus. It is nevertheless convenient to speak of the system as 'Lycurgan'.

Whether or not Lycurgus was an actual person or a retrospective fabrication to give legitimacy to reforms attributed to this figure, historians accept that at some point in their history, probably in the late seventh century BCE, the Spartans came to organise their state in such a way as to emphasise the importance and centrality of civic duty and martial prowess.

In the following extracts, Xenophon and Plutarch write about Lycurgus.

> I was thinking that Sparta among cities of few citizens proved to be the most powerful and famous, and I wondered in what way this had come about. When, however, I thought about the Spartans' way of life, I no longer wondered. I admired Lycurgus, their lawgiver, whose laws they were fortunate in

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obeying, and I think him extremely wise. He did not imitate other cities, but thinking the opposite of most, he made his country outstandingly fortunate.

SOURCE 4.3 Xenophon, *Constitution of the Spartans*, 1.1–4

If someone should ask me whether I think that the laws of Lycurgus still remain unchanged at this time, I certainly could not state that with any confidence at all. For I know that at one time the Lacedaemonians very much preferred to live together at home rather than be corrupted by flattery as governors of cities. And I know also that at one time they were afraid to acknowledge that they had gold; whereas now they pride themselves on their possessions. Previously there was the banishment of foreigners and it was forbidden to go abroad and I realise that the purpose of this was so that the citizens would not be filled with laziness through contact with foreigners. Now I know for certain that they aim to never cease ruling as governors of foreign lands.

SOURCE 4.4 Xenophon, *Constitution of the Spartans*, 14

In general nothing can be said about Lycurgus that is not disputed, because there are different accounts of his birth, his death, his travels and what he did in making laws and political arrangements, but there is the least agreement among historians about the time period in which he lived ... All the same, even though this is such a confused history, we will try to produce a clear presentation of Lycurgus by following those accounts that offer the fewest contradictions or by following the most distinguished authorities.

SOURCE 4.5 Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*, 1.1-3

ACTIVITY 4.3

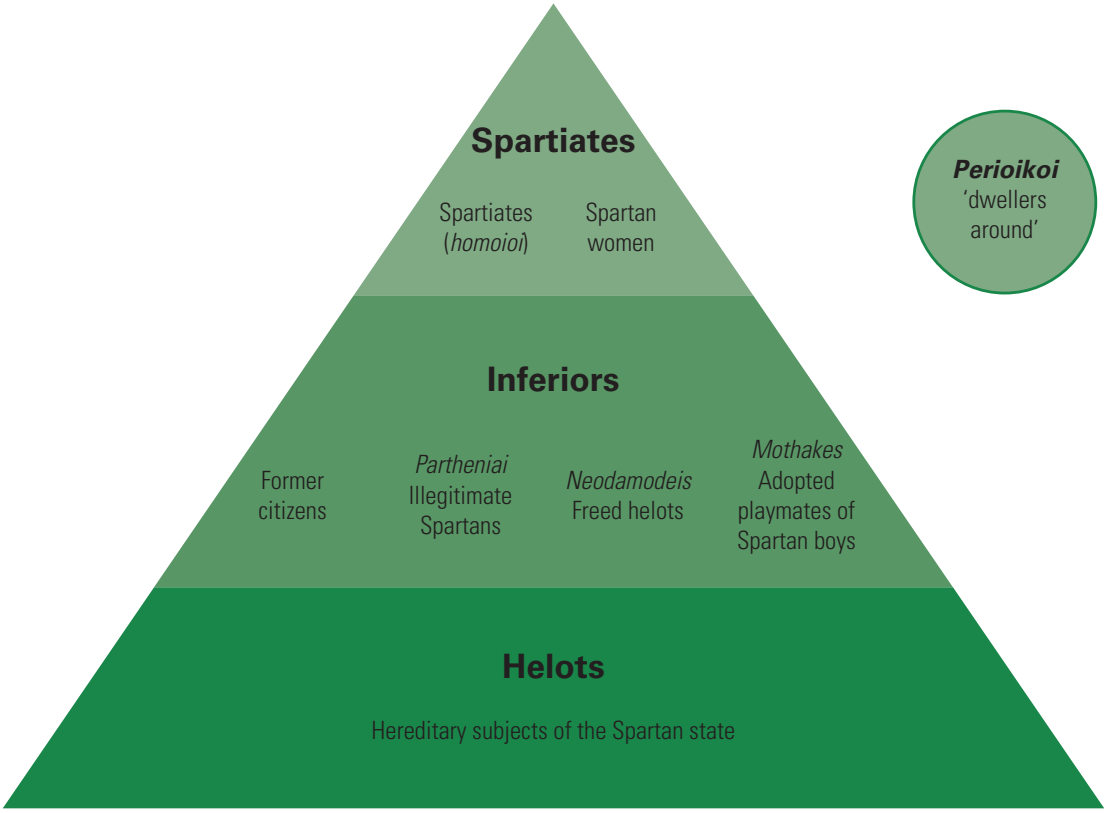
Read Sources 4.3 to 4.5 and use them to answer the following questions.

1. What indications are there in Xenophon's writings that he considered the Spartan society established by Lycurgus as a model to be emulated? Select the best evidence from the sources to support your answer.
2. How might this point of view influence the reliability of Xenophon's writings on Spartan society?
3. Does Xenophon believe that the Spartans of his own time (fourth century BCE) lived up to the ideal set by Lycurgus? Select the best evidence from the sources to support your answer.
4. Why might Xenophon's comments lead scholars to question whether the Spartans ever conformed to the Lycurgan laws?
5. What problems does Plutarch identify in writing his *Life of Lycurgus*?
6. What are the two principles that Plutarch states will guide his selection of material for the *Life of Lycurgus*?
7. Plutarch paired his *Life of Lycurgus* with Numa Pompilius, one of the early kings of Rome and a great reformer. What might this indicate about the way Plutarch viewed Lycurgus?
8. If Lycurgus ever existed at all, then Plutarch was writing at least 700 years after his death. What problems might you anticipate in using his *Life of Lycurgus* as evidence for the way of life adopted by the Spartans?
9. Based upon these sources, what considerations must the ancient historian keep in mind when reading about social institutions or practices credited to Lycurgus?

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4.4 The social structure of Sparta

The Spartan social hierarchy was structured with those who contributed to the warrior society at the top, and those who they had conquered at the bottom. The diagrams below set up the class structure.



SOURCE 4.6 Spartan social hierarchy

TABLE 4.1 Details of the Spartan social heirarchy

Spartiates (*homoioi*) • elite group of full citizens; males over 30 years • citizenship only achieved after successful completion of education and training in the *agoge,* and acceptance as a member of a military mess • warrior class supported by the state with an allotment of land (*kleros*) and state-owned helots to work it • forbidden to participate in farming, trade and industry • lived by strict code of honour; unacceptable conduct could lead to an individual's *atimia* ('loss of honour').
Inferiors • spartans who were neither *perioikoi* nor helots • *mothakes*: playmates of Spartan boys; participated in the *agoge* but did not become citizens • *partheniai*: perhaps the offspring of illegitimate unions between Spartan women and helots • *tresantes*: those who had shown cowardice in battle • *neodamodeis*: 'new people'; former helots whose military service had been rewarded with freedom, but not citizenship.

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Perioikoi

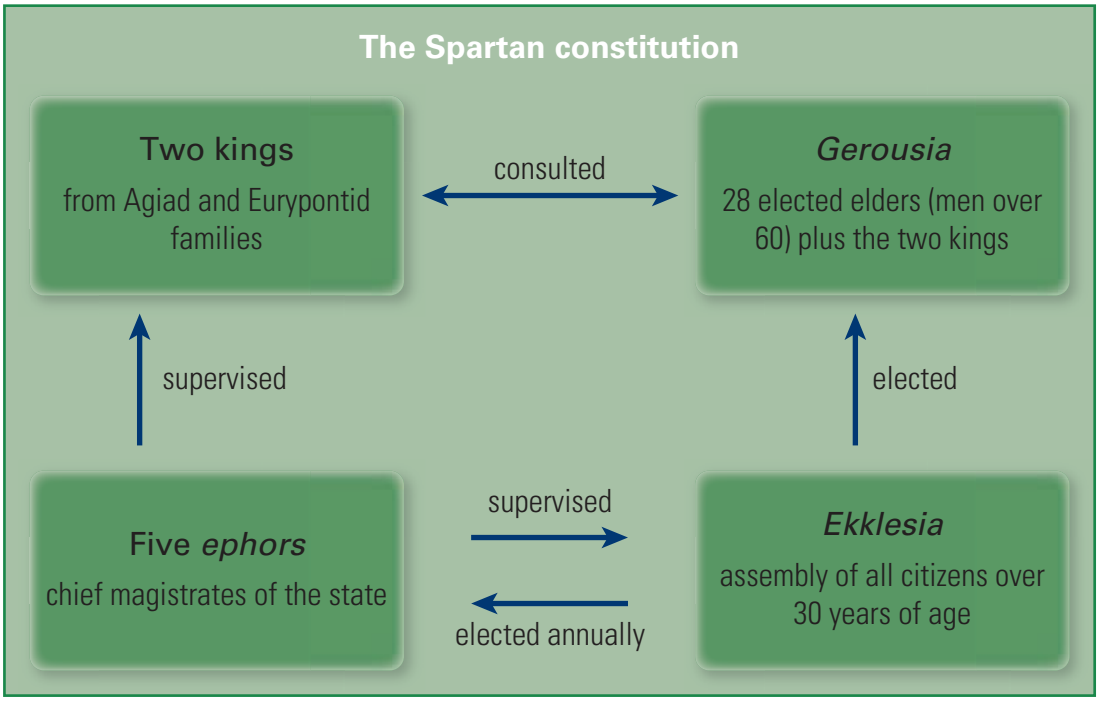
- non-helot inhabitants of Laconia, occupying the area surrounding the city of Sparta
- little written about this group in antiquity
- autonomous and free, but without full citizen rights in Spartan society
- obligated to fight within the Spartan army under a Spartan commander
- permitted to handle money and precious metals
- essential part of the Spartan economic system: traders, fishermen, sailors, manufacturers and craftsmen
- could not make alliances with others in the Peloponnese
- paid taxes to the Spartan state; could be convicted by a Spartan magistrate for crimes committed.

Helots

- original pre-Dorian inhabitants of Laconia and Messenia
- hereditary subjects of the Spartan state
- state-owned agricultural serfs
- could only be freed or disposed of by the state
- allocated by the state to work the land of their Spartan masters
- expected to pay a large portion of their agricultural produce to their masters
- no political or legal rights, unable to marry without master's permission, or travel without government's permission
- served in army as servants to Spartan soldiers during war
- lived in fear of being beaten or killed by the *krypteia* (secret police).

4.5 Political institutions of Sparta

According to tradition, the Spartans changed their constitution in the seventh century BCE in accordance with an oracle from the god Apollo at Delphi received by the law-giver Lycurgus. They referred to this oracle as the Great Rhetra. Modern scholars doubt the veracity of this tradition, and recognise that the Spartan political institutions most likely evolved over time into a mixed constitution that combined elements of a monarchy, oligarchy and democracy.



SOURCE 4.7 The Spartan constitution

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Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument in relation to archaeology and ancient societies

4.6 *Oikos* and *polis*

Aristotle observed at the beginning of his work *Politics* (1.1.3–6) that in order to understand the different characteristics of each state, it is essential first to examine the unique features of the smallest unit within a community. It was the *oikos*, and not the individual, which represented the most fundamental social and economic unit in most Greek *poleis*. Though the standard translation of the term *oikos* is 'family', the Greeks used the word to refer to a composite of the family, the dwelling in which they lived, their land, livestock, property and goods, including slaves. The primary focus of every member of the *oikos* was the social standing, preservation and economic self-sufficiency of the household, and it was the basic social unit of production, consumption and reproduction. A person could not be identified as a citizen within a *polis* unless first accepted as a member of an *oikos*. The household was at the core of a person's identity, existence and concerns.

Ancient Greek society was monogamous, and the nuclear family at the centre of the *oikos* was constituted of a father, mother and their children. Greek society was also patriarchal and patrilineal. The master of the *oikos* and head of the family was the *kyrios*, who was always a male member of the household. Descent was traced through the father. Upon death, a man's property was divided equally among his sons. Daughters received their share of the estate indirectly as part of a wedding dowry. New brides relocated from their *oikos* of birth to that of their husband, and any children they had belonged to the husband's *oikos*.

The Spartan *oikos*

Ancient and modern writers present an account of Spartan society which suggests that the *polis* intervened in the affairs of the *oikos* to such a degree that the family was largely marginalised. The *oikos* was entirely subsumed by, and subject to, the interests of the *polis*. Model Spartans gave their loyalty primarily to the state at the expense of the family, and the authority of the *kyrios* was diminished. The traditional *oikos* was replaced by an artificial family at the level of the state, with all citizens as brothers and fathers. Others have come to question this view, suggesting that while the Spartan ideal prioritised the *polis* over the *oikos*, in reality the family was just as important in Sparta as elsewhere.

In the following sources, a range of twentieth and twenty-first century historians comment on the Spartan family.

> there were two versions of the Spartan family, one artificial, the other consisting of people actually related by blood or marriage. At Sparta the public version was shaped by legislation attributed to Lycurgus, a legendary figure who was said to have created the social institutions that are distinctively Spartan ... The Spartan lawgiver emphasised communal responsibilities, and usurped family terminology and imagery with the purpose of strengthening bonds among members of the larger group ... Lycurgus organised the Spartans into one artificial family ... in this pseudo-family, marriage and parenthood existed primarily for the purpose of reproducing healthy warriors for the good of the state.

SOURCE 4.8 Pomeroy, S.B., 1997, *Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece: Representations and Realities*, Clarendon Press, p. 48

A comment on Lycurgan Sparta:

> All the traditional responsibilities of the *oikos* and its members would seem ... to be usurped by the Lycurgan *polis* as portrayed by Xenophon and elaborated by Plutarch ... Lycurgan Spartan as depicted

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by Plutarch was undeniably hostile to, and disruptive of, the interests and traditional relationships of the Greek household. This conclusion, however ... [is] heavily dependent upon the mythologising perspective of historically remote sources, for whom Sparta was more of a cause célèbre or a philosophical paradigm than a historical community.

SOURCE 4.9 Patterson, C.B., 1998, *The Family in Greek History*, Harvard University Press, p. 74

A comment on the lack of importance of the family:

It is well known that the family was not considered as important in Sparta as in the other Greek states, a fact which is usually explained by the special education given to young people and the military way of life of the Spartan men.

SOURCE 4.10 Oliva, P., 1971, *Sparta and her Social Problems*, Hakkert, p. 28

A comment on the love of family or state:

It seems that model Spartans did not love their families; they loved the State.

SOURCE 4.11 Powell, A., 1988, *Athens and Sparta: Constructing Greek Political and Social History from 478 BC*, Routledge, p. 228

A comment on the *oikos*:

The basic unit of society, at Sparta as elsewhere, was the *oikos*, centering on a married couple and owning land.

SOURCE 4.12 Redfield, J., 1978, 'The Women of Sparta', *The Classical Journal*, 73(2), p. 158

A comment on the problems with the scholar's view of the Spartan family:

According to many scholars in Sparta the family was marginalised ... The evidence does not support these opinions. They originate from the general vision of relationships in (fabulous) Sparta, not from the analysis of source material. In fact family ties played an absolutely vital role in (historical) Sparta ... a model Spartan did not suffer from a conflict of loyalties; he loved the Family as much as the State.

SOURCE 4.13 Kulesza, R., 2013, 'The Spartan Family', *EOS C 2013, fasc. 2*, p. 207

ACTIVITY 4.4

Read through Sources 4.8 to 4.13.

1. Which viewpoint does each of the sources support? Complete the table below, providing a synthesis of the key arguments of each source.
   - **a.** The *oikos* was not as important as the state within Spartan society.
   - **b.** It is a mistake to view the *oikos* as less important in Spartan society than it was elsewhere.

Author	Viewpoint (a or b)	Synthesis of key points
Pomeroy		
Patterson		
Oliva		
Powell		
Redfield		
Kulesza		

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Forming an *oikos*: Spartan marriage

An *oikos* was created when a man and woman joined together in marriage. Marriage was taken very seriously in Sparta, and many ancient commentators noted the absence of adultery. According to Plutarch (*Lycurgus*, 15.1), men who chose to remain bachelors were dishonoured through exclusion from the *Gymnopedia*, a festival where nude youth paraded before the rest of the community and potential spouses (Plutarch *Lycurgus*, 15.1).

By Greek standards, Spartan women married relatively late. While in Athens it was common for a fourteen-year-old girl to marry a thirty-year-old man, Spartan women were about eighteen when they married, and men were probably at least twenty. As elsewhere in ancient Greece, marriage was not necessarily founded upon an emotional attachment. Herodotus (6.57, 71) refers to a number of instances when a Spartan woman's father selected her husband. Both Xenophon and Plutarch emphasised that in Sparta, the primary function of marriage was to produce healthy babies and increase the number of Spartiates.



SOURCE 4.14 Stone pyramid stele with relief scene showing Menelaus embracing his young bride Helen, from an open-air sanctuary in Magoula, Sparta, c. 600–570 BCE, Sparta Archaeological Museum

Spartan marriage customs seemed strange to other Greeks and, for this reason, attracted a good deal of attention. Plutarch describes a practice of 'bride capture' (*harpage*) involving transvestism and a secret marriage. According to Aristotle (*Pol.* 1270b 1–4), men who produced three or four sons were granted exemptions from military service and taxation by the state.

Xenophon comments on sexual intercourse within marriage:

> [Lycurgus] saw, too, that during the time immediately following marriage, it was usual elsewhere for husbands to have unlimited intercourse with wives. He decreed the opposite of this: for he ruled that the husband should be embarrassed to be seen visiting his wife or leaving her. Thus the desire for intercourse was more fervent in both of them, and if there should be a child, it would be more sturdy than if they were satiated with one another. In addition to this, he took away from men the right to take a wife whenever they wanted to, and ordered that they marry in their prime, believing that this too was conducive to the production of fine children.

SOURCE 4.15 Xenophon, *Spartan Constitution*, 1.5–6, 7–10

Plutarch describes the secret visits between brides and grooms:

> [Lycurgus] decreed that those who did not marry would lose a civic right, for they were excluded from the spectacle of the *Gymnopedia* [parade of nude youth] ... [The Spartans] used to marry by capture, not when the women were small or immature, but when they were in their prime and fully ripe for it. The so-called 'bridesmaid' took the captured girl. She shaved her head to the scalp, then dressed her in a man's cloak and sandals, and laid her down alone on a mattress in the dark. The bridegroom, who was not drunk and thus not impotent, but was sober as always, having dined with his mess group, then would slip in, untie her belt, lift her, and carry her to the bed. After spending only a short

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time with her, he would depart discreetly so as to sleep wherever he usually did with the other young men. And he continued to do this thereafter. While spending the days with his contemporaries, and going to sleep with them, he would cautiously visit his bride in secret, embarrassed and fearful in case someone in the house might notice him. His bride at the same time was scheming and helping to plan how they might meet each other unobserved at a suitable time. They did this not just for a short period, but for long enough that some might even have children before they saw their own wives in the day. Such intercourse was not only an exercise in self-control and moderation, but also meant that partners were fertile physically, always fresh for love, and ready for intercourse rather than being satiated and impotent from unlimited sexual activity. Moreover some lingering spark of desire and affection always remained in both.

SOURCE 4.16 Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*, 15. 1, 3–7

Historian Sarah Pomeroy comments on the capture of the bride:

The 'capture' of the bride was a ritual enactment of a prearranged betrothal. The bridesmaid was ready and waiting with the bride's costume ... An abduction rather than a joyous spectacular wedding ceremony may serve to ward off the jealous evil eye. The shaving of the head and dressing of the bride as a man (Plutarch, *Lyc*. 15.8) may have been part of a rite of passage that signalled her entrance into a new life. As a maiden she wore her hair long and uncovered, as a wife she wore it short, and covered by a veil. In some sense, she was transformed into a youth in the *agoge*. Since participation in the *agoge* was a prerequisite to becoming a full-fledged citizen, the transvestism may have been symbolic of the bride's inclusion in the citizen body. It may also have been an attempt to ward off the evil eye or the supernatural spirits who were deemed to be jealous of the bride's fortune.

SOURCE 4.17 Pomeroy, S.B., 2002, *Spartan Women*, Oxford University Press, p. 42

Sue Blundell talks about the Spartan marriage ceremony, pointing out a similarity with that of the Athenians::

As in the Athenian marriage ceremony, the motif of abduction may have had a purely symbolic significance, suggesting the violence of the transition which the bride was undergoing. The cutting of the bride's hair would similarly have denoted the new status which she was about to acquire. However, her masculinisation is more difficult to explain. It was not entirely unique, and can perhaps best be seen as a remnant of a full cross-dressing ritual in which the donning by each partner of the clothing of the opposite sex was intended either to confuse evil spirits, or to underline sexual complementarity by introducing a temporary reversal of the roles which each would play in their subsequent relationship. In the surviving form of the rite, however, the sexual ambiguity was all on the female side, and ... this may have had the effect of easing the emotional threat which marriage represented to a man whose loyalty had hitherto belonged solely to all-male groups.

SOURCE 4.18 Blundell, S., 1995, *Women in Ancient Greece*, Harvard University Press, p. 153

ACTIVITY 4.5

Study Sources 4.14 to 4.18 to answer the following questions.

1. Both Xenophon and Plutarch emphasise that the production of healthy children was the main goal of marriage in Sparta. Why might it have been important to the state for Spartiates to reproduce?
2. In what ways does Plutarch's account agree with that of Xenophon?

(continued)

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ACTIVITY 4.5 continued

3. What indications are there that Xenophon is presenting the Spartan system of marriage as a praiseworthy alternative to that of other *poleis*? How might this lead to distortions of the evidence? Is his account reliable?
4. Some of the more unusual customs described by Plutarch, such as the cutting of the bride's hair and the secret marriage, are not mentioned by Xenophon. How might you account for this? Consider the purpose of each author, the plausibility of Plutarch's account, and the time separating the two authors.
5. The relief shown in Source 4.14 depicts the legendary king of Mycenaean Sparta, Menelaus, embracing his young bride, Helen, who offers him a wreath. It is dated to the sixth century BCE. Could this scene be used to corroborate Plutarch's account of the practice of bride capture?
6. Why might it be problematic to consider this relief as an illustration of Spartan marriage customs?
7. Do Pomeroy and Blundell agree in their interpretation of the symbolism of Spartan marriage customs?
8. What might we glean from these passages about Spartan marriage customs? What might we glean from these passages about the nature of Spartan marriage?

4.7 Spartan fathers

The image of Sparta presented in the sources is that of a totalitarian state in which familial life was heavily regulated by the government in order to achieve the martial goals of the community as a whole. If the Lycurgan constitution was ever implemented to the extent later writers claim, the obligations of a Spartiate and the intervention of the state would have radically impinged upon the customary role and privileges of a father as *kyrios*.

Absent fathers

Plutarch suggests that Spartiates did not live with their wives and children at the beginning of their marriage. This would represent a significant disruption of the traditional *oikos*. Based upon this evidence, some scholars have argued that the Spartan family spent limited time together within the *oikos*. Others, however, have challenged this assumption, suggesting a greater degree of contact between a Spartiate and his family unit.

In the following source, Plutarch talks about the cohabitation of men and women.

> [It] can be observed in Plutarch's statement that the ordinary men and women allegedly did not cohabit until much later in life, probably not until the time that their first male offspring would have entered the *agoge*. While the mother presumably lived with the offspring of the marriage, the male lived with his fellow Spartiates while his first children were still young.

SOURCE 4.19 Scott, A.G. 2011, 'Plural Marriage and the Spartan State', *Historia LX*, p. 418

Modern historian Ryszard Kulesza comments on the uncertainty about the living arrangements of married Spartiates:

> Yet where does this certainty come from ... that men of twenty to thirty years of age lived permanently in the barracks? This is one of the fundamental elements of the image of Sparta, but the issue is not as clear as it might seem. Strangely, the word for those Spartan 'barracks' is not known, nor are there any material traces of them. We are here, as in many other issues, hostages to Plutarch ... The location of the family home is another puzzle, as is where the furtively visited wife

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was living. It seems bizarre ... that the young man would abduct the girl to *her* home, and that she was transferred to *his* home only after having given birth to a child. I consider it much more probable that the young bride (even, or perhaps especially, an 'abducted' one) did change her place of abode.

SOURCE 4.20 Kulesza, R. 2013, 'The Spartan Family', *EOS C 2013, fasc. 2*, pp. 211–12

ACTIVITY 4.6

1. Read Sources 4.19 and 4.20, and refer to previous sources. Does Xenophon provide any corroborating evidence for Plutarch's suggestion that Spartans did not cohabit in their first years of marriage?
2. What questions do you have about Spartan cohabitation which remain unanswered by Plutarch?
3. What objections might Kulesza raise concerning Scott's acceptance of the idea that Spartan brides and grooms lived apart in their first years of marriage?
4. Based upon your own reading of the sources, which argument do you find more convincing, that of Scott or of Kulesza?

4.8 Infants in Sparta

According to Plutarch, the state also intervened in decisions regarding whether a newborn son would be accepted within the household, a right elsewhere reserved for a Spartan father. There was no latitude for weakness within Spartan society. Male infants would be assessed by the *ephors* – government representatives – appointed to determine the child's vitality in terms of his potential as a hoplite. Female infants, it appears, were exempt from the process. Those deemed worthy were presented to Artemis, and reared at home by their mothers and nurses for their first six years. Plutarch informs us that Spartan babies were to be subjected to tests of strength from the start: washed in wine to test whether they were epileptic, denied swaddling clothes and forbidden from being fussy eaters or showing any fear of the dark. Infants who did not conform to the Spartan ideal were left to die at the place of rejection known euphemistically as the Apothetai (place of deposits) below Mount Taygetos. It is important to note that infanticide and exposure are practices which were not unique to Sparta, and mass deposits of unwanted infants have been uncovered in Athens. However, Martha L. Rose has recently questioned the widely held assumption that all infants born with visible impairments were exposed in the Greco-Roman world. Certainly, in the case of Sparta, no archaeological evidence of the practice has as yet been uncovered. While archaeologists have found a large deposit of skeletal remains at Kaiadas, the chasm of Mount Taygetos, they did not find the bones of infants or children. Rather, the pit appears to have been used for the disposal of the remains of Spartan traitors, enemies and those convicted of serious crimes.

Plutarch describes the examination of infants and the outcome:

The father of a newborn baby did not have the power to decide whether to rear it, but carried it to a certain place called a meeting-place (*lesche*), where the eldest of his fellow-tribesmen sat. They examined the infant, and if it was sturdy and robust, they told him to rear it, and allocated it one of the 9000 lots of land. But, if it was weak and deformed, they sent it off to the so-called Place of Exposure [Apothetai], a place like a pit by Mount Taygetos, considering it better for both the child itself and the city that what was not properly formed with a view to health and strength right from the very beginning should not live.

SOURCE 4.21 Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*, 16.1–2

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ACTIVITY 4.7

1. Why might the Spartan state have removed the power from the father to decide whether to rear a newborn baby?
2. Why should the ancient historian be cautious about using Plutarch's account as testimony for the practice of infanticide in Sparta?

4.9 Spartan mothers

When investigating the social role of Spartan women, a degree of caution must be exercised by the ancient historian. It is a topic which attracted a great deal of attention from non-Spartan writers who commented upon what was deemed extraordinary in comparison with the role of women elsewhere. As a result, motherhood is approached primarily from the point of view of the requirements of the state. Nothing is recorded of the emotional life or relationships within a Spartan family. Such accounts must be carefully evaluated. It must also be acknowledged that Spartan women are likely to have shared much in common with non-Spartan women, but similarities were considered unworthy of comment.

Creating mothers

The primary productive role of all Greek women was to produce offspring for the perpetuation of the *oikos*. For Spartan women, living in a militaristic society outnumbered by an oppressed helot population, procreation was a civic obligation. As the future mothers of soldiers, the state prescribed that Spartan girls and women engage in regular exercise outdoors and were well-nourished. State intervention in the upbringing of girls was an unusual aspect of Spartan society, and as such was described by both Xenophon and Plutarch.

Xenophon describes the diet and exercise ideals of Spartan girls:

> First, to begin at the beginning, I will start with the begetting of children. Elsewhere those girls who are going to have children and are considered to have been well brought up are nourished with the plainest diet which is practicable and the smallest amount of luxury food possible; wine is certainly not allowed them at all, or only if well diluted. Just as the majority of craftsmen are sedentary, the other Greeks expect their girls to sit quietly and work wool. But how can one expect girls brought up like this to give birth to healthy babies? Lycurgus considered slave-girls quite adequate to produce clothing, and thought that for free women the most important job was to bear children. In the first place, therefore, he prescribed physical training for the female sex no less than for the male; and next, just as for men, he arranged competitions of racing and strength for women also, thinking that if both parents were strong their children would be more robust.

SOURCE 4.22 Xenophon, *Constitution of the Spartans*, 1.3–8

Female exercises are outlined by Plutarch:

> [Lycurgus] made the girls exercise their bodies by running and wrestling and throwing the discus and javelin so that their children in embryo would have a strong start in strong bodies and would become stronger, and the women themselves would also have the strength to bear their pregnancies and to experience childbirth more easily. He did away with prudishness, sitting indoors, and all kinds of effeminacy. He made it customary for young girls no less than boys to be nude when they walked in processions, and when they danced and sang at certain festivals with the young men present and

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looking on. Sometimes the girls would make fun of individual young men, helpfully criticising their mistakes. On other occasions they would sing the praises which they had composed about those deserving them, so that they inspired them with great enthusiasm and love of glory

SOURCE 4.23 Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*, 14.2–4

Spartan womanhood on modesty and sexuality, according to Euripides:

Not even if she wanted to could a Spartan woman be chaste [modest]. They leave their houses in the company of young men, thighs showing bare through their revealing garments, and in a manner I cannot endure they share the same running-tracks and wrestling-places. After that should we be surprised if you do not train up women who are chaste?

SOURCE 4.24 Euripides, *Andromache*, 595–601 BCE

ACTIVITY 4.8

Study Sources 4.22 to 4.25 to answer the questions below.

1. Xenophon's testimony comes at the beginning of his account of Lycurgus's reforms. What might this suggest about the way Xenophon viewed the importance of these reforms?
2. What do we learn from Xenophon about Lycurgus's regulations relating to Spartan women as potential mothers?
3. Did Xenophon approve of the measures introduced by Lycurgus relating to women? Quote from the text to support your answer.
4. Did Plutarch approve of the measures introduced by Lycurgus relating to women? Quote from the text to support your answer.
5. Both Xenophon and Plutarch are careful to draw comparisons between Spartan women and non-Spartan women. Fill in the table below, selecting the best evidence from both sources to illustrate the differences they observed.

	Sparta	Elsewhere
Diet		
Domestic work		
Exercise		



SOURCE 4.25 Small bronze statue from Prizren or Dodona, 520–500 BCE, British Museum

6. There is no certain evidence of whether the bronze statue in Source 4.25 was discovered in Prizren or Dodona. It is associated with Sparta due to its style, which art historians identify as Laconian. How might this association affect the way that this statue is interpreted?
7. Scholars disagree as to whether the figure in Source 4.25 is running or dancing. What features might suggest an answer? Does this affect the information this artefact can provide about Spartan women?
8. The fifth century BCE Athenian playwright Euripides presents one view of Spartan women in his play *Andromache*. Using the internet, research the play's attitude to Spartan women. What does this suggest about the difference between the ideal Athenian woman and the ideal Spartan woman?

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Managing the *oikos*

Aristotle noted that the perpetual absence of Spartan men gave Spartan women great freedom and licence. Certainly, the absence of the *kyrios* would have accorded women with autonomy in running the *oikos*, and suggests that the mother was the primary caregiver for all children residing within the home. It is important, however, to question whether women's dominance of the domestic sphere was truly unique to Sparta, and whether there is foundation for the assumption that Spartan men were as continually absent as Aristotle suggests.

> The licence of the Lacedaemonian women existed from the earliest times, and was only what might be expected. For, during the wars of the Lacedaemonians, first against the Argives, and afterwards against the Arcadians and Messenians, the men were long away from home.

SOURCE 4.26 Aristotle, *Politics*, section 1269b [40] section–1270a [4]

The following two sources are from modern historians. First, Blundell comments on the position of Spartan women in the home:

> by the time her husband moved into the family home [a Spartan mother] would have established her pre-eminence there, and would subsequently have had little difficulty in maintaining her position in view of her partner's frequent and sometimes prolonged absence. In Classical Athenian society, the degree of largely unacknowledged power which women exercised within the home is a matter for speculation; but the recognition of the interconnection of public and private interests did at the very least foster an ideal of male dominance in the household. In Sparta, no such ideal appears to have existed. There, the more radical separation of the public and private spheres, on both an ideological and on a material level, would have ensured that female domestic power was accepted and possibly even officially encouraged. Until his departure for barracks at the age of seven, a boy would probably have spent most of his time at home with his mother ... If a boy's emotional ties with his parents were not completely obliterated by the state education system, then it is likely that the strongest of these would have been with the mother.

SOURCE 4.27 Blundell, S. 1995, *Women in Ancient Greece*, Harvard University Press, p. 151

Ryszard Kulesza comments on the effect of war upon our idea of the Spartans:

> the majority of us almost unwittingly assume that in the life of a Spartiate there was only space for the gym, food, war and preparations for it. Plutarch's image of fun-loving Spartans: 'Choral dances and feasts and festivals and hunting and bodily exercise and social converse occupied their whole time, when they were not on a military expedition' (*Lyc*. 24.4) is at odds with their celebrated severity and discipline, but there is no space for contact with the family there anywhere ... Apart from the ... absence of husbands in day-to-day life, scholars have frequently pointed out that the wars must have been the reason for the chronic absence of men from Sparta ... One might wonder whether war truly had this influence in the sixth to fourth century. Additionally, it must be remembered that the periods of separation did not involve all couples at the same time. Yet scholars have built quite an edifice on the daily and periodical absence of husbands, especially when it comes to the woman's position in the family: they are supposed to have taken over control over the house

SOURCE 4.28 Kulesza, R. 2013, 'The Spartan Family', *EOS C 2013, fasc. 2*, pp. 211–12

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ACTIVITY 4.9

Read Sources 4.26 to 4.28 to answer the questions below.

1. Why does Aristotle suggest that Spartan women enjoyed more autonomy than other Greek women? Does he approve or disapprove of this greater autonomy?
2. According to Blundell, did Spartan women enjoy more autonomy in running the household than Athenian women? Quote from the text to support your answer.
3. Do Kulesza and Blundell agree in their interpretation of the role of Spartan women within the *oikos*?
4. What assumptions does Kulesza accuse scholars of making when assessing the roles of men and women within the Spartan family?

Mothers of soldiers

A stereotypical representation of a Spartan mother emerges from the sources in which she plays an instrumental role in moulding her son into an ideal citizen, and enforcing the warrior code in accordance with the values of the *polis*. Many stories survive which present Spartan women as model mothers, approving the valour and bravery of fighting men or mocking cowards who shirked their duty on the battlefield. At its most extreme form, this involved the mother's enthusiastic acceptance of the death of her son as a necessary sacrifice for the fatherland.

Plutarch in particular was active in recording and transmitting such anecdotes. Included in his *Moralia* was a collection of 'Sayings of Spartan Women', twenty-four of which were attributed to mothers. These take the form of a direct reply or reaction to someone's words with the purpose of providing a general declaration of a universal truth or moral principle. Many involve a mother talking to her son as a warrior and are relevant to the education of future soldiers. Scholars have noted that these sayings create a misleading impression of the real sentiments of Spartan mothers, enhancing their contribution to the *polis* in order to present an exemplum for women to emulate. Below are excerpts from these sayings.

> One woman sent forth her sons, five in number, to war, and, standing in the outskirts of the city, she awaited anxiously the outcome of the battle. And when someone arrived and, in answer to her inquiry, reported that all her sons had met death, she said, 'I did not inquire about that, you vile varlet, but how fares our country?' And when he declared that it was victorious, 'Then,' she said, 'I accept gladly also the death of my sons.'

SOURCE 4.29 Plutarch, 'Sayings of Spartan Women', *Moralia*, 241b–c 7

> Another Spartan woman killed her son, who had deserted his post, because he was unworthy of Sparta. She declared: 'He was not my offspring ... for I did not bear one unworthy of Sparta.'

SOURCE 4.30 Plutarch, 'Sayings of Spartan Women', *Moralia*, 241.1

> A woman, when she saw her son approaching, asked: 'How does our country fare?' And when he said: 'All are dead', she picked up a tile, threw it at him, and killed him, saying: 'Then did they send you to bring us the bad news?'

SOURCE 4.31 Plutarch, 'Sayings of Spartan Women', *Moralia*, 241.5

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Another woman handed her son his shield and exhorted him: 'Son, either with this, or on this.'

SOURCE 4.32 Plutarch, 'Sayings of Spartan Women', *Moralia*, 241.16

ACTIVITY 4.10

Read through Sources 4.29 to 4.32, excerpts from Plutarch's 'Sayings of Spartan Women', then answer the questions below.

1. Are these sayings attributed to historical individuals or anonymous women? How might this difference affect their reliability as sources for the true sentiments of Spartan mothers?
2. Plutarch does not provide precise dates for any of these sayings, rendering it impossible for the modern inquirer to determine a socio-political context for any of them. How might this affect their reliability as sources for the true sentiments of Spartan mothers?
3. Many of these sayings are presented as direct speech. How might this contribute to the appearance of accuracy of these texts?
4. Overall, do you regard these sayings as historically authentic? What information can be gleaned from them? What conclusions cannot be supported by them?

4.10 Education and child rearing

According to the image of Sparta presented by Xenophon and Plutarch, in an effort to produce a society of invincible warriors, Lycurgus usurped the role traditionally ascribed to the father in other Greek *poleis*, relegating responsibility for the decisions relating to raising children to the state. Education and upbringing were left not to the discretion of the head of the *oikos*, but to the *polis*. The lawgiver was attributed with the creation of a rigorous education system based upon age groups, referred to by the Hellenistic period as the *agoge* ('bringing up' or 'training'). The overall aim was to train boys in courage and endurance, and to inculcate obedience and loyalty.

The *agoge,* as described by the ancient authors, replaced familial life with a life focused upon the state. At the age of seven, Spartan boys were expected to leave their *oikos* and submit to the authority of a state-appointed official, the *paidonomos* (master of the boys). Aided by a group of assistants armed with whips, the *paidonomos* oversaw the upbringing of boys and enforced regulations through harsh discipline. Other citizens could also intervene when they observed a child misbehaving. Within the *agoge*, boys underwent a strict training programme which lasted the next thirteen years. Boys were arranged into units (*agelai*) and progressed through a range of age-defined categories as they transitioned through the various changes from childhood to adolescence to adulthood. As boys grew older, the intensity of their training increased until, at the age of twenty with their education complete, they became a man.

There is some disagreement among scholars about the exact age structure of the classical *agoge* as the version presented by Plutarch (some 450 years later) is at odds with that presented by Xenophon and the evidence presented by epigraphy. It is also difficult to ascertain the degree to which these authors mythologised or idealised the Spartan system, exaggerating differences with other states.

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Xenophon comments on the training of the boys:

Other Greeks who claim to be educating their sons in the best possible way, as soon as the boys understand what is said to them, straightaway send over servants as their escorts [*paidagogoi*], and send them to masters to learn letters and music and the exercises of the wrestling-school. In addition they soften their sons' feet with sandals, and coddle their bodies with changes of clothes; and they allow them as much food as their stomachs can take. But Lycurgus, instead of each man privately appointing slaves as *paidagogoi*, gave the responsibility of the boys' charge to one of those from whom the most important offices are appointed, who is called the supervisor of education [*paidonomos*]. He gave him the authority to muster the boys and oversee them, correcting them severely if any of them were lazy. He also gave him some of the older youths as scourge-bearers, so that they could punish them, when need be, and the result is that great self-respect and obedience are present in Sparta hand-in-hand. And instead of softening their feet with sandals he ordered them to strengthen them by going barefoot, thinking that if they practised this they would go much more easily uphill, and descend more safely and run more quickly than one in sandals. And instead of being coddled with clothing, he thought that they should become accustomed to one cloak a year, considering that in this way they would be better prepared to face cold and heat. He ordered the prefect [*eiren*] to provide just so much food that they would neither be weighed down from repletion nor lack experience of going hungry, thinking that those trained in this way would be better able, if they should have to, to toil without food, and last a longer time on the same food and stay more healthy. He also considered that a regimen which made their bodies slim would do more to increase their height than one which dilated them with food. On the other hand, so that they were not too distressed by hunger, though he did not allow them to take what they desired without trouble, he permitted them to relieve their hunger by occasionally stealing. It was not because he was at a loss what to give them that he permitted them to contrive to provide their own food – no one, I think, could fail to see that. It is clear that anyone who is going to steal must both stay awake at night, and be deceitful and wait in ambush during the day, and have spies prepared if he is going to steal something. So all this shows that he trained the boys like this because he wanted them to be more devious in procuring supplies and more warlike. Someone might say, 'Why, then, if he thought stealing a good thing, did he impose many strokes on one who was caught?' 'Because', I reply, 'whatever men teach, they punish whoever does not do it well. So, the Spartans punish those who are caught for stealing badly'.

SOURCE 4.33 Xenophon, *Constitution of the Spartans*, 2.1–8

ACTIVITY 4.11

Read through Source 4.33, Xenophon's description of the Spartan education system, then answer the questions below.

1. What might we glean from this passage about the level of intervention of the Spartan state upon the upbringing of children?
2. What does this passage suggest were the key values that the Spartan education system was designed to cultivate?
3. Which sections of Xenophon's account of the *agoge* suggest that the author greatly esteemed the Spartan education system? Quote from the text.
4. Are there any indications in this passage that Xenophon idealised the Spartan system?

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Plutarch describes the transition from childhood:

it was not lawful, indeed, for the father himself to breed up the children after his own fancy; but as soon as they were seven years old they were to be enrolled in certain companies and classes, where they all lived under the same order and discipline, doing their exercises and taking their play together. Of these, he who showed the most conduct and courage was made captain; they had their eyes always upon him, obeyed his orders, and underwent patiently whatsoever punishment he inflicted; so that the whole course of their education was one continued exercise of a ready and perfect obedience. The old men, too, were spectators of their performances, and often raised quarrels and disputes among them, to have a good opportunity of finding out their different characters, and of seeing which would be valiant, which a coward, when they should come to more dangerous encounters. Reading and writing they gave them, just enough to serve their turn: chief care was to make them good subjects, and to teach them to endure pain and conquer in battle. To this end, as they grew in years, their discipline was proportionately increased; their heads were close-clipped, they were accustomed to go barefoot, and for the most part to play naked.

SOURCE 4.34 Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus* , 16.1–6

ACTIVITY 4.12

Read through Source 4.34, Plutarch's description of the *agoge*, then answer the questions below.

1. What are the main differences between Xenophon's account and Plutarch's account?
2. How might you explain these differences?
3. Which account would you argue is more reliable?
4. In what ways might this form of education marginalise the role of the family?

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

- There are significant problems involved in reconstructing any aspect of Spartan society based upon the available evidence.
- Ancient sources suggest that the Lycurgan reforms created a state which diminished the role of the *oikos* within the *polis* of Sparta.
- Modern inquirers must carefully and critically evaluate the evidence relating to the formation of the *oikos*, the role of the Spartan father, the role of the Spartan mother, education and child rearing to determine whether the sources present an idealised version of the way of life of the Spartans.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend

Outline the ways in which needs of the Spartan state impacted upon:

- cohabitation of the Spartan family
- the role of the Spartan father
- the role of the Spartan mother
- education and child rearing.

Synthesise

Review the sources presented in this chapter. According to these sources, to what extent was the family truly marginalised and replaced by the state in ancient Sparta?

Devise

Create a mind map that charts what you have understood about the Spartan family and the connections between key areas. Make sure that your map includes the following areas:

- sources on Sparta
- the Spartan *polis*
- marriage
- Spartan fathers
- Spartan mothers
- education and child-rearing.

Analyse

To what extent are sources on the family distorted by the Spartan mirage?

Evaluate

How useful and reliable are the following on the topic of the Spartan family:

- Plutarch
- Xeonophon?

Respond

Can historians reconstruct aspects of ancient societies, such as Sparta, from the material available to them?

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Assessment

Examination-style questions

1. The modern inquirer who seeks to reconstruct any aspect of Spartan society is faced with a formidable challenge. Assess the validity of this statement in reference to the Spartan family.
2. The Lycurgan reforms created a state which diminished the role of the *oikos* within the *polis* of Sparta. Assess the validity of this statement.

Investigation task

Imagine that you are a museum curator who has been assigned the task of creating a display which provides the general public with an understanding of the role and position of the Spartan family within society. The display must bring together a group of four to six key sources, including both texts and artefacts. One of your responsibilities is to prepare the catalogue which will help museum visitors to navigate your display.

1. Devise a key inquiry question relating to the Spartan family which your exhibit seeks to address.
2. Review the sources presented throughout this chapter, and select a group of four to six sources which are relevant to answering your key inquiry question, and which demonstrate a range of views. For each source, complete a source profile using the template provided in the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 3*.
3. Create a catalogue which will help museum visitors to navigate your display. Your catalogue must include:
   - a note from the curator which consists of a rationale (200–300 words) that explains the thinking behind the focus of your collection and your selection of sources.
   - catalogue entries that include an analysis of each source within your display (total 800–1200 words). These should provide a brief description of the historical evidence, and analyse its origins, purpose and context. The entries must also evaluate the historical sources with due consideration to points of view and interpretations. You may draw on the information within your source profile to help you complete these.
   - a critical summary (300–500 words) which reflects on the decisions, judgements and conclusion which might be drawn from your display.

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CHAPTER 5
Beliefs, rituals and funerary practices in Egypt during the Ramesside period (19th and 20th Dynasties)

JENNA HAYWOOD

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this contextual study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - a broad chronological overview, from the origins of the society to the period that is the focus for investigation.
  - the geographical location, the nature of the environment and its influence on the society.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - the social structure, for example, main social hierarchies (elites, workers, slaves, ethnic groups and foreigners), role and status of women and children and attitudes towards women, children and education.
  - political institutions, for example, organisation (monarchy, kingship, tyranny, republic, democracy), the role and function of key political institutions, and political positions and key legal structures.
  - economic activities, for example, the nature and importance of economic activity (agriculture, commerce, industry, trade and building programs), the organisation of free and indentured labour and economic exchange (tribute, taxation and coinage).

KEY DATES

c.3150–c.2613 BCE	c.2613–c.2181 BCE	c.2160–2055 BCE
Early Dynastic Period (1st to 2nd Dynasties	• Old Kingdom (3rd to 8th Dynasties) • Use of pyramid texts began with the use of pyramids for the burial of pharaohs	First Intermediate Period (9th and 10th Dynasties)

SOURCE 5.1 Ay performing the Opening of the Mouth ceremony for Tutankhamun

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- devise historical questions and conduct research.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding.
- synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - key archaeological and written sources on beliefs, rituals and funerary practices for the society selected.
  - the nature of sources for beliefs, rituals and funerary practices.
  - dominant beliefs and rituals.
  - the influence and significance of beliefs and rituals.
  - attitudes to, and beliefs about, death and the concept of an afterlife.
  - funerary practices (burial sites, forms of burial, ceremonies), and their relationships to religious beliefs and social status.
- create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose.

Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about the legacy of beliefs, rituals and funerary practices on the selected society and modern times.

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SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

- Ma'at
- Horus
- Osiris
- Tutankhamun
- Anubis
- Isis.

c.2055–1650 BCE	1650–1550 BCE	1550–1069 BCE
• Middle Kingdom (11th to 14th Dynasties) • Use of coffin texts begins along with visual representations on tomb walls	• Second Intermediate Period (15th to 17th Dynasties) • Use of The Book of the Dead begins	New Kingdom (18th to 20th Dynasties)

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MAP



SOURCE 5.2 Map of ancient Egypt

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

TERM	DEFINITION
akh	fully resurrected form of the deceased person in the afterlife, similar to the modern concept of ghosts
Amduat	New Kingdom funerary text, translates to *Book of What is in the Underworld*
ankh	Egyptian symbol meaning life, illustrated as a T shape with a loop at the top
ba	part of the soul that holds personal characteristics of an individual, represented as a human-headed bird
Book of the Dead	a collection of spells, prayers and hymns that emerged at the start of the New Kingdom
canopic jar	jars used to store mummified lungs, stomach, liver and intestines of the deceased
Duat	realm of the dead in Egyptian mythology
Fields of Reeds	Egyptian heavenly paradise that individuals hoped to reach in the afterlife, it was a mirror image of one's life on Earth
ka	essentially a person's double, this was their life force – death occurred when the *ka* left the body
Ma'at	Egyptian goddess of truth, law, order, harmony and balance. She is usually depicted in anthropomorphic form as a winged woman with a white ostrich feather (or simply a white feather). Over time, *ma'at* evolved into a concept. For the pharaoh it meant keeping law and order, and for the people *ma'at* was the ethical and moral principle they lived by.
maat kheru	translates to true of voice, used to denote someone whose soul had been judged to be morally righteous
mortuary temple	funerary chapel that was separate from the actual tomb, where family and others could come to make offerings for the deceased
mummification	process of preserving a human body to ensure it remains as lifelike as possible
natron	a naturally occurring mineral that is often found in saline lake beds, used by the Egyptians to remove moisture from bodies during mummification
Opening of the Mouth	ceremony performed on the mummy immediately before burial by a priest to allow the deceased to eat and drink in the afterlife
papyrus	a plant common to the Nile River Valley that was most notably used to create a writing material, similar to paper
shabti	a small figurine (wooden, stone or faience) placed in the tomb to complete any work the deceased person may be called upon to do in the afterlife
Valley of the Kings	main location for pharaonic burials during the New Kingdom. It is on the western bank of the Nile, opposite Thebes
Weighing of the Heart	a judgement test that the deceased faced before they were granted a place in the afterlife. Their heart (symbolic of their Earthly life) was weighed against the feather of Ma'at

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Introduction

Ancient Egypt is a civilisation that has long fascinated modern historians. The discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb in 1922 by Howard Carter, paid for by Lord Carnarvon, generated hype about this mysterious and legendary culture that has been sustained until today. However, unlike Greece and Rome where there is a plethora of primary literary source material available, much of what historians have come to understand about the Egyptians is derived from archaeology. Most notably, the archaeological study of Egyptian tombs and burials has been the key to our interpretation of the ancient Egyptians.

Often the best tool for archaeologists to use in understanding a culture is the culture's treatment of the dead. Death and burial rituals tell us far more about the living than the dead themselves. Understanding the belief systems that dictate and inform rites, rituals and burial practices is a gateway into the lives of the common people. It is a valuable tool because so much of history is recorded by aristocratic males since they were usually the only members of society who were able to read and write proficiently. Examination of the beliefs, rituals and funerary practices of Egyptians during the Ramesside period sheds light on a complex and highly religious society.

Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to archaeology and ancient societies

Understanding the beliefs the ancient Egyptians held will enable you to identify how their beliefs informed burial practices, and how their beliefs changed and continued over time. For further information on types of archaeological sources, see Chapter 1.

5.1 The consequences of geography

Geographical location

The ancient Egyptians occupied most of the territory that is included in the modern country of Egypt. At its greatest extent under Thutmose III, the Egyptians controlled an empire that stretched down into modern Sudan, west into the Sahara and north to Israel-Palestine. The Egyptian people predominantly occupied the Nile Valley between the northern delta region and the first cataract (a naturally-occurring river crossing point) at Aswan – a 1200 kilometre stretch of river. Memphis was the capital of Lower Egypt prior to the unification under Pharaoh Narmer. Thebes was the capital of Upper Egypt and became the sole capital city throughout the New Kingdom.

Nature of the environment

The most prominent geographical feature of Egypt is of course the Nile, which originates in the highlands of Ethiopia and makes its way northwards towards the Mediterranean. Along its course, the Egyptians established several crossing points where the Nile was shallow enough to cross by cart. The delta region features areas of marshland and lakes but was also one of the most productive regions of agriculture.

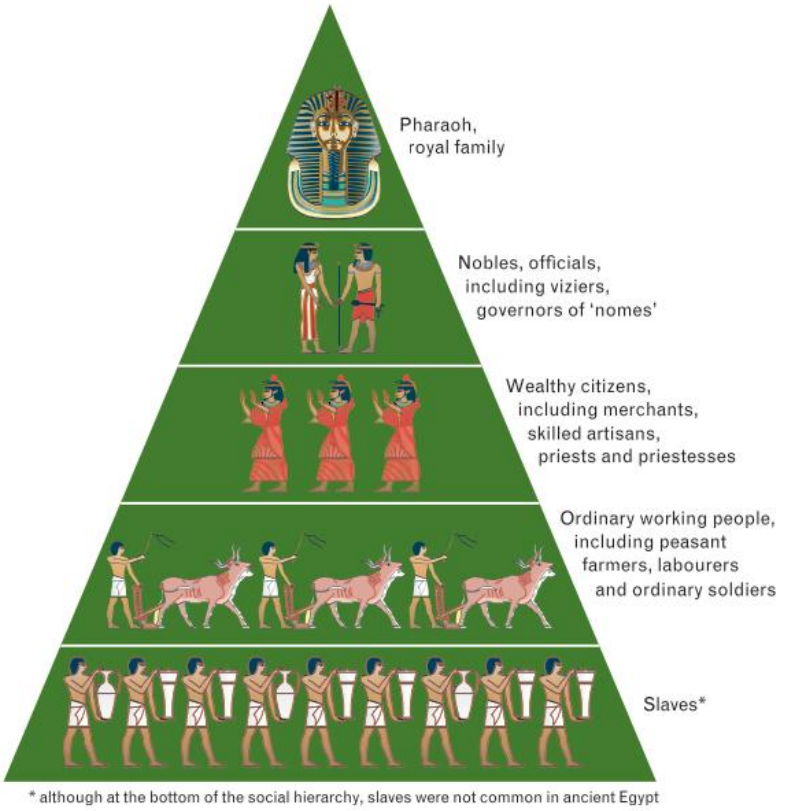
Each year, dark silt was deposited by the annual inundation or flooding of the river. It was this annual replenishment of the soil that renewed the land's fertility. The size of the inundation was erratic and it was one of the people's greatest concerns. If the floodwaters were too high, they could cause damage to agriculture and infrastructure; too low and they could result in a poor harvest and possible famine. Because the Nile and the inundation were so vital to the Egyptian's existence, they were personified and worshipped as the fertility god Hapi. Canals and irrigation channels were built by the people to direct recordings from the 'nilometres', which were used to predict future flood levels and calculate taxation (larger floods resulted in more produce which could be taxed more heavily).

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ACTIVITY 5.1

1. Look at a satellite picture of the Egyptian region (Google Earth or Google Maps is great for this). What geographical conditions can you identify that would have helped the Egyptian civilisation to rise and flourish?
2. At the same time, how may the development of society have been hampered by the geographical conditions?
3. Based on what you can see in the satellite picture and further research, which natural resources would the Egyptians have had access to? Which would be rare, or only acquired through trade?
4. How did the Nile and Egyptian geography encourage social cooperation between the people and those of neighbouring regions (for example, Nubia and Mesopotamia)?

5.2 Society



SOURCE 5.3 The social structure of ancient Egypt. How does Egyptian social structure compare to that of other ancient and modern societies? Why?

Social structure

The pharaoh

The pharaoh held ultimate power in Egyptian society and represented the gods on Earth, particularly Horus, during their lifetimes. The primary role of the pharaoh was to ensure that *ma'at* (law and order) was maintained. A pharaoh's right to kingship was emphasised through a direct relationship or co-regency with the previous pharaoh. This could be done through a traditional transition of power between a father and son upon the father's death, or, as a pharaoh aged, through the pharaoh's heir assuming more direct control and responsibility during his father's lifetime.

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ACTIVITY 5.2

Conduct some further research:

1. What symbols were associated with the pharaoh and the power they had?
2. How do these symbols of power held by the pharaoh represent the complexities of the role?
3. What duality can be seen between the crook and the flail?

While pharaohs were seen as divines being when in their official position, it was understood that they were also mortal beings in private life. As the supreme authority in Egypt, the pharaoh led all activities but in practice they were assisted by thousands of officials. These included civil government leaders, military commanders and high priests of temples. Each of these institutions had their own complex bureaucracies, but all of them were answerable to the pharaoh.

Women

While men dominated most roles of responsibility in ancient cultures, women also contributed. In fact, Egypt was quite progressive in terms of equal rights between the genders.

ACTIVITY 5.3

1. Investigate the roles, rights and responsibilities of Egyptian women (royal and non-royal) and compare them with another ancient civilisation.
2. Why do you think it might be the case that Egyptian society offered such roles, rights and responsibilities to women?

Political institutions

One of the prominent features of political structure in ancient Egypt, next to the monarchy, was the *nome* or 'local district'. Each was governed by a *nomarch* who effectively functioned like a local council mayor. Each *nome* was like a miniature version of the larger state – each had its own treasury, judicial courts, land office, canal maintenance office, militia and scribes, who kept records.



SOURCE 5.4 Administrative centres in ancient Egypt. The borders of *nomes* are indicated by red lines or the tributaries of the Nile through the delta region. Why would the Egyptians have so many administrative centres?

5.3 Economic activities

Crafts and industry

Craftsmen were well respected in ancient Egypt and paid appropriately for their skills – thus the profession usually ran down through the generations in various families. Carpenters were responsible for building anything from boats and building framework to

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highly decorative furniture and coffins. Masons were required to carve large structural pieces of stone, statues and obelisks. They were also responsible for the vast decoration of various tombs and temples, which featured scenes of battles, celebrations and the recording of events through hieroglyphics. Metalworkers made numerous objects such as basic tools, weapons and decorative objects like mirrors. Highly skilled metal workers made the thousands of pieces of gold and precious jewellery that archaeologists have uncovered in various tombs.

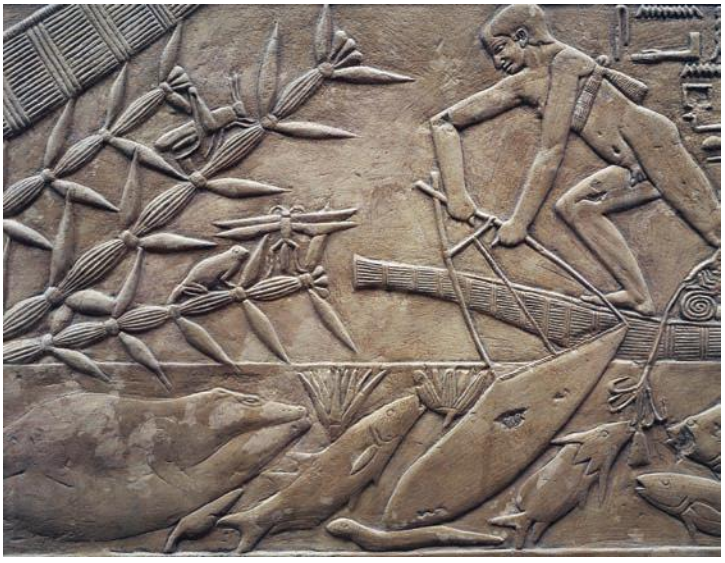
Exchange and taxation

Ancient Egypt did not use a system of currency, instead goods were bought or sold through a bartering or exchange system. Most ancient Egyptians used their own personal surplus (food, livestock, slaves, land) or skills to exchange for what they required. A standard system of weights made such exchanges easier as there was a consistent way resources were measured.

While taxation was administered by the pharaoh and viziers (second highest official to the pharaoh who supervised the day-to-day running of the country), they relied on the diligent record-keeping of the many scribes who lived in Egypt. Scribes recorded numerous agricultural resources – the size of a field, orchard or vineyard before harvest, the number of cattle in a herd or the yield taken by a fisherman. Scribes measured each crop to determine what portion of the produce was due as tax. The degree of taxation was determined by the height of the inundation as it was an indicator of prosperity. Most temples also paid tax, but some were exempt by royal decree (although the exemption could be revoked at any time). The tax was paid to the local *nomarch*, who was responsible for paying local expenses on behalf of the pharaoh.



SOURCE 5.5 Breastplate with solar and lunar emblems, and inlaid with semi-precious stones, from the tomb of Tutankhamun. What symbols and features can you identify? Can you recognise any of the materials?



SOURCE 5.6 Fishing scene, Saqqara (Old Kingdom – 6th Dynasty). What features can you identify in the scene?

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ACTIVITY 5.4

1. At any time, the pharaoh could revoke the special exemption to taxation given to a temple. Why might an exemption have been granted? What reasons might have motivated a pharaoh to withdraw the exemption?

Objective 2: Devise historical questions and conduct research in relation to archaeology and the features of an ancient society

In this section, you will conduct research that aims to identify the key beliefs of the ancient Egyptian people.

5.4 Religion

An ancient Egyptian's religion focused primarily on the importance of the individual's life. What a person did while they were alive was significant and every ritual they participated in was aimed at preventing a second death, which was a failure to reach the afterlife. They believed a heaven was in the realms of the sun and was a perfect version of their current life. Texts buried with the dead were there to provide directions and guidelines for their journey to the afterlife.



SOURCE 5.7 Relief of Osiris, Horus and Isis at the Temple of Hibis, Egypt. How can you tell which figure is Osiris, Isis and Horus?

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The function of ancient Egyptian religion was to explain the mysteries of life and the cosmos. For the people of ancient Egypt, Amun-Re was the one who dictated their lives as he controlled the movement of the sun. Most ancient Egyptian gods were depicted with a human body, but their head could be either human or animal. Many gods were worshipped on a national level, while others were predominantly the focus of local settlements. Major gods were those that had vast temple complexes dedicated to them and were served by an organised priesthood. Unlike many modern Western religions, ancient Egyptian priests were not spiritual mentors for the people, but rather they were responsible for the successful management of the temple complex.

ACTIVITY 5.5

Complete the table below, featuring the main ancient Egyptian gods. Note that not every column is relevant to each god. Some lines have been completed for you. If you are completing this digitally, you may like to add an image of the deity where possible.

Name	Function	Symbol/depiction	Sacred site	Sacred animal or object
Amun-Re	Creator god	Man wearing double *shuti* feathers	Karnak, Thebes	Ram and goose
Mut				
Ptah				
Sekhmet				
Re				
Geb				
Nut				
Osiris	God of the afterlife	A mummified king	Abydos	Crook and flail
Isis				
Horus				
Seth				
Nepthys				
Thoth				
Anubis				

Mythology

The *ka*, the *ba* and the *akh*

The concepts of *ka*, *ba* and *akh* were central to the beliefs the ancient Egyptian people held regarding the afterlife.

The *ka* was the life force that differentiated the dead from the living, and death only occurred when the *ka* left the body. The Egyptians believed that their physical body also required mummification if the *ka* was to ensure its survival in the afterlife. Food and drink left as offerings at a mortuary temple were hoped to sustain the *ka*.

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SOURCE 5.8 *Ka* and *ba* of Tentpessumedju, (c. 1070–341 BCE). Which deities can you identify in this scene?

The *ba* was what made a person unique and supplied their personal characteristics. Ancient Egyptians believed the *ba* would live on after the physical body had died; it would leave the dead body during the day as a human-headed bird, but would return at night for sustenance. As such, it could move between the worlds of the living and the dead.

The *akh* was the completely resurrected form of the deceased person in the afterlife. This reanimation of the deceased occurred when the *ka* and *ba* were reunited in the afterlife. It is similar to the modern concept of ghosts in that the *akh* was believed to have the ability to influence the living (positively or negatively) from the afterlife.

In Source 5.8, the *ba* is represented as a small human-headed bird with upraised arms at the top right. The *ka* is the white-clothed figure at the bottom right.

ACTIVITY 5.6

GO

1. Faith and religious belief were apparent in almost every aspect of life for the ancient Egyptian people. Divide into four groups and choose one of the topics listed below. Each group needs to create a research question that leads to an investigation of that topic. Refer to the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 2* for guidelines on how to frame a good research question. Each group conducts research into the topic to answer the research question that you have designed (in the form of a historical paragraph):
   - **a.** creation myths
   - **b.** the reign of Amun-Re as the creator god
   - **c.** Osiris myth
   - **d.** symbolism and meaning associated with the movements of the sun.

Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the Ancient World

This section will focus on attitudes to, and beliefs about death and the afterlife, through guided analysis of historical sources.

5.5 The afterlife

The pharaoh's goal was to join the gods in the afterlife and become one of them. The most common belief regarding his journey was that his passage to rebirth mirrored the sun. During the hours of his journey through the underworld at night (for death was symbolised by the setting sun), the pharaoh assisted the *barque* (boat) that carried the sun to navigate the *Duat,* or underworld. Many dangers could be encountered

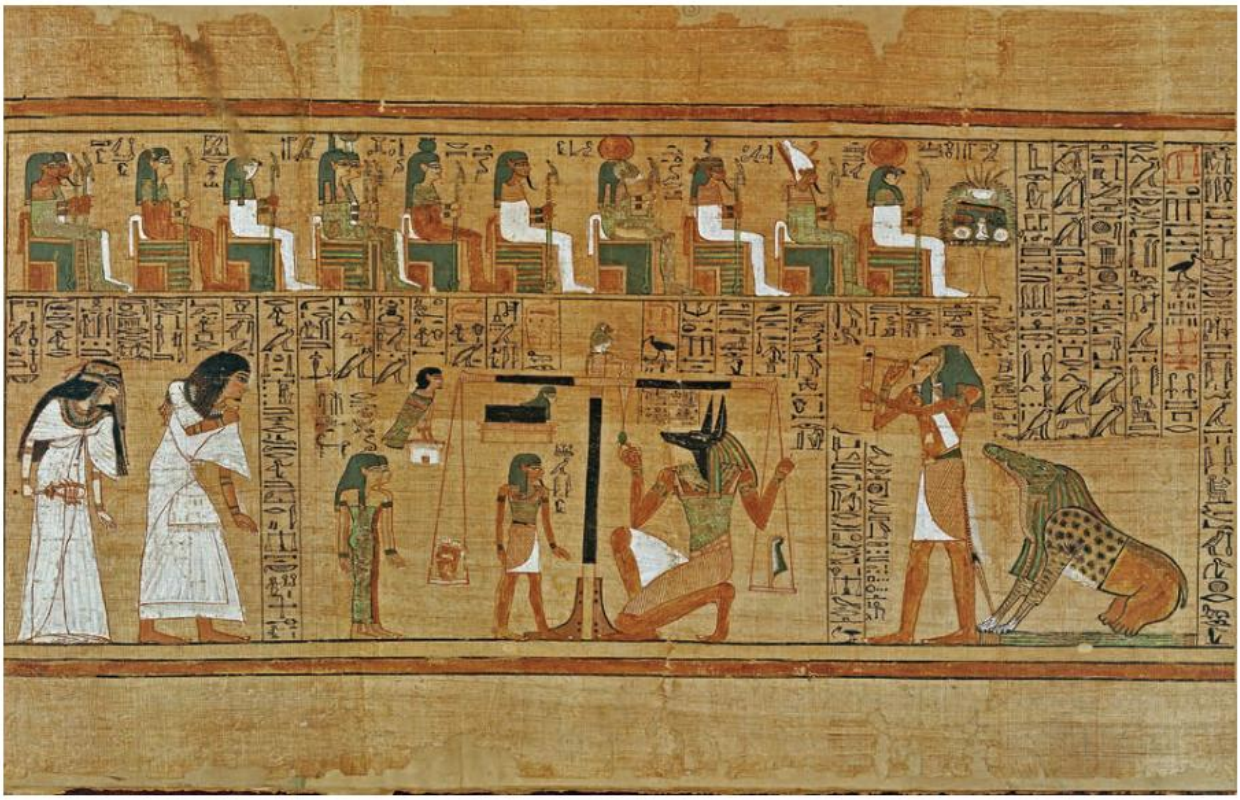
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in the *Duat*, so the pharaoh had the *Amduat* to assist him. He had to travel safely through the 12 regions of the underworld (which corresponded to the 12 hours of night) if he was to be reborn with the gods as the sun rose.

ACTIVITY 5.7

1. Do further research about the *Duat*. What dangers could the pharaoh encounter on his journey? How could he overcome them?

For the common people, the Judgement of the Dead was the challenge to be faced before entry to the afterlife could be granted. This judgement was a series of tests the deceased had to pass in order to be declared *maat kheru* and be admitted to the heavenly paradise where Osiris ruled, called the Field of Reeds. The judgement began by the deceased declaring that they had not committed any offences during their lifetime. This was known as the Negative Confession. Once the confession had been made, the heart of the deceased was weighed against the feather of Ma'at. As the heart was believed to be the centre of thought and emotion, it was not removed during mummification so it could be used by the deceased in this ritual. If the heart was lighter than Ma'at's feather, the deceased was welcomed by Osiris into the afterlife. If it was filled with wrong and therefore heavier than the feather, it was consumed by the beast Ammut, essentially wiping the deceased from existence. This fate terrified all ancient Egyptians and it explains why representations of this ritual are depicted so often in tombs – having the ritual shown (either on papyrus or on the tomb walls) essentially guaranteed them safe passage.



SOURCE 5.9 Weighing the Heart, papyrus from the Book of the Dead of Ani, Thebes, Egypt, 19th Dynasty, c.1295 BCE. British Musem, London, UK

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ACTIVITY 5.8

Using Source 5.9 and self-directed research, complete the questions below.

1. Identify the following in the image: Ani (the deceased), Anubis, Osiris, Thoth, Horus, Isis, Nepthys, Ammut, Ma'at and the heart of the deceased.
2. What role did the following play in the Weighing of the Heart:
   - **a.** Hall of Two Truths
   - **b.** the heart of the deceased
   - **c.** Horus
   - **d.** 42 assessors
   - **e.** Ammut the Devourer
   - **f.** Anubis
   - **g.** the Negative Confession
   - **h.** Thoth
   - **i.** Osiris
   - **j.** the Sons of Horus
   - **k.** Isis, Nepthys, Selket, Neith.
3. What was the purpose of producing the Book of the Dead?

The Negative Confession is addressed to the gods of the 42 *nomes* of Egypt, who act as judges.

1. Hail, Usekh-nemmt, who comest forth from Anu, I have not committed sin.
2. Hail, Hept-khet, who comest forth from Kher-aha, I have not committed robbery with violence.
3. Hail, Fenti, who comest forth from Khemenu, I have not stolen.
4. Hail, Am-khaibit, who comest forth from Qernet, I have not slain men and women.
5. Hail, Neha-her, who comest forth from Rasta, I have not stolen grain.
6. Hail, Ruruti, who comest forth from Heaven, I have not purloined offerings.
7. Hail, Arfi-em-khet, who comest forth from Suat, I have not stolen the property of God.
8. Hail, Neba, who comest and goest, I have not uttered lies.
9. Hail, Set-qesu, who comest forth from Hensu, I have not carried away food.
10. Hail, Utu-nesert, who comest forth from Het-ka-Ptah, I have not uttered curses.
11. Hail, Qerrti, who comest forth from Amentet, I have not committed adultery.
12. Hail, Hraf-haf, who comest forth from thy cavern, I have made none to weep.
13. Hail, Basti, who comest forth from Bast, I have not eaten the heart.
14. Hail, Ta-retiu, who comest forth from the night, I have not attacked any man.
15. Hail, Unem-snef, who comest forth from the execution chamber, I am not a man of deceit.
16. Hail, Unem-besek, who comest forth from Mabit, I have not stolen cultivated land.
17. Hail, Neb-Ma'at, who comest forth from Maati, I have not been an eavesdropper.
18. Hail, Tenemiu, who comest forth from Bast, I have not slandered anyone.
19. Hail, Sertiu, who comest forth from Anu, I have not been angry without just cause.
20. Hail, Tutu, who comest forth from Ati, I have not debauched the wife of any man.
21. Hail, Uamenti, who comest forth from the Khebt chamber, I have not debauched the wives of other men.
22. Hail, Maa-antuf, who comest forth from Per-Menu, I have not polluted myself.
23. Hail, Her-uru, who comest forth from Nehatu, I have terrorised none.
24. Hail, Khemiu, who comest forth from Kaui, I have not transgressed the law.
25. Hail, Shet-kheru, who comest forth from Urit, I have not been angry.
26. Hail, Nekhenu, who comest forth from Heqat, I have not shut my ears to the words of truth.
27. Hail, Kenemti, who comest forth from Kenmet, I have not blasphemed.

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28. Hail, An-hetep-f, who comest forth from Sau, I am not a man of violence.
29. Hail, Sera-kheru, who comest forth from Unaset, I have not been a stirrer up of strife.
30. Hail, Neb-heru, who comest forth from Netchfet, I have not acted with undue haste.
31. Hail, Sekhriu, who comest forth from Uten, I have not pried into other's matters.
32. Hail, Neb-abui, who comest forth from Sauti, I have not multiplied my words in speaking.
33. Hail, Nefer-Tem, who comest forth from Het-ka-Ptah, I have wronged none, I have done no evil.
34. Hail, Tem-Sepu, who comest forth from Tetu, I have not worked witchcraft against the king.
35. Hail, Ari-em-ab-f, who comest forth from Tebu, I have never stopped the flow of water of a neighbour.
36. Hail, Ahi, who comest forth from Nu, I have never raised my voice.
37. Hail, Uatch-rekhit, who comest forth from Sau, I have not cursed God.
38. Hail, Neheb-ka, who comest forth from thy cavern, I have not acted with arrogance.
39. Hail, Neheb-nefert, who comest forth from thy cavern, I have not stolen the bread of the gods.
40. Hail, Tcheser-tep, who comest forth from the shrine, I have not carried away the khenfu cakes from the spirits of the dead.
41. Hail, An-af, who comest forth from Maati, I have not snatched away the bread of the child, nor treated with contempt the god of my city.
42. Hail, Hetch-abhu, who comest forth from Ta-she, I have not slain the cattle belonging to the god.

SOURCE 5.10 The Negative Confession

ACTIVITY 5.9

Answer the following questions in reference to Source 5.10, the Negative Confession.

1. What is the context for the production of Source 5.10?
2. What view does Source 5.10 present about an individual's daily life and actions?
3. What themes do you notice among the confessions? What headings could you group them under?
4. What conclusions can you reach about the values and priorities present in ancient Egyptian society and culture? (You can use your answers from questions one to three.)
5. Are there any confessions that are surprising to you? Which ones? Why?
6. Do you think it likely that an ancient Egyptian would be able to keep all of these promises during their lifetime? Why or why not?
7. Are there any confessions that stand out as having a valid and reasonable excuse why they would not have been followed?

Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument in relation to archaeology and ancient societies

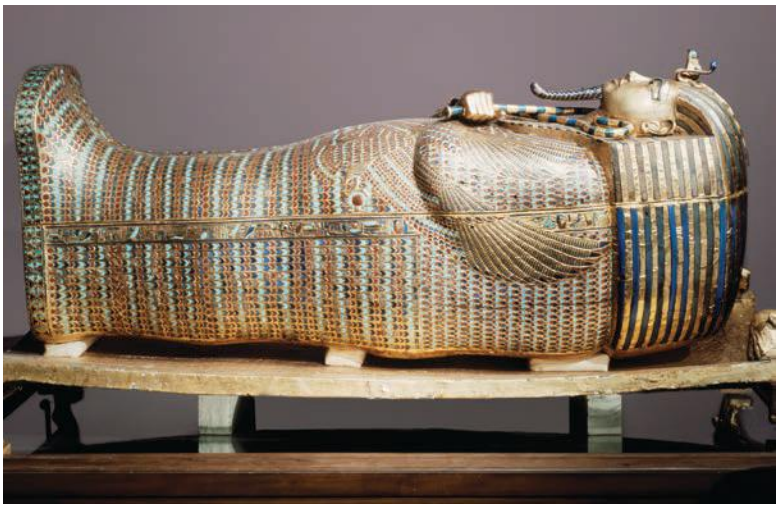
In this section, you will learn about funeral ceremonies, tombs and ceremonies, and grave goods used by the ancient Egyptians during burial. You will then use archaeological evidence to synthesise and make conclusions about people of the time.

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5.6 Funeral ceremonies and grave goods

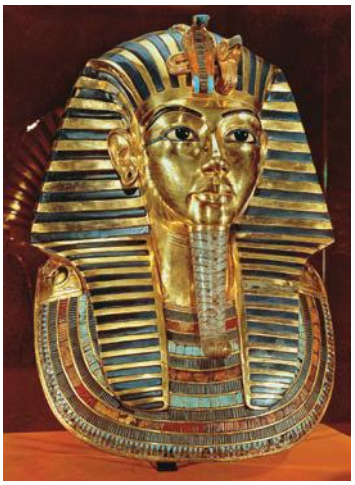
Funerals

Funerals for the deceased began after the mummification process was completed (usually 40–70 days). A procession usually accompanied the mummy across the Nile. How elaborate the procession was depended upon the social status and wealth of the deceased.



SOURCE 5.11 The second mummiform coffin made from gold-plated wood inlaid with glass-paste, from the tomb of the pharaoh, Tutankhamun, discovered in the Valley of the Kings, Thebes, Egypt. Why would craftsmen put such effort into coffins?

Before the procession proper began, the mummy had to be placed inside its coffin. As the visual sources here suggest, the materials used to make the coffins varied upon the status of the deceased. Timber was the most basic element, and where there were multiple coffins (nesting coffins), the innermost one was the most decorated. The decoration could simply be more elaborate paintwork, or costly and embellished materials, such as in the case of Tutankhamun and his 110 kg coffin of pure gold. A burial mask was sometimes also used and it was placed directly over the mummification wrappings. These masks were meant to replicate the face of the deceased. Tutankhamun's gold mask is inlaid with lapis lazuli, carnelian, quartz, obsidian, turquoise, glass and faience. This 11 kg mask, along with the pyramids, is perhaps the image most synonymous with ancient Egypt.



SOURCE 5.12 Tutankhamun's funeral mask (18th Dynasty, Thebes). Why is this mask such an iconic image of ancient Egypt?



SOURCE 5.13 Funeral procession fresco from the Tomb of Ramose, vizier under Amenhotep III and Akhenaten (18th Dynasty). What elements of the funeral procession are recognisable? How do they compare to practices in other cultures?

A priest organised the procession and could also call in professional mourners if the status of the deceased dictated it. The priest led the procession, sprinkling milk and incense as he walked. Following him came a group of women who represented the presence of Isis and Nepthys. These women were often hired as professional mourners and were required to wail aloud and beat their chests. Next came the mummy of the deceased on a bier dragged by oxen or carried aloft by a group of men. Immediately after the mummy would

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be the canopic chest, containing the four canopic jars and their associated organs. Lastly, mourners including family and friends followed the formal procession, bringing the possessions the deceased needed in the afterlife, along with food and drink to go in the tomb. When the procession arrived at the tomb, the mummy was placed in the chamber, along with their various possessions and grave goods. The priest then performed the Opening of the Mouth ceremony so that the deceased could begin their journey through the afterlife.

Pyramid texts

Pyramid texts were a collection of utterances recited by a priest at the burial. The texts themselves were also recorded on the interior walls of tombs, statues and stelae in mortuary chapels. The main purpose of the texts was to offer guidance to the deceased in navigating their passage into the afterlife. Originally they were exclusively used by kings, but as mummification and, consequently access to the afterlife itself, became more democratised, these texts were more commonly used. The only restriction on their use in the New Kingdom was simply financial – you could have as many of these texts represented in your tomb as you could afford. The Book of the Dead is perhaps the most famous of these texts. Spell 125, which recorded the Weighing of the Heart ceremony, was commonly used in burial due to its importance in imparting guidance for the deceased through this crucial test.

Grave goods

The goods placed in the grave of the deceased were chosen specifically to ensure their needs in the afterlife would be met. The objects reflected the status of the deceased, and would allow them to continue their daily activities and routines. The most common of these included *shabti* figures – small models of people who were believed to come alive in the afterlife to provide the deceased with labour. As with all grave goods, the number and quality of production of *shabti* figures was an indicator of the wealth of the person who resided in the tomb.



SOURCE 5.14 Limestone *shabti* figures and painted wooden box (19th Dynasty, Louvre, Paris). Why build a little case for the *shabti* figures?



SOURCE 5.15 Troop of *shabti* figures from the tomb of Neferibreheb. Why would a tomb have so many *shabti* figures?



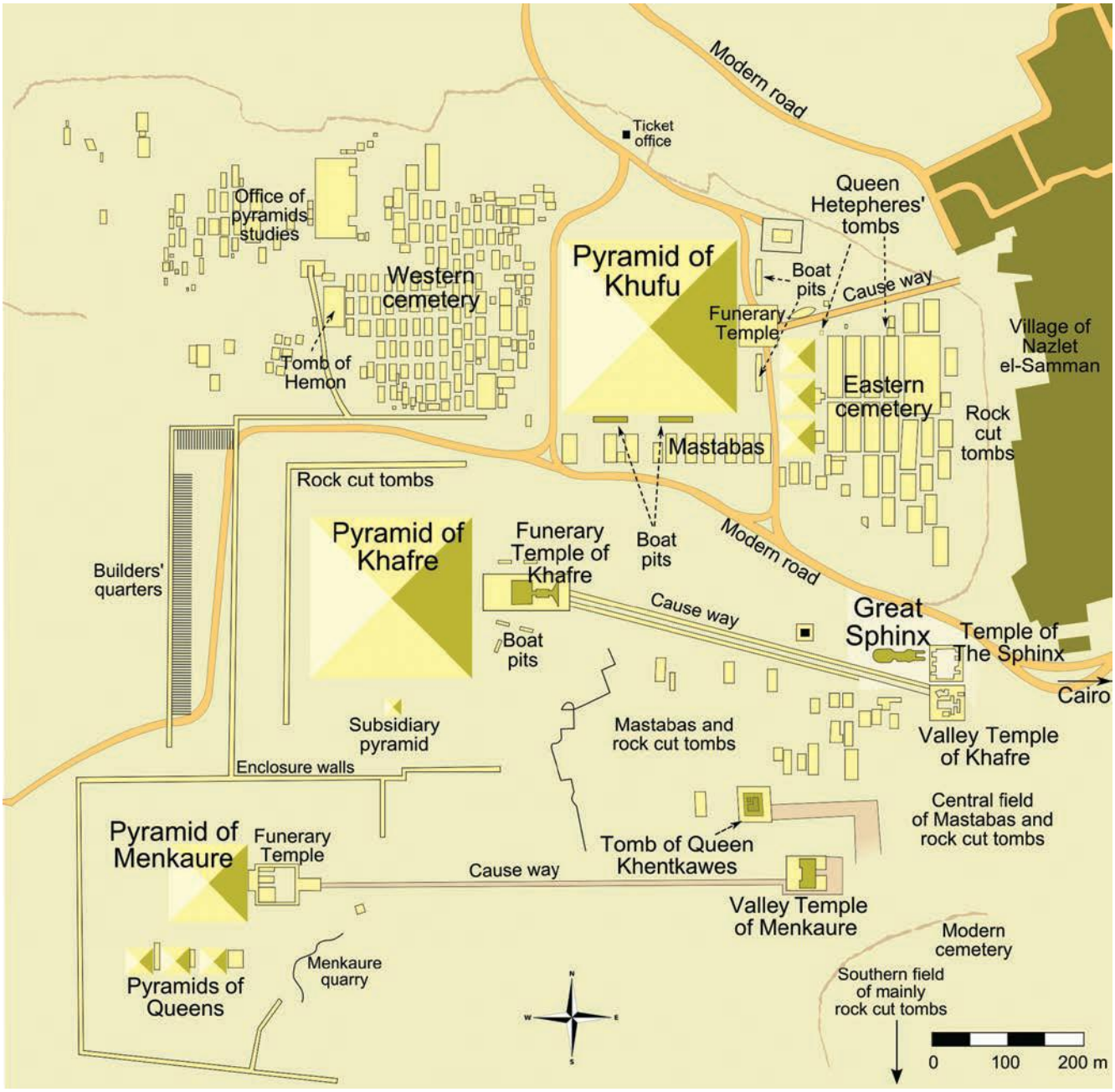
SOURCE 5.16 The unbroken seal from the third shrine surrounding the sarcophagus of Tutankhamun. What thoughts might have run through Howard Carter's head when he saw this seal?

Tombs and cemeteries

For ancient Egyptians, the placement of their tombs and cemeteries was determined by the sun. The east was associated with life and the west with death, due to the symbolic nature of sunrise and sunset. Consequently, all burial places were on the western bank of the Nile.

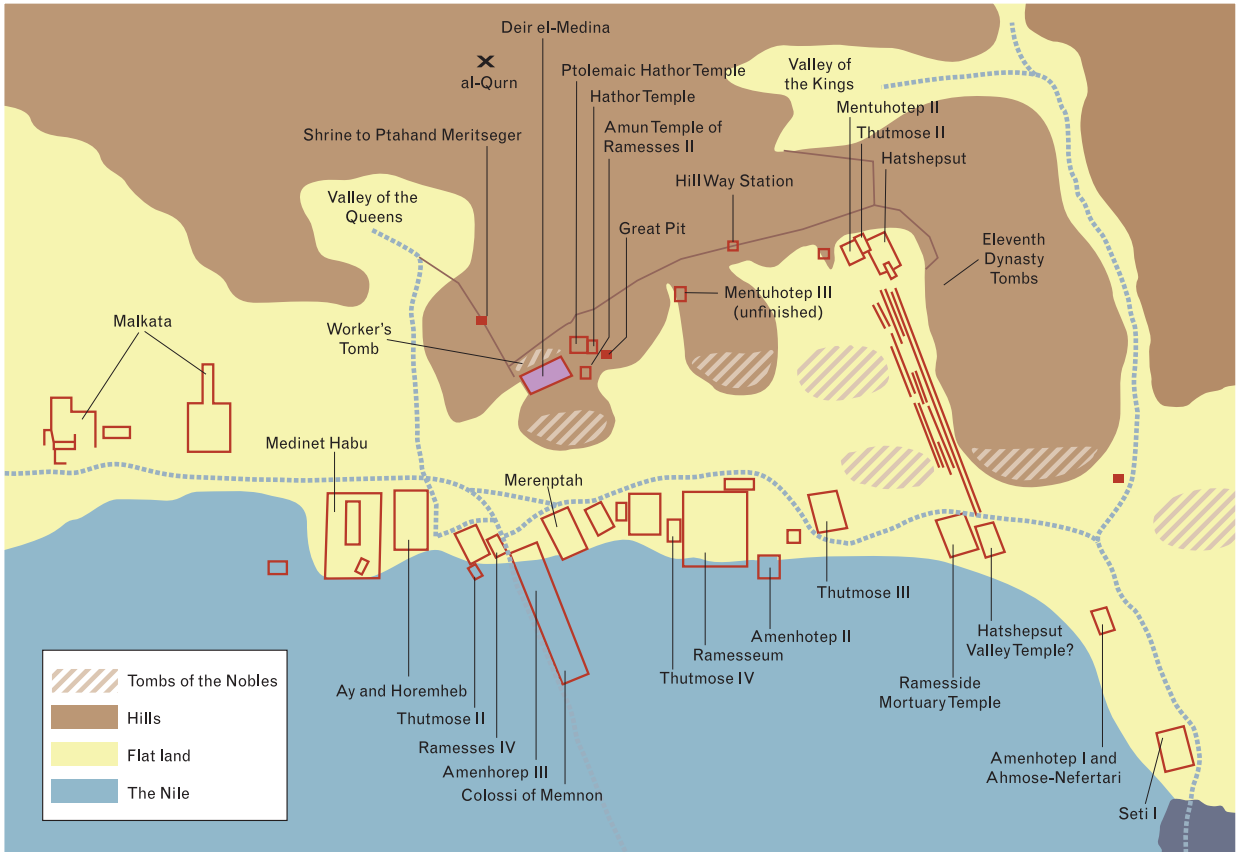
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Tombs consisted of two elements: the tomb itself and the funerary or mortuary chapel. This chapel was where regular offerings for the deceased would be made after the tomb was closed. The ancient Egyptians believed that tombs needed to be carefully prepared as they were the locations for the extension of life and thus essential for maintaining the individual in the afterlife. They were also considered the point of transition from one world to another; consequently, they needed to provide all possible material support. By the 19th Dynasty, funerary chapels were usually located separately from the tomb itself to detract from possible tomb robberies. As seen in the modern diagram of the Giza pyramid complex in Source 5.17, the temples associated with the pyramids were physically connected to the pyramid complexes by a causeway (the temples themselves would have originally sat very close to the Nile shoreline). As these Old Dynasty pyramids were all robbed, tomb builders in the New Kingdom were careful to ensure that the tombs themselves were as hidden as possible.



SOURCE 5.17 Pyramid complex at Giza. Have a look at modern satellite images – what features in this map can you see in the modern landscape?

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SOURCE 5.18 Thebes, West Bank. Have a look at modern satellite images – what features in this map can you see in the modern landscape?



SOURCE 5.19 Fowling scene, from the tomb of Nebanon, Thebes (18th Dynasty). How does this scene compare to other tomb scenes in quality and subject?

Building of *mastabas* and pyramids in the Old and Middle Kingdoms ensured that the ancient Egyptians were well versed in the engineering required to cut tombs directly into cliffs and bedrock. Tombs built for nobles were quite simple in their layout – a T-shape was most common. Many were incomplete by the time they were required for use due to the financial investment and time required for construction. Scenes painted on tomb walls often depicted the daily life of the deceased, particularly showing them undertaking normal duties required of their occupation.

Tombs of pharaohs and queens from the New Kingdom were built in the Valley of the Kings and Valley of the Queens respectively. So far 63 tombs have been uncovered in the Valley of the Kings. Despite the Egyptian's best intentions to hide the tombs, most were still opened and robbed in antiquity.

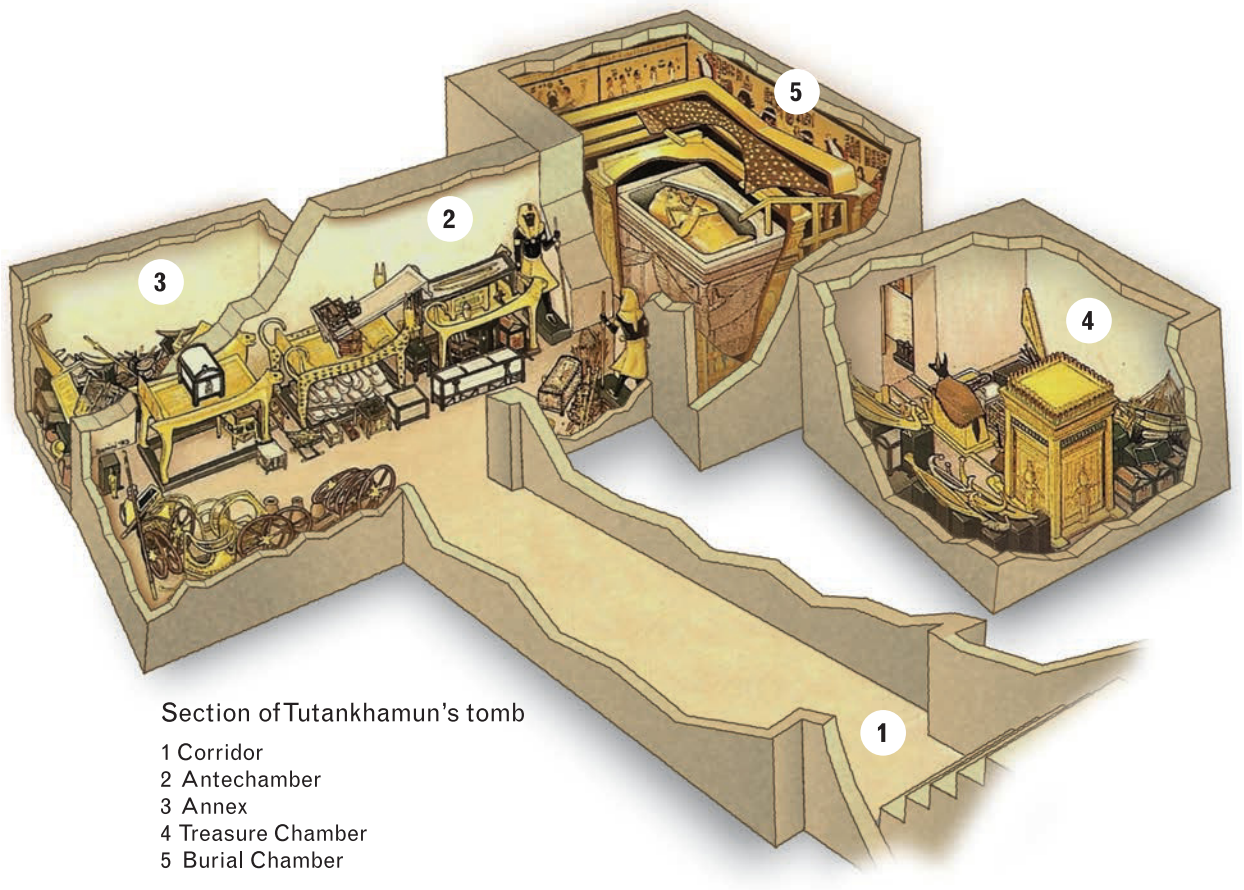
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GO

The discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb in 1922 by Howard Carter caused such a sensation because it was unopened – all of the seals were still intact and the treasure remained inside. Tombs in the valley vary greatly in their scale and design. The tombs twist and turn, weaving in between each other, and some descend as deep as 200 metres. The straightforward and relative simplicity of Tutankhamun's tomb lends credibility to the theory that he died suddenly and had to be buried before his tomb was complete. Others, like the one, belonging to Rameses II and his sons, is a complex maze of pillared chambers and hallways.

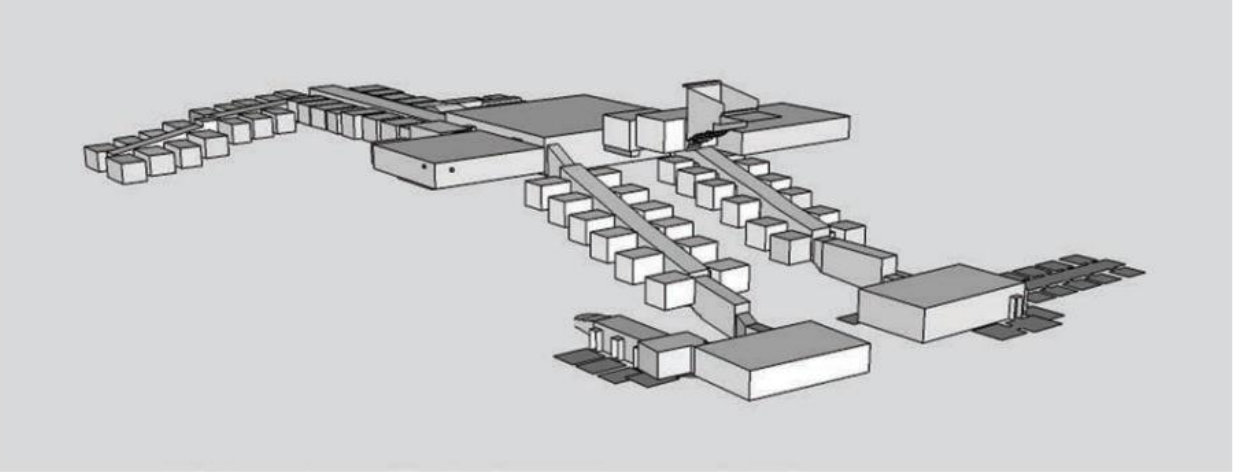


SOURCE 5.20 Panorama of the Valley of the Kings, looking northwards. How would this desert landscape impact the Egyptian's ability to build tombs here?



SOURCE 5.21 Diagram of Tutankhamun's tomb, KV62

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SOURCE 5.22 Tomb of Rameses II. How does this tomb and that of Tutankhamun compare in their layout?

ACTIVITY 5.10

To synthesise is to combine different parts of elements into a whole to create a new understanding.
Step 1: Complete the following table, by using a selection of eight sources taken from Sources 5.11 to 5.22.

Source number	What can we learn from the source about the funerary goods, graves, funerals or tombs of Egyptians during the 19th Dynasty?

Step 2: What are the main conclusions you can reach after examining the sources? You should be able to support each point using multiple sources.

Points	Supported by which sources?

Add extra rows if/when necessary.
Step 3: Turn your main points into a cohesive paragraph, using correct referencing techniques.

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ACTIVITY 5.11

Compare the tombs of royalty and non-royalty by investigating the architectural and decorative features of at least one royal and one non-royal 19th Dynasty tomb from the list below. Use the table to structure the recording of your findings.

- Royal tombs: Rameses I, Seti I, Merenptah
- Non-royal tombs: Sennefer (Mayor of Thebes), Rekhmire, Kheruef, Nakht, Khaemhat, Menna

Feature	Royal tomb Name:	Non-royal tomb Name: (list here the name, titles, occupation, name of pharaoh served)
Brief details of tomb owner		
Tomb shape and structure		
Other architectural features		
Funerary texts		
Subjects of wall paintings		
SUMMARY: List below the main similarities and differences you have identified between the two types of tombs		
Similarities	Differences	

Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about the Ancient World

This section will focus on funerary practices, including burial sites, forms of burial and associated ceremonies of the ancient Egyptians. You will reflect on the relationship of ancient Egyptians to religious beliefs and social status.

5.7 Mummification

By the New Kingdom, methods and techniques of mummification had progressed and been essentially perfected. These advances demonstrate how much the ancient Egyptians had progressed from their earliest form of burial in the desert, where the natural heat of the desert acted as a very effective method of preservation. By the Middle Kingdom, mummification in some form was available to all people. What degree of preservation was achieved depended upon how much the relatives of the deceased could afford to spend on the procedure. This variation in mummification available, based on financial standing, indicates how access to the afterlife had



SOURCE 5.23 Anubis warming the heart of the deceased, from the tomb of Sennedjem at Deir el-Medina (c. 19th Dynasty). What role did Anubis have in preparing the dead for burial and the afterlife?

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been democratised and was now available to all people. For the ancient Egyptians, mummification was essential in guaranteeing a resting place for their spirit and a focus for their mortuary cult to be maintained by relatives after their death.

Pre-Dynastic and Old Kingdom burials made good use of the desert environment; the heat and dry sand acted as natural preservatives. Individuals in these early burials were commonly found lying in the foetal position. During the Old Kingdom, a more uniform and intentional method of preservation began; there was the removal of organs and the use of natron. The most notable change that had occurred by the New Kingdom was the additional removal of the brain.



SOURCE 5.24 Gebelein Man or EA 32751 (c. 3400 BCE), British Museum, London. The body of this man was naturally preserved by the desert heat, so well that hair can still clearly be seen on his skull.



SOURCE 5.25 Mummy of Rameses II (c. 1279–1213 BCE). This mummy and 'Gebelein Man' differ significantly in date, yet what do you notice about the level of preservation?

ACTIVITY 5.12

Using information in this chapter and other resources such as the internet, answer the questions below:

1. What is the significance of intentionally burying individuals in the foetal position?
2. How can modern historians deduce that the preservation of the body was paramount?
3. What assumptions could we make about the ancient Egyptian's attitude towards cremation?
4. What roles did the following deities play in mummification:
   - **a.** Anubis
   - **b.** Hapi
   - **c.** Nepthys
   - **d.** Duamutef
   - **e.** Imseti
   - **f.** Selket (Serket)
   - **g.** Qebesenuef
   - **h.** Isis
   - **i.** Neith.

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Step 1: The body is taken to the *ibu* tent place of purification where embalmers wash it with scented palm wine. It is then rinsed with water from the Nile.

Step 2: Most of the internal organs are removed from a cut on the left side of the body. The heart is not removed. The brain is broken down and pulled out through the nose with a long hook.

Step 3: Four of the major organs – the liver, lungs, stomach and intestines – are packed in natron to dry them, before being placed in canopic jars. In later methods they would be returned to the body.

Step 4: The body itself is stuffed with natron and covered.

Step 5: Forty days later the body is again washed with Nile water and then oils are applied to the skin to help it stay elastic.

Step 6: The remaining organs are then returned to the body and the cavities are stuffed with leaves, linen and sawdust to give a lifelike appearance. Scented oils are applied again.

Step 7: The body is then wrapped in layers of linen, beginning with the head and neck, with amulets placed between the layers to protect the body during the deceased's travels through the underworld.

Step 8: During the wrapping process a priest reads out prayers to ward off evil spirits and a papyrus scroll from the the Book of the Dead is placed in the hands of the body. The layers of wrapping are painted with resin to bind them together.

Step 9: Finally, the whole body is wrapped in cloth and placed in a coffin.

SOURCE 5.26 Mummification process

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Diodorus Siculus, a Greek historian, writing around the first century BCE describes his understanding of the mummification process:

When a person amongst them dies, all his relatives and friends, putting mud upon their heads, go about the town lamenting, until the time of burying the body. In the meantime, they abstain from bathing and from wine and all kinds of delicacies, neither do they wear fine apparel. They have three manners of burial: one very costly, one medium and one modest. Upon the first a talent of silver is spent, upon the second twenty minae, but in the third there is very little cost. Those who attend to the bodies have learned their art from their forefathers. These, carrying to the household of the deceased illustrations of the costs of burial of each kind, ask them in which manner they desire the body to be treated. When all is agreed upon, and the corpse is handed over, they (that is, the relatives) deliver the body to those who are appointed to deal with it in the accustomed manner.

First, he who is called the scribe, laying the body down, marks on the left flank where it is to be cut. Then he who is called the cutter takes an Ethiopian stone, and cuts the flesh as the law prescribes, and forthwith escapes running, those who are present pursuing and throwing stones and cursing, as though turning the defilement [of his act] on to his head. For whosoever inflicts violence upon, or wounds, or in any way injures a body of his own kind, they hold worthy of hatred. The embalmers, on the other hand, they esteem worthy of every honour and respect, associating with the priests and being admitted to the temples without hindrance as holy men. When they have assembled for the treatment of the body which has been cut, one of them inserts his hand through the wound in the corpse into the breast and takes out everything excepting the kidneys and the heart. Another man cleanses each of the entrails, sweetening them with palm-wine and with incense. Finally, having washed the whole body, they first diligently treat it with cedar oil and other things for over thirty days, and then with myrrh and cinnamon and [spices], which not only have the power to preserve it for a long time, but also impart a fragrant smell. Having treated it, they restore it to the relatives with every member of the body preserved so perfectly that even the eyelashes and eyebrows remain, the whole appearance of the body being unchangeable, and the cast of the features recognisable. Therefore, many of the Egyptians, keeping the bodies of their ancestors in fine chambers, can behold at a glance those who died before they themselves were born.

SOURCE 5.27 Diodorus Siculus, c. 36–30BCE, *Bibliotheca Historica*, Book 1.91

Herodotus, a Greek historian born in modern-day Turkey who wrote during the fifth century BCE outlines how bodies are embalmed:

The mode of embalming, according to the most perfect process, is the following: they take first a crooked piece of iron, and with it draw out the brain through the nostrils, thus getting rid of a portion, while the skull is cleared of the rest by rinsing with drugs; next they make a cut along the flank with a sharp Ethiopian stone, and take out the whole contents of the abdomen, which they then cleanse, washing it thoroughly with palm wine, and again frequently with an infusion of pounded aromatics. After this they fill the cavity with the purest bruised myrrh, with cassia, and every other sort of spicery except frankincense, and sew up the opening. Then the body is placed in [natron] for seventy days, and covered entirely over. After the expiration of that space of time, which must not be exceeded, the body is washed, and wrapped round, from head to foot, with bandages of fine linen cloth, smeared over with gum, which is used generally by the Egyptians in the place of glue, and in this state it is given back to the relations, who enclose it in a wooden case which they have had made for the purpose, shaped into the figure of a man. Then fastening the case, they place it in a sepulchral chamber, upright against the wall. Such is the most costly way of embalming the dead.

(continued)

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If persons wish to avoid expense, and choose the second process, the following is the method pursued: syringes are filled with oil made from the cedar-tree, which is then, without any incision or disembowelling, injected into the abdomen. The passage by which it might be likely to return is stopped, and the body laid in [natron] the prescribed number of days. At the end of the time the cedar-oil is allowed to make its escape; and such is its power that it brings with it the whole stomach and intestines in a liquid state. The [natron] meanwhile has dissolved the flesh, and so nothing is left of the dead body but the skin and the bones. It is returned in this condition to the relatives, without any further trouble being bestowed upon it.

The third method of embalming, which is practised in the case of the poorer classes, is to clear out the intestines with a clyster, and let the body lie in [natron] the seventy days, after which it is at once given to those who come to fetch it away.

SOURCE 5.28 Herodotus, c. 440 BCE, *Histories*, Book 1.86–88

ACTIVITY 5.13

Refer to Sources 5.27 and 5.28 from Diodorus Siculus and Herodotus.

1. On which points do Herodotus and Diodorus agree regarding the forms of mummification used by the Egyptians?
2. Where do they differ?
3. What evidence is there in the accounts that a person's wealth and status influenced the quality of mummification available to them?
4. Conduct some brief research on the background of Diodorus and Herodotus regarding the following points:
   a. Where and when were they born?
   b. What was their social status in the community they spent most of their time living in?
   c. How have historians described their writing style?
   d. What topics did they write about?
5. What difficulties may Diodorus and Herodotus have encountered when researching for their writing?
6. From what perspective do they write?
7. Having considered your responses for the previous three questions, do you consider Diodorus and Herodotus reliable and useful sources for modern historians to use when researching mummification? Why or why not?

Objective 6: Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose in relation to the Ancient World

This section will focus on interpretations about the legacy of beliefs of ancient Egyptian society in modern times.

5.8 Preserving the Ancient World in modern times

Ancient Egypt will always remain a topic of fascination for modern historians and the general public alike. In a similar vein to the ancient Eastern cultures like the Assyrians and Babylonians, ancient Egyptian culture is far removed and almost unrecognisable to us. As ancient Greece and Rome are considered the

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foundations of Western society and culture, there are numerous elements of them that are recognisable to people today. We are fortunate that Egypt's climate has preserved so much of the physical fabric of ancient Egyptian society for us to see. The development of modern satellite technology has particularly enabled scholars to explore more of the landscape, and new discoveries are being made on a regular basis.

However, like other ancient archaeological sites, Egypt's pyramids and tombs are not immune to the pressures of modern life.

ACTIVITY 5.14

Go online and look for articles about funerary practices in other ancient societies.

1. With further reading, what evidence can you find that ancient Egyptian culture influenced other ancient civilisations?



SOURCE 5.29 Archaeologist Howard Carter opening the sarcophagus of Tutankhamun. How significant is Howard Carter's discovery to Egyptology?



SOURCE 5.30 Tourists walk past the giant statues of Rameses II and his daughter Bintanath in the Temple of Karnak in Luxor. What opportunities exist currently for tourists to visit archaeological sites in Egypt?

ACTIVITY 5.15

1. What problems are currently being faced by the Egyptian people in regards to preserving their history? Go online to conduct research and answer this question.
   You could use one or more of the following news stories as a starting point:
   - U.S. helps Egypt preserve antiquities: http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8272
   - Egyptians rally to defend cultural heritage: http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8273
   - Egyptian Museum: Cairo's looted treasure: http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8274
   - Egypt turns to technology in effort to protect ancient treasures from looters: http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8275
   - Egypt welcomes back tourists after seven years of political instability despite security concerns: http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8276
2. Conduct research on this investigation question: What other ancient sites are at risk because of social, political, religious or economic reasons? Write an extended response to the key question and focus on one ancient site (for example, a site covered in Chapter 1). Ensure your response makes use of correct language and referencing conventions.
3. What similarities are shared by your site and Egyptian ones?

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

- The ancient Egyptians had a vast pantheon that they believed in.
- The ancient Egyptians believed that they could continue to exist in the afterlife, so their bodies and other possessions needed to be preserved.
- The mummification methods used by the ancient Egyptians made use of natural resources, and differences in the process were influenced by the socio-economic status of the deceased.
- It was the responsibility of the family to ensure the deceased was suitably prepared for the afterlife.
- The deceased would be held to account for their actions during their life – ancient Egyptians were expected to live a life that upheld *ma'at*.
- The ancient Egyptians had a variety of texts that they reproduced inside tombs that would guide and direct the deceased as they journeyed to the afterlife.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend

- Create a revision game that tests your knowledge of the key terms, concepts and issues.
- In small groups, find out what the roles, rights and responsibilities were of the other members of ancient Egyptian society (viziers, priests, women, slaves, merchants, scribes, craftsmen and so on).

Devise

Select a pharaoh from the 19th Dynasty to be the subject of this inquiry question: What conclusions can be made about [name of pharaoh]'s personal life, achievements and legacy based on evidence in their tomb? Generate sub-questions as necessary, and ensure your research includes primary and secondary sources.

Analyse

Historically, there has been a lot of debate over Tutankhamun's cause of death, and also why he was buried in a tomb so small compared to other pharaohs. Conduct research to identify the different points of view and interpretations of the historical evidence on this topic.

Synthesise

Form a judgement using the evidence gathered in the previous question. What does the evidence suggest about how Tutankhamun died? Why was he buried in a tomb so small? Be sure to incorporate historical evidence that is corroborated, reliable, and represents different perspectives.

Evaluate

- Using a primary and secondary source gathered in the Devise question, evaluate the sources' usefulness and reliability.
- Identify the author or creator's perspective in the sources, and explain how that influenced the work they produced.

Respond

Using the research conducted for the 'Devise' question, present your findings to the class in a format of your choice (visual, oral or written).

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Assessment

Examination-style questions

1. Examine the validity of one of these statements:
   - Funerary practices and rituals were an integral part of the ancient Egyptian's beliefs about the afterlife.
   - Archaeological records of death and burial are the most valuable source of information historians have for the lives of everyday people.

Investigation tasks

1. Using one of the ancient societies listed below, develop your own key research question that investigates what archaeological evidence of death and burial can tell modern historians about the lives of the people in that society.
   - archaic Greece (800–500 BCE)
   - ancient Rome (753–133 BCE)
   - Achaemenid Empire (Persia) (559–330 BCE)
   - Mauryan Empire (India) (321–185 BCE)
   - ancient China in the Qin and Han Dynasties (221 BCE–220 CE)
   - the Early Christians (to 337 CE)
   - the Celts (1200 BCE–60 CE)
   - the Vikings (700–1100 CE).
2. Develop appropriate sub-questions and gather your research.

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UNIT 2
Personalities in their times

UNIT DESCRIPTION

In Unit 2, students investigate key personalities of the Ancient World in the context of their times. Students examine the social, political and economic institutions in which the personality is positioned and focus on an analysis and evaluation of the differing ways in which they have been interpreted and represented from ancient to modern times. Students consider the attributes that characterise a significant ancient personality and the driving forces behind such individuals.

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UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the ancient personalities and their times being studied.
2. Devise historical questions and conduct research in relation to an ancient personality.
3. Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding of ancient personalities and their historical context.
4. Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument in relation to ancient personalities and their historical context.
5. Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about ancient personalities.
6. Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose in relation to ancient personalities.

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KEY CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDINGS

- context
- reliability and usefulness of sources
- perspectives and representation
- evidence
- continuity and change
- cause and effect
- significance
- empathy
- contestability.

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KEY INQUIRY QUESTIONS

- What were the motivations, attributes and achievements of significant ancient personalities?
- Are great leaders born, not made? Do people make history or are they a product of history?

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CHAPTERS IN THIS UNIT

CHAPTER	
Chapter 6	Hatshepsut
Chapter 7	Akhenaten
Chapter 8	Agrippina the Younger
Chapter 9	Boudica (DIGITAL CHAPTER)

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CHAPTER 6
Hatshepsut

SIMON CORVAN

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this contextual study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the historical and geographical background of Hatshepsut and the time in which she lived.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about:
  - key archaeological and written sources for the period.
  - issues involved with the nature of evidence from the reign of Hatshepsut.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to Hatshepsut's personality and achievements.
- devise historical questions and conduct research.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding.
- synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - the various interpretations and representations of Hatshepsut in primary sources.
  - the various interpretations and representations of Hatshepsut presented in secondary sources and how these have differed over time.
  - changing ancient and modern perceptions of the achievements and legacy of Hatshepsut.
- create a response that communicates meaning to suit purpose.

Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the aftermath of Hatshepsut's reign

KEY DATES

1507 BCE	1495 BCE	1479 BCE
Hatshepsut born, the only child of Pharaoh Thutmose I and his primary wife Ahmose; if she had been male, she would have inherited the throne	Hatshepsut marries her half-brother Thutmose II and becomes Queen of Egypt	Thutmose III crowned pharaoh; Hatshepsut appointed regent as Thutmose III was only two years old

SOURCE 6.1 A granite statue of Hatshepsut, found in her tomb at Deir el-Bahri

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- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about the impact of significant personalities on their times.

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SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

- Hatshepsut
- Thutmose I
- Thutmose II
- Thutmose III
- Senenmut
- Neferure
- Amenhotep II
- Hapuseneb.

KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

TERM	DEFINITION
18th Dynasty	the 18th Dynasty of Egypt is classified as the first Dynasty of the ancient Egyptian New Kingdom period
Amun-Re	one of the most worshipped gods of the New Kingdom era, composite of two gods, Amun and Re
cartouche	an oval or oblong enclosing a group of Egyptian hieroglyphs, typically representing the name and title of a monarch
dynasty	a time period ruled by one royal family
pharaoh	the ruler of ancient Egypt
regent	a temporary ruler who acts as a caretaker in the situation that the next pharaoh is too young to rule yet
New Kingdom	a period of Egyptian history from the sixteenth century BCE to the eleventh century BCE
Ma'at	the goddess of order, truth and balance. Over time, *ma'at* also evolved into a concept meaning justice, harmony and balance
Thebes	the most powerful city in Egypt during the New Kingdom era
Deir el-Bahri	a complex of mortuary temples and tombs located near the city of Luxor
Punt	a semi-mythical land that is likely to be present-day Ethiopia
obelisk	a tapering stone pillar, typically having a square or rectangular cross-section, set up as a monument or landmark
stele	(pl. *stelae*) an upright stone slab or column typically bearing a commemorative inscription or relief design, often serving as a gravestone
Heb-Sed	a religious festival in which a pharaoh symbolically renewed their power
God's Wife	a powerful royal title
Hathor	the goddess of motherhood, often depicted as a cow

c. 1477 BCE

Hatshepsut crowned pharaoh sometime during her second and seventh year as regent. After this she is considered a co-regent and shared the rule with Thutmose III

1472 BCE

Hatshepsut sends an expedition to Punt, considered extraordinary as no Egyptians had been there in five hundred years

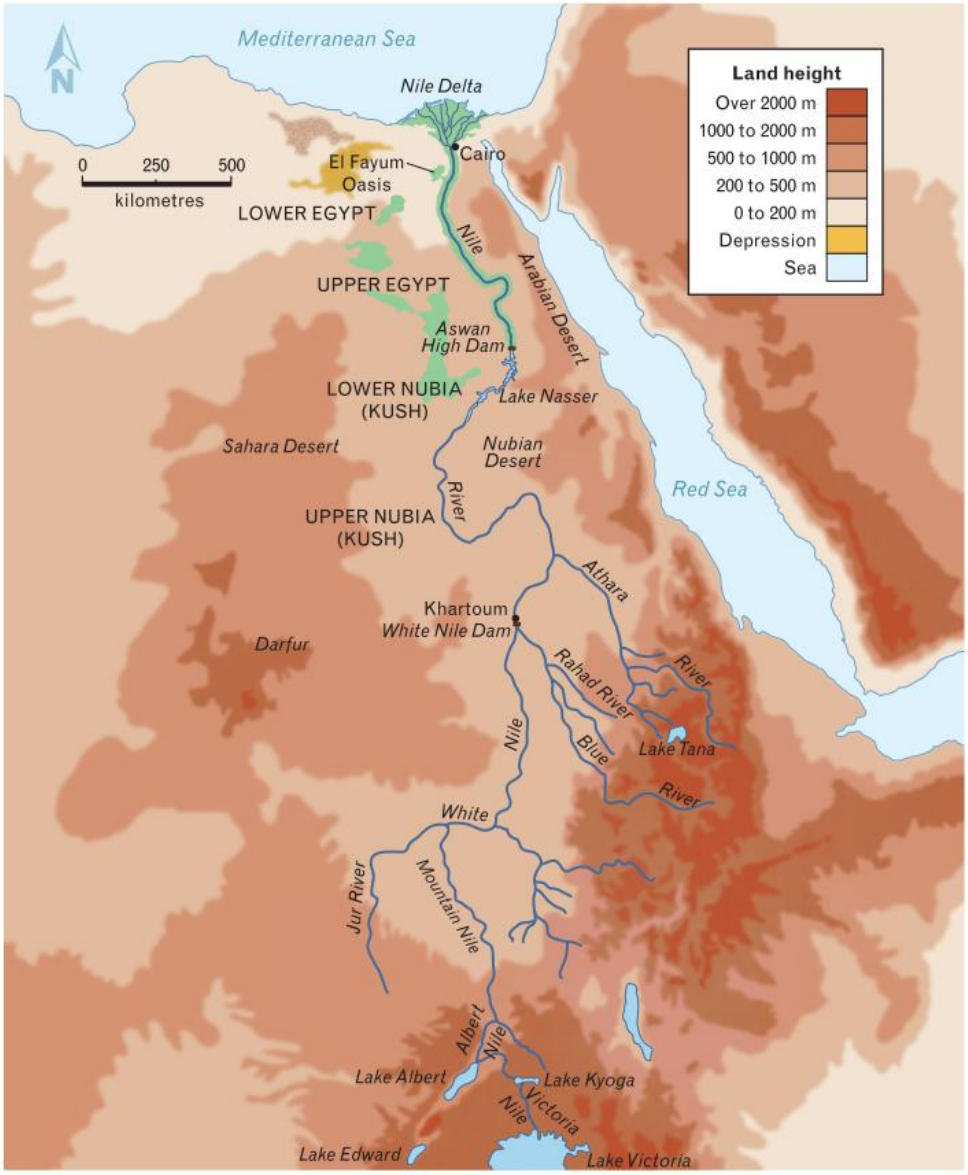
1466 BCE

Hatshepsut sends an expedition to the turquoise mines in the Sinai region where Egyptians had not been in over one hundred years

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MAP



SOURCE 6.2 Map of ancient Egypt

1463 BCE

- Hatshepsut celebrates her Heb-Sed (renewal ceremony) and orders the erection of two obelisks coated in electrum (to shine like the sun) at Karnak
- Work began on the Red Chapel, a sacred building to *Amun-Re*

1458 BCE

Hatshepsut's death, possibly from bone cancer

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Introduction

Hatshepsut is one of the most interesting leaders of ancient Egypt. In 1927 the Metropolitan Museum of Art's archaeological team in Egypt, led by Herbert Winlock, were working on uncovering a massive temple complex at Deir el-Bahri, across the Nile from Thebes and Karnak. The team was shocked to discover that someone had engaged in a malicious attack that seemed clearly and deliberately designed to erase a pharaoh from history. Winlock noted that there were many smashed statues of a pharaoh – pieces 'from the size of a fingertip to others weighing a ton or more.' This Pharaoh, who was nearly lost to history, had been put through 'almost every conceivable indignity,' he wrote, as someone had expressed 'their spite on the [pharaoh's] brilliantly chiseled, smiling features.' There is no doubt that the ancient Egyptians worshipped their leaders like gods and the desecration seemed to be very specifically targeted rather than the collateral damage of war.

Winlock's team had discovered statues and carvings of Hatshepsut, the sixth pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty, an incredibly successful and powerful female ruler of Egypt. While female rulership was not unique, it was rare, which complicates the motivations of those who sought to erase Hatshepsut as being more than simply misogynistic in nature. Historians have radically changed the narrative of Hatshepsut's life over the years since the uncovering of the relics at Deir el-Bahri. The orthodox version treated her life in highly dramatised language of vaulting ambition and brutal revenge in which Hatshepsut was cast in the role of the wicked stepmother who stole the throne from the rightful heir, Thutmose III. British archaeologist Joyce Tyldesley's excellent modern analysis of the Hatshepsut debate centres on how much of the story has been shaped by gender.

> Had Hatshepsut been born a man, her lengthy rule would almost certainly be remembered for its achievements: its stable government, successful trade missions and the impressive architectural advances ... Instead, Hatshepsut's gender has become her most important characteristic and almost all references to her reign have concentrated not on her policies but on the personal relationships and power struggles.

SOURCE 6.3 Tyldesley, J.A., 1996, *Hatchepsut, The Female Pharaoh*, Penguin, London, p.1

Elizabeth B. Wilson, discussing historiographical issues in an interview with *Smithsonian* argued that the common understanding of Hatshepsut as an aggressive usurping harridan was shaped by pre-feminist historians in the early part of the twentieth century. Wilson suggested that one possible motivation for these early male historians was an almost fearful reaction to a woman breaking gender roles which resulted in putting her in her rightful historical place as subordinate. Interestingly, Wilson also ascribes early historians with the desire to tell larger-than-life narratives, recreating historical events like a Hollywood movie that, while fun, are hardly accurate.



SOURCE 6.4 Mortuary temple of Hatshepsut

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Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the ancient personalities and their times being studied

While there are many issues to consider in relation to Hatshepsut, the most significant issue is her rise to power and position as regent for the infant Thutmose III.

6.1 Hatshepsut's rise to power and position

The legitimacy of Hatshepsut's claims to power, as well as the timing and validity of her accession as pharaoh, has long been subject for debate. It remains the most controversial issue of her reign for modern scholars.

During the reign of her husband, Thutmose II, Hatshepsut performed the traditional duties of the great royal wife. Tyldesley argues that:'

> all that we know of her previous life, first as queen consort and then as queen regent, shows Hatshepsut to have been an unexceptional and indeed almost boringly conformist wife and mother paying due honour to both her husband and her stepson, loving her young daughter and contenting herself with the traditional role allotted to royal women.

SOURCE 6.5 Tyldesley J., 2009, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, Penguin

When Hatshepsut's husband Thutmose II passed away, his son, by a concubine named Isis, was crowned as Thutmose III. However, Thutmose III was approximately two years old at the time, which meant he needed someone to help him rule Egypt until he was old enough to do so on his own. It was relatively common for a regent to be appointed to manage the country for a period of time. Hatshepsut became regent for the young king, managing the affairs of Egypt for him until he was old enough to rule alone.

While the ancient Egyptians preferred male rulers, women were not blocked from positions of power. The title of 'God's Wife' was common during the 18th Dynasty and conferred power upon the royal female who held it. Hatshepsut held the title of God's Wife during her marriage to Thutmose II and passed this title on to her daughter Neferure. This acceptance of woman rulers was especially true in challenging times when necessity overcame tradition. In the earliest dynasties, there were several female rulers who were outright pharaohs rather than regents, although archaeological evidence for this is scant. Khentkawes I of the 4th Dynasty and Nitocris of the 6th Dynasty were both likely to have ruled outright as pharaohs. During the last part of the 12th Dynasty, Amenemhat IV died, likely without heirs, and his daughter Sobeknefru ruled as king in such a manner that she was applauded as a national heroine. In the New Kingdom era, there is also evidence of queens rising to significant prominence. Queen Tetisheri was greatly honoured, and obviously loved by her grandson King Ahmose, while Queen Ahhotep, Tetisheri's daughter and likely the wife of King Seqenenre Tao II and mother of King Ahmose, almost certainly played an important advisory role in the political and economic issues. Queen Ahhotep was also possibly regent to her son, and Ahmose's Karnak stele suggests that during the regency she may have quelled a rebellion in Upper Egypt:

> One who cares for Egypt. She has looked after her soldiers; she has guarded her; she has brought back her fugitives and collected together her deserters; she has pacified Upper Egypt and expelled her rebels.

SOURCE 6.6 Edwards, I., Gadd, C., Hammond, N., & Sollberger, E. (Eds.), 1973, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge University Press, Volume II, Part 1, p. 306

The language of Ahmose's Karnak stele strongly suggests that Queen Ahhotep led soldiers and successfully dealt with military threats to her son's rule. Egypt clearly accepted mothers who defended their

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children and queens who carried on ruling in their deceased husband's name. Hatshepsut's regency therefore should not be considered particularly unusual. However, at some point early in her regency (possibly as early as year two) she was crowned pharaoh and became a co-regent with Thutmose III. This dual rulership lasted until Hatshepsut's death twenty years later and well beyond the point at which Thutmose was old enough to assume outright control of Egypt.

Although the length of Hatshepsut's regency and rule was highly unusual, an inscription in the tomb of a noble, Ineni, who was overseer of the granaries of Amun-Re, shows that Hatshepsut's rule was accepted because it ensured stability. When describing Hatshepsut's co-regency, Ineni uses imagery of Egypt in terms of being a boat (bow-ropes and mooring stakes) and of Hatshepsut as being able to manage the boat skillfully. To modern audiences this is perhaps an odd image, but to the Nile-worshipping ancient Egyptians this would have been clear and reassuring.

An element of this desire for stability is in the throne name that she took, Maatkare, which links her name to Ma'at (the goddess of order):

> His son [Thutmose III] stood in his [that is, Thutmose II's] place as king of the Two Lands, having become ruler upon the throne of the one who begat him. His sister the Divine Consort, Hatshepsut, settled the [affairs] of the Two Lands by reason of her plans. Egypt was made to labour with bowed head for her, the excellent seed of the god, which came forth from him. The bow-rope of the South, the mooring stake of the Southerners; the excellent stern-rope of the Northland is she; the mistress of command, whose plans are excellent, who satisfies the Two Regions, when she speaks.

SOURCE 6.7 Ineni describes the king of two lands

Hatshepsut did not attempt to usurp Thutmose III's throne and install herself as sole ruler. There is significant evidence from the co-regency that shows both of them as pharaohs. However, Hatshepsut was always depicted as the dominant partner with only a single exception on the stele of Nakht from Sinai, dated year 20, where both appear on an equal footing making offerings to local gods. Occasionally on stelae beyond Egypt, in Nubia and Sinai, Thutmose III is represented alone which is likely due to his role in the military conquests of those regions. Private monuments often include both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III in inscriptions. The shrines at Gebel Silsilah belonging to nobles Minnakhte and Ahmose show both cartouches above the entrances. A statue of Ineni records that it was:

> made by the favour of the Good Goddess, mistress of the Two Lands [Ma'atkare/Hatshepsut], may she live and endure forever like Re! and of her brother, the Good God, master of the ritual Menkheperre [Thutmose Ill], given life like Re forever.

SOURCE 6.8 Inscription from a statue of Ineni

ACTIVITY 6.1

1. Conduct initial research into the New Kingdom of Egypt and make a list of four to seven of its key characteristics.
2. Develop a timeline that includes the dynasties of New Kingdom of Egypt.
3. Conduct research into Hatshepsut's family tree and comment on why and how her family and marriage connections strengthened her claim to power.
4. Make a list of the circumstances in which female rulership was acceptable to the ancient Egyptians.
5. Suggest reasons why it was not acceptable for Hatshepsut to take sole control over ancient Egypt.

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6.2 The nature of pharaonic power in ancient Egypt

A brief history of pharaohs and what they meant to the ancient Egyptians is described in the extract below by the modern historian. Joshua J. Mark. Mark is a freelance writer and former part-time Professor of Philosophy at Marist College, New York.

The Pharaoh in ancient Egypt was the political and religious leader of the people and held the titles Lord of the Two Lands and High Priest of Every Temple. The word pharaoh is the Greek form of the Egyptian *pero* or *per-a-a*, which was the designation for the royal residence and means Great House. The name of the residence became associated with the ruler and, in time, was used exclusively for the leader of the people. The early monarchs of Egypt were not known as pharaohs but as kings. The honorific title of pharaoh for a ruler did not appear until the period known as the New Kingdom [1550–1069 BCE]. Monarchs of the dynasties before the New Kingdom were addressed as 'your majesty' by foreign dignitaries and members of the court and as 'brother' by foreign rulers; both practices would continue after the king of Egypt came to be known as a pharaoh.

In c. 3000 BCE the 1st Dynasty appeared in Egypt with the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt by the king Menes (now believed to be Narmer). Menes/Narmer is depicted on inscriptions wearing the two crowns of Egypt, signifying unification, and his reign was thought to be in accordance with the will of the gods; but the office of the king itself was not associated with the divine until later. During the 2nd Dynasty of Egypt [c. 2890–2686 BCE] King Raneb (also known as Nebra) linked his name with the divine and his reign with the will of the gods. Following Raneb, the rulers of the later dynasties were equated with the gods, and with the duties and obligations due those gods. As supreme ruler of the people, the pharaoh was considered a god on Earth, the intermediary between the gods and the people, and when he died, he was thought to become Osiris, the god of the dead. As such, in his role of High Priest of Every Temple, it was the pharaoh's duty to build great temples and monuments celebrating his own achievements and paying homage to the gods of the land. Additionally, the pharaoh would officiate at religious ceremonies, choose the sites of temples and decree what work would be done (although he could not choose priests and very rarely took part in the design of a temple). As Lord of the Two Lands the pharaoh made the laws, owned all the land in Egypt, collected taxes, and made war or defended the country against aggression. The rulers of Egypt were usually the sons or declared heirs of the preceding pharaoh, born of the Great Wife (pharaoh's chief consort) or sometimes a lesser-ranked wife whom the pharaoh favored. Early on, the rulers married female aristocrats in an effort to establish the legitimacy of their dynasty by linking it to the upper classes of Memphis, which was then Egypt's capital. This practice may have begun with the first king, Narmer, who established Memphis as his capital and married the princess Neithhotep of the older city of Naqada to consolidate his rule, and link his new city to Naqada and his home city of Thinis. To keep the blood line pure, many pharaohs married their sisters or half-sisters and Pharaoh Akhenaten married his own daughters.

The chief responsibility of the pharaoh was to maintain Ma'at, universal harmony, in the country. The goddess Ma'at (pronounced *may-et* or *my-eht*) was thought to work her will through the pharaoh but it was up to the individual ruler to interpret the goddess's will correctly and to then act on it. Accordingly, warfare was an essential aspect of the rule of pharaoh, especially when it was seen as necessary for the restoration of balance and harmony in the land (as the *Poem of Pentaur*, written by the scribes of Rameses II the Great, on his valor at the Battle of Kadesh attests). The pharaoh had a sacred duty to defend the borders of the land, but also to attack neighboring countries for natural resources if it was thought that this was in the interest of harmony.

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By the 3rd Dynasty King Djoser commanded enough wealth, prestige and resources to have the Step Pyramid built as his eternal home. Designed by the vizier Imhotep, the Step Pyramid was the tallest structure of its day and a very popular tourist attraction then as it is today. The pyramid was designed primarily as Djoser's final resting place but the splendor of the surrounding complex and great height of the pyramid were intended to honor not only Djoser but Egypt itself, and the prosperity of the land under his reign. Other 3rd Dynasty kings such as Sekhemkhet and Khaba built pyramids following Imhotep's design (the Buried Pyramid and the Layer Pyramid), and created a type of monument which would become synonymous with Egypt, even though the pyramid structure was used by many other cultures (notably the Maya, who had no contact at all with ancient Egypt). Old Kingdom monarchs [c. 2686–2160 BCE] then followed suit culminating in the Great Pyramid at Giza, immortalising Khufu, and making manifest the power and divine rule of the pharaoh in Egypt.

With the collapse of the Middle Kingdom in [1650] BCE, Egypt came to be ruled by the mysterious Semitic people known as the Hyksos. The Hyksos, however, emulated all the trappings of the Egyptian pharaohs and kept the customs alive until their kingdom was overthrown by the royal line of the Egyptian 17th Dynasty, which then gave rise to some of the most famous of the [later] pharaohs such as Rameses the Great and Amenhotep III. Although pharaohs were predominantly male, Queen Hatshepsut of the 18th Dynasty (also known as [Maatkare]) ruled successfully for over twenty years and, during her reign, Egypt prospered. Hatshepsut was responsible for more public works projects than any pharaoh save Rameses II, and her rule is marked by peace and affluence throughout the land. When Tuthmosis III came to power after her, he had her image removed from all her temples and monuments in an effort, it is speculated, to restore order to the land in that a woman should never have held the title of the pharaoh, and he feared her example might inspire other women to 'forget their place' in the sacred order and aspire to power the gods had reserved for males.

The prestige of the pharaoh waned considerably after the defeat of the Egyptians by the Persians at the Battle of Pelusium in 525 BCE and, still further, after the conquests of Alexander the Great. By the time of the last pharaoh, the well-known Cleopatra VII Philopator of the Ptolemaic Dynasty, the title no longer held the power it once did, fewer monuments were erected and, with her death in 30 BCE, Egypt became a Roman province, and the glory and might of the pharaohs of old faded into memory.

SOURCE 6.9 Mark, J.J., 2 September, 2009, 'Pharaoh', *Ancient History Encyclopedia online*

ACTIVITY 6.2

1. Read the text extract in Source 6.9. In general, what were the main duties and responsibilities of the pharaoh?
2. Research the reign of Thutmose I, who was considered a 'model' of typical pharaonic rule. Use the following four areas as a guide to make notes on him as a:
   - warrior
   - builder
   - administrator
   - religious leader.

(continued)

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ACTIVITY 6.2 continued

3. As extension work, research the reign of Hatshepsut and compare her reign to the model of typical pharaonic rule provided by Thutmose I. Use the following four areas as a guide for comparison:

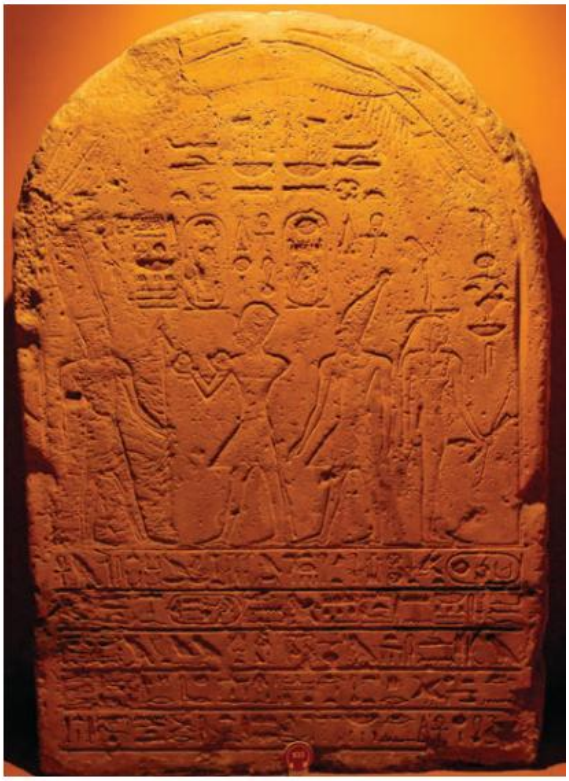
- warrior
- administrator
- builder
- religious leader.

ACTIVITY 6.3

1. Consider the Source 6.10.

a. Suggest why Hatshepsut and Thutmose III are depicted at a similar size, and why each is wearing one of the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt.

b. Suggest initial reasons for Hatshepsut not taking sole control over Egypt.



SOURCE 6.10 Dual stele of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

Objective 2: Devise historical questions and conduct research in relation to an ancient personality

Once Hatshepsut became regent and then co-regent she needed to ensure these moves were perceived as valid and legitimate. The key questions that drive this aspect of the investigation forward are:

- How did Hatshepsut legitimise her rule?
- Many images of Hatshepsut are masculine. Why did she portray herself in this way?
- What role did the priests of Amun-Re play in securing Hatshepsut's power?

6.3 Legitimising Hatshepsut's rule

A key element of Hatshepsut's method of legitimising her rule was to claim to be the daughter of the god Amun-Re as well as the named heir to her father Thutmose I. Being the child of a god was a common claim for male pharaohs who usually linked themselves to the sun god Re. When Hatshepsut assumed the throne of the Two Lands, it was clear that New Kingdom pharaohs were supposed to act in accordance with the worship of Amun-Re. The support of the state cult of Amun-Re was essential to stability, and the continued program of building works in honour of the god was an important element of each pharaoh's reign. The priests of Amun-Re played a dominant role in both the religious and bureaucratic elements of Hatshepsut's reign.

Evidence for Hatshepsut's claims to divine birth are found at the Deir el-Bahri temple complex but only in a fragmentary manner due to the later destruction of her works. Throughout the reliefs she is shown as a young man and described in both male and female language. Although some historians claimed that Hatshepsut attempted to hide her femininity, this seems unlikely due to the female representations of her at Deir el-Bahri. It is more likely that she was drawing on the highly traditional elements of pharaonic rule, which was strongly masculine, to help promote her right to rule.

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The divine birth

The following two descriptions of the divine birth are from archaeologist James Breasted's 1902 translation of written records of Egypt.

In the first scene the god Amun, in the shape of her husband Thutmose I, sits opposite Queen Ahmose and gives her the *ankh* (the symbol of eternal life).

He (Amun) made his appearance like the majesty of her husband, the king Okheper-kere (Thutmose I). He found her as she slept in the beauty of her palace. She waked at the fragrance of the god, which she smelled in the presence of his majesty. He went to her immediately ... he imposed his desire upon her, he caused that she should see him in his form of a god. When he came before her, she rejoiced at the sight of his beauty, his love passed into her limbs, which the fragrance of the god flooded; all his odours were from Punt. Queen Ahmose replies: 'How great is your fame! It is splendid to see your front; you have united my majesty with your favours, your dew is in all my limbs'. After this, the majesty of this god did all that he desired with her.

Amun: 'Khnemet-Amun-Hatshepsut shall be the name of this, my daughter, whom I have placed in your body ... she shall exercise the excellent kingship in this whole land. My soul is hers, my bounty is hers, my crown is hers, that she may rule the Two Lands.'

SOURCE 6.11 Breasted, J., 1962, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. 2. New York, Russell & Russell, pp. 80–81

The next scene shows Amun calling on Khnum, the ram-headed creator god, after leaving the queen. Khnum will shape the child and her *ka*. Khnum tells Amun: I will shape for you your daughter (Hatshepsut) ... Her form shall be more exalted than the gods, in her great dignity of King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Queen Ahmose is seated on the throne, holding the child in her arms. Nurses and midwives are in front of her. Behind are goddesses offering the signs of life. The gods present all utter the conventional promises of long life and a long reign. Hatshepsut and her *ka* are later presented to the gods. They are held by Amun and Thoth. Later Anubis promises the queen 'all lands, all countries, all inhabitants of Egypt, all strangers, all future and all past generations.'

SOURCE 6.12 Breasted, J., 1962, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. 2., Russell & Russell, pp. 81–82

The coronation scenes

While the divine birth scenes are quite typical for demonstrating connections to the gods, Hatshepsut's coronation scenes in the middle colonnade of Deir el-Bahri are controversial. She presents a version of history in which her father, Thutmose I, selected her as the official heir and made her king. This story completely erases her half-brother and husband Thutmose II's rule as pharaoh. The Canadian historian Donald Redford argues it is possible that Hatshepsut was presented to the nobility as a potential successor by her father Thutmose I. The coronation scene portrays Hatshepsut as male, yet the language used is both masculine and feminine. After purification, Hatshepsut (masculine), is displayed to the gods of the south and the north. Amun-Re is shown seated with Hatshepsut standing on his knees. The text states:

As this your daughter Hatshepsut is living, we give her life and peace, for she is your daughter of your form, the perfect one whom you have begotten ... When she was still in the womb of her mother, all lands and countries were in her possession, all that is covered by the sky and surrounded by the sea. You have granted her the possession of all this.

SOURCE 6.13 Inscription at the coronation scene, Temple of Deir el Bahar

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ACTIVITY 6.4

1. After reading through Sources 6.11–6.13 above, what answers can you suggest to the following questions:
   - **a.** Suggest reasons for Hatshepsut claiming to be the child of Amun-Re rather than Thutmose I.
   - **b.** Analyse the messages implied in Source 6.12.
   - **c.** In the coronation scene, Hatshepsut erases her husband Thutmose II from history; suggest reasons for this.
   - **d.** Why does Hatshepsut represent herself as a male in many of these inscriptions?
   - **e.** Consider the image of Hatshepsut as Osiris (god of the afterlife). Why would Hatshepsut be depicted as this god?
   - **f.** Consider the statue of Hatshepsut as a Sphinx. What are the political and religious messages associated with this representation?

6.4 Representation as male

Hatsheput's statuary showed her in all her royal grandeur in the forefront with Thutmose III rendered on a smaller scale behind or below her to indicate his lower status. She still referred to her stepson as the king, but he was so in name only. Hatshepsut clearly felt she had as much right to rule Egypt as any man and her depiction in art stressed this.

Present-day historians Bob Brier and Hoyt Hobbs discuss Hatshepsut's male garb:

> Her male garb was not intended to fool the citizens into believing their pharaoh was male. Statues unequivocally portray a female, whose sex, in any case, would have been obvious to any Egyptian from her name, 'She is First among Noble Women'. Rather than denying her femininity, she was proclaiming that she was also a pharaoh, an office that traditionally had been held by a man.

SOURCE 6.14 Brier, B. & Hobbs, H., 2013, *Ancient Egypt: Everyday Life in the Land of the Nile*, Sterling, p. 21

Historian Van de Mieroop argues:

> Whereas she had been represented as a woman in earlier statues and relief sculptures, after her coronation as king she appeared with male dress and gradually became represented with male physique. Her breasts did not show, and she stood in a traditional man's posture rather than a woman's. Some reliefs were even re-carved to adjust her representation to appear more like a man.

SOURCE 6.15 Van de Mieroop, M., 2011, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Wiley-Blackwell, p. 172

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SOURCE 6.16 and **SOURCE 6.17** Two representations of Hatshepsut as the male god Osiris



SOURCE 6.18 Hatshepsut depicted as a powerful female sphinx yet still wearing the royal beard

ACTIVITY 6.5

1. Read and compare the arguments presented by Van de Mieroop and Brier and Hobbs below.
   a. Suggest why Hatshepsut was represented as the male god Osiris at her mortuary temple.
   b. Suggest why Hatshepsut was represented as a female Sphinx.
2. Find additional images and statues of Hatshepsut online. Arrange them chronologically and analyse the ways in which representation of Hatshepsut changed over time.

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6.5 Relationship with Amun-Re

There is an argument that Hatshepsut worked closely with the priests of Amun-Re in a symbiotic relationship in which both benefited. Hatshepsut's unusual length of co-regency was supported and normalised by the priests of Amun-Re. In the Punt reliefs in the Deir el-Bahari temple, there is an Inscription in the Temple of Karnak where Hatshepsut attributes her empire to Amun-Re:

> Amun, lord of Thebes; he caused that I should reign over the Black and the Red Land ... I have no enemy in any land, all countries are my subjects, he has made my boundary to the extremities of heaven, the circuit of the sun has laboured for me.

SOURCE 6.19 Inscription in the Temple of Karnak

Hatshepsut further stated that Amun-Re commanded that the great journey to Punt be made and that her major building projects be initiated. Hatshepsut dedicated the produce of Punt to Amun and ensured that great wealth flowed into the god's temple at Karnak.

In exchange, the priests of Amun-Re were lifted above all other priesthoods, gaining considerable power both in a religious sense and also in civil administration. The leading priest, Hapuseneb, was given the titles of Overseer of Prophets of Upper and Lower Egypt, Overseer of Temples, Overseer of Every Office of the Estate of Amun and Great Chief in Upper Egypt. Thus, Hapuseneb became the most powerful religious figure (after the pharaoh), and he held greater prestige and power than any other priest, and all other religious orders, in Egypt.

Hatshepsut was not the first New Kingdom ruler to leverage the priesthood of Amun-Re. Queen Ahmose-Nefertiri, wife of King Ahmose who founded the 18th Dynasty, used the title God's Wife of Amun. This title must have held significance because Hatshepsut used it during her regency and then passed the title to her daughter Nefuerure. Scenes from the Red Chapel at Karnak show that the role of God's Wife of Amun was significant in that the woman who held it played an important part in temple rituals. Interestingly, Thutmose III continued to have strong connections with the priests of Amun-Re when he laid claim to the throne by stating that he had been 'chosen by the god Amun'.



SOURCE 6.20 Obelisk scene – the god Amun-Re crowning Hatshepsut

ACTIVITY 6.6

Read the above information on Hatshepsut's relationship to the priesthood of Amun-Re and respond to the following questions:

1. Why was Amun-Re such a significant god during the New Kingdom?
2. Explain the relationship between Hatshepsut and the priests of Amun-Re. Who benefitted and why?
3. How did Hatshepsut demonstrate her connection to Amun-Re to the people of Egypt?
4. Consider Source 6.20 and answer the following:
   a. What is the power relationship between Hatshepsut and Amun-Re?
   b. This image is carved into an obelisk (a solar symbol) which is the second largest of all Egyptian obelisks. What messages was Hatshepsut sending the people of Egypt?

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Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding of ancient personalities and their historical context

Hatshepsut ruled over Egypt successfully for many years, engaging in many building projects. Perhaps the most famous event during her rule was the trade expedition to Punt which she had immortalised in inscriptions. While Thutmose III's military campaigns are considered some of the most significant of the ancient world, there are many sources that suggest that Hatshepsut was active militarily also.

6.6 The administration of Egypt and building projects

Hatshepsut engaged in substantial building projects across Egypt. The building projects served multiple purposes, they employed a huge number of people, the temples demonstrated piety to the gods, and they promoted her name and image. That Hatshepsut's empire was able to sustain such a significant series of projects suggests that Egypt must have been both wealthy and stable during her rule.

On Hatshepsut's building projects, Egyptologist Ian Shaw writes:

> As ruler, Hatshepsut inaugurated building projects that far out-stripped those of her predecessors. The list of sites touched by Thutmose I and II was expanded in Upper Egypt to include places that the Ahmosid rulers had favoured: Kom Ombo, Nekhen (Hierakonopolis), and Elkab in particular, but also Armant and Elephantine ... However, no site received more attention from Hatshepsut than Thebes. The temple of Karnak grew once more under her supervision with the construction work being directed by a number of officials ... With the country evidently at peace during most of the twenty years of her reign, Hatshepsut was able to exploit the wealth of Egypt's natural resources, as well as those of Nubia. Gold flowed in from the eastern deserts and the south: the precious stone quarries were in operation, Bebel el-Silsila began to be worked in earnest for sandstone, cedar was imported from the Levant, and ebony came from Africa (by way of Punt, perhaps). In the inscriptions of the queen and her officials, the monuments and the materials used to make them were specifically detailed at some length. Clearly Hatshepsut was pleased with the amount and variety of luxury goods that she could acquire and donate in Amun's honour; so much so that she had a scene carved at Deir el-Bahri to show the quantity of exotic goods brought from Punt.

SOURCE 6.21 Shaw, I., 2016, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford University Press, p. 229

6.7 Economy and trade

Some evidence of Hatshepsut's rule has survived in Hatshepsut's temple at Speos Artemidos. Much of the inscription was damaged and we are left with only fragmented remains:

> I [Hatshepsut] am ... whom [Amun-Re] predestined when he founded the lands ... the Black Land and the Red Land being subject to the dread for me, and my might causing the foreign countries to bow down, for the *uraeus* [serpent] that is upon my brow tranquillises for me all lands. Roshawet and Iuu [foreign lands] have not remained hidden from my august person and Pwenent overflows for me on the fields, its trees bearing fresh myrrh. The roads that were blocked on both sides are [now] trodden. My army, which was unequipped, has become possessed of riches since I arose as

(continued)

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king. The temple of the Lady of Cusae, which was fallen into dissolution, the earth had swallowed up its noble sanctuary, and children danced upon its roof. The titulary serpent goddess a frighted not, and men of low station accounted ... as crookedness [?], its appointed festivals not being celebrated. I hallowed it, built anew, and I sculpted her sacred image of gold to protect her city in a bark of land-procession. Pakhet [a lion-goddess of the region] the great, who roams the valleys in the midst of the East ... there being no libationer who came [?] to pour water [?] – I made her temple worthy [?].

Listen, all you nobles, and common folk as many as you be, I have done these things by the device of my heart. I never slumbered as one forgetful, but have made strong what was decayed. I have raised up what was dismembered, [even] from the first time when the Asiatics were in Avaris of the North Land, [with] roving hordes in the midst of them overthrowing what had been made; they ruled with [Amun-Re], and he acted not by divine command [?] down to my august self, I being firm established on the thrones of [Amun-Re]. I was foretold for a [future] period of years as a born conqueror. [And now] I am come as the sole one of Horus darting fire against my enemies. I have banished the abomination of the gods, and the earth has removed their foot-[prints]. Such has been the guiding rule of the father of [my fathers] who came at his [appointed] times, even [Amun-Re]; and there shall never be the destruction of what Amun has commanded. My command stands firm like the mountains and the sun's disk shines and spreads rays over the titulary of my august person, and my falcon rises high above the kingly banner into all eternity.

SOURCE 6.22 Inscription at Speos Artemidos

Edouard Naville's commentary and summary below of the inscriptions in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari relate details about the expedition to the land of Punt.

As well as emphasising that she was developing Egypt internally, Hatshepsut took great pride in the trading expedition she sent to Punt. She obviously regarded it as one of her major accomplishments, carved as it was on the middle colonnade walls at Deir el-Bahari, opposite the scenes of the divine birth. This expedition probably opened up trade between Egypt and inner Africa. Contact was made for trade purposes, not for conquest. It is not known precisely where Punt was located but it was somewhere on the coast of Africa close to the Red Sea, perhaps present-day Somali.

In the late nineteenth century, the Swiss Egyptologist Edouard Naville published a six-volume analysis of the inscriptions that Hatshepsut had carved to honour the expedition to Punt. Below is his analysis of those inscriptions, however, you will need to be mindful that much of the inscription was damaged.

Unloading the ships

In the next panel, five Egyptian ships arrive in Punt. The first two have already moored. Bags and large jars are being unloaded from the first ship.

...the landing happily in the land of Punt by the soldiers of the king, according to the prescription of the lord of the gods, Amun, lord of the thrones of the two lands in order to bring the precious products of the whole land.

Here Nehasi, Hatshepsut's messenger, has landed, escorted by an officer and eight soldiers. On a small table [he has] placed presents. The landing of the royal messenger of the Divine Land, with the soldier accompany[ing] him, in [the] presence of [the] chiefs of Punt, to bring all good from the sovereign ... to Hathor, Lady of Punt, in order that she grant life, strength and health to [her] Majesty.

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Loading the ships

The upper register, damaged, shows Puntites and Egyptians carrying incense trees in pots towards the ships to be later planted in the garden of [Amun]. One inscription says that thirty-one trees were taken to Thebes. Some damaged scenes [show] Egyptians cutting down ebony and carrying them to the ship.

The Egyptian boats are there, at Punt. Already on board are incense and gold, ebony, elephant tusks, panther skins, monkeys, and, several frankincense trees.

The loading of the cargo-boats with great quantities of products of the land of Punt, with all the good woods of the Divine Land, heaps of gum of anti (incense), and trees of green anti, with ebony, with pure ivory, with green (pure) gold of the land of Amu, with cinnamon wood, khesit wood, with balsam, resin, antimony, with cynocephali (baboons), monkeys, greyhounds, with skins of panthers of the south, with inhabitants of the country and their children. Never were brought such things to any king, since the world was.

The Egyptian ships leave Punt

The navigation, the arrival in peace, the landing at Thebes with joy by the soldiers of the king; with them are the chief of this land, they bring such things as never were brought to any king, in products of the land of Punt, through the great power of this venerable god [Amun-Re], the lord of the thrones of the two lands.

Arrival at Thebes

The ships land at Thebes in the presence of the queen. A long line of people march towards her. Puntites carry ebony and drive cattle. Egyptians carry the frankincense trees. Other goods include amphoras, baskets and a baboon. [Bowing] down before (Hatshepsut) by the chiefs of Punt ... the Anti of Nubia of Khenthennofer, all lands ... stooping, bringing their goods in the place where is her Majesty ... roads which never had been trodden by others ... as was ordered by her father, who put all lands under her feet living eternally.

Dedication to [Amun]

Hatshepsut dedicates the best produce of Punt to [Amun]. She stands, wearing the Osirian *atef* crown, and holding the insignia of royal power (the figure has been badly damaged). Behind her stands her *ka* [soul]. The king himself, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramaka (Hatshepsut) takes the good things of Punt, and the valuables of the Divine Land, presenting the gifts of the southern countries, the tributes of the vile Kush, the boxes (of gold and precious stones) of the land of the negroes to [Amun- Re], the lord of the throne of the two lands.

Frankincense trees were planted in the garden of [Amun] and these are shown, grown large enough for cattle to graze beneath them. Other goods shown beneath the branches of the trees include ivory and tortoise-shell.

Measuring the produce from Punt

The frankincense 'anti' was measured and gathered in heaps. Near the four workers shown above is the figure of the god Thoth, recording the quantity of the goods. These are heaps of green (fresh) anti, in great number; the measuring of green anti in great quantity to [Amun], the lord of the thrones of the two lands, from the marvels of the Land of Punt, and to good things of the Divine Land ... trees of green anti thirty-one, brought among the marvels of Punt to the Majesty of this god, [Amun- Re], the lord of the throne of the two lands; never was such things seen since the world was.

The produce of the southern countries is brought to [Amun] by the god Tetun of Nubia. Horus supervises the weighing of precious metals, using weights in the shape of bulls.

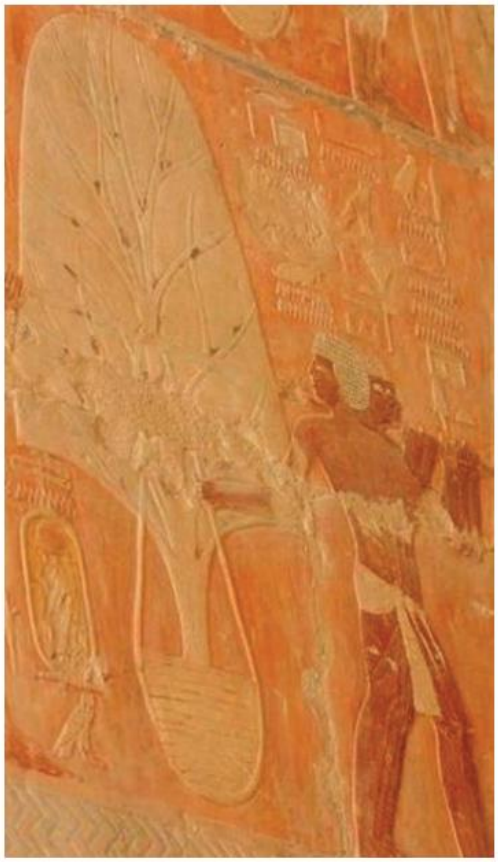
Thutmose III offers incense to the boat of [Amun]. [Amun] speaks to Hatshepsut:

(continued)

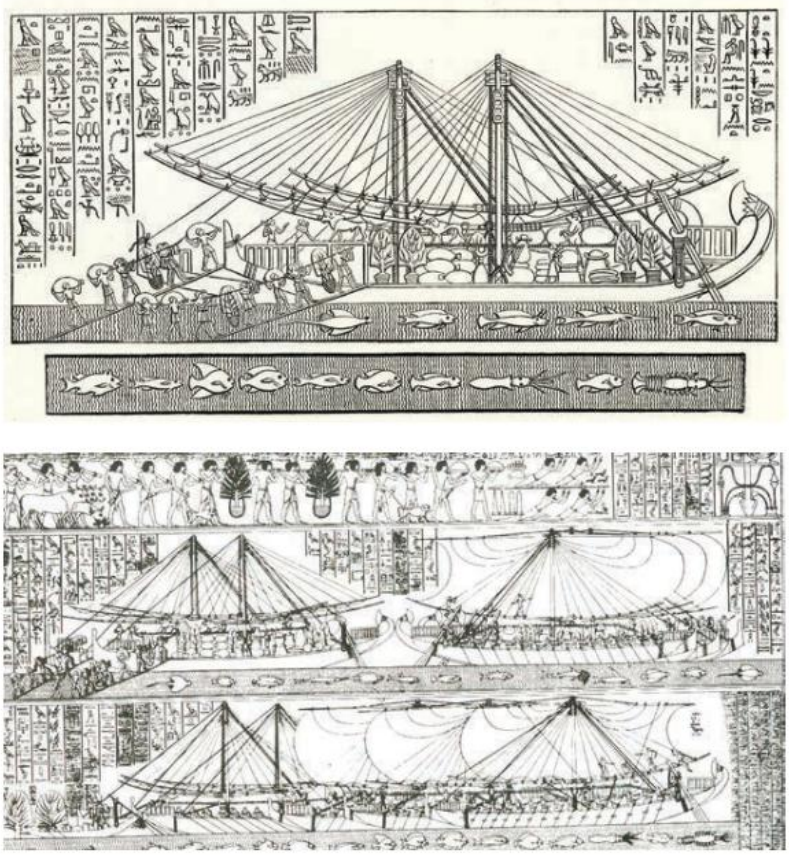
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She [Hatshepsut] has no enemies among the Southerners, and no opponents among the Northerners ... they come to her with a heart full of fear; their chiefs are bowing down, their presents are on their backs, they carry to her their children ... I will give thee Punt, the whole of it, as far as the Divine Lands. The Divine Land had never been explored; the harbours of incense had never been seen by the men of Egypt.

SOURCE 6.23 Naville, E., 1898, *The Temple at Deir el Bahari*, vol. 3, Egypt Exploration Society, pp. 5,15–18 quoted in



SOURCE 6.24 Workers returning with trees from the expedition to Punt



SOURCE 6.25 and **SOURCE 6.26** Inscriptions of Egyptian shipping

ACTIVITY 6.7

1. Analyse the above sources associated with Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt.
   - **a.** Why did Hatshepsut send an expedition to Punt?
   - **b.** What kinds of goods did the expedition acquire there?
   - **c.** Which groups and organisations benefitted most from the expedition?
   - **d.** In what ways did Hatshepsut benefit from the expedition?

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6.8 Warfare

This inscription on a relief of Hatshepsut and Tetun at Deir el-Bahari describes an attack against peoples of Upper Egypt:

> As was done by her victorious father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere [Thutmose I], who seized all lands had begun [?] an uproar, those who are in ... a slaughter was made among them, the number [of dead] being unknown; their hands were cut off ... she overthrew ... the gods ... 'she has destroyed the southern lands' ... 'all lands are beneath her feet'.

SOURCE 6.27 Inscription on relief of Hatshepsut and Tetun

On the mortuary statue of the noble Enebni, there is a brief mention of two campaigns undertaken by Thutmose III during the time Hatshepsut was also pharaoh:

> The follower of his lord on his journeys in the south country and the north country, the King's son, chief of the archers, master of the royal weapons, Enebni.

SOURCE 6.28 Inscription on the mortuary statue of Enebni

Elsewhere on this statue, Thutmose III is referred to as 'her brother'.

Hatshepsut had a temple built at Sehel and in that temple there is a tiny inscription by a noble named Ty. In this inscription Ty claims to be 'the hereditary prince and governor, treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend, chief treasurer, the one concerned with the booty Ty' and says:

> I followed the good god, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ma-ka-re [Hatshepsut], given life. I saw him overthrowing the [Nubian] nomads, their chiefs being brought to him as prisoners. I saw him destroying the Land of Nubia, while I was in the following of his Majesty.

SOURCE 6.29 Inscription at Sehel

A stele by the nobleman Djehuty at Dra' Abu el-Naga says that he saw the queen on the battlefield collecting booty (valuables):

> I saw the collection of booty by this mighty ruler from the vile Kush, who are deemed cowards, the female sovereign, given life, prosperity and health forever.

SOURCE 6.30 Inscription on the stele by the nobleman Djehuty at Dra abu el-Naga

Pakhet was a lioness-headed goddess of warfare. In one of the temples constructed during Hatshepsut's reign, Pakhet gives a speech in which she describes Hatshepsut in a very traditional warlike manner:

> O my beloved daughter, Mistress of the Two Lands, Mistress of the Ritual, Makere [Hatshepsut]. I give you all strength, all might, all lands and every hill country crushed beneath your sandals like Re.

SOURCE 6.31 Speech of Pakhet

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This inscription, observing Hatshepsut's governmental and military excellence, is from two broken limestone blocks at Karnak which had been re-used in the third pylon:

> [Hatshepsut] who makes excellent laws and divine plans, who comes forth from the god, who commands what happens ... [the Asiatic] being in fear and the land of Nubia in submission.

SOURCE 6.32 Broken blocks at Karnak

In this coronation text is a prophecy supposedly made when Hatshepsut was a child:

> You strike with your sword, you smite with your mace the Nubians, you cut the heads off their soldiers, you take hold of the chiefs of the Retenu through your blows instead of your father; your tributes are men by millions, prisoners of your sword.

SOURCE 6.33 The coronation text at Deir el-Bahari

This text at Deir el-Bahari underscores Hatshepsut as protector of Egypt against any foreign rebels:

> She has no enemies among the Southerners and no opponents among the Northerners ... They come to with a heart full of fear... bowing down; their presents are their backs; they carry to her the children.

SOURCE 6.34 Punt relief at Deir el Bahari

Nineteenth-century archaeologist Naville wrote during his excavation of Deir el-Bahari:

> The fragments of inscriptions found in the course of the excavations at Deir el-Bahari show that during Hatshepsut's reign wars were waged against the Ethiopians, and probably also against the Asiatics. Among these wars that which the queen considered the most glorious, and which she desired to be recorded on the walls of the temple erected as a memorial of her high deeds, was the campaign against the nations of the Upper Nile.

SOURCE 6.35 Naville, E., 1898, *The Temple at Deir el Bahari*, vol. 3, Egypt Exploration Society, pp.15–18

ACTIVITY 6.8

Although there is only scattered evidence for Hatshepsut's role as a leader of Egypt's armies, fragmentary evidence points to several military campaigns led by her. After analysing the primary source (Source 6.27–6.35) complete these exercises and questions.

1. Make a list of the places Hatshepsut claims to have engaged in wars with.
2. How successful was Hatshepsut as a military leader?
3. What role did Hatshepsut play in these battles?
4. What role did Thutmose III play in these battles?
5. Suggest reasons why Hatshepsut allowed Thutmose III to lead an army.
6. Many early historians ignored the evidence for Hatshepsut's military command. Consider why this might be.

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SOURCE 6.36 Inscription at Luxor

Redford argues that that there could have been four more campaigns waged during Hatshepsut and Thutmose Ill's reign that we lack direct evidence for. Many of the details of these campaigns can be pieced together.

- a campaign against Nubia led Hatshepsut, probably early in her reign, to quell the rebellion that almost inevitably followed the coronation of a new pharaoh
- small-scale wars in Syria, perhaps led by one of her generals
- the capture of Gaza by Thutmose III – within a few months of Hatshepsut's death, Thutmose III led the army on a campaign into Syria. From inscriptions at the time it is clear that Thutmose III must have captured Gaza previously when both he and Hatshepsut were ruling.
- a campaign in Nubia led by Thutmose III shortly before Hatshepsut's death.

Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument in relation to ancient personalities and their historical context

6.9 The destruction of Hatshepsut's images

After Hatshepsut's death someone decided to remove much of the evidence of her life. Many of the temples and inscriptions were painstakingly chiseled out and her cartouche chipped away. However, the situation is complex because it appears that the destruction of her name did not begin until perhaps twenty years after her death. If Thutmose III was responsible, this raises the issue of why he waited so long to have his revenge.

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Moreover, the issue is complicated because not all of her imagery was destroyed. Why destroy some but not all?

The long held belief of historians is that Thutmose III deliberately attempted to erase Hatshepsut from memory to create an unbroken chain of pharaohs from Thutmose I to Thutmose II to Thutmose III. Early Egyptologists were very quick to assume this was an act of revenge. More modern analysis has instead focused on the timing and the nature of the destruction.

The majority of the surviving images come from Hatshepsut's monuments, notably the Red Chapel and her mortuary temple at Djeser-Djeseru. The inscriptions and images are told from her perspective in which she is the central figure. However, even in these locations she has included Thutmose III in powerful roles that show him as a ruler, as a military leader and one who is deeply connected to the gods. The modern arguments find fault with the notion that Hatshepsut was a usurper because she would not have included Thutmose III in the most important monuments of her life if she truly was trying to take his place.

ACTIVITY 6.9

There are many competing theories as to the nature of the destruction of Hatshepsut's images.

1. Consider the following sources and complete additional research to create a table that outlines these controversies. (Note: tables are a great way to synthesise information about historical complexities and controversies.)
2. After completing the table, which of the arguments do you think is most likely to be correct? Why?
3. Refer to the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 5* and use the table you have created to help you structure an answer on the following question: Why was there an attempt to erase the memory of Hatshepsut from history?

Refer to all the sources in your response, aim for a 400-word response. (Note: this activity is also an exercise in achieving the objectives of evaluation and synthesis.)

GO

The present-day historian Dorman argues:

> I think that people recognise now, because it happened so late in Thutmose III's reign, that it wasn't personal animosity ... For some reason, Thutmose III must have decided it was necessary to essentially rewrite the official record of Hatshepsut's kingship ... best erased to prevent the possibility of another powerful female ever inserting herself into the long line of Egyptian male kings ... Noteworthy also is that although Tuthmosis [Thutmose] III was responsible for this far-reaching program of alteration, it is only rarely that his own name is carved over Hatshepsut's. Rather in nearly every instance, he inserted the name of his father Tuthmosis II or grandfather Tuthmosis I ... the timing and short duration of the attack on Hatshepsut's image and name suggest that it was driven by concerns related to royal succession and ceased once Amenhotep II was securely enthroned.

SOURCE 6.37 Dorman, Peter F., 2006 'The Early Reign of Thutmose III: An Unorthodox Mantle of Coregency' in Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor (eds) *Thutmose III: A New Biography*

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SOURCE 6.38 Hatshepsut and Thutmose III as co-rulers at the Red Chapel



SOURCE 6.39 Chiseled out image of Hatshepsut as Pharaoh between the gods Horus and Thoth



SOURCE 6.40 A bas-relief of Hatshepsut as God's Wife in her mortuary temple, untouched

According to Redford:

> Here and there, in the dark recesses of a shrine or tomb where no plebeian eye could see, the queen's cartouche and figure were left intact ... which never vulgar eye would again behold, still conveyed for the king the warmth and awe of a divine presence ... This matriarchal streak is one of the most striking features of the early 18th Dynasty. The stubbornness and driving ambition of the queens could not help but precipitate a conflict with the males of the family, at least if the women persisted in grasping after what logically must have been their ultimate aspiration, vis-a-vis the crown.

SOURCE 6.41 Redford, D.B., 1967, *History and Chronology of the 18*th *Dynasty of Egypt*, University of Toronto Press, p. 65

The art historian Gae Robins has suggested that:

> as time went by, political expediency might have won over sentiment, and he [Thutmose III] might finally have agreed that all traces of the unnatural female king should be erased, since they did not conform to *ma'at*, the natural order of the world. It may be significant that the name and figure of Hatshepsut as queen were not attacked.

SOURCE 6.42 Robins, G.,1993, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, Harvard University Press, p.52

Another art historian, Ann Macy Roth also argued that the line of succession for Thutmose III's son Amenhotep II might have been clouded and problematic:

> The earlier kings of eighteenth dynasty had many daughters and their progeny were closely related to the founders of the dynasty than were Tuthmosis [Thutmose] III and his son. Kingship derived its religious authority from the direct succession of rulers from one generation to the next, from Osirus to Horus. By attacking images of Hatshepsut as king and thus magically denying her kingship, Tuthmosis III disposed of a legitimate alternative to the Tuthmoside line and facilitated his son's succession to the throne of Egypt. The fact the erasures seem to have suddenly stopped, perhaps on coronation of Amenhotep II, suggests that the motive for the erasure disappeared once his kingship was assured.

SOURCE 6.43 Macy Roth, A., cited in *Hatshepsut, from Queen to Pharaoh*, 2005, Roehrig, C.H., Dreyfus, R., Keller, C.A. (eds.), The Metropolitan Musseum of Art, Yale University Press

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Dr Tyldesley suggests a royal feud may have been the cause of the destruction:

It is undeniable that someone attacked Hatshepsut's monuments after her death. Archaeology indicates that the bulk of the vandalism occurred during Tuthmosis's reign. Why would he do this? At first it was imagined that this was the new king's immediate revenge against his stepmother; he was indeed cursing her with permanent death. The image of the young Tuthmosis seething with impotent rage as Hatshepsut ruled in his place is one which has attracted amateur psychologists for many years. However, it does not entirely fit with the known facts. Tuthmosis was to prove himself a calm and prudent general, a brave man not given to hasty or irrational actions. He did not start his solo reign with an assault on Hatshepsut's memory; indeed, he allowed her a traditional funeral, and waited until it was convenient to fit the desecration into his schedule. Some of the destruction was even carried out by his son, after his death, when most of those who remembered Hatshepsut had also died. It is a remote, rather than an immediate, attack. Furthermore the attack is not a thorough one. Enough remained of Hatshepsut to allow us to recreate her reign in some detail. Her tomb, the most obvious place to start the attack, still housed her name. Hatshepsut may have been erased from Egypt's official record, but she was never hated as Akhenaten 'The Great Criminal' would later be.

What can we conclude from this tangled tale? We should perhaps rethink our assumptions. Hatshepsut did not fear Tuthmosis; instead of killing him, she raised him as her successor. Tuthmosis may not have hated Hatshepsut. Initially he may even have been grateful to her, as she had protected his land while training him for greatness. But, as he grew older and looked back over his life, his perspective would shift. Would Egypt's most successful general, a stickler for tradition, have wished to be associated with a woman co-regent, even a woman as strong as Hatshepsut? By removing all obvious references to his co-ruler, Tuthmosis could incorporate her reign into his own. He would then become Egypt's greatest pharaoh; the only successor to Tuthmosis II. Hatshepsut would become the unfortunate victim, not of a personal attack, but of an impersonal attempt at retrospective political correctness. Tuthmosis set his masons to rewrite history. Their labours would last well into the reign of his successor, Amenhotep II, a king who could not remember Hatshepsut, and who had no reason to respect her memory. Meanwhile, hidden in the Valley of the Kings, Hatshepsut still rested in her coffin. Tuthmosis I had been taken from their joint tomb and re-buried, but she had been left alone. Tuthmosis knew that as long as her body survived, Hatshepsut was ensured eternal life.

SOURCE 6.44 Tyldesley, J., 17 February, 2011, 'Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis: a royal feud?', *BBC History*

Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about ancient personalities

6.10 Representations of Hatshepsut

Perhaps the most significant issue for contemporary historians studying Hatshepsut are the ways in which she is represented. Most historians focus on two key aspects of her rule – the legitimacy of her position and her gender. Early Egyptologists were usually quick to cast Hatshepsut as a wicked stepmother who stole the throne from the rightful ruler. However, over time, these interpretations have come under intense

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scrutiny as more evidence seems to suggest that although Hatshepsut was certainly ambitious she was also an intelligent ruler who shared power.

Some of the usual stereotypes include:

- an evil step-mother usurping the throne
- an overly power-hungry woman
- a loyal and dutiful daughter
- a wise and considerate ruler
- a visionary who possibly saw her own daughter as an option for succession.

Your task is to examine the following sources on Hatshepsut and reach your own conclusions about this ancient personality through completing the Activities at the end of this section.

The historians Steindorff and Seele assumed that Hatshepsut's rise would have deeply frustrated and angered Thutmose III. They quite passionately argue that Thutmose III:

> wreaked with full fury his vengeance on the departed ones who in life had thwarted his ambitions ... resolved that their memory should perish from the Earth ... replaced by those of Thutmose I, II and III ... It must have been much against his will that the energetic young Thutmose III watched from the sidelines the high-handed rule of the 'pharaoh' Hatshepsut and the chancellorship of the upstart Senenmut ... Thus about 1482 BC, she came to what we may well believe was an unnatural end.

SOURCE 6.45 George Steindorff and Keith Seele, 1942, *When Egypt Ruled the East*, University of Chicago Press, p. 46

Egyptologist and mystery author Barbara Mertz believed that:

> The land of Egypt trembled under the fury of [Thutmose's] wrath and the mute evidences of it still speak from the walls and from the tombs. His wholesale destruction of anything Hatshepsut had ever touched ... We are not satisfied with a tame and bloodless ending for the haughty spirit of Hatshepsut. I am personally, if illogically, convinced that Thutmose did away with Hatshepsut. It is highly probable that he did away with her mummy; no trace of it has ever been found ... Surely a collision was inevitable between the maturing strength and resentment of the young king and the waning powers of the queen.

SOURCE 6.46 Mertz, B., 2007, *Temples, Tombs and Hieroglyphs*, William Morrow Paperbacks, pp. 166–7

Alan Gardiner, a leading Egyptologist of the mid-twentieth century, wrote:

> Twice before in Egypt's earlier history a queen had usurped the kingship, but it was wholly a new departure for a female to pose and dress as a man ... [Hatshepsut] is depicted in masculine guise and taking precedence over [Thutmose] III, himself shown as a king, but only as a co-regent ... she flaunts a full titulary ... It is not to be imagined, however, that even a woman of the most virile character could have attained such a pinnacle of power without masculine support ... The reign of [Hatshepsut] had been barren of any military enterprise except an unimportant raid into Nubia ... It was not long before Thutmose III began to expunge her name where ever it was found.

SOURCE 6.47 Alan Gardiner, 1961, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford University Press, pp. 183–4

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SOURCE 6.48 One of Hatshepsut's Obelisks at Karnak showing her receiving Amun-Re's blessing

Peter Dorman, an Egyptologist particularly known for his work on the reign of Hatshepsut, pondered her motives.

> The motives for her gradual assumption of kingly power (and depiction) remain largely unknown. In view of the many intermediate iconographic stages Hatshepsut tried out over such a protracted period of time, it is hardly accurate to describe her actions as a usurpation or a power grab, with or without the help of a meddlesome coterie of supporters. Both Ineni's biography and Senenmut's graffito indicate that Hatshepsut was the effective ruler of Egypt from the death of her husband. The question was not the wielding of power but how to represent it in a public context. It is not impossible that Hatshepsut's experimentation with iconography was prompted by the necessity of effective rule during a prolonged regency, and that the strictures of functioning solely as a queen were inconsistent with that role.

SOURCE 6.49 Dorman, Peter F., 2001, 'Hatshepsut: Wicked stepmother or Joan of Arc?', *The Oriental Institute News and Notes*, 168 (Winter)

Nicholas Grimal, Professor of Egyptology at the Sorbonne also builds a case against Hatshepsut.

> Hatshepsut failed to produce a male heir ... In the second or third year of her regency, Hatshepsut abandoned the pretext and had herself crowned as king ... Officially Thutmose III was no longer her co-regent. In order to justify this usurpation, she effectively ignored Thutmose II by inventing a co-regency with her father, Thutmose I. She incorporated this fabrication into a group of texts and representations ... It seems that during her lifetime she faced less opposition than might have been

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expected, considering the fury with which her stepson later set out to erase her memory after her death. During her reign she relied upon a certain number of prominent figures of whom the foremost was a man called Senenmut ... Even in Senenmut's time there was spiteful gossip suggesting that he owed his good fortune to intimate relations with the queen ... Senenmut was a ubiquitous figure throughout the first three-quarters of Hatshepsut's reign, but he subsequently fell into disgrace for reasons that are not precisely known. It is thought that after the death of Neferure ... he may have embarked on an alliance with Thutmose III which led Hatshepsut to discard him ... This expedition [Punt], recounted in great detail on the walls of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple, represented the high point of a foreign policy that was limited to the exploitation of the Wadi Maghara mines in Sinai and the despatch of one military expedition into Nubia. When Thutmose III finally regained the throne in about 1458 BC he still had thirty-three years of rule ahead of him, in which he was to carry out a political programme that established Egypt as the undisputed master of Asia Minor and Nubia. During the reign of Hatshepsut, the only military actions were to consolidate the achievements of Tuthmosis I.

SOURCE 6.50 Grimal, N., 1992, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Wiley-Blackwell pp. 207–213

Egyptologist and archaeologist Donald Redford on Hatshepsut's 20-year reign:

The twenty-year reign, auspiciously inaugurated by Amun's oracle, was to be a unique break with the past. Far from conservative – how can a woman who proclaims herself king, thus violating all traditional norms of monarchy, be called conservative? – Hatshepsut showed herself to be an imaginative planner possessed of rather original taste ... Thutmose had no reason to hasten her death ... was motivated not so much by genuine hatred as by political necessity.

SOURCE 6.51 Redford, D.B., 1967, *History and Chronology of the 18th Dynasty of Egypt*, University of Toronto Press, p. 59



SOURCE 6.52 Hatshepsut with the god Hathor – Hatshepsut is partially chiseled out while Hathor remains untouched



SOURCE 6.53 Senenmut, Hatshepsut's advisor with Neferure, Hatshepsut's daughter

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ACTIVITY 6.10

1. Use the sources to complete the following table showing perspectives of the type of ruler Hatshepsut was.

Source	Perspective	Key quotes/evidence/ features	Comments
Source 6.45			
Source 6.46			
Source 6.47			
Source 6.48			
Source 6.49			
Source 6.50			
Source 6.51			
Source 6.52			
Source 6.53			

2. Which sources support each perspective? (List and link them.)
3. Complete additional research on each source's author (excluding the images). How might this information be helpful when evaluating which perspective may be the most historically accurate?

Objective 6: Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose in relation to ancient personalities

It should be clear that Hatshepsut's rule was complex in ancient times and became more complex as modern historians viewed her actions through their own contemporary lenses. Gaining a clear understanding of Hatshepsut's actions and motives is challenging but essential to studying her life.

6.11 Creating responses about Hatshepsut's actions and motives

Using the evidence provided in this chapter, in addition to your own knowledge, complete the following.

ACTIVITY 6.11

GO

As extension work, complete one or more of the following tasks. Refer to the *Historical Skills Toolkit*, especially the information on Objectives 2 and 6, to assist you.

1. Building upon the themes, concepts and issues explored in this chapter, respond to the following statement in a paragraph (of approximately 300 words):

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ACTIVITY 6.11 continued

> Egyptologists, normally the most dry and cautious of observers, have been only too happy to allow their own feelings to intervene in their telling of Hatshepsut's tale and, more particularly, in their interpretation of the motives underlying her deeds. These feelings have tended to coincide with the beliefs common to a generation.'

SOURCE 6.54 Tyldesley J., 2009, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, Penguin

2. Create an inquiry question with three historical sub-questions on the reign of Hatshepsut.
3. Conduct research on five modern historians who are experts on Hatshepsut and evaluate their points of view.
4. Organise your findings in an appropriate manner (table, chart, infographic, or video).
5. Write a detailed historical paragraph on Hatshepsut's motivations for ruling Egypt.

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

- Hatshepsut took control of Egypt as regent for the child Thutmose III. This was only supposed to last until Thutmose III came of age.
- Hatshepsut changed her regency to co-regency in which she shared power with Thutmose III for the rest of her life.
- To legitimise her rule, Hatshepsut used stories of a divine birth in which Amun-Re was her father rather than Thutmose I.
- Masculine and feminine images and titles are used for Hatshepsut. Scholars remain divided on the purpose of this.
- The expedition to Punt must have been incredibly important to Hatshepsut because it was so strongly commemorated.
- Thutmose III was treated well by Hatshepsut, given rulership opportunities, pictured alongside her with the gods and placed in charge of the military.
- After she died someone destroyed many of her images, but it is not clear:
  - who destroyed these
  - why they destroyed them
  - why the destruction was incomplete.
- The way Hatshepsut should be remembered has been contested by historians.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend
Explain why the Punt expedition was significant to Hatshepsut's rule.

Devise
Devise a series of research questions that focus on the role played by building programs in Hatshepsut's reign.

Analyse
Analyse the role that historians have played in changing the way Hatshepsut is remembered.

Synthesise
There are many different views on the destruction of Hatshepsut's images – create a chart that outlines the major arguments and the support for them.

Evaluate
Evaluate the legitimacy of Hatshepsut's claim to the throne.

Respond
Create a response to the argument that analysis of Hatshepsut's rule should only focus on how effective she was as a ruler.

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Assessment

Examination-style questions

1. What were the religious and political purposes of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri?
2. Analyse the relationship between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.
3. Evaluate the modern and ancient interpretations of Hatshepsut.

Investigation tasks

1. Analyse Hatshepsut's rise to power.
2. Assess the images of Hatshepsut and their purpose.
3. Explain the purpose and extent of Hatshepsut's building program.

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CHAPTER 7
Akhenaten

MICHAEL COCKS

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this contextual study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the historical and geographical background of Akhenaten and the time in which he lived.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about:
  - key archaeological and written sources for the period.
  - issues involved with the nature of evidence from the reign of Akhenaten.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to Akhenaten's personality and achievements.
- devise historical questions and conduct research.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding.
- synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - the various interpretations and representations of Akhenaten in primary sources.
  - the various interpretations and representations of Akhenaten presented in secondary sources and how these have differed over time.
  - changing ancient and modern perceptions of the achievements and legacy of Akhenaten.
- create a response that communicates meaning to suit purpose.

Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

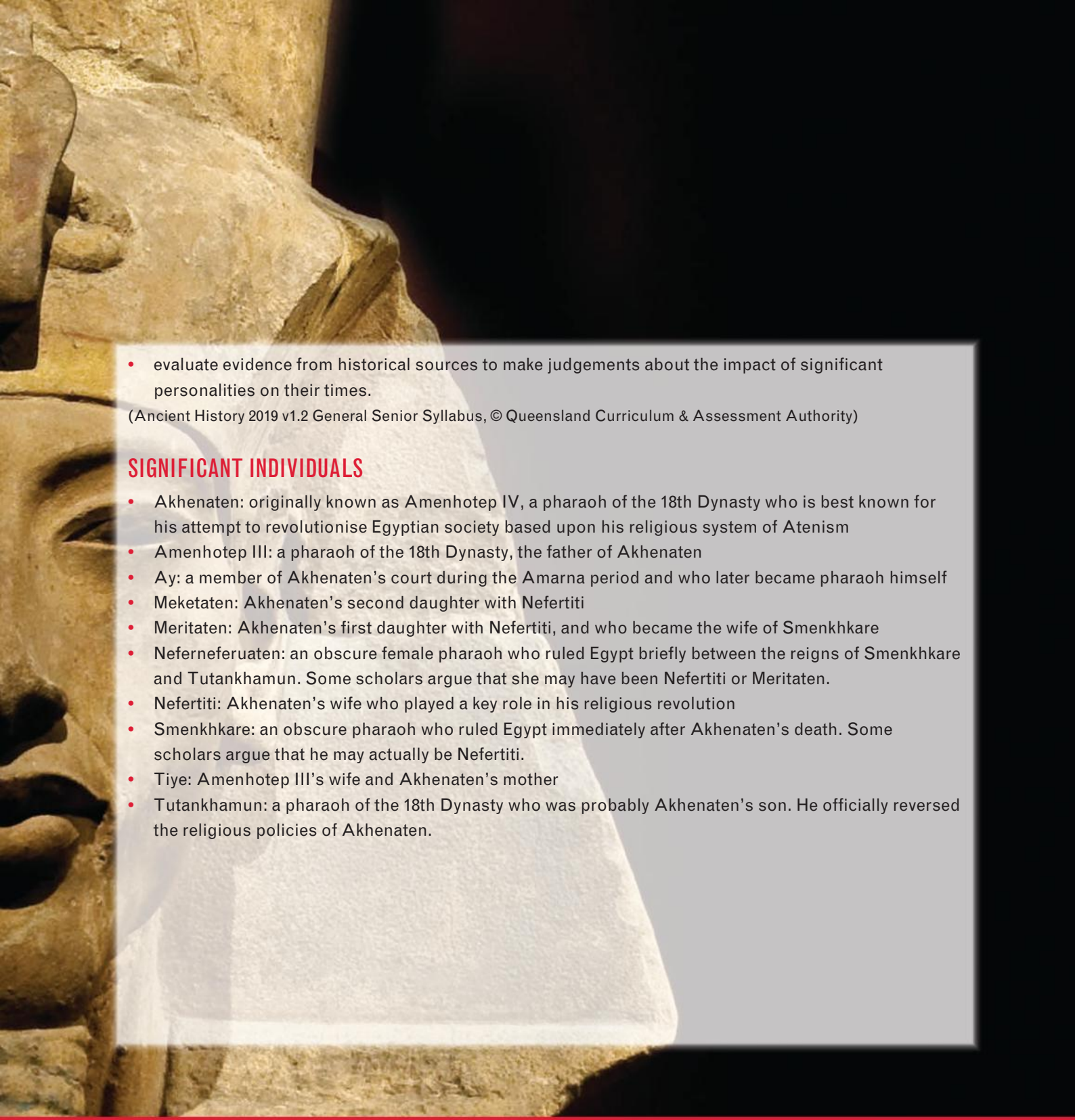
- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the aftermath of Akhenaten's reign.

KEY DATES

c. 1352 BCE	c. 1349 BCE	c. 1347 BCE	c. 1346 BCE	c. 1343 BCE
Amenhotep III dies and Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) becomes pharaoh	Amenhotep IV celebrates a Heb-Sed festival at Thebes, which was usually held in a pharaoh's 30th regnal year	Amenhotep IV adopts his new name, Akhenaten	Founds a new capital city at Akhetaten (Amarna)	The attempt to erase the Amun-Re cult occurs

SOURCE 7.1 A carved face representing the 'heretic pharaoh', Akhenaten

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- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about the impact of significant personalities on their times.

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SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

- Akhenaten: originally known as Amenhotep IV, a pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty who is best known for his attempt to revolutionise Egyptian society based upon his religious system of Atenism
- Amenhotep III: a pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty, the father of Akhenaten
- Ay: a member of Akhenaten's court during the Amarna period and who later became pharaoh himself
- Meketaten: Akhenaten's second daughter with Nefertiti
- Meritaten: Akhenaten's first daughter with Nefertiti, and who became the wife of Smenkhkare
- Neferneferuaten: an obscure female pharaoh who ruled Egypt briefly between the reigns of Smenkhkare and Tutankhamun. Some scholars argue that she may have been Nefertiti or Meritaten.
- Nefertiti: Akhenaten's wife who played a key role in his religious revolution
- Smenkhkare: an obscure pharaoh who ruled Egypt immediately after Akhenaten's death. Some scholars argue that he may actually be Nefertiti.
- Tiye: Amenhotep III's wife and Akhenaten's mother
- Tutankhamun: a pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty who was probably Akhenaten's son. He officially reversed the religious policies of Akhenaten.

c. 1340 BCE	c. 1335 BCE	c. 1334 BCE	c. 1332 BCE	c. 1330 BCE	c. 1319 BCE
Akhenaten holds a great ceremony where he receives foreign tribute	Akhenaten dies and Smenkhkare becomes pharaoh	Neferneferuaten becomes pharaoh	Tutankhamun becomes pharaoh	Tutankhamun overturns the religious revolutions of Akhenaten	Horemheb becomes pharaoh and attempts to erase the memory of Akhenaten and Atenism

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MAPS



SOURCE 7.2 The layout of Akhenaten's new capital city, Amarna is shown on the left. The map on the right shows Amarna's relative location on the Nile River.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

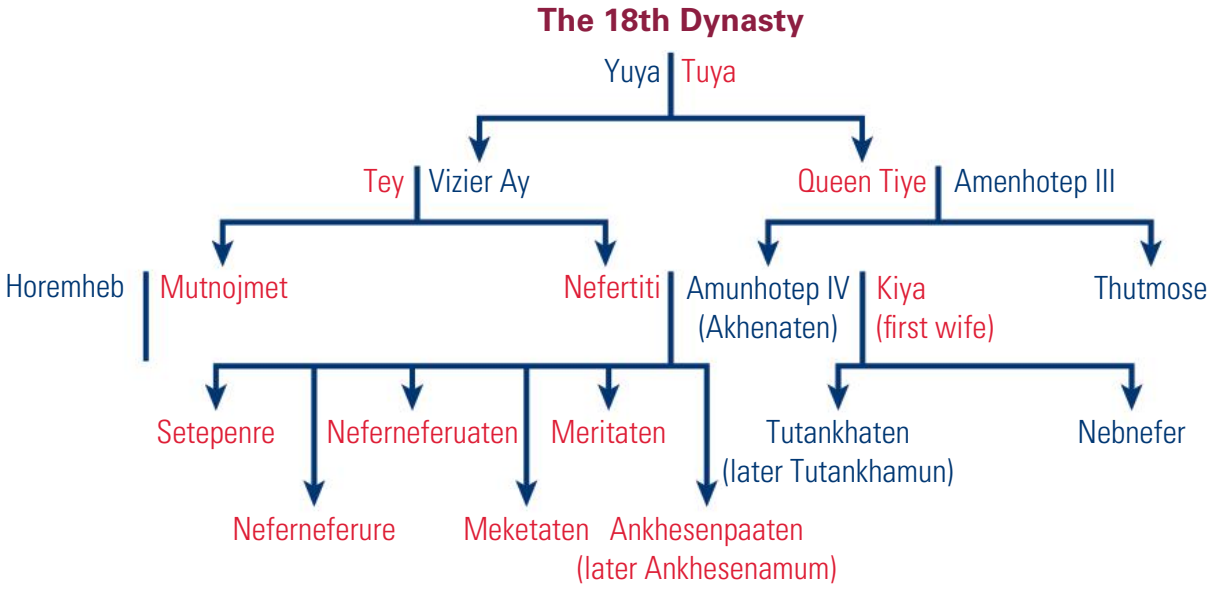
WORD	DEFINITION
Amarna	Akhenaten's new capital city, which was also called Akhetaten (meaning 'horizon of the Aten')
Amarna Letters	small clay tablets covered in cuneiform writing which were discovered in the ruins of Amarna. These tablets were official letters that were sent by rulers in Canaan and Syria to the Amarna period pharaohs.
Amun-Re	(also spelled Amun-Ra) the major god of Thebes who was designated as the king of the gods of the Egyptian pantheon during the New Kingdom era
Amarna period	the period of time when Akhenaten and his successors moved the capital city of Egypt to the new location of Amarna, roughly dated from c. 1350–1330 BCE
ankh	the Egyptian hieroglyph which symbolises life
Aten	the sole god of Akhenaten's religious revolution, depicted the sun as a round disc, often accompanied by rays of light in the form of arms, holding *ankh* symbols
Atenism	a modern name to describe Akhenaten's religious system which replaced the traditional Egyptian gods with one single divinity known as the 'Aten'
cult	a religious group focused on the worship of a particular god
heretic	a person holding a religious belief which is in direct conflict with the majority-held religious belief of the culture
hymn	a religious song that was addressed to a particular god or gods
monotheism	the religious belief that only one god exists and that other gods are either false or are manifestations of the one 'true' god
stele	(pl. stelae) an upright stone slab containing an inscription

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Introduction

Akhenaten was a pharaoh who ruled Egypt in the middle of the fourteenth century BCE during the 18th Dynasty. He is best known for his radical attempt to change Egyptian religion based upon his own revolutionary ideas. Due to this, he is often referred to as the 'heretic pharaoh'. During his 17 years in power, he abolished the traditional religious practices of ancient Egypt, created a brand-new capital city and sought to transform thousands of years of artistic conventions. While his attempted changes were practically all reversed after his death, his actions had long-term consequences for Egyptian society.

At the start of Akhenaten's rule as pharaoh, there was no clear indication that he was any different from the rulers that had proceeded him. Originally ruling under the name Amenhotep IV, Akhenaten took charge of an Egyptian empire that was at the height of its power and prestige. Egypt's dominant position was the direct result of the successful reigns of a series of competent pharaohs such as Thutmose III and Amenhotep III, who had expanded Egypt's borders south into Nubia and north into Canaan and Syria. Akhenaten was the son of Amenhotep III, and his mother was Amenhotep's Great Royal Wife, Tiye.



SOURCE 7.3 A potential reconstruction of Akhenaten's family tree, with males shown in blue and females in red. It must be noted that historians still disagree on the exact relationship of many members of the 18th Dynasty. What famous names do you recognise in this family tree?

During the reign of Akhenaten's father, Amenhotep III, the Egyptian royal court had been relocated from the city of Memphis in the north to Thebes in the south. While Memphis remained the administrative centre of the Egyptian empire, Thebes became the ceremonial and royal heart of Egypt. Akhenaten's selection as the heir to his father at this time is described by modern Egyptologist Toby Wilkinson below:

> Virtually nothing is known about the young prince Amenhotep who was destined to rule as Akhenaten. His elder brother, Thutmose, was the heir apparent; so, for the early years of his life, Amenhotep could have had no expectation of succeeding to the throne. Thutmose's premature death changed all that. Not only was Amenhotep the new crown prince, he was subsequently crowned at Karnak as his father's co-regent, Amenhotep IV, to smooth the succession when the old [pharaoh] died. The younger Amenhotep would have witnessed, perhaps even taken a formal part in, his father's dazzling jubilee celebrations at Thebes, involving boats covered in gold and electrum sailing in a specially constructed artificial harbour. The effect must have been mesmerising, and when Amenhotep IV became sole ruler, he seems to have resolved to outshine even his father.

SOURCE 7.4 Wilkinson, T., 2007, *Lives of the Ancient Egyptians*, Thames & Hudson, p. 192

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ACTIVITY 7.1

1. According to Source 7.4, why would the young Akhenaten have 'no expectation of succeeding to the throne' of Egypt?
2. What event meant that he became co-regent with his father, Amenhotep III?
3. According to this source, what effect did observing his father's jubilee celebrations have on Akhenaten?
4. Could there be reason to doubt Wilkinson's claims about how Akhenaten was feeling during his childhood? (Hint: How accurately can we know what another person is thinking?)

Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the ancient personalities and their times being studied

7.1 Akhenaten's personality and achievements



SOURCE 7.5 A statue of Akhenaten's father, Amenhotep III, and mother, Queen Tiye, at the Cairo Museum. What do the postures of the two figures suggest about their relationship to each other?

After the death of his father, Akhenaten became pharaoh at about the age of 17. During his first four years in power, he followed a typical path for a pharaoh, upholding the traditional religious, social and political policies of his predecessors. This was of no surprise, as Egyptian religion had existed for over a thousand years at that point and a complex theology had developed on how the various gods of Egypt looked and what role they played in the peoples' everyday lives. Egypt's religion, with its traditional gods, is summed up by mid-twentieth century Egyptologist Alan Gardiner:

> The Egyptian religion, as it had already persisted for well over 1500 years, resulted from the fusion of a large number of originally independent tribal cults. Every town had its own particular deity, sometimes manifested in a material fetish but more often in some animal shape; such were the cat-goddess Bast of Bubastis, the cobra-goddess Edjō of Butō ... the ibis Thoth of Merhopolis Magna ... or Wepwawe (Ophois) the jackal-god of Lycopolis ... As the pantheon gathered coherence, these animalic divinities were furnished with the bodies and limbs of ordinary mortals and credited with human attributes and activities. Their resulting double nature paved the way for two opposing tendencies. On the one hand the innate Egyptian conservatism, coupled with a keen local patriotism, militated against the suppression of individual difference

SOURCE 7.6 Gardiner, A.H., 1961, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford University Press, p. 214

ACTIVITY 7.2

1. By the time of Akhenaten, how old was the Egyptian religion?
2. According to the Source 7.6, how had the concept of the traditional Egyptian gods developed?
3. Due to the nature of how they developed, what features did the Egyptian gods have?

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After only a few years of rule, Akhenaten instituted a significant change in his religious policies. He began promoting a single god called the Aten instead of the various traditional gods, especially the powerful cult of the god Amun-Re of Thebes. Rather than being depicted as a half-animal half-human god as the traditional deities were, the Aten was represented as the sun itself: typically shown as a round disk in the sky. Shortly after this, Akhenaten then officially abolished all other gods and religious practices and, in their place, potentially created the first monotheistic religion in Egypt's history: Atenism.

The following extract describes Akhenaten's early reign in relation to his religious changes:

> The tension between the hidden creator Amun and the visible sun Aten as source of life found temporary and violent resolution in the reign of Amenhotep IV/[Akhenaten] with a new theology and corresponding innovations in art. The reign opens with the construction east of the Amun temple at Karnak of a new sanctuary to the sun-god. The god is depicted in traditional manner as a falcon, with human body so as to hold human attributes such as sceptres. In the third year the style of depiction of both [pharaoh] and god switches abruptly and without warning to a radically new art in which the sun-god is the solar sphere Aten alone, with its rays extended to give life to the [pharaoh] and his family, and the [pharaoh] becomes a grotesque figure with drawn features, female hips and slight torso but lacking genitalia. The name of the [pharaoh] changed from Amenhotep, 'Amun is content', to Akhenaten, 'of service to the Aten', and the word Amun was hacked out of every inscription in Egypt and Nubia, even at the tips of obelisks. The Aten was given the royal serpent or *uraeus* and a name written in two cartouches as if for a [pharaoh], reading 'Ra-Horakhty jubilant in the horizon, in his name as Shu who is in the Aten'.

SOURCE 7.7 Spencer, A.J., 2007, *The British Museum Book of Ancient Egypt*, British Museum Press, p. 99



SOURCE 7.8 Pre-heretical Akhenaten relief: temple relief with a depiction of the hawk-headed Aten with the sun-disc and the pharaoh Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten). Amenhotep IV Karnak temple relief. (c. 1350 BCE). Egyptian Museum of Berlin, Artefact No. AM 2072

ACTIVITY 7.3

1. According to Source 7.7, how did Akhenaten's artwork at the Karnak indicate that he was following the traditional Egyptian religion during his early years as pharaoh?
2. How did the artwork change in his third year of rule?
3. What did Amenhotep IV's old and new names mean? What do you think the pharaoh's reason was for choosing this new name?

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Even though Akhenaten's abrupt religious changes must have been a surprise to the Egyptians themselves, the pharaoh hadn't simply invented a brand-new god. Imagery and references to the Aten have been found in inscriptions during the time of Amenhotep III. It appears that Akhenaten simply developed the early ideas into a far more sophisticated form. Akhenaten's monotheism is described in this extract from Ian Shaw, an Egyptologist from the University of Liverpool.

> The name of the god could be shortened to 'the living sun-disc' or simply 'the sun-disc' (or, to use the Egyptian word, the Aten). The word itself was not new; it had previously been used to refer to the visible celestial body of the sun. During the reign of Amenhotep III this aspect of the sun-god had become increasingly important, especially in the later years of his reign. During the kin's sed-festivals, his deified self had been identified with the sun-disc and in several inscriptions, most clearly in one on the back pillar of a recently discovered statue, the [pharaoh] calls himself 'the dazzling Aten'. Originally this 'new' form of the sun-god was depicted in the traditional manner, as a man with a falcon's head surmounted by a sun-disc, but early in the reign of Amenhotep IV this iconography was abandoned in favour of a radically new way of depicting a god – as a disc with rays ending in hands that touch the [pharaoh] and his family, extending symbols of life and power towards them and receiving their offerings. Although the Aten clearly takes precedence over the other gods, he does not yet replace them entirely.

SOURCE 7.9 Shaw, I., 2004, *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford University Press, p. 268

ACTIVITY 7.4

1. How do Sources 7.7 to 7.9 corroborate one another regarding the early depictions of the Aten?
2. According to Shaw in Source 7.9, how had Amenhotep III used the concept of the Aten during his time in power?
3. When Akhenaten took over as pharaoh, how did he change the portrayal of the Aten?



SOURCE 7.10 A depiction of Akhenaten in the form of a sphinx worshipping the Aten . Why might Akhenaten have depicted himself as a sphinx in this image?

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Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding of ancient personalities and their historical context

Akhenaten's attempt to completely transform Egyptian society affected multiple facets of his empire. It appears that these changes focused predominantly on three areas: religion, politics and art. To try and understand what Akhenaten wanted to achieve with his reforms, it is necessary to explore these three areas of change in detail. This section of the chapter will explore the specific changes in religion, politics and art separately, but it must be noted that they are all interrelated. The new art forms were used in religious worship and the political reforms were justified in religious language. Likewise, the new theology of the Aten influenced artistic styles and courtiers used them to justify their political influence. As you read each of the three areas, keep in mind the ways that they would have worked in tandem with the other two.

7.2 Akhenaten's religious changes

Akhenaten's revolution seems to have been motivated primarily by his desire to transform the religious beliefs of Egypt. The main change introduced by Akhenaten was the attempt to remove all of the traditional gods of the Egyptian pantheon in favour of a single, all-powerful god, known as the Aten Shaw describes this in the following extract:

> Probably at the same time as [Akhenaten's] name change took place, the traditional gods were banned completely and a campaign was begun to remove their names and effigies (particularly those of Amun) from the monuments, a Herculean task that can only have been carried out with the support of the army. The traditional state temples were closed down and the cults of their gods came to a standstill. Perhaps most important of all, the religious festivals with their processions and public holidays were no longer celebrated either.

SOURCE 7.11 Shaw, I., 2004, *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford University Press, p. 270

ACTIVITY 7.5

1. According to Source 7.11, what did Akhenaten do to the traditional religious structures of Egypt when he decided to adopt Aten monotheism?
2. Why might Akhenaten have used the army to carry out his orders?

Once Akhenaten had removed the old gods, he replaced them with the sole god, the Aten. However, in the absence of the traditional gods and their religious festivals, Akhenaten had to provide new ways of worship for the people of Egypt. Festivals and processions were public events that occurred every year according to a religious calendar. Akhenaten sought to replace the old events with brand-new ones. Based upon the evidence that survives, it seems that Akhenaten himself had a personal hand in developing the new religious practices, perhaps even writing the new hymns for Atenism.



SOURCE 7.12 An artist's depiction of Akhenaten and his family at Amarna. What impression of Akhenaten and his family do you think this artist was trying to create?

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You shine forth in beauty on the horizon of heaven,
O living Orb, the creator of life!
When you rise on the eastern horizon,
You fill every land with your beauty
...
How manifold are your deeds,
Though hidden from sight,
Sole god, apart from whom there is no other!
You created the Earth according to your desire, when you were alone:
All people, cattle, and flocks,
All upon Earth that walk on legs,
All on high that fly with wings,
The foreign lands of the Levant and Kush,
The land of Egypt.
You put every man in his place;
You supply their needs.
Everyone has his food, and his allotted lifespan.
Their tongues differ in speech, their characters likewise.
Their skins are different, because you made the foreigners distinct
...
You are in my heart.
There is none other who knows you,
Only your son, [Akhenaten], Ra's only one,
You have informed him of your plans and your might.
Everyone who has passed by since you founded the Earth,
You have raised them for your son,
The one who has come from your body,
The Dual King who lives on Truth, the Lord of the Two Lands,
[Akhenaten], Ra's only one,
The son of Ra who lives on Truth, the lord of appearances,
Akhenaten, great in his lifetime;
And the King's Great Wife, whom he loves,
The Lady of the Two Lands,
[Nefertiti], living and youthful for ever and ever.

SOURCE 7.13 *Great Hymn to the Aten* (fourteenth century BCE) which was apparently written by Akhenaten

ACTIVITY 7.6

1. According to Source 7.13, what was the Aten responsible for creating?
2. Also according to the hymn, what special relationship did Akhenaten have to the Aten?
3. Since hymns were designed to be sung during religious events to be heard by the attendees of the festivals, what purpose would these words serve?
4. If this hymn was indeed written by Akhenaten himself, what message do you think he wanted to convey to the Egyptian people?

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In addition to replacing the many traditional Egyptian gods with the Aten, Akhenaten also transformed the role that the pharaoh himself played in the religious system. While pharaohs were always considered to have a special relationship with the many gods of the old religion, Akhenaten seems to have made his particular position in the religion even more important than it had been traditionally. This can be seen in the new architecture of the temple of the Aten, the design of which is described below.

> The most conspicuous difference between, on the one hand, the Aten temples both at Amarna and earlier on at Karnak, and, on the other hand, the traditional temples is that the former are open to the skies. A typical temple of the traditional type began with a pylon and an open peristyle court followed by a succession of further courts and rooms, which gradually became smaller and darker as the worshipper penetrated further into the building. In the innermost sanctuary the cult image of the god was kept in a shrine that for most of the time was in total darkness. Akhenaten's god was there for all to see, however, and no man-made cult image was, therefore, needed. The only statues to be found in Atenist temples are representations of Akhenaten and other members of the royal family. In the architecture of these temples a deliberate effort has been made to create as little shadow and darkness as possible ... Light was the most essential aspect of the Aten, who was a god of the light that emerged from the sun's disc and kept every living being alive in continuous creation.

SOURCE 7.14 Shaw, I., 2004, *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford University Press, pp. 275–6

ACTIVITY 7.7

1. What was new about the design of Akhenaten's Aten temple compared to the old temples?
2. Why was light such an important aspect of the new religion?
3. Why do you think Akhenaten would want statues of himself and his family in the temple of the Aten?



SOURCE 7.15 Sunrise over the ruins of the Aten Temple at Amarna. The columns in the distance are modern reconstructions

For centuries, temples were looked after by priests who served the gods on behalf of the Egyptian people and the pharaoh. However, in Akhenaten's new religion, the pharaoh alone became the main intermediary between the Aten and the people. Not only did this increase his personal religious influence, but it also changed how Egyptians were meant to worship and pray to the Aten, given Akhenaten's very intimate role in Atenism. Gardiner discusses this change:

> Akhenaten's own portrait was always very much in the centre of the [new religion], and the manner in which his cartouches are set side by side with those of the Aten show that he was by no means disinclined to claim a share in his divine father's divinity; indeed, one has sometimes the impression that this share approached complete identity ... the implication seems to be that the Aten and his godlike son started simultaneously upon a new phase of their common existence. It is significant also that while Akhenaten prayed to the Aten, his subjects just as often prayed to him ... It seems likely that Akhenaten's dogma never penetrated deeply into the consciousness of the masses. The workmen's village of el-Amarna has brought to light various traces of the older worship, amulets of the dwarf-like god Bes, the sacred eye of Horus and the like.

SOURCE 7.16 Gardiner, A.H., 1961, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford University Press, pp. 228–9

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ACTIVITY 7.8

1. According to Source 7.16, in what ways did Akhenaten try to equate himself with the god Aten itself?
2. What did Akhenaten want his subjects to think when they 'prayed to him'?
3. What evidence does the source provide to show that Atenism never successfully changed the religious practice of the commoners?

7.3 Akhenaten's political changes

One of the most profound changes that Akhenaten brought to Egypt was the creation of a new capital city, one that had not existed before. The pharaoh decided to move his entire royal court from the city of Thebes to a vacant plot of land where he founded his own new capital city called Akhetaten (also known as Amarna). The site of the new city was chosen because it had not been the site of any previous settlement and, by extension, was not claimed by any other god in Egypt's traditional pantheon. The site also provided easy access to rich agricultural land, which would supply the city's future population with food. In the following extract, Spencer describes the new location:

> In his sixth year the [pharaoh] abandoned the building projects at Thebes and founded a new city at Amarna on the east bank of the river in Middle Egypt, near Hermopolis the city of Thoth. The new city was called Akhetaten, 'the horizon of Aten', and the eastern edge of the city was marked by an arc of cliffs broken by the entrance to a desert valley at the exact centre of the arc. This dip allowed the sun to become visible at sunrise a fraction earlier at that point in the cliffs, forming the hieroglyph akhet, 'horizon', for the Aten 'solar sphere'. At the boundaries of the city territory Akhenaten had inscribed stelae to record his foundation and his promise that he would never pass by its boundaries; since the [pharaoh] did visit other parts of the country, 'pass by' must refer to his day of burial, and indeed the wadi at the centre of the cliffs leads round to the tomb of the royal family deep in the desert. The city lay along the edge of the fields, with the main temple and palace complexes at the halfway point in line with the dip in the cliffs. Palaces with garden pools stood at the northern and southern extremes of the city.

SOURCE 7.17 Spencer, A.J., 2007, *The British Museum Book of Ancient Egypt*, British Museum Press, p. 101

ACTIVITY 7.9

1. According to Source 7.17, why did Akhenaten choose the location next to a break in the cliffs to build a new capital city?
2. What did Akhenaten write on the stelae placed around the site of Amarna?
3. What buildings were constructed in the new capital city?



SOURCE 7.18 The site of Akhenaten's capital city, Amarna, the ruins of which can still be seen in the desert sands. Why might this part of the Nile have been selected by Akhenaten for his new capital city?

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Some of the stelae which Akhenaten had placed around the boundary of his new city have survived. Known as the 'boundary stelae', they are an important source for understanding the motivation for Akhenaten's transfer of the capital city from Thebes to Amarna. The words that appear on these inscriptions were official declarations and must have been personally approved by the pharaoh.

On this day, when [Akhenaten] was in Akhetaten, His Majesty [appeared] on the great chariot of electrum ... Setting [off] on a good road [toward] Akhetaten, His place of creation, which He made for Himself that He might set within it every day ... There was presented a great offering to the ... Aten, consisting of bread, beer, long- and short-horned cattle, calves, fowl, wine, fruits, incense, all kinds of fresh green plants, and everything good, in front of the mountain of Akhetaten

...

[The [pharaoh] addresses his gathered courtiers]

As the Aten is beheld, the Aten desires that there be made for him ... as a monument with an eternal and everlasting name. Now, it is the Aten, my father, who advised me concerning it, [namely] Akhetaten. No official has ever advised me concerning it, not any of the people who are in the entire land has ever advised me concerning it, to suggest making Akhetaten in this distant place. It was the Aten, my fath[er, who advised me] concerning it, so that it might be made for Him as Akhetaten ... Behold, it is Pharaoh who has discovered it: not being the property of a god, not being the property of a goddess, not being the property of a ruler, not being the property of a female ruler, not being the property of any people to lay claim to it.

SOURCE 7.19 Boundary stele of Akhenaten, c. 1349 BCE



SOURCE 7.20 Amarna boundary stele A. Each of the surviving stelae is designated a letter, this one is 'A'

ACTIVITY 7.10

1. According to the inscription, why was the city of Akhetaten (Amarna) built?
2. What kinds of religious offerings were made to the Aten?
3. According to Source 7.19, who told Akhenaten where his new city should be built?
4. Why might Akhenaten have wanted this information carved into the cliffs surrounding his new city?

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7.4 Changes to art

The changes introduced by Akhenaten also appear to have had a profound effect on the artistic styles of ancient Egypt. For thousands of years before the reign of the 'heretic pharaoh', as Akhenaten came to be known, Egyptian art forms had changed very little. The traditional way of depicting people and gods was highly stylised, with all being presented in a rigid two-dimensional manner and people of great importance being depicted as physically larger than those who were of lesser importance. The Amarna art style developed and changed during Akhenaten's reign. Gardiner describes this change:

> Though [Akhenaten's] earliest monuments do not present his features and figure as markedly different from those of any earlier Egyptian prince, the representations of only a few years later provide us with frankly hideous portraits the general fidelity of which cannot be doubted. The elongated head slopes forward from a long thin neck; the face is narrow, showing a prominent nose, thick lips and a rounded protruding chin; the body with its sunken chest, swelled out stomach, wide thighs, and slender calves, is the reverse of virile ... the standing colossi from his peristyle court at Karnak have a look of fanatical determination such as his subsequent history confirmed only too fatally.

SOURCE 7.21 Gardiner, A.H., 1961, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford University Press, p. 214

ACTIVITY 7.11

1. According to Source 7.21, how did Akhenaten portray himself in his earliest monuments?
2. Why does Gardiner say that Akhenaten's later images of himself were 'frankly hideous'?



SOURCE 7.22 Granodiorite seated statue of Amenhotep III, British Museum, item number EA4



SOURCE 7.23 Colossus of Akhenaten, fourteenth century BCE, Cairo Museum

ACTIVITY 7.12

1. Compare the two statues in Sources 7.22 and 7.23. What is visually different between the two artistic styles? (Hint: Compare the different body shapes.)
2. In what ways does Source 7.23 corroborate the descriptions offered in Source 7.21?

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Historians have offered different theories about the changes in Akhenaten's art forms.

> Art historians and others have debated the intent of these depictions at length. Did Akhenaten and his family truly look like this, and if so why (numerous theories of Akhenaten's exotic illnesses circulate), or do we see representations that are as conventional and artificial as the traditional form in Egyptian art? Amarna art is truly innovative in some of the scenes it depicts. In no other period do we see such intimacy among royal family members and scenes of daily life are much more vivid now than in other periods. The sculptors of Egypt had to learn the new style quickly to produce an enormous output, and archaeologists have found several models with details of the human body, including images of hands in various postures. Most famous today is the model head of Nefertiti, discovered in the house of sculptor Thutmose and now in Berlin's Egyptian Museum.

SOURCE 7.24 Van De Mieroop, M., 2011, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Wiley-Blackwell, p. 206

ACTIVITY 7.13

1. According to Source 7.24, what are some of the potential reasons for Akhenaten's peculiar art forms?
2. What was evident in the new style that was seen in 'no other period'?
3. What artefacts have been discovered that show that the Amarna artists were experimenting with the new art style?



SOURCE 7.25 Bust of Nefertiti, c. 1345 BCE, Egyptian Museum of Berlin, artefact number AM 21300. Why do you think pharaohs made busts such as this?

Akhenaten also used his artistic changes to depict his family in a different way. This is particularly true of how he had his queen, Nefertiti, portrayed in engravings. Akhenaten and Nefertiti had married before the death of Amenhotep III, and Nefertiti became one of the most prominent figures during Akhenaten's reign. After Akhenaten had begun his revolution and moved his capital city to Amarna, he also increased the importance of Nefertiti.

In various images found at Amarna, Nefertiti was portrayed as equal to the pharaoh in power and dignity. In previous generations, queens were usually depicted in carvings as much smaller in size than the pharaoh himself, signifying that they were of lesser importance. However, in many engravings during the Amarna period, Nefertiti was portrayed at the same size as Akhenaten, clearly indicating that she was of almost equal importance as the pharaoh. (Although examples like Source 7.5 show that there were some exceptions to this rule.) Furthermore, she is also shown participating in the same royal ceremonies as her husband and even doing exactly the same royal actions. These portrayals seem to show that she was considered equal to her husband in many ways.



SOURCE 7.26 Akhenaten, Queen Nefertiti and daughters in the Tomb of Mahu, Amarna, Egypt

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ACTIVITY 7.14

Study Source 7.26 and answer the questions that follow.

1. Based upon the fact that the scene depicts Akhenaten and Nefertiti giving gifts to the Egyptian people, what might it suggest Akhenaten wanted the people to think about Nefertiti?
2. This carving was discovered in the tomb of a noble called Mahu at Amarna. Traditionally tombs were decorated with images of the Egyptian gods. Why would this tomb have images of Akhenaten and Nefertiti instead?

ACTIVITY 7.15

Study Source 7.27 and answer the questions below.

1. Akhenaten (on the left) and Nefertiti (on the right) are depicted as being the same size. In terms of Egyptian art, what does that portray about their importance?
2. Look carefully at how the children in this image are carved. What are each of the children doing?
3. What do you think the artist was trying to say about the relationship between Akhenaten and his family by portraying them in this way?
4. This source is an engraving from a small shrine which was found in a house at Amarna. Why would a shrine to the Aten have his image on it?
5. What might this carving indicate about the role that the royal family played in the private religious worship of the Egyptian people?



SOURCE 7.27 House altar showing Akhenaten, Nefertiti and three of their daughters, c. 1340 BCE, Egyptian Museum of Berlin, artefact number 14145

This new style of artistic representation also changed how the royal family was portrayed. On several inscriptions, Akhenaten's daughters can be seen playfully interacting with their parents. This is in contrast to traditional styles of Egyptian artwork, which usually showed people in rigid, emotionless poses.

The attempt to convey the message that Nefertiti was equally as important as Akhenaten himself may have been ultimately successful. While details from the primary sources are fragmentary, they may indicate that Nefertiti took charge of Egypt upon Akhenaten's death. Some scholars have speculated that the pharaoh listed as Akhenaten's successor, Smenkhkare, may have been the throne-name of Nefertiti.

> Whether or not Nefertiti survived Akhenaten, who died in his year 17, is uncertain. An ephemeral [pharaoh] Smenkhkare with virtually the same throne name as Nefertiti/Neferneferuaten appears in some inscriptions from the end of the Amarna Period; in one or two rare representations he is accompanied by his queen Meritaten. The identity of this Smenkhkare is uncertain. Many scholars continue to see him as Nefertiti's male successor, perhaps a younger brother or even another son of Akhenaten, but there is a strong possibility that 'he' was actually none other than Nefertiti herself who, like Hatshepsut before her, had assumed a male persona and ruled along for a brief period after the death of Akhenaten, with Meritaten in the ceremonial role of 'Great Royal Wife'. Akhenaten's

(continued)

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successor probably did not survive him for very long, and, when he/she died, the very young Tutankhaten, the only remaining male member of the royal family, mounted the throne.

SOURCE 7.28 Shaw, I., 2004, *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford University Press, p. 272

ACTIVITY 7.16

1. According to Source 7.28, for how many years did Akhenaten rule Egypt before he died?
2. What evidence suggests that pharaoh Smenkhkare might actually have been Nefertiti?
3. Who became pharaoh after the death of Smenkhkare?

Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about ancient personalities

7.5 Akhenaten's reign

Opinions about Akhenaten and his attempted reforms of Egyptian society have differed widely over time. Even the ancient Egyptians themselves had strong views about Akhenaten's time in power. Some have seen him as a passionate social reformer, while others understand him as a politically inept zealot.

While many of Akhenaten's subjects seemed to have willingly adopted his new ideas, there were others who were more critical. Even during his 17 years in power, there were complaints that the pharaoh was not ruling effectively. The amount of money, time and manpower that would have been required to relocate and build his capital city would have diverted a lot of the country's energies away from other projects and concerns. It appears that Akhenaten's focus on Amarna resulted in the neglect of his duties as a commander-in-chief of his armies. Numerous letters were discovered in the ruins of Amarna (known as the 'Amarna Letters'), which include communication with cities in Syria that had been allies with Egypt. However, it appears that during Akhenaten's reign, very little financial or military support was sent to these cities from Egypt. The letter below is one of many sent to Egypt from cities in Syria which complained about the limited concern the pharaoh seemed to demonstrate for the region:

To the [pharaoh] of Egypt, our lord: Message of the citizens of Tunip, your servant. For you may all go well. And we fall at the feet of my lord. My lord, thus says Tunip, your servant: Tunip – who ruled it in the past? Did not [Thutmose III] [your ancestor] rule it? ... And now Aziru is going to hear that in Hittite territory a hostile fate has overtaken your servant, a ruler [and] your gardener. Should his [the pharaoh's] troops and his chariots be delayed, Aziru will do to us just as he did to Nii. If we ourselves are negligent and the [pharaoh] of Egypt does nothing about these things that Aziru is doing, then he will surely direct his hand against our lord. When Aziru entered Sumur, he did to them as he pleased, in the house of the [pharaoh], our lord. But our lord did nothing about things. And now Tunip, your city, weeps, and its tears flow, and there is no grasping of our hand. We have gone on writing to the [pharaoh], our lord, the [pharaoh] of Egypt, for 20 years, and not a single word of our lord has reached us.

SOURCE 7.29 Amarna Letter EA 59

After Akhenaten's death, signs of discontent among the Egyptians becomes evident in the archaeological record. One of the pharaohs who succeeded Akhenaten was a young boy called Tutankhaten (later Tutankhamun). It was during his short reign that Egypt reversed all of the changes brought about by Akhenaten. The city of Amarna was abandoned and the capital city was returned to Thebes. Atenism was abandoned and the temples of the traditional gods were reopened. To celebrate the return to the traditional way

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of life, Tutankhamun carved a stele which stood in the Karnak temple of Amun-Re in Thebes that boasted of the fact that he was responsible for overturning Akhenaten's religious changes.



SOURCE 7.30 The Amarna Letters on clay tablets with cuneiform script, written in Akkadian

> The perfect ruler who does whatever is effective for [Amun-Re] his father and all the gods, having restored what was destroyed as a pious act for all time and having driven out Chaos throughout the Two Lands so that Order remains [in her place]; and who causes falsehood [once again] to be an abomination and the Earth [to be] as it was in the beginning.
>
> When His Majesty rose as king, the temples and the cities of the gods and goddesses from Elephantine to the marshlands of the Delta ... were fallen into ruin. Their shrines were fallen into decay and had become weed-strewn mounds. Their sanctuaries were as if they had never been and their enclosures had become footpaths. For the Earth was like a sickness. The gods [had] turned their back on this land. If an army [was] sent to the Levant to extend the borders of Egypt, it met with no success. If supplication was made to a god to ask something of him, he did not come at all. If a goddess was beseeched likewise, she did not come at all. Their spirits were weak in their bodies and they were destroying creation
>
> ...
>
> When His Majesty was in his palace ... His Majesty made monuments for [all] the gods, [fashioning] their images from the best pure electrum from foreign lands; building their shrines anew as monuments for eternity, endowed with possessions for ever; laying down divine offerings for them – daily offerings – and endowing their food-offerings on Earth. He gave more than had existed before, surpassing what had been done since the time of the ancestors. He appointed lay priests and clergy from among the children of town officials, the reputed sons of well-known men
>
> ...
>
> The gods and goddesses who are in this land, their hearts are joyful. The owners of shrines rejoice, the riverbanks shout praises, exultation is throughout the [entire] land now that good things have come to pass.

SOURCE 7.31 Restoration stele of Tutankhamun, c. 1330 BCE

ACTIVITY 7.17

Source 7.31 is the translation of Source 7.32. Study Source 7.31 and answer the questions below.

1. How does the source describe the state of the traditional religious shrines at the start of Tutankhamun's reign?
2. Even though Akhenaten is not mentioned by name, what is mentioned in the text that clearly shows that Tutankhamun is responding to Akhenaten's changes?
3. Given that this stele was set up in the temple of Amun-Re at Thebes, what do you think the purpose of this inscription was?



SOURCE 7.32 The restoration stele of Tutankhamun

The memory of Akhenaten and his religious reforms were deliberately forgotten by the Egyptians, as his radical religious revolution was deemed heretical. As a result, many people didn't even know that Akhenaten had existed until his inscriptions were rediscovered during archaeological work in the

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nineteenth century CE. Due to the concerted attempts to remove Akhenaten's memory by the ancient Egyptians themselves, the ancient sources about his time in power are rare. Egyptologist Barry Kemp explains how this obstruction of sources, and their scarcity, has caused problems for those wishing to study Akhenaten.

> Akhenaten can appear to us as a remarkable and somewhat tragic figure because he seems to have perceived the irrelevance of much of the thought of his day, yet was unable to put into its place anything that satisfied man's universal desire for complexity in thought ... The lack of background sources cripples the historian. It has proved impossible to write a history of Akhenaten's reign which does not embrace an element of historical fiction.

SOURCE 7.33 Kemp, B., 1991, *Ancient Egypt, An Anatomy of a Civilisation*, Routledge, p. 264

ACTIVITY 7.18

1. In Source 7.33, what does Kemp mean by 'the lack of background sources cripples the historian'?
2. What does Kemp mean when he says that historians have to 'embrace an element of historical fiction'?
3. Kemp went on to say it is as if one has to choose between portraying him as a dreamer or a madman. Based upon what you have learned about Akhenaten so far, which description best fits his character in your opinion: dreamer or madman?

As a result of the limited ancient sources and the fragmentary information provided by them, historians have drawn quite different conclusions about Akhenaten's time in power and his personality. Each historian bases their conclusions on very similar ancient sources. A selection of the conflicting views is outlined in the sources below.

Early twentieth-century archaeologist Sir Flinders Petrie describes Akhenaten as a devotee of truth:

> No other king ever dedicated himself to an ethical idea as Akhenaten did ... The attainment and spread of truth was the object of his life. In the details of private life the same aim at truth is seen. He, truly devoted to his one queen, is not ashamed of whatever is the truth, and he appears with her on all occasions; he is determined not to suppress anything, but openly kisses the queen as they ride in a chariot, and dances her on his knee with the babies as he sits on a throne. His domestic affection is the truth, and as the truth he proclaims it. Here is a revolution in ideas! No king of Egypt, nor of any other part of the world, has ever carried out his honesty of expression so openly. His domestic life was his ideal of the truth of life, and as part of his living in truth he proclaims it as the true life to his subjects. Thus in every line Akhenaten stands out as perhaps the most original thinker that ever lived in Egypt, and one of the great idealists of the world.

SOURCE 7.34 Flinders Petrie, W.M., 1894, *Tell El Amarna*, Methuen & Co., p. 41

ACTIVITY 7.19

Study Source 7.34 and answer the questions below.

1. According to Flinders Petrie, what was Akhenaten's main aim as pharaoh?
2. What evidence does Flinders Petrie provide to prove this?
3. What evidence is there that Flinders Petrie provides a biased view of Akhenaten? Provide a direct quote to show this bias.

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Modern Egyptologist Donald Redford is of the opinion that Akhenaten was an insecure dictator:

> A man deemed ugly by the accepted standards of the day, secluded in the palace in his minority, certainly close to his mother, possibly ignored by his father, outshone by his brother and sisters, unsure of himself, Akhenaten suffered the singular misfortune of acceding to the throne of Egypt and its empire. We have no idea who or what influenced him in his formative years; but he was not brought into contact with his father's court, nor is there any evidence that he spent time at Heliopolis ... Akhenaten, whatever else he may have been, was no intellectual heavyweight ... I strongly suspect Akhenaten also had a flair for art, sculpture and design, although this might be harder to demonstrate ... To me it is the art associated with his program that remains Akhenaten's single most important contribution.
>
> For all that can be said in his favour, Akhenaten in spirit remains to the end totalitarian. The right of an individual to choose was wholly foreign to him. He was the champion of a universal celestial power who demanded universal submission, claimed universal truth, and from whom no further revelation could be expected. I cannot conceive a more tiresome regime under which to be fated to live.

SOURCE 7.35 Redford, D.B., 1984, *Akhenaten, the Heretic King*, Princeton University Press, p. 233–5

ACTIVITY 7.20

Study Source 7.35 and answer the questions below.

1. What does Redford believe was Akhenaten's only real skill?
2. In what ways does Redford believe that Akhenaten was a totalitarian ruler?

Cyril Aldred, a twentieth-century Egyptologist and art historian depicts Akhenaten as a devoted family man:

> Whatever speculations the original and uncharacteristic reign of Akhenaten may arouse, we can only judge by what evidence his monuments have bequeathed us, tenuous as it may be. The expression his artists recorded – when he groped for Nefertiti's supporting arm in his daughter's death-chamber, or registered with grim distaste at the wringing of the neck of a sacrificial bird, or the affection between him and other members of his family, or the joy of his followers in his presence – all portray 'the good ruler who loves mankind'. These and other touches strike a chord that is humane and sympathetic.

SOURCE 7.36 Aldred, C., 1988, *Akhenaten: King of Egypt*, Thames & Hudson, p. 305

ACTIVITY 7.21

Study Source 7.36 and answer the questions below.

1. What descriptions does Aldred provide which makes him believe that Akhenaten is a 'the good ruler who loves mankind'?
2. In what ways do Sources 7.35 and 7.36 disagree about the character of Akhenaten?

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Angela P. Thomas argues that Akhenaten was a strong political strategist:

> The king's plan differed from the norm in his steady elimination of all deities except Re, Aten and himself, denying the existence of other gods by not mentioning them and, in some cases, by deliberately acting against them. These hardly seem to be the actions of a monotheist, visionary or messiah born out of his time, but more those of a political opportunist, dogmatically and rationally imposing his will. A king who was high priest, sole mediator and synonymous with one god would hold truly absolute power.

SOURCE 7.37 Thomas, A.P., 1988, *Akhenaten's Egypt*, Shire Egyptology, p. 46

ACTIVITY 7.22

Study Source 7.37 and answer the questions below.

1. According to Thomas, in what ways did Akhenaten seek the 'elimination of all deities except Re, Aten and himself'?
2. Thomas understands Akhenaten's revolution not as religiously motivated, but as politically motivated. What direct quote from Source 7.37 clearly shows Thomas's argument?
3. In what ways could Thomas (Source 7.37) and Redford (Source 7.35) agree on their understanding of Akhenaten? Provide a quote from each source to show this.

Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument in relation to ancient personalities and their historical context

The following activities are an exercise of the key skill and syllabus objective – synthesis. The exercise draws together all the analytical and evaluative components contained within this chapter.

ACTIVITY 7.23

1. Do some background research on the four scholars who wrote Sources 7.34 to 7.37. Find out their academic credentials: where did they study? What field do they specialise in and how many years have they been invested in their field?
2. Based upon your background research, which of the four experts are you more likely to trust? Make sure you use the information you found in your research to justify your answer.

Sources 7.34 to 7.36 provide different interpretations about the character and achievements of Akhenaten. Choose one interpretation which you think best explains who Akhenaten really was. Find two other sources from this chapter that would be the best supporting evidence for this interpretation. For each of the two sources you have chosen, answer the following questions:

- **a.** How does this source support your chosen interpretation of Akhenaten?
- **b.** For what purpose was this source made?

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

- Akhenaten took power as Amenhotep IV and was a traditional pharaoh for the first few years of rule.
- Around his fifth year of rule, he changed his name and began enforcing his new religion: Atenism.
- Akhenaten banned the worship of the traditional Egyptian gods and replaced their priesthoods with himself.
- The capital city was moved from Thebes to a brand-new city, Amarna, which was purpose-built by Akhenaten.
- A new art style was introduced which contained both realistic and grotesque forms.
- Nefertiti was Akhenaten's wife and portrayed as of equal importance to Akhenaten.
- Akhenaten's changes were ultimately reversed by the time of Tutankhamun.
- Modern scholars disagree about Akhenaten's real motivations.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend

What were the main differences between Atenism and the traditional Egyptian religion?

Analyse

How did the new Amarna art forms help convey Akhenaten's religious ideas?

Evaluate

Why do modern historians draw different conclusions about Akhenaten's personality?

Synthesise

What changes did Akhenaten try to enact in Egyptian society?

Respond

From the four alternatives provided for Akhenaten's true motives (refer to Sources 7.34 to 7.37), which do you think is the most convincing? Ensure you provide an analysis and evaluation of your sources as part of your answer.

Assessment

Examination-style questions

1. How did Akhenaten use art, politics and religion to promote his personal ideology?
2. What were Akhenaten's primary motivations for attempting to change ancient Egyptian society?
3. Why did Akhenaten's revolution ultimately fail to change ancient Egyptian society in a lasting way?

Investigation tasks

1. How important was Nefertiti's role in Akhenaten's attempts to change Egyptian society?
2. How successful was Akhenaten's foreign policy during his reign?
3. Why does Akhenaten remain a controversial figure in ancient history?

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CHAPTER 8
Agrippina the Younger

GLENN DAVIES

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the historical and geographical background of Agrippina the Younger and the time in which she lived.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about:
  - key archaeological and written sources for the period.
  - issues involved with the nature of evidence from the time of Agrippina the Younger.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues associated with Agrippina the Younger, her personality and achievements.
- devise historical questions and conduct research.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding.
- synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - the various interpretations and representations of Agrippina the Younger in primary sources.
  - the various interpretations and representations of Agrippina the Younger presented in secondary sources and how these have differed over time.
  - changing ancient and modern perceptions of the achievements and legacy of Agrippina the Younger.
- create a response that communicates meaning to suit purpose.

KEY DATES

15 CE	19 CE	28 CE	29 CE	30 CE	31 CE
Agrippina born in Germany	Her father Germanicus dies at Antioch	Married at age of 13 to Domitius Ahenobarbus	Both her mother and eldest brother, Nero, arrested by Sejanus and banished	Agrippina's brother Drusus arrested	Her brother Nero dies in prison

SOURCE 8.1 Bust of Agrippina the Younger, Barcelona City History Museum, Catalonia, Spain

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Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the aftermath of Agrippina the Younger's influence.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about the impact of significant personalities on their times.

(Ancient History 2019 v1.2 General Senior Syllabus, © Queensland Curriculum & Assessment Authority)

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

- Augustus: first Roman emperor, creator of the Julio-Claudian dynasty
- Livia: Augustus' wife, mother of Tiberius, grandmother of Germanicus and Claudius
- Emperor Tiberius: Augustus' stepson and successor
- Agrippina the Elder: granddaughter of Augustus, wife of Germanicus, mother of Agrippina the Younger and Gaius Caligula
- Germanicus: grandson of Livia, husband of Agrippina the Elder, brother of Claudius, nephew of Tiberius, father of Agrippina the Younger and Gaius Caligula
- Emperor Gaius Caligula: great grandson of Augustus (Julian line) and Livia (Claudian line), son of Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder, brother of Agrippina the Younger
- Emperor Claudius: grandson of Livia, husband and uncle of Agrippina the Younger, brother of Germanicus, nephew of Tiberius, uncle of Gaius Caligula
- Britannicus: son of Claudius, great-grandson of Livia
- Emperor Nero: great-great-grandson of Augustus (Julian line) and Livia (Claudian line), son of Agrippina the Younger, nephew of Gaius Caligula, great-nephew and adopted son of Claudius, husband of Octavia
- Julia Livilla (also known as Livilla) and Julia Drusilla (also known as Drusilla), the sisters of Agrippina the Younger and Gaius Caligula.

32 CE	33 CE	37 CE	38 CE
Agrippina's husband, Ahenobarbus, becomes consul	Her mother, Agrippina the Elder, and brother, Drusus, die in prison	• Tiberius dies • Her brother Gaius Caligula becomes emperor • She gives birth to her only child, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, later known as Nero	Her sister Drusilla dies

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

WORD	DEFINITION
Augusta	empress of Rome
casus suorum	refers to the memoirs written by Agrippina the Younger that recorded the misfortunes of her family
client-king	a leader who accepts Rome's sovereignty over his kingdom, as a compromise between military conquest and independence, but continues to rule his kingdom
cornucopia	a horn that was a symbol of fortune and plenty
dignitas	Roman sense of honour
incest	sexual activity between family members or close relatives
Julio–Claudian imperial family	the first five Roman emperors and their families, descendants of the Emperor Augustus (the Julian branch) and his wife Livia's children (the Claudian branch)
matrona	Roman mother
princeps	'first man among equals'; the Roman emperor
principate	the rule of the early Roman emperors
Vestal virgins	priestesses of Vesta, goddess of the hearth. They cultivated the sacred fire and took a vow of chastity. Their wellbeing was regarded as fundamental to the continuance and security of Rome
univira	a woman married only once; the ideal Roman *matrona*

Introduction

Julia Agrippina, or better known as Agrippina the Younger, was one of the most influential women of the Julio-Claudian Roman imperial family during the first century CE. Agrippina the Younger is most generally known as the mother of the Emperor Nero. She was born in 15 CE into the Julian family, one of the 'first families' of Rome, and attained a level of power in first-century CE Rome that was unique for a woman. In time she earned the renowned title of Augusta, and claimed a powerful political position within Rome that was almost unprecedented for women during her time.

Agrippina the Younger became the most powerful and influential of the Julio-Claudian women, although, as a woman, she could not become emperor. Her achievements within Rome relied entirely on the utilisations of her strong family connections and relationships with the males in her life, in particular her uncle, the Emperor Claudius, and her son, the future emperor Nero. According to the ancient sources,

39 CE	40 CE	41 CE	42 CE	46 CE	48 CE
Caligula accuses Agrippina and her sister Livilla of adultery and treason, both are exiled	Ahenobarbus dies	• Caligula assassinated • Agrippina's uncle Claudius becomes Emperor	Agrippina marries Gaius Sallustius Crispus Passienus	Husband dies, leaving inheritance to Agrippina and Nero	Claudius's wife Messalina executed

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she achieved her success by plotting against her brother, the Emperor Caligula, murdering her husband, the Emperor Claudius, and controlling her son, the Emperor Nero, by sleeping with him. Modern historians tend to accept this verdict. The actual record, however, suggests very strongly that both ancient and modern writers offer a portrait that is biased at best. More recent historians suggest she may have been misjudged. Certainly, Agrippina the Younger was ambitious but a closer look at the sources show that she made her way through ability and determination rather than by sexual allure, and her political contributions to her time seem to have been positive.

The last of the really great Julio-Claudian matrons, Agrippina the Younger deserves admiration for her tenacity towards the only two things she believed in: her son's claim to the throne and her claim to a share in his power. She was able to directly influence the governing of the Roman Empire through the men in her life but, ultimately, was overwhelmed by the weight of her competitive family. In the end, she did not change the attitudes of her contemporaries and was the last woman to play a dominant role in Roman political life for a century and a half.

The study of ancient women, especially those who held power, is inherently fraught with the opinions and influence of men. In particular, it is the ancient sources who tend to vilify powerful women. The majority of ancient Roman written sources were critical of Agrippina the Younger because she was seen by them as stepping outside the conservative Roman ideals regarding the roles of women. From the period of the early Roman Empire to the present, Agrippina the Younger's forceful personality and extensive influence has captured the imagination of historians. However, the main ancient Roman sources of Tacitus's *The Annals*, Cassius Dio's *The Roman Histories* and Suetonius's *The Twelve Caesars* were universally critical of Agrippina the Younger because of the way in which she had achieved her goals through the manipulation of Claudius and Nero. These ancient Roman writers saw the elevation of women like Agrippina the Younger as an inversion of the natural order, and their preoccupation with the evils of female ambition all but blinded them to any admirable qualities these women might have possessed.

These ancient male writers were often highly critical of the Julio-Claudian women; the writers criticised:

- Livia, the wife of Augustus
- Julia, the daughter of Augustus
- Agrippina the Elder, the granddaughter of Augustus
- Agrippina the Younger, the great-granddaughter of Augustus
- Octavia, the sister of Augustus.

Tacitus, Cassius Dio and Suetonius dwelt on the qualities expected of a respectable Roman woman, and regarded independent and individual actions by women as unfeminine and morally questionable. They argued that the acquirement of influence and power must have been a result of schemes, conspiracy, underhanded machinations, sexual charm and seduction, or even murder. Indeed, a common accusation against noble Roman women with political influence was that of adultery or incest. Both ancient and modern historians attribute in varying degrees all these deeds to Agrippina, as her actions did not match the Roman ideal of what a woman should be and do. The hostile tradition of the literary sources continues to be reflected in much of the secondary modern sources. However, more recently, representations have altered from the negative portrayal of ancient sources to a re-evaluation of modern sources which reveal a

49 CE	50 CE	54 CE	55 CE	56–59 CE	59 CE
• Agrippina marries Claudius • Nero engaged to Claudius's daughter Octavia	• Nero formally adopted by Claudius • Title Augusta conferred on Agrippina	In October, Claudius dies; Nero becomes emperor	Britannicus, son of Claudius, is poisoned	• Period of declining influence of Agrippina • Nero removes titles and guards	Agrippina is murdered on the orders of her son, Nero

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politically astute woman who undoubtedly used her considerable political talents to fulfil her ambitions, and in so doing contributed to the strength and stability of Rome.

The material record of Agrippina the Younger is conspicuously different from those in the literary narrative sources. The visual representations of Agrippina's image include coins, sculptures and cameos (small relief carvings), and are products of the Roman imperial dynasty itself, its supporters or those wishing to obtain its favour. Interestingly Agrippina, along with her two sisters, became one of the first living women to be represented by image and name on coins of the Roman mint.

One of the great tragedies for historians is the loss of the *Memoirs of Agrippina the Younger* as it may have balanced the unremittingly negative view of the male writers. Today it is only by looking more closely at the material sources from the time and questioning the differences in perspective from the ancient literary sources that a more accurate view of Agrippina the Younger can be achieved.

ACTIVITY 8.1

1. Who were the main ancient writers on Agrippina the Younger?
2. Which primary and secondary sources might be most valuable for this topic?
3. What problems do you think there might be with the availability and sufficiency of material record sources?

Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the ancient personalities and their times being studied

8.1 Agrippina the Younger, her personality and achievements

Ancient Roman women had set roles they were expected to play within society: child bearer, mother, daughter, and wife. They were considered citizens, but were not permitted to vote or participate in government or political activity. Any attempt to contribute in this way was frowned upon.



SOURCE 8.2 The sisters of Caligula

The respected life of the Roman *matrona* (a freeborn, legally married woman) was devoted to housekeeping, child bearing, chastity, submissiveness, and the ideal of being all her life *univira* (married only once). Wives were expected to be dignified and good mothers. Although they could own property or businesses, inherit and dispose of wealth, and obtain a divorce, these privileges were not open to all women, and in most cases Roman women remained under the guardianship of the senior male of the family. Moreover, women had no direct voice or influence. Of course, this did not hold for the women within the imperial household; they were influential in succession struggles and so were able to directly affect the governing of the Roman Empire. Agrippina the Younger belonged to this ruling family.

The imperial family

During the first century CE, one of the main problems for the Julio-Claudian imperial family was the issue of the succession – that is, who would become the next Roman emperor. The first Roman emperor, Augustus, dominated Roman politics until his death in 14 CE. He was the first of the Roman emperors, or

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princeps, and established the ruling family of the Julio-Claudians. Augustus was followed by Tiberius, who was succeeded by Caligula in 37 CE, followed by Claudius succeeded Caligula and was followed by Nero.

Agrippina the Younger was descended from the Julian family as well as the Claudian family (through her great-grandmother Livia). Her extraordinary family connections were unmatched by any female in Roman history. Agrippina was:

- great-granddaughter of Emperor Augustus
- granddaughter by adoption of Emperor Tiberius
- sister of Emperor Caligula
- wife and niece of Emperor Claudius
- mother of Emperor Nero.

Agrippina's impressive family lineage meant she was one of a family of very strong and interesting women. In general, the Julio-Claudian women were talented, highly individual, well educated, confident and attractive.

Livia, the wife of the Emperor Augustus, ruled alongside him for over 50 years, from 38 BCE until his death in 14 CE. In this time Livia saw unprecedented social and moral change, and in many ways facilitated the establishment of an imperial image that would last for centuries. Motherhood was considered an esteemed occupation for Roman women. However, there had been a decline in birth rates amongst the upper classes. This so concerned Augustus that he introduced laws to encourage larger families. Livia's most prominent role within the imperial household was to be the figurehead for Augustus's restoration of the State and reshaping of the morals of society. Livia presenting herself as the model wife of Augustus by restricting ostentatious luxury within their home and supposedly spinning the *princeps* clothes herself; she set the standard for matronly morality and modesty within Roman society.

Agrippina the Elder

Agrippina the Younger's mother, Agrippina the Elder, and her stepfather, Emperor Tiberius, had Julian blood in her veins. This meant that they had 'divine' blood, unlike most others at the centre of Roman life. Agrippina the Elder was a biological descendant of the already semi-divine Augustus and the divine Julius Caesar; Augustus and Julius Caesar claimed descent from Aeneas, the hero of Virgil's *The Aeneid*,who fled from the burning Troy, journeyed to Italy and settled in the area of Rome. Aeneas was believed to be descended from the goddess Venus, which is why the Julians claimed to have divine blood.

The other side of the imperial family, those descended from Agrippina the Younger's great-grandmother Livia, were considered just Claudians: distinguished but not divine. Without Julian blood or Julian approval, no Claudian could hold true power. Agrippina the Elder knew – just like her mother, Julia, did – that, after the early death of her brothers, her hand in marriage was the key for a future Roman emperor. Agrippina the Elder's husband would be emperor, her sons would be emperors and she would be the next Livia.

Agrippina the Elder was married at about the age of 15 to her second cousin Germanicus, the son of Antonia and Nero Claudius Drusus, brother of Tiberius. Antonia was the daughter of Augustus's sister and Mark Antony, and Drusus was Livia's son from her first marriage. After Tiberius had been marked as Augustus's heir, Germanicus was marked as Tiberius's. Germanicus's marriage to Agrippina the Elder, alongside his adoption by Tiberius, was a clear public sign that Germanicus would be the next Roman emperor, and that Agrippina the Elder would be the next empress.

Agrippina the Elder was a spectacularly good wife to Germanicus, and their love was admirable and impressive. The people of Rome loved them too, and would line the streets to see them and fling flowers at them. They had nine children in 14 years, six of which survived infancy. Germanicus went on to have a glorious career with the German troops, avenging the tragedy of the loss of three Roman legions in the Battle of Teutoburg Forest, and proving enormously popular, especially with Agrippina the Elder at his side. These were the best days of Agrippina the Elder and Germanicus's careers and lives. They were the beloved, semi-divine children of Augustus, heirs to the Roman Empire and glorious conquering generals. They had, at this time, five living children and three were sons, and so were the golden couple of Rome.

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Eventually the Emperor Tiberius retired from Rome altogether to the island of Capri, near Naples, where he indulged in food and drink and, among other improper recreations, amused himself by watching men suspected of plotting against him being tortured and thrown over a cliff into the sea. At this time, Tiberius sent Germanicus to Syria to begin his political career with some complex negotiations surrounding who would be the next client king of Armenia. His wife, Agrippina the Elder, followed him and gave birth to her youngest daughter and last child in Athens on the way. Having completed his mission successfully, Germanicus took a solo sightseeing tour to Egypt and returned to Syria to discover that the governor of the province, Piso, had begun interfering with his affairs. A quarrel began which ended only when Germanicus fell suddenly and drastically ill. Both Germanicus and Agrippina believed that he had been poisoned and that Tiberius was to blame.

When Germanicus died, the people of Rome lined the streets as Agrippina the Elder proceeded through the city on foot, still holding the urn with her husband's ashes clutched to her chest. The day on which the remains of Germanicus were carried into the Mausoleum of Augustus was characterised either by a deep silence or loud cries of grief. Tiberius was annoyed by the public's enthusiasm for Agrippina the Elder. They adored her and called her the honour of the country, the only blood-relative of Augustus, the one surviving model of the old values. In jealousy of her overwhelming support from the Roman people, Tiberius banished her to an island where she eventually starved to death.

Agrippina the Younger's continuation of the Julian family

Agrippina the Younger was four years old when her father Germanicus died. As a small child she had enjoyed the love and respect given to her family by the people of Rome, although these affections were subverted later when her relatives and friends were persecuted. Tiberius organised her marriage at the age of 13 to Domitius Ahenobarbus, a 30-year-old great-nephew of Augustus. Ahenobarbus was a violent and cruel man, who was once accused of deliberately driving his carriage over a child playing with a doll on a village road. Nine years later, Agrippina the Younger gave birth to her only child, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, later known as Nero.

Agrippina the Younger saw the continuation of her divine Julian family as her sacred duty. All of Rome acknowledged she was a descendant of the goddess Venus. Agrippina the Younger made her life's purpose the rescue and rebuilding of the succession that had been stolen from her family by the murder of her father, Germanicus. She saw her son, Nero, as the answer in this mission; Agrippina viewed Nero as the perfect composition of the descent of all the *dignitas* of the past 100 years and more, because in him flowed all that was strong and honourable about Rome and the Julian family. He was the:

- great-great-grandson of the divine Augustus, Emperor and Triumvir
- great-great-grandson of the Triumvir, Mark Antony
- great-great-grandson of the Triumvir, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, through his granddaughter Aemillia Lepida
- great-grandson of the great admiral Agrippa
- great-great-grandson of Octavia, older sister of Augustus.

On the Claudian side, Nero's great-great-grandmother was Livia, wife of Augustus. Nero was a true Julio-Claudian, descended on both sides from Augustus and Livia, and doubly from Augustus through his own father.

Along with Livia, the wife of Augustus who was the first Roman emperor, Agrippina the Younger represents a political paradox of the early Roman empire. She managed to exercise great power and influence in a society that offered no constitutional role to powerful and influential women. It was this achievement, to be empress in an empire that allowed only emperors, that makes her accomplishments interesting and noteworthy.

8.2 Background, early career and influence

The women of the imperial household were expected to maintain the standard of familial stability set by Livia to encourage a sense of calm across the Roman Empire. The Roman woman who duly excluded herself

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from involvement in political matters became hallowed in tradition. The main ancient Roman sources of Tacitus, Cassius Dio and Suetonius were universally critical of Agrippina the Younger because she was seen by them as stepping outside the conservative Roman ideals regarding the roles of women – particularly the way in which she achieved her goals through the apparent manipulation of Claudius and Nero. A case study of this vilification of Agrippina is evident at the time of Nero's ascension to the *princeps*.



SOURCE 8.3 Modern cast of a bust of Octavia held in Ara Pacis Museum, Rome

Traditional Roman matron

Octavia, sister of the Emperor Augustus, was one of the most prominent women in Roman history, and was respected and admired by contemporaries for her loyalty, nobility and humanity, and for maintaining traditional Roman feminine virtues.

Suetonius describes the way he believed Agrippina the Younger achieved success, by using her feminine wiles:

> but it was Agrippina ... who ensnared him.

SOURCE 8.4 Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, Claudius

A common accusation against noble Roman women with political influence was that of adultery or incest, with such accusations being fueled by unproven gossip.

> Everything that they said to each other, or that the imperial pair did each day, was reported outside the palace, yet it did not all reach the public and hence conjectures were made to supply missing details and different versions arose. What was conceivable as happening, in view of the baseness and lewdness of the pair, was noised abroad as having already taken place, and reports possessing some credibility were believed as true.

SOURCE 8.5 Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 61.8.5

Suetonius was renowned as a writer who relied on gossip and innuendo rather than facts.

> The lecherous passion he felt for his mother, Agrippina, was notorious; but her enemies would not let him consummate it, fearing that if she did, she would become even more powerful and ruthless than hitherto. So he found a new mistress who was said to be her spitting image; some say that he did, in fact, commit incest with Agrippina every time they rode in the same litter – the stains on his clothes when he emerged proved it.

SOURCE 8.6 Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, Nero

Tacitus's treatment of Agrippina is withering because he portrays her as filled with ambitious purpose, austere and arrogant.

> Then came a revolution in the State, and everything was under the control of a woman, who did not insult ... Rome by loose manners ... there was sternness and generally arrogance in public, no sort of immodesty at home, unless it conduced to power.

SOURCE 8.7 Tacitus, *Annals*, Book XII. 7

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Dr Caillan Davenport and Dr Sushma Malik from the University of Queensland are ancient Rome mythbusters. They have investigated the references from the ancient writers describing the Emperor Nero committing incest with his mother, Agrippina the Younger.



SOURCE 8.8 Bust of Agrippina the Younger, statue held in Stuttgart

Did Nero commit incest with this mother?

The Roman people loved to speculate about the emperors and their sex lives. One story involves Nero and his mother being carried through Rome in a litter (a portable couch concealed by curtains), only for the emperor to emerge with suspicious stains on his clothes. People started to whisper that the pair had been doing more than reviewing imperial legislation behind the curtains. Even more scandalous was the fact that the emperor took a mistress who turned out to be the spitting image of his mother – a situation which got tongues wagging throughout Rome. These rumours can be explained as responses to an unusual political situation. Nero was only 16 when he was acclaimed emperor, and his mother Agrippina asserted herself as the emperor's guardian by appointing men loyal to her in key positions. Her extraordinary influence is demonstrated by contemporary coins with busts of both the emperor and his mother on the 'heads' side. This coin made Agrippina look like she was Nero's equal. Agrippina's unprecedented position was the subject of continual speculation throughout the city of Rome, according to Cassius Dio, because the people could not obtain accurate information about affairs inside the palace. Without reliable information, rumours spread based on cultural preconceptions: in the Roman world, it was believed that a woman could not exert political power unless it was gained by underhanded or immoral means.

One particularly pervasive rumour developed after Agrippina began to lose influence over Nero, as he began to pay more attention to his comely courtier Poppaea Sabina. Agrippina allegedly dressed herself up to the nines and propositioned her son as he lay in a drunken stupor after a long liquid lunch. Cassius Dio remarked: 'Whether this actually occurred, now, or whether it was invented to fit their character, I am not sure.' The fact that our ancient historians do not believe such tales should give us pause.

The purpose of rumour

Sociological studies of rumours have shown that they develop in situations when people do not have good information to explain current events … The stories about the sexual relationship developed as a way of explaining both Agrippina's extraordinary power and prominence as well as her fall from favour. Our ancient sources are clear about the fact that they are reporting rumours and innuendo. Suetonius, the biographer of Nero, reports that the emperor was merely *thought* to have desired his mother, but was persuaded not to act on his feelings. Similarly Tacitus reveals that, while some *believed* in the *rumour* that Nero started the fire, there were also those who did not. If our ancient authors knew these stories were just rumours, why did they record them? There are various reasons for this. There was certainly a tradition in ancient historiography of reporting different versions of events and allowing the reader to make up their own minds. The stories are also very entertaining: we should never forget that these histories and biographies were designed to bring pleasure to their readers. Finally, the salacious rumours served a political purpose. An emperor's sex life was not simply juicy gossip for the masses: his private peccadilloes were believed to reflect the character of his government. Rumours, even

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if ultimately untrue, helped to define the expectations of a good emperor in the minds of the readers. Slightly different motivations underlie the circulation of these rumours about Nero as facts in the modern world. They are enjoyable and entertaining to read, appealing to our cultural preconceptions of ancient Rome and its emperors as corrupt and morally bankrupt. But perhaps most significantly, they enable us to impose a moral distance between ourselves and our ancient forebears. Making the past seem strange and unfamiliar helps to forget that the same problems still exist in the present.

SOURCE 8.9 Davenport, C. and Malik, S., 'Mythbusting Ancient Rome – the Emperor Nero', *The Conversation*, 28 September 2016

ACTIVITY 8.2

1. Compare Sources 8.4 and 8.6. Explain why Suetonius would have written critically about Agrippina the Younger and not Octavia.
2. When Nero became emperor he was only 17 and initially had a great deal of assistance from his mother, Agrippina the Younger, to run the Roman Empire. Sources 8.5 to 8.7 are critical of his mother's motivations. Identify in these sources, Tacitus, Suetonius and Cassius Dio's words that indicate what they write may not be completely accurate.
3. Look at Sources 8.2, 8.3 and 8.8. Describe how these non-literary primary sources conflict with the literary primary sources of Cassius Dio, Suetonius, and Tacitus.
4. What do the ancient Rome mythbusters in Source 8.9 argue is the purpose of rumours?
5. Would you agree or disagree that there is value in imposing a moral distance between ourselves and our ancient forebears? Defend your position.

8.3 Social position and status

Agrippina the Younger was born in 15 CE at Oppidum Ubiorum on the Rhine, now modern Cologne, Germany. She was the daughter of great general Germanicus, grandson of Livia, and Agrippina the Elder, granddaughter of Augustus. Agrippina the Younger grew up at the absolute centre of power, wealth and privilege in the Roman Empire; her large family promised continuity for the imperial house but, as fate would show, all the surviving members would be involved in the struggles around succession in the first century CE.

Germanicus was compared in death to Alexander the Great.

Germanicus is everywhere described as having been of outstanding physical and moral excellence. He was handsome, courageous, a past-master of Greek and Latin oratory and letters, conspicuously kind-hearted and gifted with the powerful desire and capacity for winning respect and inspiring affection.

SOURCE 8.10 Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, Gaius, 3

Tacitus describes Agrippina the Elder's deep grief, and how the Roman people showed their love for Germanicus, after his death.

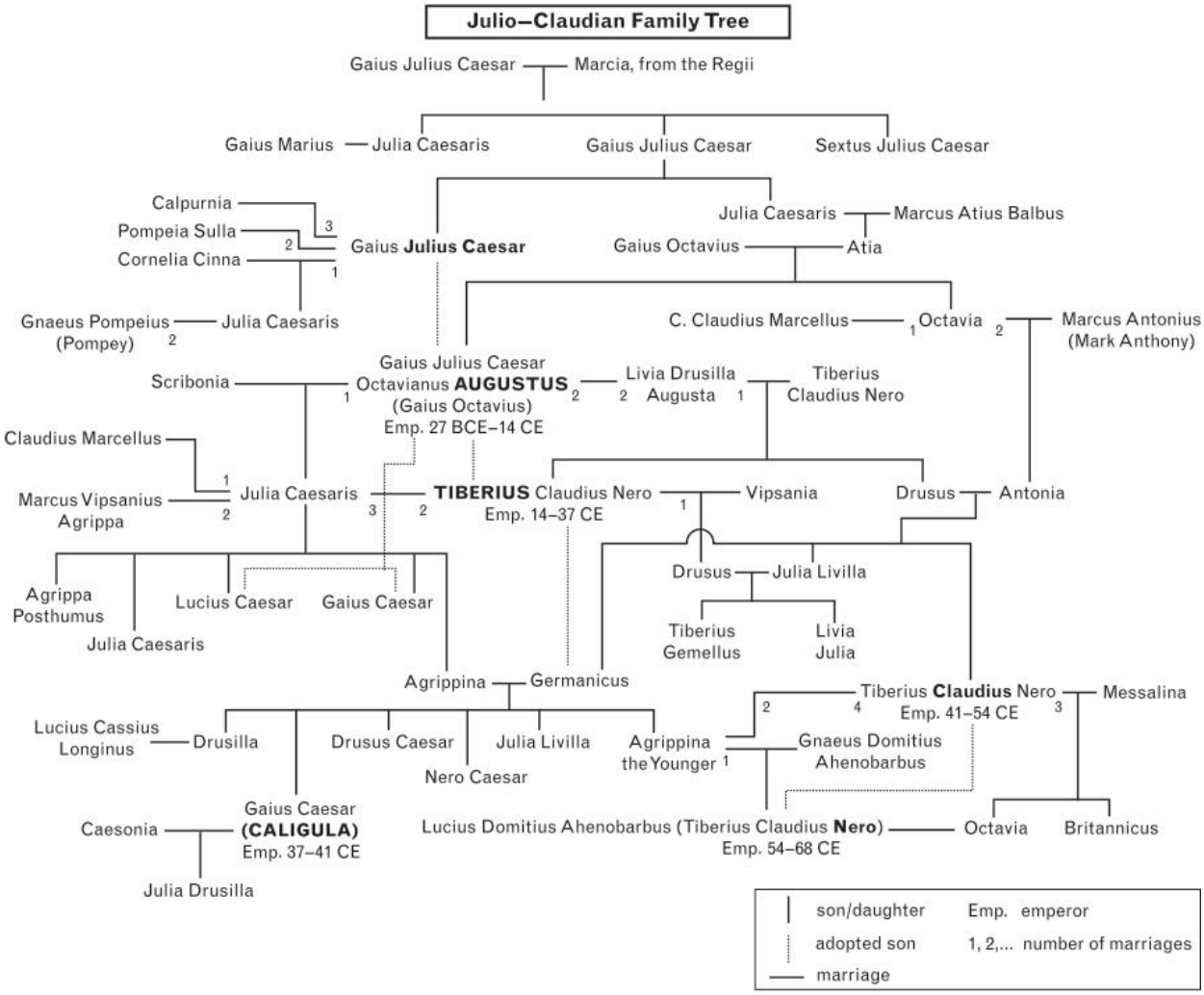
[Agrippina] was wild with grief and knew not how to endure. Meanwhile, on hearing of her arrival, all her intimate friends and several officers, every one indeed who had served under Germanicus, many strangers too from the neighbouring towns, some thinking it respectful to the emperor, and still more following their example, thronged eagerly to Brundisium, the nearest and safest landing-place for a voyager.

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As soon as the fleet was seen on the horizon, not only the harbour and the adjacent shores, but the city walls to and the roofs, and every place which commanded the most distant prospect were filled with crowds of mourners

SOURCE 8.11 Tacitus, *Annals*, 3.1



SOURCE 8.12 The Julio-Claudian family tree



SOURCE 8.13 *The Death of Germanicus*, Nicholaus Poussin, 1627, Minneapolis Institute of Arts



SOURCE 8.14 *Agrippina Landing at Brundisium with the Ashes of Germanicus*, Benjamin West, c. 1768, Yale University Art Gallery

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ACTIVITY 8.3

1. Study Source 8.12. Explain how Agrippina the Younger was related to both Augustus and Livia.
2. Using Source 8.12, locate all the emperors to whom Agrippina the Younger was related. Trace their relationship to her.
3. Draw a timeline to cover the events from 13 CE to 37 CE. Mark on it the major events in Agrippina the Younger's life, and her age at the time of each event.
4. Use Source 8.10 to write a character summary of Germanicus.
5. How did the Romans react to Germanicus's death according to Source 8.13?
6. Using Source 8.13 and Source 8.14, what conclusion can you reach about the position Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder held from the point of view of the Roman people?
7. Evaluate the reliability of Sources 8.13 and 8.14.
8. Can you suggest any other female in ancient Rome who could have claimed as important a position as Agrippina the Younger? Explain your answer.

Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show an understanding of ancient personalities and their historical context

8.4 The struggle for supremacy within the Julian and Claudian imperial households

Agrippina the Younger's family background formed a crucial basis for her power and influence; she observed important lessons of wielding power and was provided with a platform to build patron-client relationships. Her father, Germanicus, was an significant connection for Agrippina the Younger as he was intensely popular with the Roman people and the army. As a direct descendent of Augustus, Agrippina the Younger was acutely aware of her lineage. Her family background gave birth to the goals that would continue to mark her life: gaining imperial prestige and elevating her son to *princeps*.



SOURCE 8.15 Bust of Domitius Ahenobarbus, Vatican Museum. Domitius was a close relative of the five Roman Emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

The turmoil during the reign of Gaius Caligula

On 16 March 37 CE, Tiberius died and Agrippina the Younger's brother Gaius Caligula became emperor. His accession was welcomed across Rome initially as a reprieve from Tiberius and also as a recognition of his status as son of Germanicus.

Suetonius describes how Caligula was welcomed by the people of Rome as their new emperor.

> Gaius's accession seemed to the Roman people – one might almost say, to the whole world – like a dream come true. The memory of Germanicus and compassion for a family that had been practically wiped out by successive murders made most provincials and soldiers, many of whom had known him as a child, and the entire population of Rome as well, show extravagant joy that he was now Emperor. When he escorted Tiberius's corpse from Misenum to Rome he was, of course, dressed in mourning

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but a dense crowd greeted him uproariously with altars, sacrifices, torches, and such endearments as 'star', 'chicken', 'baby', 'pet'.

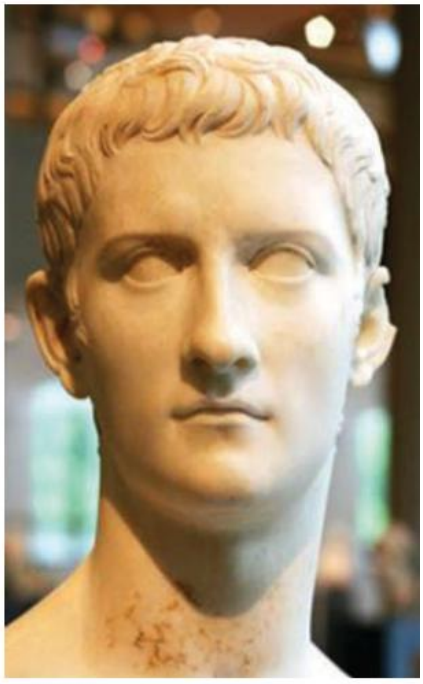
SOURCE 8.16 Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, Gaius, 13

During the reign of her brother Agrippina enjoyed some influence initially. One of the first acts of Caligula was to give his three sisters, Agrippina, Livilla, and Drusilla the status of honorary Vestal Virgins, the highest public position a female could obtain, as they were given seats in the imperial enclosure at games and included in the annual vows of allegiance to the emperor. He also elevated the women of the imperial house to show they shared in the majesty of the principate by commemorating his sisters on a coin with him.

The birth of Agrippina the Younger's son, Nero, gave her a new status as a mother. The birth took place nine months after the death of Tiberius, which is unlikely to have been a coincidence; Agrippina would have been well aware that any son of hers, with his Julian blood and direct link to Augustus, would have been the victim to the imperial power plays which marked Tiberius's reign. The birth of her son increased her prestige but it also marked the birth of an ambition that would come to dominate the rest of her life – the elevation of her son to *princeps*. As descendant of Augustus, daughter of Germanicus, mother to the only direct male descendant of her illustrious Julian family, Agrippina the Younger would have felt entitled to her share of power in the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

In late 37 CE, Caligula suffered a major illness. Afterwards he was never the same, and his reign from then on has become associated with megalomania, tyranny and paranoia.

Suetonius documents the levels of deceit Caligula would go to after Drusilla, his favourite sister, died in 38 CE.



SOURCE 8.17 Gaius Caligula, Emperor of Rome. Describe the state of mind of Caligula you think this bust is portraying.



SOURCE 8.19 Roman coinage showing Gaius Caligula and his three sisters: Agrippina, Drusilla and Livilla

Caligula showed no such extreme love or respect for the two surviving sisters, and often, indeed, let his favourites sleep with them; and at Aemilius Lepidus's trial, felt no compunction about denouncing them as adulteresses who were party to plot against him – openly producing letters in their handwriting (acquired by trickery and seduction) and dedicating to Mars the Avenger the three swords with which the accompanying placard alleged, they had meant to kill him.

SOURCE 8.18 Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, Caligula, 24

While still married to her first husband, it was generally agreed by the ancient writers that Agrippina the Younger, as well as her sisters, had ongoing sexual relationships with their brother, Caligula. However, incest was an often-used criminal charge against the aristocracy, because it was impossible to defend successfully. Here, Cassius Dio accuses Caligula and his sisters of incest.

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Another of Caligula's victims was Lepidus, that lover and favourite of his, the husband of Drusilla, the man who had together with Gaius maintained improper relations with the emperor's other sisters, Agrippina and Julia [Livilla], the man whom he had allowed to stand for office five years earlier than was permitted by law and whom he kept declaring he would leave as his successor to the throne. To celebrate this man's death, he gave the soldiers money, as though he had defeated some enemies, and sent three daggers to Mars Ultor in Rome. He deported his sisters to the Pontian Islands because of their relations with Lepidus, having first accused them in a communication to the Senate of many impious and immoral actions ... He sent a report about these matters to the senate at the time, just as if he had escaped some great plot; he was always pretending to be in danger ...

SOURCE 8.20 Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, Book 59, 22.6

In 39 CE, Agrippina the Younger was alleged to have been involved in a conspiracy against Caligula. She and her sister Livilla were exiled to the modern-day island of Ventotene, one of the Pontine Islands in the Tyrrhenian Sea. It is said she was forced to dive for sponges on the island to make a living. Agrippina's husband Ahenobarbus died in 40 CE.

ACTIVITY 8.4

1. What memory, identified by Suetonius in Source 8.16, assisted the people of Rome to accept Caligula as their new emperor?
2. No Roman coin before Caligula had ever depicted sisters of an emperor. What do you think the placement of these women on the coin in Source 8.19 tells us about their position and status?
3. In Source 8.19, Agrippina the Younger holds a cornucopia, which is the symbol of prosperity, health and fertility. Why do you think Agrippina would be shown with this on the coin?
4. Sources 8.18 and 8.20 are written by the ancient writers Suetonius and Cassius Dio. Identify a possible reason for the conflict between these sources and Source 8.19.
5. Identify why, from the beginning of the reign of Caligula, Agrippina the Younger had a vested political interest in the Julio-Claudian dynasty beyond her own survival and personal advancement.



SOURCE 8.21 The modern-day island of Ventotene, the location of Agrippina's exile.

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8.5 Marriage to Emperor Claudius

In 41 CE, Gaius Caligula was assassinated and Agrippina the Younger was returned to Rome under the reign of the new *princeps*, her uncle Claudius. She then married Gaius Sallustius Passienus Crispus whom she later allegedly killed for his money. With the death of Caligula, she was in a much stronger position to be the only Julian mother of a future Julio-Claudian emperor.

Agrippina the Younger married her uncle, the Emperor Claudius, in 49 CE after they were successful in obtaining a waiver from the Senate to marry. Her marriage to Claudius unified the two branches of the Julio-Claudian family as follows:

- Agrippina the Younger had true Julian blood with a direct link to Augustus, and was daughter of the beloved Germanicus, and her son, Nero, was the only living male descendant of Germanicus and Augustus.
- Claudius was the most senior living member of the Claudian family, the brother of Germanicus, and grandson of Livia, the wife of Augustus.

Agrippina and Claudius shared a belief that the union of the two families would provide Rome with strength and stability.

Suetonius accuses Agrippina the Younger of actively encouraging the marriage to her uncle, the Emperor Claudius.

> But it was Agrippina, daughter of his brother Germanicus, who hooked him. She has a niece's privilege of kissing and caressing Claudius, and exercised it with a noticeable effect on passions ... the wedding took place without delay.

SOURCE 8.22 Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, Claudius, 26

Cassius Dio suggests Claudius was swept away by Agrippina the Younger, even though he had known her since she was a child.

> After a little he married his niece Agrippina, the mother of Domitius, who was surnamed Nero. For she was beautiful and was in the habit of consulting him constantly; and she was much in his company unattended, seeing that he was her uncle, and in fact she was rather more familiar in her conduct toward him than became a niece.

SOURCE 8.23 Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, Book 61, 31.5–6

Suetonius discusses the efforts undertaken by Pallas, a freedman who was a trusted advisor of Claudius, to help change the law to allow uncles to marry nieces.

> When the house next met, he persuaded a group of senators to propose that a union between [Claudius] and [Agrippina] should be compulsorily arranged, in the public interest; and that other uncles should likewise be free to marry their nieces, though this had hitherto counted as incest.

SOURCE 8.24 Suetonius,*The Twelve Caesars*, Claudius, 26

Tacitus points out that a change of law to allow uncles and nieces to marry was not being actively requested by Romans.

> There were some who rushed out of the Senate, passionately protesting that if the emperor hesitated, they would use violence. A promiscuous throng assembled, and kept exclaiming that the same too was the prayer of the Roman people. Claudius without further delay presented himself

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in the forum to their congratulations; then entering the Senate, he asked for them to decree which should decide that for the future marriages between uncles and brother's daughters should be legal. There was, however, found only one person who desired such a marriage, Alledius Severus, a Roman knight, who, as many said, was swayed by the influence of Agrippina.

SOURCE 8.25 Tacitus, *Annals*, Book 12.7

Tacitus stated that Claudius's secretary, Pallas, saw the benefit in the marriage to ensure Agrippina the Younger did not have children to anyone else and thus the family tree would be united.

Pallas again selected Agrippina for special commendation because she would bring with her Germanicus's grandson, who was thoroughly worthy of imperial rank, the scion of a noble house and a link to unite the descendants of the Claudian family. He hoped that a woman who was the mother of many children and still in the freshness of youth, would not carry off the grandeur of the Caesars to some other house.

SOURCE 8.26 Tacitus, *Annals*, Book 10.2

The physical features in the Agrippina the Younger bust are very similar to the older bust of her father, Germanicus.

On the left side of the Gemma Claudia brooch in Source 8.29 is the Emperor Claudius and his wife Agrippina the Younger. On the right side is Claudius's brother Germanicus and his wife Agrippina the Elder.

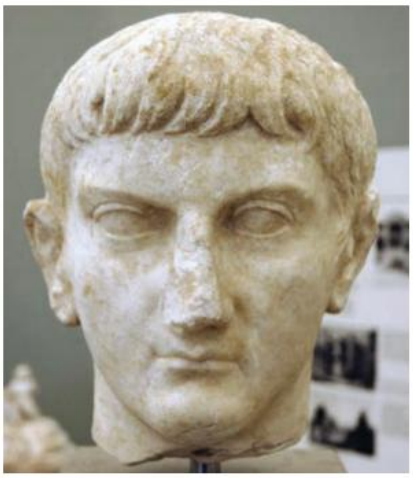
Cassius Dio claims Agrippina the Younger dominated Claudius from the beginning of their marriage.

As soon as Agrippina had come to live in the palace she gained complete control over Claudius. Indeed, she was very clever in making the most of opportunities, and partly by fear and partly by favours, she won the devotion of all those who were at all friendly toward him.

SOURCE 8.30 Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, Book 8.61



SOURCE 8.27 Bust of Agrippina the Younger



SOURCE 8.28 Bust of Germanicus



SOURCE 8.29 Balancing of Julian and Claudian couples, Gemma Claudia brooch, Museum of Art History, Vienna

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Agrippina's powers and influence grew steadily from the time of her marriage to Claudius in 49 CE. This can be seen when in 50 CE she received the title of Augusta, the first wife of a living Roman emperor to be given this title.

Tacitus states Agrippina's power and influence were now given recognition outside Rome when a colony of veterans was founded at her birthplace, Ara Ubiorum (Cologne), and called Colonia Claudia Ara Augusta Agrippinensium.



SOURCE 8.31 A coin from 41–54 CE showing Claudius on the left and Agrippina the Younger on the right.

> Agrippina, to show her power even to the allied nations, procured the despatch of a colony of veterans to the chief town of the Ubii, where she was born. The place was named after her. Agrippa, her grandfather, had, as it happened, received this tribe, when they crossed the Rhine, under our protection.

SOURCE 8.32 Tacitus, *Annals*, Book 7.26

Modern historian Anthony Barrett states in *Agrippina: Sex, Power, and Politics in the Early Empire* that she saw herself as an equal to Claudius due to her imperial lineage.

> It was unlikely that she intended any such arrogation of authority by her virtually equal status to Claudius in this particular ceremony as it would have seemed completely fitting to her as daughter of Germanicus and granddaughter of Drusus, both commendable vanquishers in the north-west.

SOURCE 8.33 Barret, A., 1998, *Agrippina: Sex, Power, and Politics in the Early Empire*, Yale University Press, p. 124

The relief in Source 8.34 shows Agrippina the Younger holding the hand of Claudius in the centre, indicating perhaps the theme of concord in the imperial houses, as well as an elevated representation of domestic harmony between the emperor and his wife. The toga-clad figure on the right represents the senate and people of Rome crowning Claudius.



SOURCE 8.34 Statue of Claudius and Agrippina at Aphrodisias, Turkey

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ACTIVITY 8.5

1. Use Sources 8.22 to 8.26 to write a paragraph on the justification for the marriage of Claudius and Agrippina the Younger. Make sure you use quotes to support your view.
2. Look closely at Sources 8.27 and 8.28. What do you think would be the political advantage in a Roman audience seeing the physical similarity between Germanicus and his daughter, Agrippina the Younger?
3. The Gemma Claudia brooch in Source 8.29 was a private piece of jewelry made of five layered onyx in a gold setting that was designed with the busts of both imperial couples emerging from cornucopias, a symbol of prosperity.
   a. Describe what you see in the Gemma Claudia brooch.
   b. What do you think the inclusion of Agrippina the Younger's parents in the Gemma Claudia brooch indicates about the basis of her power and influence?



SOURCE 8.35 Bust of Claudius at the Naples National Archaeological Museum.

4. Look at the coin in Source 8.31. What can you infer about the relationship between the Emperor Claudius and Agrippina Augusta from the portraits on the coin?
5. Source 8.33 is corroborated by *The Sebasteion Relief* in Source 8.34 that shows Agrippina the Younger in a stance of *concordia* with Claudius. Identify the phrase in Source 8.33 where the corroboration is demonstrated.
6. Review all the sources and list the various honours Agrippina the Younger received during her marriage to Claudius.
7. Agrippina the Younger's marriage to Claudius provided her with access to power. Identify the evidence from the sources and figures above that corroborate the view that Claudius was controlled by his wife.

Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument in relation to ancient personalities and their historical context

8.6 The reign of Nero

Agrippina the Younger was one of the few remaining descendants of Augustus, and her son Nero was one of the last males of the imperial family. As a woman, she could not become emperor herself, so access to the position was through the men in her life. Her two alternatives were to marry the emperor or to help her son, Nero, to become *princeps*. After achieving the first, she then achieved the second.

Agrippina the Younger persuaded Claudius to adopt her son, Nero, as his heir at the age of 13, even though Claudius already had a son, Britannicus, from his previous marriage to Messalina. The Roman Senate approved the adoption on 25 February 50 CE. After her marriage to Claudius and then Nero's adoption, Agrippina was no doubt one of the most powerful women in the Roman Empire. She dominated Claudius and controlled central positions, such as the Praetorian prefect. In 51 CE, Nero reached official manhood and assumed the *toga virilise*, and became *princeps iuventutis*, leader of youth.

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Agrippina the Younger's ambitions were designed not only to gain herself power and influence, but also to allow for her son, Nero, to succeed Claudius as *princeps* which would in turn give her more power than ever. In 53 CE, Agrippina the Younger achieved what her mother had grieved for after the death of her husband, Germanicus – another perfect Julio-Claudian marriage match. She had convinced Claudius to approve Nero marrying his daughter, Claudia Octavia. Nero was 16, they were first cousins, and representatives of each of their families. The Julian and Claudian lines were now entwined and the families were secure. Here were the new Agrippina the Elder (Claudia Octavia) and Germanicus (Nero), but this time the Julian divinity was within the blood of the husband.

Everything was aligned for Nero's succession when Agrippina allegedly had Claudius murdered with poisonous mushrooms in October 54 CE.

Suetonius names the possible culprits of Claudius's poisoning.

> Most people think that Claudius was poisoned; but when, and by whom, is disputed. Some say that the eunuch Halotus, his official taster, administered the drug while he was dining with the priests in the Citadel; others, that Agrippina did so herself at a family banquet, poisoning a dish of mushrooms, his favourite food.

SOURCE 8.36 Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, xliii-xliv

Cassius Dio suggests that Claudius was about to remove Agrippina the Younger from her position of power and influence as empress and reinstate his son Britannicus as his heir rather than Nero.

> Claudius, who displayed his affection whenever he met [his son] Britannicus, was not disposed to endure her behaviour and made preparations to put an end to her power, to register his son among the iuvenes, and appoint him as heir to the empire. This news alarmed Agrippina, who decided to anticipate the emperor's project by poisoning him ... she sent for a drug-woman named Lucusta ...

SOURCE 8.37 Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 61.34 1–2



SOURCE 8.38 Nero and Agrippina, as depicted on the Sebasteion Relief, Archaeological Museum Aphrodisias, Turkey

In the relief in Source 8.39, Agrippina the Younger crowns her young son Nero as Roman emperor in 54 CE with a laurel wreath. She carries a cornucopia and he wears the armour and cloak of a Roman commander, with a helmet on the ground at his feet.

Agrippina had realised her ambition of participating in the family dynasty through involvement in Claudius's administration as 'Julia Augusta' and ensuring her son Nero's accession. Everything now rested on Nero's shoulder. He was the last thread left of all of the Julian lineage who had come before him. And at 17 years old, he would need guidance to rule over the huge empire he had inherited.

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Early years of Nero's rule

The first five years of Nero's principate was a period of good government, where Agrippina the Younger guided Nero, with the help of the philosopher Seneca, and the Praetorian prefect, Burrus. The latter two were allies in their education of the emperor. At first Agrippina the Younger managed all imperial business for Nero, negotiating with embassies, and corresponding with communities, foreign magistrates and kings. Nero allowed her full authority in all business, public as well as private. It was during this time that she and Nero became very close.

Tacitus argued that from the moment of Nero's succession the Roman Empire was transformed. Complete obedience was now given to a woman.

> Still every honour was openly heaped on Agrippina, and to a tribune who according to military custom asked the watchword, Nero gave "the best of mothers". The Senate also decreed her two lictors, with the office of priestess to Claudius ...

SOURCE 8.39 Tacitus, *Annals*, 13.2

Suetonius wrote that Agrippina now managed the Roman empire.

> Nero started off with a parade of filial dutifulness: giving Claudius a lavish funeral, at which he delivered the oration in person, and finally deifying him. He also exalted the memory of his father Domitius, and turned over all his public and private affairs to Agrippina's management. On the day of his accession the password he gave to the colonel on duty was 'the best of mothers'; and she and he often rode out together through the streets in her litter.

SOURCE 8.40 Suetonius, *Nero*, 9

ACTIVITY 8.6

1. Who were the possible murderers of the Emperor Claudius identified in Sources 8.36 and 8.37? Which of these sources acknowledge that there is doubt that Agrippina murdered Claudius? Which states confidently that Agrippina had him murdered?
2. What might Agrippina the Younger have hoped to achieve by the death of Claudius?
3. What do you think Source 8.38 demonstrates about Agrippina's influence at the beginning of Nero's principate? In your response consider the quote from Source 8.40 that on the day of his succession the password Nero gave to the colonel on duty was 'the best of mothers'.

8.7 Agrippina the Younger's loss of influence

While Agrippina the Younger guided Nero for the first few years of his principate, the important role she played in the early years of his rule soon evaporated.

Agrippina the Younger's power and authority were presented on gold and silver coins, as she was shown face to face and in equal size to Nero on the obverse of coins.

She was the first woman during her lifetime to share with the *princeps* the face of a coin minted in Rome. Sources 8.42 and 8.43 show coins from 54 CE and 55 CE of Nero and his mother.

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SOURCE 8.41 Roman coin from 54 CE



SOURCE 8.42 Roman coin from 55 CE

Cassius Dio explains how Nero's advisers began to prevent Agrippina the Younger's involvement in the management of the Roman empire, resulting in her loss of influence.

> At first Agrippina managed all affairs pertaining to the empire, and she and her son went about together, often reclining in the same litter ... It was she who transacted business with embassies and sent letters to peoples and governors and kings.
>
> When this had gone on for a considerable time, it aroused the displeasure of Seneca and Burrus, who were both the most sensible and the most influential of the advisers of Nero. The one was his teacher and the other was prefect of the Pretorians. They took the following occasion to stop this method of procedure. An embassy of Armenians had arrived and Agrippina wished to ascend the platform from which Nero was talking with them. The two men, seeing her approach, persuaded the young man to go down before she could reach there and meet his mother, pretending some form of greeting. After that was done they did not return again, making some excuse to prevent the foreigners from seeing the flaw in the empire. Subsequently they labored to keep any public business from being again committed to her hands.

SOURCE 8.43 Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 61.3.2

Agrippina the Younger's influence over Nero also began to wane. She was furious when he fell in love with a freedwoman, an ex-slave called Acte, and he openly disobeyed her and asked Seneca for help.

> [Agrippina's] influence was gradually weakened, as Nero fell in love with a freedwoman, Acte by name, and took into his confidence Otho and Claudius Senecio, two young men of fashion, the first who was descended from a family of consular rank, while Senecio's father was one of the emperor's freedmen ... Without [Agrippina's] knowledge, then in spite of her opposition, they had crept into [Nero's] favour by debaucheries and equivocal secrets ... for here was a girl who without harm to anyone gratified his desires ...

SOURCE 8.44 Tacitus, *Annals*, 13.11

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SOURCE 8.45 Nero appears on later coins alone



SOURCE 8.46 Bust of Nero

Agrippina changed her tactics and offered her own bedroom for his frolics. However, she became increasingly isolated, for Nero avoided private meetings with her and many of her former friends deserted her. Nero became more and more offended by her strict surveillance, and her criticism of his words and acts. At first he confined his resentment to frequent endeavours to bring upon her a burden of unpopularity by pretending that he would abdicate the throne and go off to Rhodes. He then deprived her of all her honours as well as her guard of Roman and German soldiers. He even forbade her to live with him and drove her from the palace. Eventually Nero passed all bounds in harassment, bribing men to annoy her with lawsuits while she remained in the city, and after she had retired to the country, to pass her house by land and sea and break her rest with abuse and mockery.

Hostilities between mother and son escalated; Suetonius's description of Nero's treatment of his mother would today be called bullying and harassment.

> The over-watchful, over-critical eye that Agrippina kept on whatever Nero said or did proved more than he could stand. He first tried to embarrass her by frequent threats to abdicate and go into retirement in Rhodes. Then, having deprived her of all honours and power, and even of her Roman and German bodyguard, he refused to have her living with him and expelled her from the palace; after which he did everything possible to annoy her, sending people to pester her with lawsuits while she stayed in Rome, and when she took refuge on her riverside estate, making them constantly drive or sail past the windows, disturbing her with jeers and cat-calls. In the end her threats and violent behaviour terrified him into deciding that she must die.

SOURCE 8.47 Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, Nero, 34,

The death of Agrippina the Younger

Nero accused Agrippina the Younger of plotting a conspiracy against him. She defended herself eloquently to him and gained a pardon. Nero made four attempts to have his mother killed. This included having a boat designed and built that would collapse while she was sailing it, which happened on the Bay of Naples. However, she did not drown at sea but instead, to Nero's disgust and fury, swam to shore and was rescued

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by locals. Finally, in 59 CE, Nero sent his soldiers to beat her to death. She is said to have pointed to her abdomen and told her killers to harm her there, where Nero had been conceived. So perished 'the best of mothers'. Nero was obviously afraid of the public reaction to her death. He sent reports to Rome from his estate at Baiae that she had tried to kill him and had then committed suicide. Interestingly, in the list of her many 'crimes' that Nero submitted to the Roman senate to justify her murder, he included that, as a woman, she should not have desired power and involvement in imperial rule.

Cassius Dio appears to be make the argument that Agrippina being murdered by her son was a richly deserved misfortune.

> Thus was Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, grand-daughter of Agrippa and descendant of Augustus, slain by the very son to whom she had given the sovereignty, and for whose sake she had killed her uncle and others.

SOURCE 8.48 Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 8.62

Tacitus appears to support the argument that the charges Nero made against his mother (that she wanted to be a co-ruler) to the Roman senate justified her murder.

> [Nero] even revived the charges of a period long past, how [Agrippina] had aimed at a share of empire, and at inducing the praetorian cohorts to swear obedience to a woman, to the disgrace of the Senate and people; how, when she was disappointed, in her fury with the soldiers, the Senate, and the populace ... she organised prosecutions against distinguished citizens.

SOURCE 8.49 Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.11

Perhaps, after all, Agrippina had her revenge as Suetonius describes the ghost of Agrippina the Younger haunting her son.

> he [Nero] was never either then or thereafter able to free his conscience from the guilt of the crime. He often admitted that the Furies were pursuing him with whips and burning torches, and set Persian [magicians] at work to conjure up the ghost and make her stop haunting him.

SOURCE 8.50 Suetonius, *Nero*, 34

ACTIVITY 8.7

1. Look at the coins in Sources 8.41 and 8.42. What do you think the coin from 54 CE suggests about the power relationship at that time between Nero and his mother? Describe how the power relationship has changed in the coin in 55 CE.
2. Use Sources 8.43 to 8.46 to identify the evidence that Agrippina the Younger's influence over Nero was declining.
3. Study Sources 8.47 to 8.50 and answer the questions below.
   - **a.** What were some of the reasons for Nero's growing belief that he must kill his mother?
   - **b.** What were some of the methods Nero used while attempting to murder his mother?
   - **c.** How did Nero justify his murderous actions to the Roman Senate?

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Agrippina the Younger was murdered outside of Rome, cremated and buried in an unmarked grave with no ceremony. She never received a funeral or any state honours and Nero did his best to pretend that she had never existed during the remaining years of his reign. The ignominy of her slow fall from power and the silence surrounding her death made it easier for some to sweep her out of history.

Contemporary and predominantly male historians of Rome were content in pretending that a woman had never ruled them. But for almost ten years, Agrippina the Younger had unofficially ruled the Roman Empire as partner to her husband and son. She was hailed as Augusta and was empress in all but name. She fought against and transgressed the limits of her sex more than any other woman of the Roman imperial world. Her fascinating example deserves to be remembered as more than simply the woman who poisoned Claudius or the mother of Nero.

Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about ancient personalities

8.8 Ancient and modern perceptions of Agrippina's achievements

Ancient literary sources

Assessing the historical personality of Agrippina the Younger is difficult because we have a limited selection of sources to refer to and they are hostile to her. Ancient Roman written sources, representing exclusively male perspectives, present Agrippina the Younger as:

- a wicked, scheming mother prepared to go to any lengths for her son
- a seductress using her feminine wiles to have her way
- a violent and intimidating woman who eliminated anyone who got in her way.

Agrippina the Younger constantly challenged the traditional role of the Roman woman and tried to broaden the influence of the imperial women; the male authors of contemporaneous sources appear to have hated her for it. The most critical view of Agrippina the Younger was held by Tacitus who considered her to be vicious. He had a strong disposition against her due because she was female and influential in politics. Tacitus's views were supported by Suetonius and Cassius Dio, although to a lesser extent.

The writers of the ancient sources use Nero's submission to the Roman Senate justifying his actions in murdering her mother as their evidence for Agrippina the Younger's misdeeds. This submission is obviously a highly biased document, but does represent a uniformly hostile view of Agrippina the Younger. Interestingly, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio all reference a text called *The Memoirs of Agrippina the Younger*. Unfortunately, no copy of this document has survived to modern times. It would be fascinating to read a source written by Agrippina the Younger that documents her views on the first-century CE power struggle within the imperial Roman household.

Modern views

Most modern scholars writing about Agrippina the Younger, at least up to the late twentieth century, have continued to follow the negative literary tradition of Tacitus and produced a portrait little different from the ancient tradition. Up to this time, the writing of ancient history was mostly the reserve of middle-aged men who usually did not question the male-dominated and patriarchal nature of their own times. However, twentieth century scholars, such as H.H. Scullard, have also had a critical view of Agrippina and appear to be disinclined to question patriarchal perspectives from early imperial Rome.

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> Ambitious and unscrupulous, Agrippina struck down a series of victims; no man or woman was safe if she suspected rivalry or desired their wealth.

SOURCE 8.51 Scullard, H.H., 1976, *From the Gracchi to Nero: A History of Rome from 133 BC to AD 68*, Methuen & Co., p.314

Scullard was writing in the 1960s, before any major challenge to these patriarchal norms began to be reflected in historiography. Since the 1970s, the writing of history, both modern and ancient, has come under the influence of a wide range of historiographical trends including feminist history and gender studies. This has led to historians approaching a figure like Agrippina the Younger with a willingness to read her as an intelligent, determined woman, who should be admired for achieving as much as she did in a world dominated by men.

However, even before the 1960s and 1970s – at the start of the twentieth century – Italian historian Guglielmo Ferrero suggests that Agrippina the Younger had been judged harshly by history.

> The unforeseen death of Claudius suddenly cut short the work which Agrippina had well under way. Claudius was sixty-four years old, and one night in the month of October of the year 54 he succumbed to some mysterious malady after a supper of which, as usual, he had partaken inordinately. Tacitus pretends to know that Agrippina had secretly administered poison ... this version is so strange and improbable that Tacitus himself does not dare affirm it, but says, many believe that it was in this manner that he met his death ... Claudius, who was 64, in all probability died a sudden but natural death.

SOURCE 8.52 Ferrero, G., 1911, *The Women of the Caesars*, The Century Co., pp. 215–216

Richard Bauman states that modern historians are split regarding Agrippina's guilt over her husband's death:

> The way was now clear for Agrippina to eliminate Claudius, and the sources almost unanimously agree that this is what she did. But though they agree that poison was administered and Agrippina was responsible, they differ on detail ... Modern investigators divide equally into believers and unbelievers. There is little point in attempting to arbitrate.

SOURCE 8.53 Bauman, R.A., 1994, *Women and Politics in Ancient Rome*, Routledge, p. 187

ACTIVITY 8.8

1. Which of the three main ancient writers do you think Scullard reflects the most closely in Source 8.51?
2. Identify the quote where Ferrero criticises Tacitus in Source 8.52. What is the damning phrase he uses to dismiss the authenticity of Tacitus?
3. Read Source 8.53. Explain in your own words Bauman's hypothesis on the murder of Claudius.
4. Select which historian you think is the most accurate. Defend your answer.

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The differences between the ancient literary and visual sources

Another new approach to studying Agrippina the Younger has emerged through analysing the representations of Agrippina, and other Julio-Claudian women, in coins, busts, statues, reliefs and cameos. The representations of Agrippina the Younger in the visual sources are conspicuously different from those in the literary tradition. The literary constructs of the ruthless power seeker, the seducer-turned-poisoner of husbands, and the mother who commits incest with her son, are replaced in the material record by much more flattering constructs.

A synopsis of the modern historian Anthony Barrett's view states that Agrippina was misjudged:

> Agrippina the Younger attained a level of power in first-century Rome unprecedented for a woman. According to ancient sources, she achieved her success by plotting against her brother, the emperor Caligula, murdering her husband, the emperor Claudius, and controlling her son, the emperor Nero, by sleeping with him. Modern scholars tend to accept this verdict. But ... Anthony Barrett paints a startling new picture of this influential woman ... Drawing on the latest archaeological, numismatic, and historical evidence, Barrett argues that Agrippina has been misjudged. Although she was ambitious, says Barrett, she made her way through ability and determination rather than by sexual allure, and her political contributions to her time seem to have been positive. After Agrippina's marriage to Claudius there was a marked decline in the number of judicial executions and there was close cooperation between the Senate and the emperor; the settlement of Cologne, founded under her *aegis*, was a model of social harmony; and the first five years of Nero's reign, while she was still alive, were the most enlightened of his rule. According to Barrett, Agrippina's one real failing was her relationship with her son, the monster of her own making who had her murdered in horrific and violent circumstances. Agrippina's impact was so lasting, however, that for some 150 years after her death no woman in the imperial family dared assume an assertive political role.

SOURCE 8.54 Publisher's synopsis of Anthony Barrett's, *Agrippina: Sex, Power, and Politics in the Early Empire* (published by Routledge, 1996)

The following images of Agrippina show the variety of ways she was represented by contemporary artisans.



SOURCE 8.55 Statue representing Agrippina the Younger



SOURCE 8.56 Bust of Agrippina the Younger

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SOURCE 8.57 Statue of Agrippina the Younger in a reclining pose

The Great Cameo of France, shown in Source 8.59, is a five-layered sardonyx imperial Roman cameo made c. 50–54 CE. In the upper level are the deceased or deified members including Divus Augustus. The surrounding figures may be Drusus the Younger (son of Tiberius), and Drusus the Elder (brother of Tiberius) flying on Pegasus.

In the middle level appear the Emperor Tiberius flanked by his mother Livia; standing in front of them are Germanicus and his wife Agrippina the Elder, behind them the future emperor Nero and the figure of Providentia (Foresight); behind Livia and Tiberius are Claudius and his wife Agrippina the Younger.

In the lowest level are captive barbarians.



SOURCE 8.58 Plaster cast of a statue of Agrippina the Younger found in the surroundings of Rome



SOURCE 8.59 *The Great Cameo of France*, depicting a Julio-Claudian family reunion, Cabinet des Medailles, Paris

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ACTIVITY 8.9

1. In Source 8.54, Anthony Barrett argues that Agrippina the Younger has been misjudged for nearly 2000 years.
   - **a.** According to the review of his book, what does Barratt identify as the almost universally-accepted view of Agrippina the Younger by the ancient sources?
   - **b.** What type of evidence has Barrett used for his reinterpretation of Agrippina the Younger?
   - **c.** Identify what Barrett thinks was Agrippina the Younger's one real failing.
2. Look at Sources 8.55 to 8.58. Consider how these visual representations of Agrippina the Younger depict a positively demure, matronly and indeed pious woman. These statuary sources are in contrast to the immoral, vicious woman portrayed by Tacitus, Suetonius and Cassius Dio. Develop a hypothesis to address the conflict between the ancient literary sources and the ancient material record sources.
3. Source 8.59 is an image of *The Great Cameo of France*. Refer to the image and the text explaining the figures in it to answer the questions below.
   - **a.** What do you think was the purpose behind this cameo?
   - **b.** Identify the location in the cameo of Agrippina the Younger and Claudius. Would you say the imagery supports the position of the ancient writers or of modern historians such as Anthony Barrett? Elaborate on your answer.

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter on Agrippina the Younger outlined:

- the background, early career and influence explored through the role of women in imperial Roman society
- the social position and status explored through an analysis of the struggle between the two great Roman families: Julian and Claudian
- the turmoil during the reign of Agrippina the Younger's brother, Gaius Caligula
- agrippina the Younger's marriage to the emperor (her uncle Claudius), and her rise in political influence and power
- the reign of Agrippina the Younger's son, Nero, and her efforts at co-rule
- the decline in influence and death of Agrippina the Younger
- a comparison of the hostile ancient literary sources with modern literary interpretations and evidence available in the material remain sources of Agrippina the Younger.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend

Briefly describe Agrippina the Younger's early life and rise to prominence.

Devise

Devise a series of research questions on each of the ancient writers Suetonius, Cassius Dio and Tacitus that focuses on their view of the actions of Agrippina the Younger.

Analyse

Describe the basis of Agrippina's power and influence before her marriage to Claudius.

Synthesise

Describe the representations of Agrippina the Younger in the ancient sources.

Evaluate

Evaluate the influence of Agrippina the Younger in her lifetime using the sources in this chapter.

Respond

Explain the expected role of a woman in ancient Roman society.

Assessment

Examination-style questions

1. How have interpretations of Agrippina the Younger changed over time?
2. How did Agrippina the Younger's background prepare her for her prominent role?
3. Evaluate the significance of Agrippina's marriages in her rise to prominence.

Investigation tasks

1. To what extent was Agrippina the Younger an influential political figure?
2. Evaluate Agrippina's relationship with Nero.
3. Modern historian Judith Ginsburg has stated that 'Tacitus's Agrippina is largely a literary construct that serves the larger ends of the narrative of the principates of Claudius and Nero'. Respond to this quote with reference to the physical artefacts of the Julio-Claudians.

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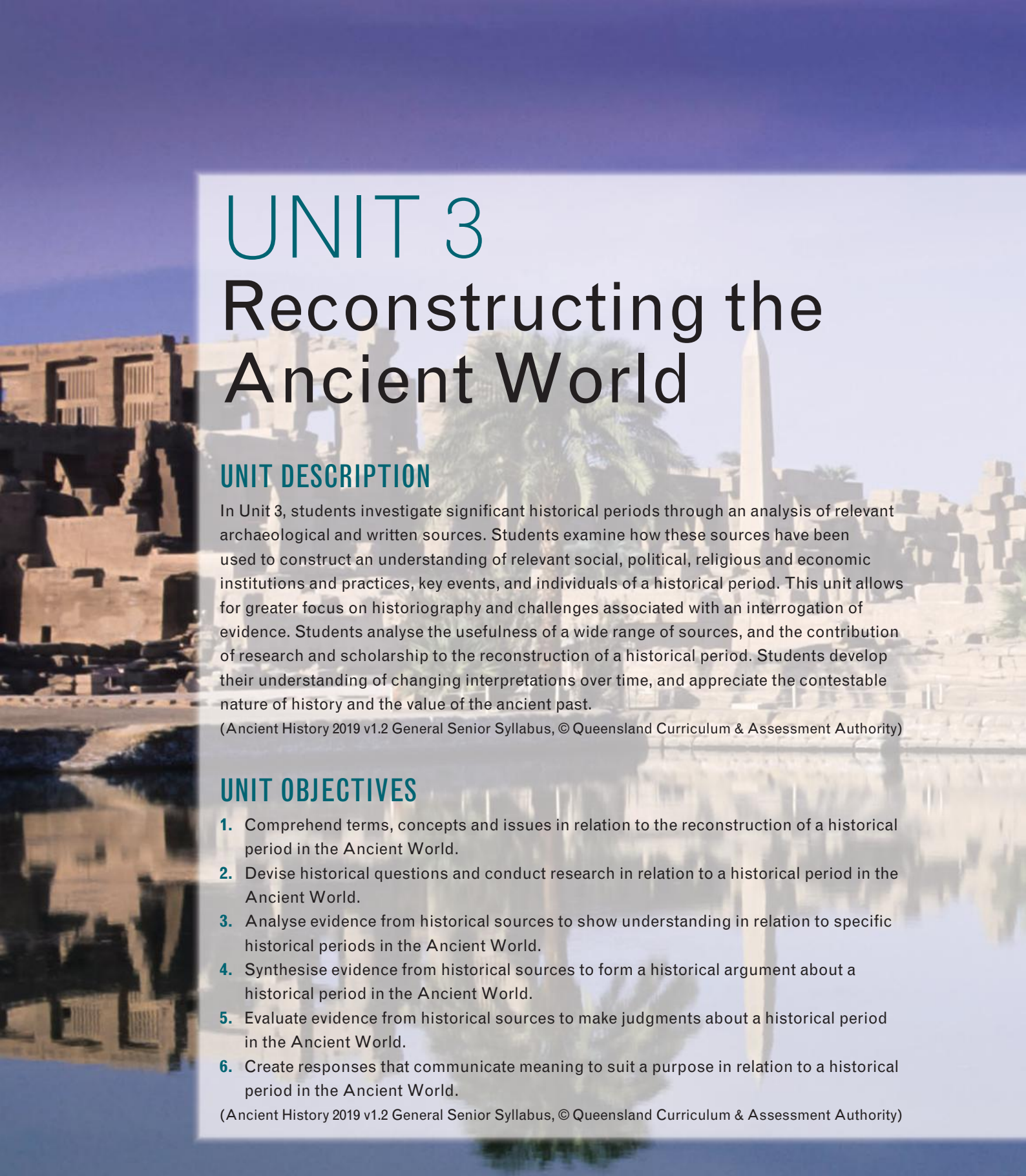


CHAPTER 9
Boudica

SARAH COLEMAN

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UNIT 3
Reconstructing the Ancient World

UNIT DESCRIPTION

In Unit 3, students investigate significant historical periods through an analysis of relevant archaeological and written sources. Students examine how these sources have been used to construct an understanding of relevant social, political, religious and economic institutions and practices, key events, and individuals of a historical period. This unit allows for greater focus on historiography and challenges associated with an interrogation of evidence. Students analyse the usefulness of a wide range of sources, and the contribution of research and scholarship to the reconstruction of a historical period. Students develop their understanding of changing interpretations over time, and appreciate the contestable nature of history and the value of the ancient past.

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UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the reconstruction of a historical period in the Ancient World.
2. Devise historical questions and conduct research in relation to a historical period in the Ancient World.
3. Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding in relation to specific historical periods in the Ancient World.
4. Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument about a historical period in the Ancient World.
5. Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgments about a historical period in the Ancient World.
6. Create responses that communicate meaning to suit a purpose in relation to a historical period in the Ancient World.

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KEY CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDINGS

- usefulness and reliability of sources
- perspectives
- interpretations and contestability
- evidence
- continuity and change
- cause and effect
- significance
- empathy.

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KEY INQUIRY QUESTIONS

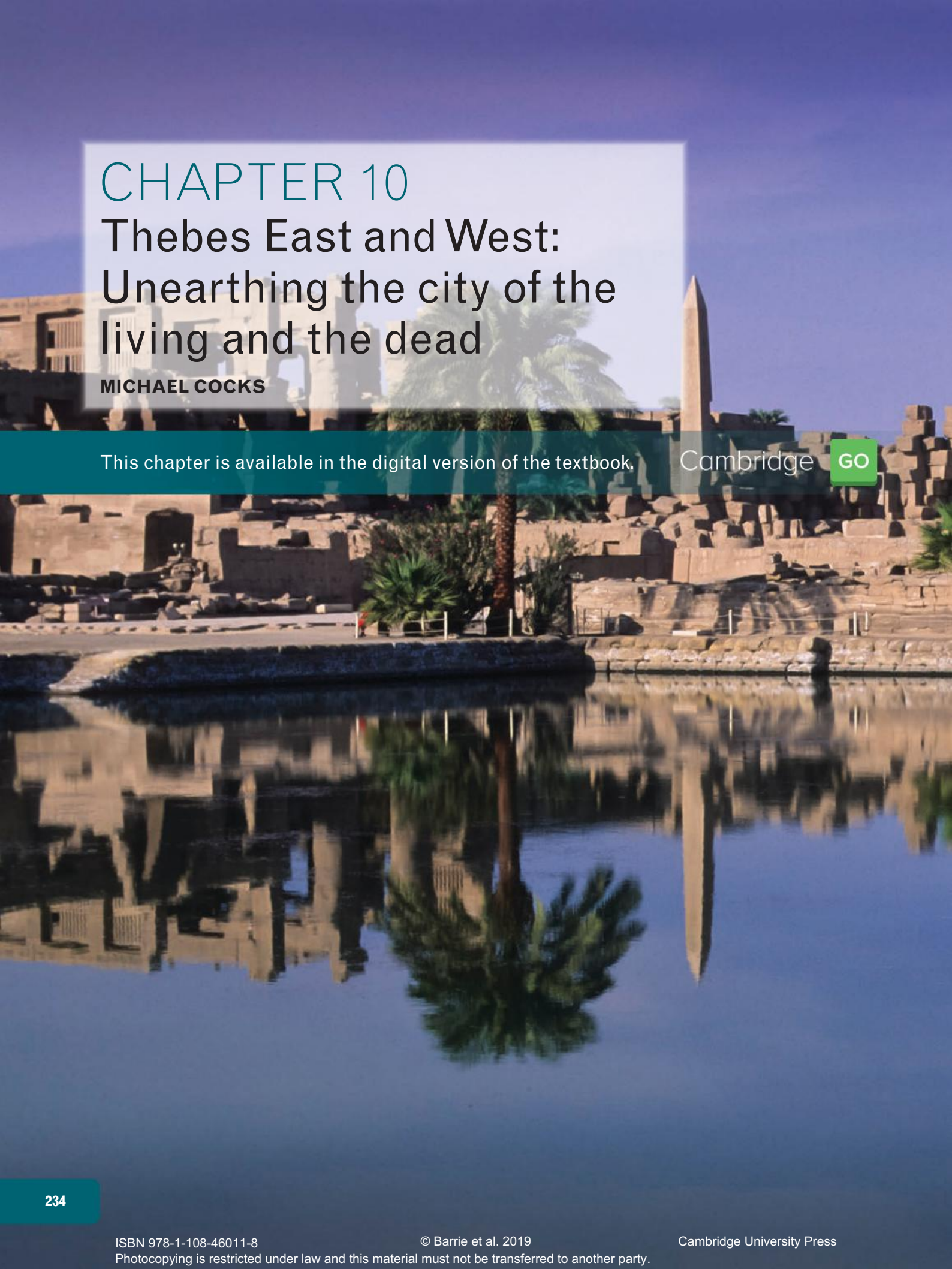
- How is meaning concerning certain periods of history constructed from historical evidence?
- What features, achievements and issues distinguish significant historical periods of antiquity?

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CHAPTERS IN THIS UNIT

CHAPTER	
Chapter 10	Thebes East and West: Unearthing the city of the living and the dead (DIGITAL CHAPTER)
Chapter 11	Fifth century Athens (BCE)
Chapter 12	Philip II and Alexander III of Macedon
Chapter 13	Early imperial Rome
Chapter 14	Pompeii and Herculaneum
Chapter 15	The fall of the Western Roman Empire (DIGITAL CHAPTER)

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CHAPTER 10
Thebes East and West: Unearthing the city of the living and the dead

MICHAEL COCKS

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CHAPTER 11
Fifth-century Athens (BCE)

JENNA HAYWOOD

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the geographical and historical context of Athens during the fifth century BCE, with particular reference to the remains at key sites and other relevant sources.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the nature and range of sources for the period, and identification of key issues related to the investigation of sources; for example, authentication, excavation, reconstruction and/or conservation.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - the nature of governance and political developments.
  - significant events and key individuals.
  - social structure.
  - cultural life and practices.
  - religious beliefs and practices.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding
- synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - the limitations, reliability and usefulness of sources

and either:

- create a response that communicates meaning to suit purpose by presenting an essay in response to historical sources

or

- devise historical questions and conduct research, and create a response that communicates meaning by presenting an independent source investigation.

KEY DATES

800–500 BCE	490 BCE	487 BCE	484 BCE	480 BCE
The Archaic Age sees the emergence of Greece from the Dark Ages, and the growth of individual *poleis* and Greek culture through colonisation	Greek victory over the Persians at the Battle of Marathon	• First victim of ostracism expelled • Archons are appointed by lot for the first time	Aeschylus wins the prize for tragedy at the City Dionysia in Athens	Greek victories over Xerxes I at Salamis, after losing at Thermopylae earlier in the year

SOURCE 11.1 The Athenian acropolis

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Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the reconstruction of Athens during the fifth century BCE.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about changing interpretations over time relating to an understanding of the period using, for example, new discoveries, research and technologies.

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SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

- Pericles: a prominent and influential Greek statesman, orator and general of Athens during the Golden Age, specifically the time between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars
- Phidias: a Greek sculptor, painter, and architect
- Plato: a philosopher in Classical Greece and the founder of the Academy in Athens
- Socrates: a philosopher credited as one of the founders of Western philosophy, and as being the first moral philosopher of the Western ethical tradition of thought

KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

TERM	DEFINITION
archon	chief magistrate in a *polis*
Areopagus	the earliest aristocratic council in Athens; its power was mostly removed during the fifth century BCE
arête	meaning 'excellence of any kind'
chorus	in Greek theatre, a group of actors who described and commented upon the main action of the play through song, dance and chanting. They act as a social barometer for the audience, telling them how they should react to the events of the play
didactic	intended to teach; moral instruction is the motive of the text
dokimasia	process of determining whether citizens were suitable to hold political office
eisangelia	the power to supervise the conduct of officials during their year in office
entablature	the upper part of a classical building supported by columns, comprising the architrave, frieze and cornice

478 BCE	468 BCE	462 BCE	461 BCE	458–457 BCE
The Delian League is formed	Sophocles wins the prize for tragedy in Athens	Ephialtes deprives the aristocratic Areopagus of most of their traditional functions and makes them answerable to the Assembly	Pericles instructs that construction begins on the two Long Walls, connecting Athens and the harbour at Piraeus	The archonship (highest political office) is opened to most social classes

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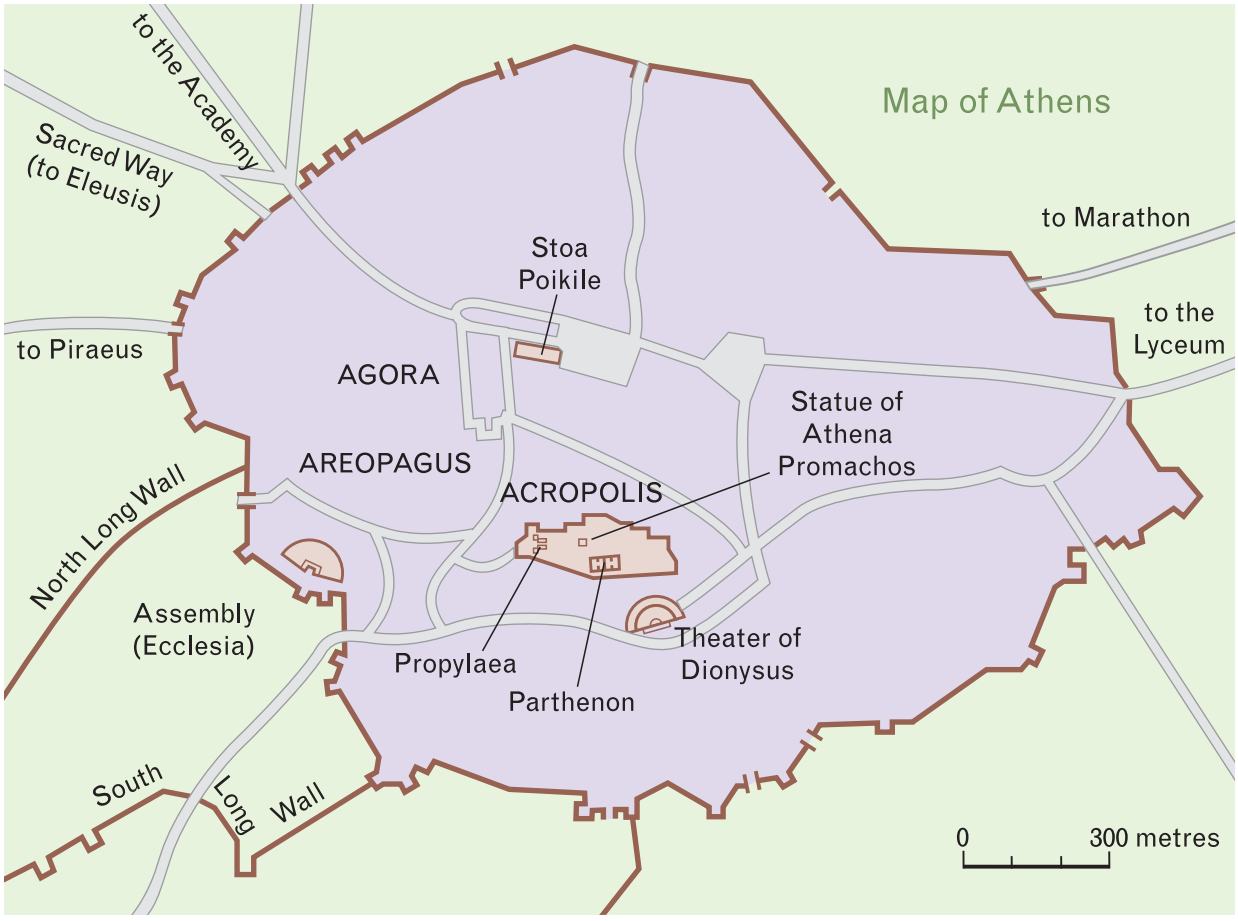
TERM	DEFINITION
euthynai	the investigation at the end of an individual's term in office to establish whether they acted according to the law
frieze	a horizontal band of sculpted or painted decoration
golden ratio	a special rule of proportion occurring in nature that was discovered by the ancient Greeks (1:1.618)
libation	a drink poured out as an offering to a religious deity
metope	a rectangular, decorated element that fills the space between two triglyphs in a Doric frieze
oral tradition	a form of communication where knowledge, art and ideas are passed down through the generations by word of mouth
ostracism	exclusion from a society or group; In ancient Athens, ostracism was the result of a public vote and the individual was banished for 10 years
pediment	triangular upper part of the front of a classical building, often filled with sculptures
polis	(pl. *poleis*) city-state, a fortified town and its surrounding land that governed itself (e.g. Athens, Sparta)
polytheistic	the belief in multiple deities simultaneously
protagonist	the leading character in a play
satyr	in mythology a man with horse-like ears and tail; companions of Dionysus
strategos	(pl. *strategoi*) military general
stylobate	a continuous base supporting a row of columns; acts as the foundation for a building
votive offering	an object that is displayed or deposited in a sacred place without the intention of recovery to gain favour with the gods

454 BCE	451 BCE	448 BCE	443 BCE	438 BCE
Treasury of Delian League moves from Delos to Athens	Jurors now receive payment for their service	Work begins to restore the Acropolis after Persian destruction, and the Parthenon is built	Pericles is first appointed as *strategos*	Statue of Athena Parthenos in the Parthenon is dedicated

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MAP



SOURCE 11.2 Map of Athens in the fifth century BCE

Introduction

In the Interactive Textbook, you will find extracts from a number of articles that explore the differing opinions on the legacy of Athens from the fifth century BCE. You can read all or a selection of these by way of introduction to this time period.

GO

431 BCE	429 BCE	421 BCE	404 BCE
First Peloponnesian War begins	Pericles dies in the Athenian Plague	Peace of Nicias brings an end to First Peloponnesian War	Athens surrenders to combined forces of Peloponnesian League

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Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the reconstruction of a historical period in the Ancient World

11.1 Geographical and historical context

Geography

Located within the Mediterranean like her neighbour Italy, Greece was placed in a good position geographically to influence other civilisations, but also to come into contact with new ideas through trade and language. Geography played an important role in determining many features of Greek culture as it grew and developed before the fifth century BCE. It particularly influenced the development of the *poleis*.



SOURCE 11.3 Vikos Gorge, in the Pindus Mountains of northern Greece. How does the geography of Greece vary around the country?

The *poleis*

The Greek *polis* translates to 'city-state'. Originally, the term meant 'citadel' (a fortress surrounded by farming land). Over time, it came to mean more than a place defined by a boundary. It implied that a group of people in a general locality were united by feelings of kinship, worship of a deity and a common language. They operated as an individual political entity, and sponsored local artistic and intellectual achievement. One such achievement for Athens was the development of democracy.

The ancient Greeks did not consider themselves as 'Greeks' - they were Athenian, Spartan or Corinthian. Their identity was tied to that of the city they were associated with. Citizenship of a *polis* belonged to men who were born there (some *poleis* based citizenship also on land ownership). The individualistic nature of the *poleis* was only enhanced by the landscape – much of Greece is mountainous and so the *poleis* were content to keep to themselves, often out of necessity.



SOURCE 11.4 Olive gathering, attributed to the Antimenes Painter, c. 520 BCE, Attic amphora, British Museum. What other agricultural themes can be found on pottery?

The soil and climate around mainland Greece was well suited to the cultivation of olives and grapes. This enabled the Greeks to trade excess produce for uncommon metals and grains. Many regions in Greece had excellent natural clay that was used in the manufacture of pottery for local use and export. Along the coastline, in regions similar to Athens, people benefitted from a pleasant climate. Poor weather offshore during winter prevented overseas trading, however. The poet Hesiod, in *Works and Days*, gives advice to the reader about which agricultural activities should be undertaken at particular times of the year. The text offers a valuable insight into the life of everyday people. The Interactive Textbook contains an extract from this text, and an activity to help you analyse it.

GO

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ACTIVITY 11.1

Using Google Earth or an atlas, answer the following questions:

1. What geographical features would have made it difficult for *poleis* to associate with one another regularly? Consider bodies of water as well as topography.
2. Conduct research to establish which *poleis* would have been able to communicate regularly with ease? Why?

11.2 Historical context

At the start of the fifth century BCE, mainland Greece was home to warring *poleis* who were always trying to best each other. However, the looming threat from Persia forced them to put aside their differences and fight together for their homeland. Below is an outline of key events during the Persian Wars as it relates to the increasing power of Athens in the following years.

Key events during the Persian Wars

- The Persian Empire had expanded into Asia Minor, taking control of numerous cities that considered themselves Greek and began to monopolise trade, restricting Greek prosperity.
- Athens intervened in a revolt by the Ionians against Sardis and their Persian governors, likely provoking the Persian King Darius.
- Darius's force landed at the plain of Marathon in 490 BCE to face a much smaller Greek force, but ultimately lost and returned home.
- In 483 BCE, the archon Themistokles convinced Athens to build a large fleet of triremes which became the key to their eventual victory.
- In 480 BCE, Darius's son Xerxes returned to Greece by making his way around the Aegean and through Macedonia. A combined Greek force tried to block them at Thermopylae but ultimately failed.
- The Persians moved south and burned Athens but were defeated by a superior Athenian navy at Salamis.

At the conclusion of the Second Persian War, it was clear to *poleis* around the Aegean that Athens was the key to keeping the Persian threat at bay. To ensure this, Athens took on the leadership of the Hellenic League. The organisation became known as the Delian League because its treasury was situated on the island of Delos. Each *polis* would pay a contribution to the league, which would then be used by Athens to protect cities who had just won their freedom from the Persians. In 454 BCE, the treasury was moved from Delos to Athens. This change made Athens the focus of life in the Aegean and enabled it to gradually build an empire in the following decades. This centralisation of finance, economic and cultural life was key to Athens achieving the cultural heights that it did during the fifth century BCE.

However, during the latter half of the fifth century BCE, Athens's growing sense of self-importance brought it into conflict with its old enemy Sparta. It was clear to *poleis* around the Aegean that, in the absence of a Persian threat, Athens had grown increasingly authoritarian in its control of the Delian League; even going so far as to impose its democratic institutions on other members and using military force to keep control. Athens and Sparta, and their respective allies, fought two wars between 431 and 404 BCE. Unfortunately, in 429 BCE, Pericles (the leader who had shepherded the cultural achievements in the middle of the fifth century BCE) died during a plague that swept through the city. The involvement of Persia on Sparta's side during the later years and the lack of stable leadership in Athens forced their eventual surrender. Athens lost its empire, most of its fleet and its political autonomy (Athens was controlled by a committee of Spartans known as the Thirty Tyrants).

What becomes apparent as you examine the cultural and political achievements of Athens during the fifth century BCE is that its most significant success and growth occurred during times of peace. While authors still wrote plays and philosophers still questioned the mysteries of the universe during

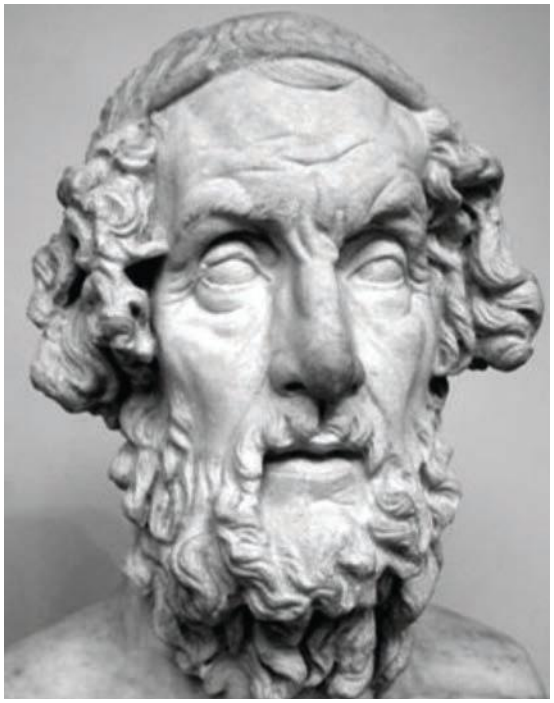
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times of conflict, Athens did not have the financial resources or luxury of time to invest in fostering their development while at war. Consequently, the effect of these conflicts on Athenian society cannot be underestimated.

11.3 Government and political developments

Colonisation and tyranny

Up until the fifth century BCE, Greece had been a melting pot of different forms of government. Throughout their history, at one time or another, *poleis* had used monarchy, thalassocracy, aristocracy, anarchy, tyranny, oligarchy and timocracy. The most notable among these, in the case of Athens prior to the fifth century BCE, is tyranny. As their expansion into the surrounding region of Attica brought more wealth and resources into the city, tyranny emerged as a form of government in response to the economic and social changes of the time. In Athens, powerful individuals emerged to govern the *polis* – individuals who were not from the traditional aristocratic classes. Our modern understanding of the word 'tyrant' will usually generate images of strong, forceful leaders who use their gift in persuasive public speech to seize control (Adolf Hitler is an often-used example of a tyrant). Like modern tyrants, the tyrants of Athens used fear and force to gain and keep control. However, while 'tyranny' has negative connotations, ancient Athens still achieved growth and development. In fact, many positive changes occurred under the leadership of tyrants. The Interactive Textbook includes Aristotle's account of Pisistratus's tyranny in Athens, and an activity to help you analyse it. Pisistratus had control of Athens several times between 561 and 527 BCE, and is credited with reducing the privileges of the aristocracy, granting land to the poor and funding artistic programs.



SOURCE 11.5 A bust of Herodotus. How do we know this is what Herodotus looked like?

GO

The emergence of democracy

Before examining the features of Athenian democracy, it is crucial to put aside any assumption that it should be expected to resemble modern democracy. Democracy today in Australia, and around the world, responds to our modern needs and situation. The case is the same for Athens – her democratic institutions and practices suited her society and people. The decades after the Persian Wars particularly saw the rising influence of the lower classes. These men from the *thetes* class were the rowers in the Athenian navy – the same men who manned the fleet against the Persians at Salamis and helped build the empire in later years. Because of their crucial role, they demanded more say in decision-making processes. It was not until the late fifth century BCE that the word *demokratia*, meaning 'sovereign power of the people', was used to describe democracy.

During the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, Solon and Cleisthenes were the leading reformers who helped direct the Athenian political system towards democracy. The re-organisation of 139 demes into ten tribes by Cleisthenes was particularly significant as it represented the gradual transfer of political power from the aristocrats to the greater population. Subsequent reforms truly made Athens a democracy. The following diagram charts the steps that led to democracy becoming the accepted system of government in ancient Greece.

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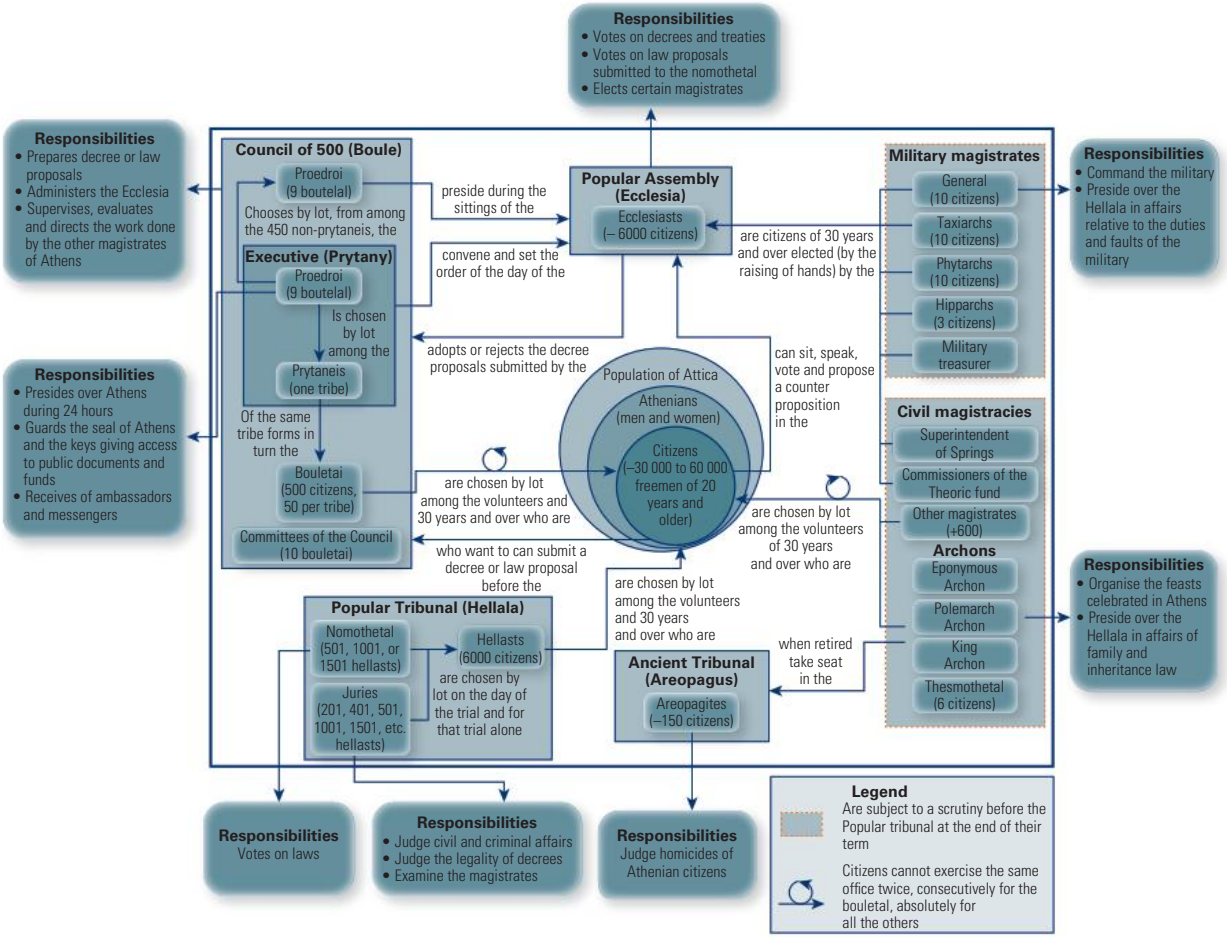


SOURCE 11.6 How ancient Greece became a democracy

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During the fifth century BCE, there were four main political institutions in Athens:

1. the Popular Assembly (Ecclesia)
2. the Council of 500 (Boule)
3. the Magistracy
4. the Heliaia and *dikasteria* (other law courts)



SOURCE 11.7 Athenian political institutions in the fifth century BCE

Radical democracy

By the middle of the fifth century BCE, Athens had become a radical democracy in which sovereignty, or the ultimate control of state affairs, rested with the masses. Through various reforms by Cleisthenes, Ephialtes and Pericles, most of the political decision-making power had been transferred to institutions made up of ordinary citizens.

The radical features included:

- selection by lot: for every magistrate except the *strategos*
- collegiality: all magistrates were members of boards or groups (no one served alone)
- direct participation: everyone was expected to attend and serve
- payment for service: first for jurors, then later magistrates
- rotation of offices: no magistrate could serve in an office more than once (except members of the Boule and the *strategia*).

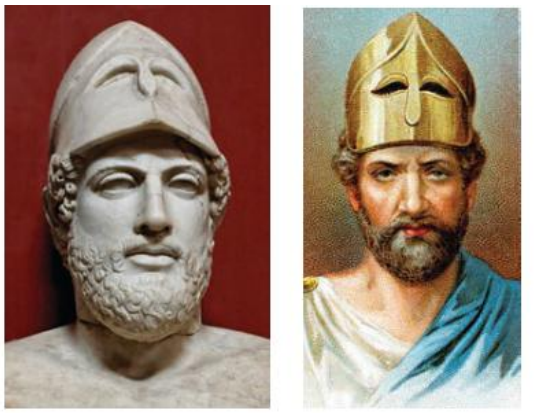
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Who was Pericles?

When examining the rise of Athens and her cultural achievements during the fifth century BCE, Pericles's contributions cannot be overlooked. The most substantial primary source on Pericles is Plutarch's biography of the politician; however, Plutarch was not critical of the material he used in writing. Thucydides also wrote about Pericles though he was cursory in recounting personal details about him. Aristophanes as well made mention of Pericles, though his poetic work featured caricature and ridicule.

Key biographic details for Pericles:

- born in 495 BCE to a distinguished family
- grew up during the Persian Wars, in which his father participated
- sought the company of intellectuals such as Anaxagoras and Protagoras, hence why his political views were considered radical and progressive
- elected *strategos* 15 successive times – evidence of the trust the people had in his capabilities and integrity
- made significant reforms which saw the rise of a direct citizen democracy
- under Pericles, the Athenian Empire continued to grow by taking control of the other Greek states
- carried out an ambitious building program including the Parthenon and several buildings around the agora
- leader of Athens during the first years of the Peloponnesian War with Sparta
- died in 429 BCE from the plague.



SOURCE 11.8 Bust of Pericles, c. 430 BCE, and a later artistic representation of the Athenian politician. To what degree do you think these portraits have been idealised and given a more 'youthful' appearance? Why?

ACTIVITY 11.2

Search online for the following sources regarding Pericles and answer the questions that follow using evidence to support your response.

- Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Book 2, Chapter 65.
- Plutarch's *Pericles*, chapters 9, 11–13, 19–20, 39.

1. What abilities does Pericles have?
2. How do the sources describe his character?
3. What was his position within society?
4. What was he like as a leader?
5. How did he contribute in developing democracy within Athens?
6. How did he contribute to the cultural growth and development of Athens?
7. Overall, how do Thucydides and Plutarch differ in their opinions of Pericles? What may account for these differences?

Social structure

The distinction between social classes in Athens was quite simple. Those with the most privilege and opportunity were the ones who held citizenship, and those with the least were slaves.

To be considered a citizen, a person had to be male and over the age of of 18 (from 451 BCE onwards, both parents also had to be Athenian-born). Some of the benefits of citizenship were:

- only ones permitted to own land
- had political rights and the protection of the law
- free from direct taxation.

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Citizens in ancient Athens belonged to four distinct classes:

TABLE 11.1 Social hierarchy of men in ancient Athens

Greek name	Qualification	Rights
Pentacosiomedimni (men of 500 bushels)	Land owned produced 500 measures of produce	Eligible for archonship and every institution
Hippeis (horsemen)	Land owned produced 300 measures of produce (enough to provide for a horse)	Both classes eligible for lower magistracies, the Council of 500 and Assembly
Zeugitae (yoked men)	Land owned produced 200 measures of produce (enough for a yoke of oxen to plough their field)	
Thetes (labourers)	Land owned produced less than 200 measures of produce	Eligible for Assembly only, but able to sit on popular court of appeal, the Heliaia

Women

Like most ancient societies, in ancient Athens women had restricted freedom, and lacked social and legal equality with men. Within Athens, the degree of freedom a woman had was dependent on her social standing. Women who served as priestesses held the greatest social respect. While women were not permitted to participate in politics, sports or military service, they were responsible for the efficient running of the home and raising children.

In Athens, marriage served two purposes: the production of legitimate children and the protection of property. It was common for girls to be promised in marriage to a man when they were very young. A dowry (family property, gifts or money) was given to her, and she was usually married in her early teenage years to a man about 30 years of age, or older. The dowry was controlled by her husband during their marriage. Because of the frequency of this age difference, it was common for women to be widowed in their twenties. Dissolution of the marriage or divorce was possible, as long as there were no male children. Infertility could be grounds for divorce. In these cases, the dowry would be returned to the woman's family.



SOURCE 11.9 Epinetron, National Archaeological Museum of Athens. An epinetron was worn by women over the thigh during the preparation of wool for weaving. What other domestic scenes featuring women can be found in sources?



SOURCE 11.10 Terracotta funerary plaque, showing women participating in a funeral, Metropolitan Museum of Art. What roles did women take in funerals?

Women were considered the property of men, so men had a responsibility to protect them. For example, the men's rooms in the home were between the door and the women's quarters. Movements of women outside the home were restricted for the sake of shelter and protection (the exceptions being funerals, religious festivals

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and childbirth). This restriction also made it difficult for women to commit adultery – the practice of male inheritance meant that the paternity of children had to be undoubted. Women could make small purchases (household goods, food and so on) and wherever possible had slaves to complete other household tasks for them. This confinement and restriction of women was to the point where pale complexions were considered a status symbol and sign of wealth (the woman was privileged enough to have others do work outside the house in the sun for her). All of a woman's education occurred at home and covered what was necessary for her to manage a household and various crafts such as weaving. One group of women who were not restricted in these ways were *hetairai* or courtesans – they were well educated and had the greatest degree of social freedom.

Two other groups present in ancient Athens were the metics and the slaves.

Metics:

- foreigners who lived permanently in Athens
- could own property
- had no political rights
- required to pay taxes and perform military service.

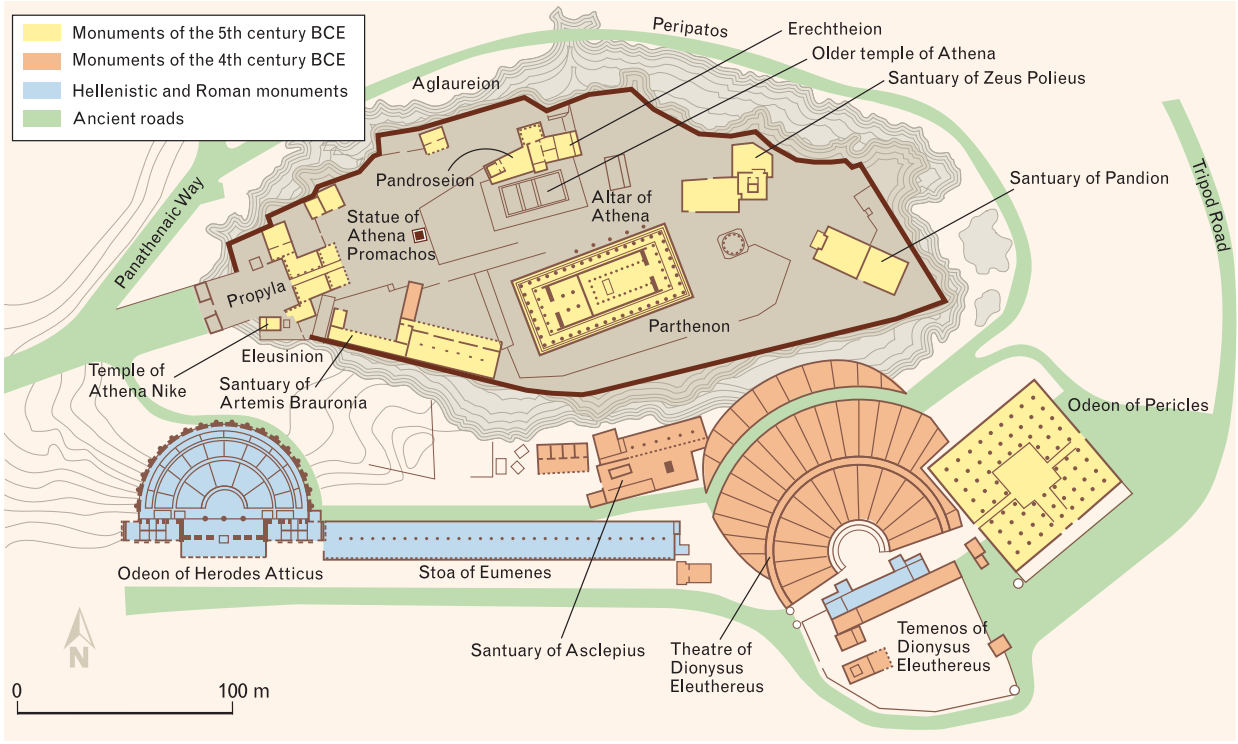
Slaves:

- could be owned by private citizens or the state.

11.4 Cultural life and practices: architecture and visual art

Architecture

Many of the iconic buildings that are associated with ancient Greece and Athens were built during the fifth century BCE. The buildings in Athens particularly owe thanks to the *strategos* Pericles who championed public pride in the city. Pericles's pretext for such a large-scale building and reconstruction program was the restoration of temples and other buildings destroyed by the Persians. However, their grandeur was unprecedented and brought Athens prestige and the admiration of other *poleis*. Fortunately, the economic



SOURCE 11.11 Periods of major construction of the Acropolis. How has the use of the Acropolis changed over time?

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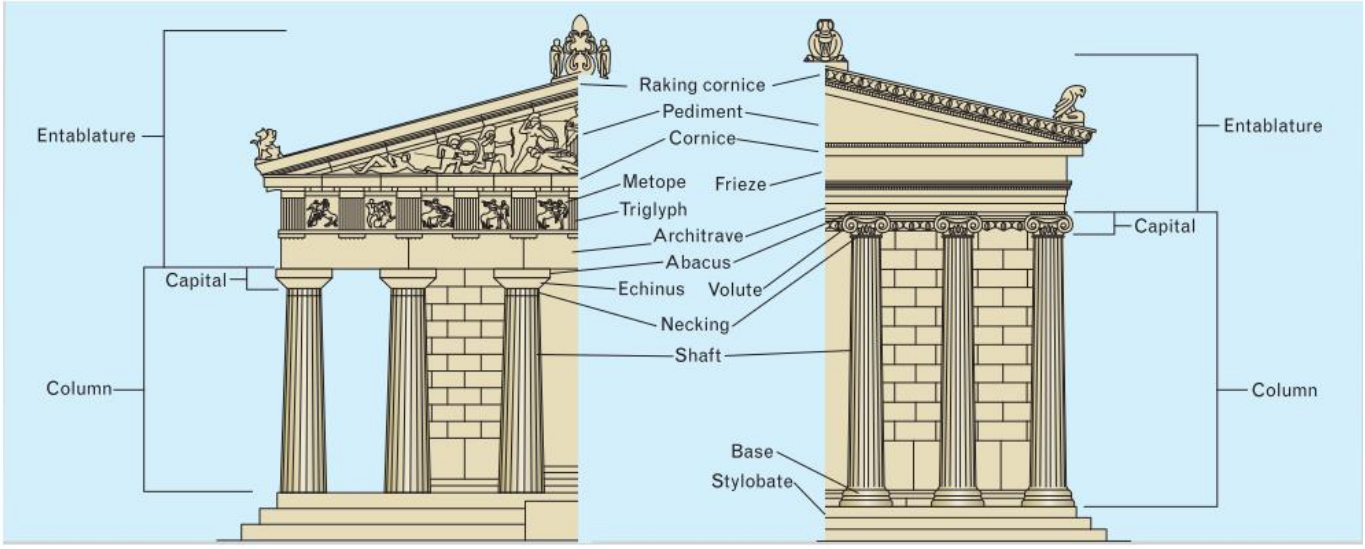
SOURCE 11.12 Artistic depiction of the Acropolis. How does this map compare with the current archaeological site? Can you recognise any features in satellite imagery?

success of the Delian League and the influx of metics to the city made the scale of projects possible to complete. The rebuilding undertaken on the Acropolis and the construction of the Parthenon were projects that Pericles personally started. This rocky fortress, rising 120 metres above the city, would become Athens's crowning glory.

No building better symbolises the success of Athens in the fifth century BCE more than the Parthenon. This great temple to Athena, started in 447 BCE and designed by Callicrates, was the



SOURCE 11.13 The Parthenon as it stands on the Acropolis today



SOURCE 11.14 Elements of Greek temple design. The example on the left has Doric columns from the Archaic period; the one on the right is the later Ionic style. Compare this to the above photograph of the Parthenon, and see what features you can identify. Are the Parthenon's columns in the Doric or the Ionic style?

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pride of the city. In Greece, temples had a twofold purpose – as a place for religious worship, but also as a celebration of civic power, pride and success. The earliest temples in Greece had a long central chamber, with a single row of columns to support the roof. By the middle of the sixth century BCE, the chamber was placed on a platform, which allowed for a more impressive façade. As shown in Source 11.12, the Parthenon, built in the fifth century BCE, has a second, inner row of columns on the narrower east and west sides. Continuing this focus on architectural aesthetics and the achievement of *arête*, the Greeks used the golden ratio to ensure their buildings were well proportioned and balanced.

Basic temple design in ancient Athens included:

- a stepped platform (stylobate)
- columns with fluted shafts
- a capital on top of a column
- entablature at roof level consisting of an architrave, frieze and cornice
- pediment above the entablature.

The earliest temples were constructed from wood; it was in the sixth century BCE that stone began to be used. During the fifth century BCE, temples and other important buildings were constructed from limestone or marble, with a timber roof structure and terracotta or marble tiles. Stones were cut with protrusions, enabling them to be carried or lifted. Most blocks were roughly cut before being delivered to the building site on wagons, and the finished carving was done by master masons onsite. Tall columns were made in cylindrical sections, also called drums, and lifted into place, then held together with pegs. The fluting was done after the drums were erected and the column complete.

Architectural orders

The architectural style of a Greek building was determined by the style of columns used. As the Athenian understanding of design grew, so too did their technological ability to innovate, driven by their quest for elegance and clarity. Columns in particular became slimmer and finer, and there was a greater distance between them.

TABLE 11.2 Description of the Greek columns

Doric	Ionic	Corinthian
• simplest, most widespread • used from 600 BCE • height between 5 and 6 times its diameter • no base • capital is undecorated	• style came from Asia Minor and developed around the same time as the Doric order • slimmer than Doric • Height 8 or 9 times its diameter • shafts were deeply fluted • capital had volutes (spiral scroll) facing in and out	• came into use after the other two orders (predominantly on Roman and late-Hellenistic buildings) • height similar to ionic • main feature was the capital • capital was ornate with volutes at the corner and acanthus leaves

Visual art

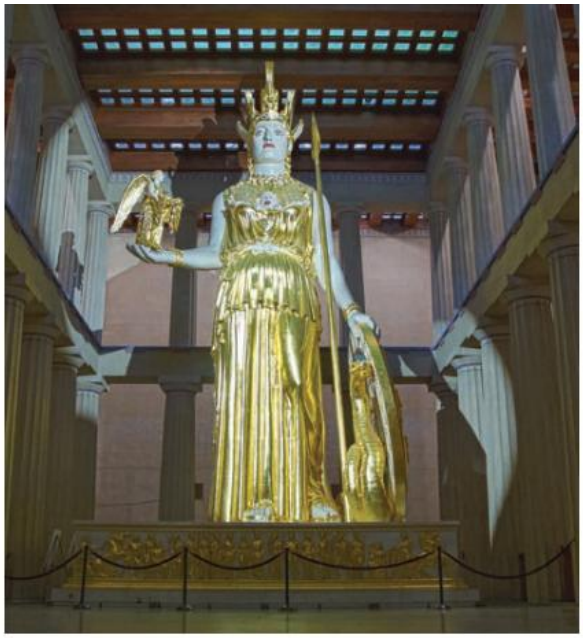
Artists, like the sculptor Phidias, were responsible for the decorations and the important outward appearance of buildings. Sculptures formed the link between the physical appearance and the sacred character of buildings. Stone, marble or bronze sculpture was used for decorative work, and subjects varied from daily life to myths and legends. Many stone decorations would have originally been painted, the Parthenon's included.

Phidias's most famous commission was the ivory and gold statue of Athena inside the main chamber of the Parthenon. *Athena Parthenos* was over 11 metres high, and made from ivory and sheets of gold.

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SOURCE 11.15 Decorative work on the exterior of the Parthenon. Why were these subjects chosen to be featured as decorative works?



SOURCE 11.16 Athena Parthenos. What would it be like walking into the Parthenon and seeing this statue?

The ancient geographer Pausanias, writing in the second century CE, gave a description of this statue:

> The statue is created with ivory and gold. On the middle of her helmet is likeness of the Sphinx ... and on either side of the helmet are griffins in relief ... The statue of Athena is upright, with a tunic reaching to the feet, and on her breast the head of Medusa is worked in ivory. She holds a statue of Victory that is approx. four cubits high, and in the other hand a spear; at her feet lies a shield and near the spear is a serpent. This serpent would be Erichthonius. On the pedestal is the birth of Pandora in relief.

SOURCE 11.17 Pausanias, c. second century CE, *Description of Greece*, Book 1.24.5



SOURCE 11.18 Heracles subduing the Cretan Bull, c. 500–480 BCE, British Museum: 1864, 1007.239



SOURCE 11.19 Oedipus and the Sphinx, c. 440–430 BCE, Munich: Staatliche Antikensammlungen (SL474). What other subjects are featured on black and red figure pottery?

Phidias was also responsible for work on the Acropolis itself – he acted as superintendent, appointed by Pericles.

The Athenians also drove trends in pottery and decoration. From the seventh century BCE, black-figure decoration on pottery items was common. However, it began to be used less from the fifth century BCE onwards as red-figure pottery became more popular. This also represented a development in technique and the skill of the artists as they now had to paint the background to the figures, not the figures themselves. Sadly, archaeological evidence of the Greeks painting on other surfaces (such as frescoes in homes) is very limited.

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Theatre

Theatre is a significant cultural legacy left by the fifth century BCE Athenians. It is through the work of the playwrights of this era that modern historians have an insight into everyday life, and the opinions about political and social changes at that time. The earliest form of drama were religious rituals that involved a chorus (group of singers) dancing and singing in honour of Dionysus. These rituals involved requests to the gods for help such as the granting of a good harvest or plentiful rain. In the sixth century BCE, the poet Thespis added an actor to speak and interact with the chorus – this actor became known as the protagonist. It was this change that signified the move from ritual to drama.

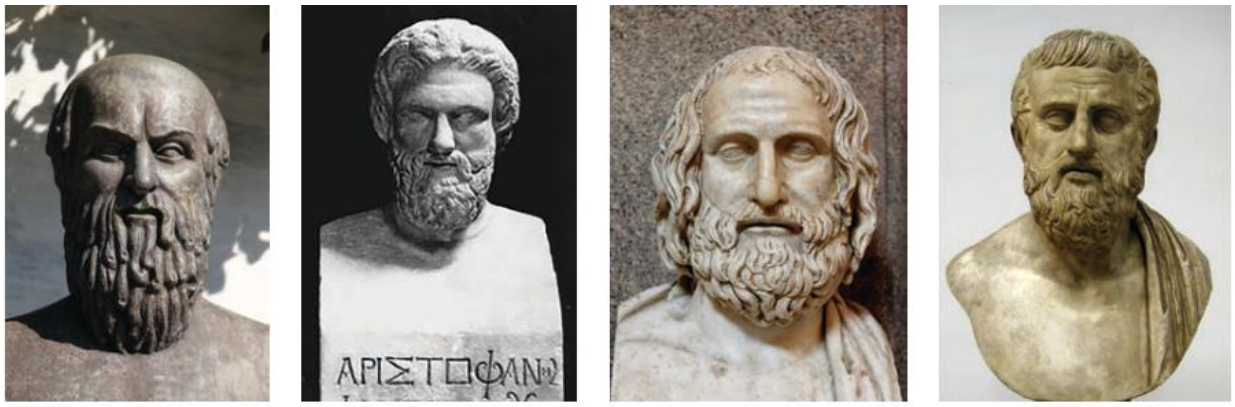
Playwrights and their works

Some of the most prolific playwrights from the fifth century BCE include Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Euripides and Sophocles. These playwrights responded to the increasingly complex Athenian society by including social and political issues in their work. A common theme was also the glory and prominence of Athens in comparison to the rest of Greece.
Greek plays generally fit into four genres:

TABLE 11.3 Descriptions of the genres of Greek plays

Comedies	Tragedies
• eighteen still exist • comes from Greek *komos* (revel) • began around 486 BCE (comedy performed in Athens during the fifth century BCE was categorised as 'old comedy') • subject matter included contemporary issues (individuals, politicians, tragedians, philosophers and the gods were subject to parody) • a forum where social norms could be turned upside down • plot structure was episodic • used a large number of characters and large chorus (24 members) • costume design added to the humour	• thirty-three still exist • comes from Greek *tragos* (goat) and *oide* (song) as they were originally performed during ritualistic goat sacrifices • their purpose was didactic, to teach the audience • all-male cast (3 leads and a chorus of 15) • formal narrative structure that usually had mythological subject matter and followed the 'tragic cycle' • most prestigious of the genres
Dithyrambs	**Satyr plays**
• None survive in full • Little is known about them • Used as a 'show opener' for festivals • Large-scale choral performances of song and dance in honour of Dionysus.	• Euripides's *Cyclops* and parts of Sophocles's *Trackers* • Farce or comedy in which the main character was half-human and half-animal • Grotesque in tone but light-hearted • Chorus dressed as satyrs • Sometimes performed after tragedies so they could pick up on similar themes • They took the heroic world of tragedy and subverted it through parody.

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SOURCE 11.20 Left to right: Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Euripides, Sophocles. Why are men usually depicted in a similar way throughout Greek sources?

In the following source, British classicist Oliver Taplin writes about Greek tragedy.

> Our world is full of things that do not bear thinking about. If someone we love, or even someone we know, is killed in a car crash or contracts leukaemia, we find this hard enough to face. Life seems so unreasonable, chaotic, so unfair. Why him? Why me? If we were to try to feel fully, we would be reduced to blind comprehension, or go mad. While television brings the disasters and atrocities into everyone's home, the only possible way to live through them is to turn one's heart to stone. Television news is Medusa, the Gorgon's head. Confronted with reality we turn our faces away, we are lost for words ... Through facing up to older, closer, primal terrors, tragedy shows us how terrors can be confronted and perhaps survived, even those of the late 20th century. In the theatre we not only stare without averting our eyes and listen without blocking our ears, we actually want the sufferers to go on expressing their terrible experiences and we want to feel their agonising emotions with them. And at the end of the play, we discover that we have not been turned to stone. We get up, leave, and return to life, whether in the fifth century BCE, or the 20th century AD. We return with the experience as part of ourselves ...
>
> Tragedy enables us to live through the unbearable. Greek tragedies, at least all the great ones, are concerned with large, distressing issues, with disruption, conflict, things going very wrong, turning dark. They incarnate the worst horrors, particularly within the family, such as betrayal, incest, murder – killing of mother by son, children by father, husband by wife, every unthinkable combination. Tragedy not only acts out these deep terrors, it makes the audience confront them. As we, the audience, sit in our seats, faces towards the play, voluntarily trapped and helpless, we are forced to live vicariously through the terrible story played out before us.

SOURCE 11.21 Taplin, O., 1990, *Greek Fire*, Atheneum Books, pp. 36–39

One famous Greek tragedy is *Medea*, by Euripides, in which the title character is abandoned by her husband Jason, and takes revenge on him by killing their children.

> MEDEA:
> My children, my children, you have a city and a home, in which, leaving your poor mother behind, you will live henceforth, bereft of me ... It was all in vain, I see, that I brought you up, all in vain that I laboured and was wracked with toils, enduring harsh pains in childbirth. Truly, many were the hopes that I, poor fool, once had in you, that you would tend me in my old age and when I died dress me for burial with your own hands, an enviable fate for mortals. But now this sweet imagining has perished. For bereft of you I shall live out my life in pain and grief. And you will no longer see your mother with loving eyes but pass into another manner of life.

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Oh! What is the meaning of your glance at me, children? Why do you smile at me this last smile of yours? Alas, what am I to do? My courage is gone, women, ever since I saw the bright faces of the children. I cannot do it. Farewell, my former designs! I shall take my children out of the land. Why should I wound their father with their pain and win for myself pain twice as great? I shall not: farewell, my designs!

But what is coming over me? Do I wish to suffer mockery, letting my enemies go unpunished? Must I put up with that? No, it is mere weakness in me even to admit such tender words into my heart. Children, go into the house. Whoever is not permitted to attend my sacrifice shall feel concern for them: I shall not weaken my hand. Oh! Do not, my angry heart, do not do these things. Let them go, hard-hearted wretch, spare the children. If they live with me in that other place, they will gladden you. By Hell's avenging furies, I shall never leave my children for my enemies to outrage. They must die in any case. And since they must, the one who gave them birth shall kill them. These things are settled in any case and cannot be undone ...

Give me your right hands to kiss, my children, give them to me. O hands and lips so dear to me, o noble face and bearing of my children, I wish you happiness – but in that other place. What is here your father has taken away. Oh, how sweet is the touch, how tender the skin, how fragrant the breath of these children! Go in, go in. I can no longer look at you but am overwhelmed with my pain. And I know well what pain I am about to undergo, but my wrath overbears my calculation, wrath that brings mortal men their gravest hurt.

The children exit into the house followed by Medea.

JASON:
You women who stand near the house, is Medea inside, she who has done these dreadful deeds, or has she fled? She will have to hide herself beneath the earth or soar aloft to heaven if she is not going to give satisfaction to the royal house. Does she think that having killed this land's ruling family she will escape from this house unscathed?

But it is not so much about her that I am concerned as about the children. She will be punished by those she has wronged, but I have come to save my children's life, that no harm may come to them from the next of kin, avenging on them their mother's impious crime.

CHORUS:
Poor Jason, you have no idea how far gone you are in misfortune. Else you would not have spoken these words.

JASON:
What is it? Surely she does not mean to kill me as well?

CHORUS:
Your children are dead, killed by their mother's hand.

JASON:
What can you mean? You have destroyed me, woman.

CHORUS:
You must realize that your children are no more.

JASON:
Where did she kill them? In the house or outside?

CHORUS:
Open the gates and you will see your slaughtered sons.

JASON:
Servants, remove the bar at once so that I may see a double disaster, these children's corpses and her who did the deed, so that for these children's murder I may exact punishment.

SOURCE 11.22 Euripides, 431 BCE, *Medea*, lines 1028–1080, 1293–1315

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ACTIVITY 11.3

Using Sources 11.21 and 11.22, answer the following.

1. Why does Medea find it difficult to kill her children?
2. How does the role of the chorus help to drive and direct the plot?
3. What aspects of Medea's tragic situation have parallels in modern society?
4. Using Taplin's source and considering your own emotions after reading the extract from *Medea*, how does tragedy help audiences to understand how to cope with life?



SOURCE 11.23 Medea kills one of her children, c. 330 BCE, The Louvre. Is Medea a popular choice of subject in art? Why?

Philosophy

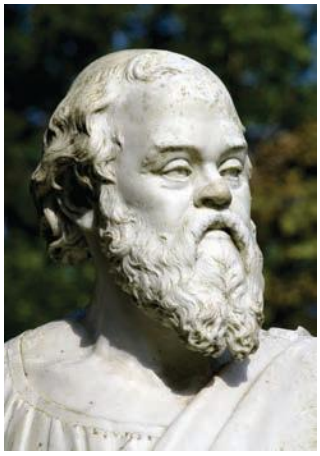
Philosophy developed from the curiosity the ancient Greeks had about the world around them, and their unwavering desire to find the truths and principles underlying all knowledge. They sought to understand the world through universal explanations that covered all phenomena. This was because they lived in an uncertain world and one they had little control over or understanding of. The philosophical ideas they developed emerged from a mixture of mythology, mysticism and mathematics. Philosophers began to inquire into the nature of the physical world rather than relying on traditional myths. The changing nature of society, such as the increase in number of metics living in Athens and the emergence of democracy, encouraged their speculations.

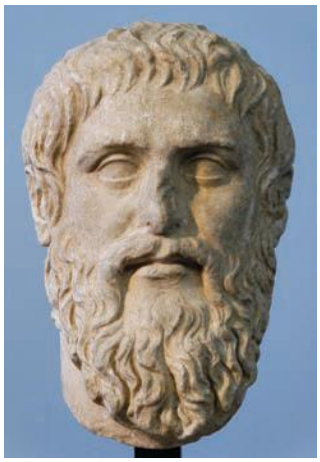


SOURCE 11.24 Raphael, *School of Athens* fresco by Raphael in the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican. Which other famous figures can you identify in this painting?

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Socrates and Plato were two of the most influential and respected philosophers to emerge from this period.





SOURCE 11.25 The two most significant philosophers to live and practise in Athens during the fifth century BCE were Socrates (top) and Plato (bottom). Are these depictions of Socrates and Plato consistent with others?

TABLE 11.4 The lives of Socrates and Plato

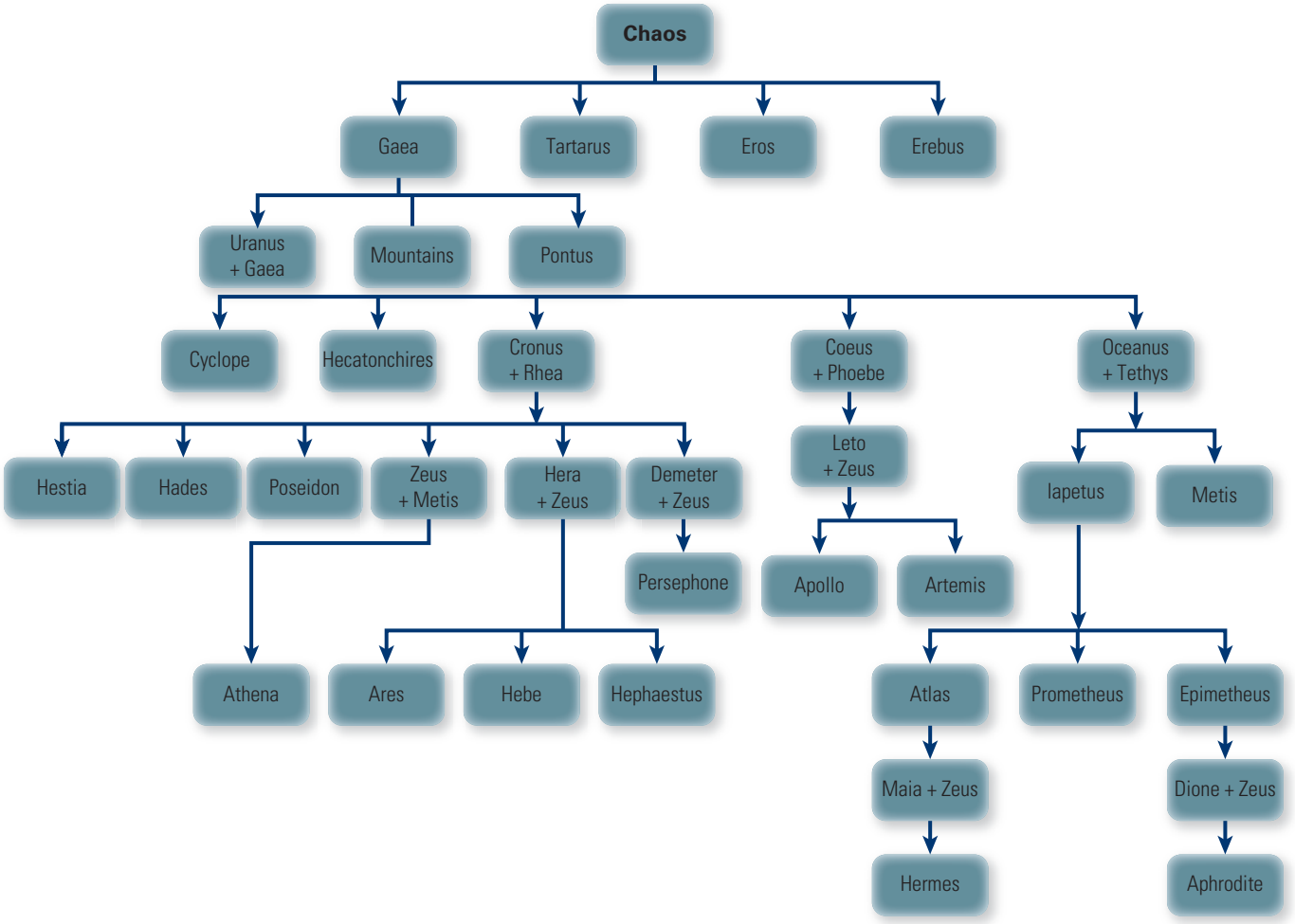
Socrates	Plato
• born 470 BCE, Athens • considered one of the founding fathers of philosophy and very influential on Western thought • simple childhood; initially trained as a stonemason and sculptor • served during the Peloponnesian War • known for posing challenging questions – this became known as the Socratic method • in asking questions, he aimed to bring out the confusions and absurdities of other's points of view • rather than teaching others the truth, he aimed to help people discover it for themselves as a result of his questions • left no written work – his work was recorded by Plato and Xenophon • in 399 BCE, he was charged with corrupting the youth of Athens and neglecting the gods • he was sentenced to death by drinking hemlock	• born 428 BCE, Athens • aristocratic family • student of Socrates until his death (Plato was around 30 years old when his mentor died) • left Athens, after Socrates's death, in disgust and travelled around the Mediterranean • in c. 387 BCE he returned to Athens and founded a school called the Academia (it became known as the Academy) • the subjects taught were diverse, arguably one could call it the first European university • main works: *The Dialogues* • socrates was the central character in his works – initially he focused on recording the views of Socrates; later, it is likely Socrates is used as a mouthpiece for Plato's own views • developed the concept of virtue ethics – what is moral is determined by an individual person, not a set of rules • died 348 BCE, Athens

11.5 Religious belief and practices

Like the ancient Egyptians and most other ancient civilisations, the Greeks were polytheistic in their beliefs. Each Greek god was believed to have control or influence over a particular aspect of life or a particular concept. The Greeks believed their gods were humanistic, that is, they were human in their physical appearance, emotions, personality, desires and so on, except for their immortality. Consequently, the ancient Greeks had no concept of a devil (as in Christianity) as all gods were capable of good and evil. The gods also featured heavily in myths and legends. Source 11.26 shows a diagram of the gods and goddesses, and the Interactive Textbook includes a research activity.

GO

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SOURCE 11.26 The Greek gods

Abstract concepts

Since many gods personified abstract moral concepts, for example like victory, or vengeance, they were the source of spiritual morality for the Greek people. One common concept that the Greeks interacted with regularly was fate. Fate was personified in the Moirai – the sisters Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos making wool. Clotho pulled the wool around the spindle, thus giving life. Lachesis spun and measured the wool, thus measuring the length of one's life. Atropos cut the thread, thus choosing the time and manner of one's death. Another popular conceptual group were the Muses (the personification of knowledge and the arts such as literature, dance and music). Prayers to the Muses would be made in the hope of inspiring people to do their best.



SOURCE 11.27 *Winged Victory of Samothrace* (representing the Greek goddess of victory – Nike), c. 190 BCE, The Louvre. What restoration has recently been conducted by the Louvre on this statue?

Myths and legends

The Greeks used myths and legends to try and explain natural phenomena (particularly origins or creation), cultural variations, traditional enmities and friendships, and the daily lives of various

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SOURCE 11.28 *The Three Fates* – Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, Giorgio Ghisi, sixteenth century, Italy, Metropolitan Museum of Art. How have the Three Fates been represented across different periods of history?

gods. These stories were usually spread through an oral tradition. Some of the more popular tales featured famous heroes who were part-human and part-divine (Zeus fathered many heroes), like Hercules, Jason and Theseus.

Religious practices

The gods were the powers that determined a person's lot in life; they could be bargained with. However, the gods did not expect good behaviour from their followers. For the ancient Greeks, their faith was not expressed through ethical and moral behaviour; rather it was through activities such as rituals, offerings or sacrifices and prayers that they earned the favour of the gods. While ancient Greeks could worship all gods, individual *poleis* usually developed a focused practice on one patron deity, thus becoming a centre for pilgrimage of that deity. For example, Athens was the centre for worship of Athena, the city's patron goddess.



SOURCE 11.29 Attic votive relief depicting a man accompanied by his sons making an offering of a bull to a God (c. fifth century BCE) Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (Archaeological Museum). What might the man and his sons been asking of the gods?



SOURCE 11.30 Votive offering in the form of a marble relief; translation: 'Tyche [dedicated this] to Asklepios and Hygieia as a thanks offering', second century CE, British Museum. What do you suppose Tyche was thankful for?

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Rituals permeated almost every part of Greek life, both public and private. In the home, rituals and ceremonies were held for births, deaths and marriages. In public life, religion was the focus of festivals, of oaths taken in court and it even influenced medical diagnoses. These rituals would usually also involve prayers and offerings or sacrifices. Animal sacrifices were very common; the type of animal was determined by the type and scale of the request. Offerings of objects could also be made – vases, jewellery, metalwork, statues or whole buildings. Archaeologists have found numerous objects whose inscriptions detail the reason for dedication, giving us a valuable connection to the ordinary people of the fifth century BCE.

Objective 2: Devise historical questions and conduct research in relation to a historical period in the Ancient World

GO

For Unit 3, you must complete internal assessment tasks IA1 and IA2. IA2 is an independent source investigation and as such, is the application of Objective 2. You can find further guidance about preparing for this IA2 task can in the downloadable Assessment Guide.

To assist in preparation, below are some sample key questions and sub-questions that would suit an IA2 task connected to this topic. For your assessment, you will need to pose your own key question.

SAMPLE KEY QUESTIONS

Key question: Is it fair to say that while Athenian society was democratic, democratic rights were not distributed equally?

- In what ways was the Athenian government democratic?
- Who had democratic rights?
- Who did not have democratic rights? Why?
- Is it fair to call Athens in the fifth century BCE a democracy or not?

Key question: Why is the Classical Age of Athens also called the Age of Pericles?

- How did Pericles come to power?
- What do historical sources record as his main achievements?
- How much influence did he personally have on Athenian success during the fifth century BCE?

Key question: How was theatre used by ancient Greek playwrights as a form of social commentary?

- What is social commentary?
- What issues or topics did plays cover?
- What were the authors trying to teach and tell audiences through their characters and narratives?
- How did audiences respond to them?

Key question: What motives did Greek people have to interact with their gods?

- Who were the Greek gods commonly worshipped?
- How did Greeks worship and interact with their gods?
- What did they hope to achieve through prayers and offerings?
- What do historical sources suggest about the nature of their relationship – did people fear or love the gods?

Key question: How did new philosophical and scientific ideas spread from Athens?

- What were the most significant new theories in philosophy and science during Athens in the fifth century BCE?
- Why were they so significant?
- How did Greek people learn about these new ideas?
- How did they change and shape wider Greek culture?

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Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding in relation to specific historical periods in the Ancient World

Modern historians have the advantage of a wealth of literary and archaeological material available from Athens during the fifth century BCE. However, the historical context of the time must be remembered. Athens emerged victorious from the Persian Wars, brimming with confidence and with a new taste for power. By the end of the century, the city-state's boasting and arrogance had been silenced by its surrender to the old enemy, Sparta. Thus, when using primary sources, be aware of what was happening at the time so you can peel away the layers of bias and clouded motives. In this section, you will analyse text and visual sources relating to a number of different aspects of Athens, which you learned about earlier in this chapter.

11.6 Analysing sources about Pericles's funerary oration

Pericles' famous funerary oration is covered in more depth during Unit 4 as it relates to the Peloponnesian War, but it is relevant to consider in this chapter also. Pericles used the oration in 431 BCE (end of the first year of the Peloponnesian War) as a eulogy for those who had died thus far. While not recorded verbatim by the historian Thucydides, and also likely edited by him, the main ideas and focus of Pericles's oration are still expressed. It forms a valuable source when considering society in Athens during the fifth century BCE, because it gives voice to the mindset of the people and particularly what they believed about themselves.

37: For our government is not copied from those of our neighbours: we are an example to them rather than they to us. Our constitution is named a democracy, because it is in the hands not of the few but of the many. But our laws secure equal justice for all in their private disputes and our public opinion welcomes and honours talent in every branch of achievement ...
38: Yet ours is no work-a-day city only. No other provides so many recreations for the spirit – contests and sacrifices all the year round, and beauty in our public buildings to cheer the heart and delight the eye day by day. Moreover the city is so large and powerful that all the wealth of all the world flows into her, so that our own Attic products seem no more homelike than the fruits of the labours of other nations ...
39: Our military training too is different from our opponents' ... They toil from early boyhood in a laborious pursuit after courage, while we, free to live and wander as we please, march out none the less to face the self-same dangers ... Indeed, if we choose to face danger with an easy mind rather than after a rigorous training, and to trust rather in native manliness than in state-made courage, the advantage lies with us; for we are spared all the weariness of practising for future hardships; and when we find ourselves amongst them we are as brave as our plodding rivals.
40: ... Our citizens attend to both public and private duties and do not allow absorption in their own various affairs to interfere with their knowledge of the city's. We differ from other states in regarding the man who holds aloof from public life not as 'quiet' but as 'useless'; we decide or debate, carefully and in person, all matters of policy, holding, not that words and deeds go ill together, but that acts are foredoomed to failure when undertaken undiscussed.

SOURCE 11.31 Pericles' funerary oration, Thucydides, 431 BCE, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Book 2.37–2.40

ACTIVITY 11.4

1. What perspective does Pericles bring to this situation?
2. Why does Pericles claim Athens is a democracy? What values and characteristics does he mention that fit with the Athenian concept of democracy?

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ACTIVITY 11.4 continued

3. In section 38, what other claims is Pericles making for Athens? Do you think he was justified in this?
4. Explain in your own words what Pericles means in his claim '[we] trust rather in native manliness than in state-made courage'. What interpretation is he making about Athenian strengths compared to the enemies of Athens?
5. In section 40, what does Pericles see as an essential part of a democratic citizen's duties?
6. Are there any parts of this extract of which you are sceptical? Justify your answer.
7. We know that this speech was given as a eulogy for the Athenian war dead. However, Pericles seems to have another motive or aim to his speech – what is it?
8. What do you imagine the effect of this speech would have been on the Athenians who were listening?
9. What conclusions can be made about the opinions Athenians had of themselves and their enemies?



SOURCE 11.32 *Pericles's Funeral Oration*, Philipp Foltz, 1852. In what way do you think this nineteenth-century representation has idealised the ancient event? Why?

11.7 Analysing sources about women in Athens

Around 700 BCE, Hesiod describes both pleasing and annoying wives:

> In the prime of life bring a wife to your home,
> When you are not much short of thirty,
> Nor yet much above: this is the right age for marriage;
> Your wife should be four years past puberty, and be married in the fifth.

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You should marry a maiden, so you can teach her diligent habits,
And marry especially one who lives near you
Looking well about you, so your marriage is not a source of malignant joy to your neighbours.
For a man acquires nothing better than a wife –
A good one, but there is nothing more miserable than a bad one,
A parasite, who even if her husband is strong
Singes him without a torch and brings him to a raw old age.

SOURCE 11.33 Hesiod, c.700 BCE, *Works and Days*, lines 695–705

In this satirical poem written in about 650 BCE, Semonides compares wives to different animals.

God made the female mind separately
In the beginning. One he made from a bristly sow,
And everything in her house mixed with mud
Lies in disorder and rolls around the floor;
While she unclean in unwashed garments
Sits on the dunghills and grows fat.
Another he made from a bitch, a quick runner, daughter of her own mother,
Who wants to hear and know everything,
And peers and wanders everywhere
Barking, even if she sees no human being ...
Even when she is sitting amongst her guests,
She continuously keeps up her incurable yapping.
Another is the child of a dainty long-maned mare,
Who diverts menial tasks and toil to others.
She will neither touch a mill or pick up a sieve,
Nor throw the dung out of the house,
Nor sit at the oven avoiding the soot.
She makes her husband acquainted with necessity;
Every day she washes the dirt off herself
Twice, sometimes thrice, and anoints herself with perfumes,
And always has her thick hair
Well-combed and garlanded with flowers.
Such a wife is a fine sight
For other men, but proves an evil to the one she belongs to ...
Another is from a bee; the man who gets her is fortunate;
For on her alone no blame settles,
And his livelihood flourishes and increases because of her,
And she grows old with a husband whom she loves and loves her
Bearing him a fine and well-reputed family.

SOURCE 11.34 Semonides of Amorgos, c. 650 BCE, *Types of Women* or *Semonides* 7, lines 1–87

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In this work, the main character, Isomachus, is telling Socrates some instructions he gave his wife about how to be efficient and respectable.

> 'It will be your job', I said, 'to remain indoors and to send out those members of the household who must work outdoors, and to supervise those who must work indoors, and to receive what is brought in and to allocate what each must spend, and you must decide what surplus needs to remain, and watch that the expenditure set aside for a year is not used up in a month. When fleeces are brought to you, you must take care that they become cloaks for those who need them. And you must take care that the grain that is stored remains edible. One of your duties, however,' I said, 'you may find unwelcome, which is, if one of the household slaves is ill, you must see to it that he is looked after'.

SOURCE 11.35 Xenophon, 362 BCE, *Oeconomicus*, Chapter 7.35–7.37

Aristotle was a philosopher who joined Plato's Academy in the early fourth century BCE. His writings cover a very wide range of subjects. Here he comments on the natural dichotomy that should exist within the home, for it to be functional and happy.

> So, as we say, one may see the authority of a master and that of a statesman first of all in a living being. For the soul exercises the authority of a master over the body, and the intellect exercises the role of a statesman and king over the appetites. In these cases it is evident that it is in accord with the nature and expediency for the body to be ruled by the soul and for the emotional element to be ruled by the intellect, which is the element possessing rationality; a relationship of equality or subservience between them would be harmful for all concerned. The same is true once more in the case of the man and the other animals. Domesticated animals are, by nature, superior to wild animals; but it is better for them all to be ruled by men, since they gain security in this way. Likewise in the relationship between male and female: the former is ascendant and the latter inferior, the former the ruler and the latter the ruled. In the whole of humanity this pattern must be the same.

SOURCE 11.36 Aristotle, c. 335–323 BCE, *Politics*, 1254b3–1254b16

In this tragic play, Medea is lamenting her lot as a wife because she believes her husband wishes to get rid of her to marry a Corinthian princess and gain the throne.

> Of all creatures that have breath and sensation, we women are the most unfortunate. First at an exorbitant price we must buy a husband and master of our bodies. (This misfortune is more painful than misfortune.) And the outcome of our life's striving hangs on this, whether we take a bad or a good husband. For divorce is discreditable for women and it is not possible to refuse wedlock. And when a woman comes into the new customs and practices of her husband's house, she must somehow divine, since she has not learned it at home, how she shall best deal with her husband. If after we have spent great efforts on these tasks our husbands live with us without resenting the marriage-yoke, our life is enviable. Otherwise, death is preferable. A man, whenever he is annoyed with the company of those in the house, goes elsewhere and thus rids his soul of its boredom (turning to some male friend or age-mate). But we must fix our gaze on one person only. Men say that we live a life free from danger at home while they fight with the spear. How wrong they are! I would rather stand three times with a shield in battle than give birth once.

SOURCE 11.37 Euripides, 431 BCE, *Medea*, lines 230–250

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ACTIVITY 11.5

Choose one source from Source 11.33 to 11.37 and complete the following questions.

1. What is the origin of the source? (Author, date, context for production and so on)
2. Is there a particular purpose of the author in writing the text?
3. In the case of texts that feature a character, what is the motive of the character in speaking?
4. What point of views are represented in the source? Consider the author's point of view and those of the characters and figures featured. Considering all of the sources, what conclusions can be made about the following:
   - The place of women within the home
   - The qualities and attributes women were expected to have
   - The rights and freedoms of women
   - The nature of marriage
   - The differing opinions of men and women on these issues.

11.8 Analysing architectural sources

The Parthenon is one of the most recognisable symbols of ancient Greek culture. For the Athenians in the fifth century BCE, the Parthenon and the Acropolis were their crowning achievements in architecture and design. The sculpture that adorned the building was particularly used as a message for visitors about Athens's superiority. Various scenes repeated the symbolic struggle of civilisation and order against chaos and lawlessness (much like the Athenians in their recent victory over the Persians).

What remains on the site in Athens are the structural bones of the building – most of the decoration has been removed for preservation over the centuries. Fortunately, thanks to modern technology, the archaeological remains are easily accessible from all over the world. Many of the surviving sculptures are on display in the British Museum. In the next Activity, you will look at three of these.

ACTIVITY 11.6

1. Conduct your own research to find out the focus and theme of the metopes and friezes, recording your findings in the table below. Then, consider what the purpose of the artist may have been in choosing that subject to decorate the Parthenon, and what perspective their work presents to viewers (for example, who is represented positively?).

	What is represented? (focus and theme)	Purpose of artist	Perspective
North frieze			
East frieze			
South frieze			
West frieze			
North metope			
East metope			
South metope			
West metope			

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SOURCE 11.38 A centaur tramples a crouching Lapith (south metope 30)



SOURCE 11.39 A section of frieze showing the Panathenaic Procession

Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument about a historical period in the Ancient World

In this section, you will synthesise information from text and visual sources relating to a number of different aspects of Athens which you learned about earlier in this chapter. By taking historical evidence from a variety of sources, you can come to a new understanding or interpretation.

11.9 Synthesising from sources about Athenian democracy

Praise of democracy

The following source, praising democracy, are from different works by fourth century BCE philosopher Aristotle.

> A democratic *polis* presupposes liberty, and it is generally said that only in this type of state can liberty be enjoyed: people say that this is the aim of every democracy. One principle of liberty is that everyone is governed and governs in turn. This is because democratic justice means equality by numbers and not by merit, and this being so the majority must be the sovereign power, and whatever the majority decides must be the final decision and be just. Every one of the citizens, it is said, must be equal. In consequence, in democracies the poor have more power than the wealthy, as there are more of them and the decision of the majority is supreme. So this is one of the marks of liberty, which all democrats see as the distinguishing mark of their constitution: another is that everyone should live as he chooses. This, they affirm, is liberty in practice, since not living in accordance with your wishes constitutes the life of a slave. This is the second distinguishing mark of democracy, and in consequence of this there has evolved the desire not to be governed, by anyone if possible, and if not for government to be taken in turns, thus contributing to the concept of liberty founded on equality.

SOURCE 11.40 Aristotle, c. 335–323 BCE, *Politics*, 1317a40–1317b4

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Not only was the constitution at this time oligarchical in every respect, but the poorer classes – men, women, and children – were in absolute slavery to the rich. They were known as *pelatai* and also as *hectemori*, because they cultivated the lands of the rich for a sixth part of the produce. The whole country was in the hands of a few persons, and if the tenants failed to pay their rent, they were liable to be hauled into debt-slavery and their children with them. Their persons were mortgaged to their creditors, a custom which prevailed until the time of Solon, who was the first to appear as a leader of the people. But the hardest and bitterest part of the condition of the masses was the fact that they had no share in the offices then existing under the constitution. At the same time they were discontented with every other feature of their lot; for, to speak generally, they had no part nor share in anything.

SOURCE 11.41 Aristotle, c. 330 BCE, *The Athenian Constitution*, Chapter 2

The following speech was delivered by Pericles in around 431 BCE after the first Athenians fell in the Peloponnesian War. Pericles stresses the ideals of democracy and praises the Athenian way of life in what has become known as the 'funeral oration'. The essential nature of Athenian democracy is made clear: the majority of the citizens run the state, all are equal before the law and any citizen can stand for political office. There is a deliberate implicit comparison with Sparta: the Athenians 'love wisdom without cowardice'. The essential participatory nature of the democracy is made clear in the reference to the 'totally useless' citizen. Citizens are to 'love' their city.

We possess a constitution which does not imitate the laws of our neighbours: in fact we are an example to others rather than imitating anyone else. And the constitution's name is democracy, because the majority manage its affairs, not just a few; as regards the laws, everybody is equal when private disputes are being settled, and, as regards the criteria used to pick out anyone for office, what counts is not his belonging to a particular class, but his personal merit, while as regards poverty, as long as he can do something of value for the city, no one is prevented by obscurity from taking part in public life. We conduct our political life with freedom, especially freedom from suspicion in respect of each other in our daily business, not being angry with our neighbour if he does as he pleases, and not even giving him the sort of looks which, although they do no harm, still hurt people's feelings. But while we avoid giving offence in private life, in our public life it is primarily fear which prevents us from committing unlawful acts and makes us obey the magistrates and the laws, and in particular those laws made to protect those who are being unjustly treated and those which, though unwritten, bring acknowledged disgrace on people who break them. We love good things without extravagance and we love wisdom without cowardice; we use wealth as an opportunity for action rather than as something to boast about, and there is nothing disgraceful for anyone in admitting poverty – what is disgraceful is not taking steps to escape it. In the same people there is a concern at the same time for their own affairs and for those of the city, and even those primarily concerned with their own business are not deficient in their knowledge of the city's affairs; indeed, we are unique in considering the man who takes no part in the affairs of the city not as one who minds his own business, but as one who is totally useless.

SOURCE 11.42 Thucydides, 431 BCE, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Book 2.37–2.43

Modern historians Nels M. Bailkey and Richard Lim provide an analysis of the funeral oration.

No finer expression of the ideals of democracy exists than the famous funeral oration delivered by Pericles in honour of the Athenians who fell fighting Sparta during the first year (431 BCE) of the Peloponnesian War (Selection 25). Like Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, with which it is frequently compared, it is considered one of the greatest speeches in literature. (Unlike Pericles, however,

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Lincoln does not say that death in battle is the best end a man can come to. Nor would he have taken for granted, as Pericles does at the end of his oration, the inferior nature of women and their seclusion.) Pericles appeals to the patriotism of his listeners, confronted by the crisis of a great war, by describing the superior qualities and advantages of their democracy as a heritage won for them by their ancestors and worthy of any sacrifice to preserve. He emphasises as the outstanding feature of their democracy – and, we can add, of any democracy – the harmonious blending of opposite tendencies in politics, economics, and culture that it contains. This is perhaps the finest expression of the Greek ideal of a mean between extremes. All this is described in sharp contrast to the rigid totalitarianism of Sparta, which regulated every detail of its citizens' existence. An outstanding example of this happy blending of control and freedom in all phases of life was the Athenian acceptance of the leadership of Pericles as the recognised superior individual voted into power by the people to 'lead them,' as Thucydides noted, 'instead of being led by them'.

Pericles extends the same argument, that order and liberty are compatible, to justify the existence of the Athenian Empire, which had emerged after the Persian Wars to fill the vacuum left by the failure of Spartan leadership in Greek affairs. Before a peace treaty with Persia was signed in 448 BCE Athens and its allies had countered Persian expansionism by aiding anti-Persian uprisings in Cyprus and Egypt. Like the Americans in Vietnam, the Athenian-led Greeks failed in their mission. Bogged down in the Nile Delta after eight years of fighting and the loss of some two hundred ships and many men, Pericles had to withdraw the Greek forces. But he went on to complete the formation of the Athenian Empire, which unified and brought peace and prosperity to half of the Greek world. It was at present under attack by Sparta and its allies as the 'tyrant city' that had extinguished the liberties of many Greek states and was now threatening the remainder. Pericles's reply to this charge is an idealised rationalisation of the need to replace the anarchy of narrow city-state 'nationalism' with an 'international' organisation of Greek states under Athenian leadership. The goal was peace and prosperity – or what can be called freedom from fear and want, two of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's stirring 'Four Freedoms', the idealistic goals for which World War II was fought. Such also is the meaning of Pericles's inspired conception of Athenian imperialism: 'We secure our friends not by accepting favours but by doing them ... We are alone among mankind in doing men benefits, not on calculations of self-interest, but in the fearless confidence of [bringing] freedom. In a word I claim that our city as a whole is an education to Greece ...'

SOURCE 11.43 13 Bailkey, N. M. & Lim, R., 2002, *Readings in Ancient History,* 6th edition, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, p. 167

Criticisms of democracy

Below are four sources, both ancient and modern, pointing out that a large amount of power was in the hands of a small number of people.

In 406 BCE the Athenians sent every available man (including slaves) to aid the Athenian fleet blockaded at Mytilene by the Spartans. They were victorious at Arginusae, but a storm prevented the Athenian generals from rescuing those cast into the sea. Six of the eight generals involved returned to Athens, and were brought before the assembly. Kallixenos secured passage in the Council of a resolution that the assembly should simply vote to acquit or condemn, by ballot, all six defendants together without further discussion. The Athenians soon regretted what they had done ... Socrates, who was a member of the Council at the time, was the only one to object. The Eleven were the jailers and executioners at Athens.

SOURCE 11.44 Dillon, M. & Garland L., 2010, *Ancient Greece: Social and Historical Documents from Archaic Times to the Death of Alexander the Great*, 3rd edition, Routledge, p. 17

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And if it is decided that they are guilty, they shall be punished with death and handed over to the Eleven and their property confiscated, and a tithe to belong to the goddess ... Euryptolemos and Peisianaktos and some others brought a charge against Kallixenos of having made an unconstitutional proposal. And some of the people commended this, but the majority shouted that it would be dreadful if the people were not allowed to do what they wanted. In addition, when Lykiskos proposed the motion that these men should be judged by the same vote as the generals unless they withdrew their charge, the mob again created an uproar, and they were forced to withdraw their charges. Some of the prytaneis declared that they would not put the question to the vote contrary to law, but Kallixenos again mounted the speakers' platform and made the same accusations against them. And the crowd shouted that all who refused should be taken to court. The prytaneis, terrified, all agreed to put the question to the vote except for Socrates, son of Sophroniskos; he declared that he would not do anything against the law.

SOURCE 11.45 Xenophon, c. 362 BCE, *Hellenika*, Book 1.7.9–1.7.15

Although Plato uses the number four for his stages of governance or forms of government in the Republic, he actually talks about five particular forms. He starts with the best and shows us how one stage transforms into another stage of governance because of deterioration. The first stage of political governance is the best form of government according to Plato. It is called aristocracy or government of the best. The ruler has to be the best of philosophers and the best at war as mentioned earlier. Excellence and education is a priority and equality is observed under the rule of an aristocrat. An aristocracy changes mildly into a timocracy or government of honour. This form of government is one in which the ruler is more involved in warfare, hence, a government of honour comes to being. The ruler is honoured by public and this makes it similar to an aristocracy but the state is involved more involved in warfare. Plato, also, explains how timocracy comes to being in the first place. According to Plato, there are particular periods in which people should have babies and when babies are born otherwise it leads to deterioration and inequality. Metals are mixed when they shouldn't; hence, bronze and iron combine to fight for money, while silver and gold come together and fight to bring back aristocracy. This brings chaos and inequality which causes a state involved in warfare. Similarly, timocracy degrades into an oligarchy. Oligarchy is a government of few and the rich are the few that rule the majority of the poor. Oligarchy just naturally evolves from timocracy because a nation indulged in war will accumulate a lot of wealth and it will lose its respect for excellence. The few rich people will begin to rule and suppress the poor. The rich will be scared of arming the poor majority, fearing they will turn on them and the state will be a weak one. Extreme poverty will bring crime rate and illiteracy to their peaks. The poor majority will soon come together to form an even worse form of government, democracy. This is the form of government in which everyone wants to be rich, Plato believed. Democracy takes birth when rich have made the poor loathe them and love of revolution begins to spring amongst poor. Therefore some revolutionists rise and either kill or exile the rich rulers, forming a new, just government with freedom as their priority. In a rule like this one there is no compulsion for anything. You can choose to not join the army even if you are competent. The insatiable desire of freedom forms a nation where teachers fear students and children fight parents. Hence, people start disregarding all laws and nobody wants to be ruled. Although, someone obviously does rule and they are slightly richer than all the other population. The common people start taking their rulers as oligarchs. This is when someone stands up as the defender of democracy. This is where another form of government and the worst of all, comes to existence. The defender of democracy makes all sorts of promises and pretends to be very kind in the beginning. He overthrows the rulers and when he has defended democracy and is no

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longer required, he keeps bringing fake problems to make the people feel that they need him. When the people discover he is not needed and they stand for that, the true face unleashes and we find that the defender of the democracy is a tyrant. This is how the fifth, most repulsive stage of governance, tyranny, comes to being. Now one way to put down Plato's five stages of governance were to simply name and describe them. But, I believe, this is not how Plato wants us to know them. He wants us to know them in the form he writes, as to show which form deteriorates to which and which one is the best. Aristocracy is the best and it keeps deteriorating from timocracy to oligarchy to democracy and then to the worst, tyranny.

SOURCE 11.46 Naeem, H., 2011, 'Plato's Forms of Political Governance and the Best Form', *Ramble. Focus. Ramble* blog

So, in what was nominally a democracy, power was really in the hands of the first citizen. But his [Pericles] successors, who were more on a level with each other and each of whom aimed at occupying the first place, adopted methods of demagogy which resulted in their losing control over the actual conduct of affairs. Such a policy, in a great city with an empire to govern, naturally led to a number of mistakes, amongst which was the Sicilian expedition ... And in the end it was only because they had destroyed themselves by their own internal strife that finally they were forced to surrender.

SOURCE 11.47 Thucydides, 431 BCE, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Book 2.65

The next three sources are from a short work about the Athenian government and society. It was found amongst the works of historian Xenophon of Athens, although there is a strong view that he did not write it – hence the attribution to 'Pseudo-Xenophon'. The author of the work is apparently annoyed that the people can enjoy benefits which the rich have to pay for themselves. The author complains that it is the wealthy who pay for liturgies, and sees a popular motive behind it, so that the poorer citizens become wealthy and the rich poorer, which of course did not happen.

And as for the fact that the Athenians have chosen the kind of constitution that they have, I do not think well of their doing this inasmuch as in making their choice they have chosen to let the worst people be better off than the good. Therefore, on this account I do not think well of their constitution.

SOURCE 11.48 Pseudo-Xenophon (Old Oligarch), c. 424 BCE, *Constitution of the Athenians*, Chapter 1

The people, realising that it is impossible for each of the poor to offer sacrifices, hold banquets, set up shrines and govern a great and beautiful city, have discovered a way of having sacrifices, shrines, festivals and sanctuaries. So the city sacrifices numerous victims at public expense, but it is the people who banquet and who are allocated the victims. And while some of the wealthy have their own private gymnasia, baths and dressing-rooms, the people have built for their own use many wrestling-schools (*palaistrai*), dressing-rooms and bath-houses; and the ordinary people enjoy far more of these than the aristocrats and the wealthy.

SOURCE 11.49 Pseudo-Xenophon (Old Oligarch), c. 424 BCE, *Constitution of the Athenians*, Chapter 2.9–2.10

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As for the constitution of the Athenians, their choice of this type of Constitution I do not approve, for in choosing thus they chose that rascals should fare better than good citizens. This then is why I do not approve. However, this being strength and the liberty of the commons itself. If on the other hand you investigate good order, first of all you will see that the most capable make laws for them; then the good citizens will keep the rascals in check and will deliberate on matters of state, refusing to allow madmen to sit on the Council or make speeches or attend the general assemblies. Such advantages indeed would very soon throw the commons into complete subjection.

SOURCE 11.50 Pseudo-Xenophon (Old Oligarch), c. 424 BCE, *Constitution of the Athenians*, Chapter 1.1 & 1.9

In the next two sources, Bailkey and Lim consider some of the criticisms of Athenian democracy.

Some years after the death of Pericles (429 BCE), an unknown Athenian oligarch delivered a political speech (we have what appears to be a stenographic copy) to an audience of like-minded oligarchs in some unknown Greek city. Despite its sarcastic tone, it balances the idealised picture of Athenian democracy and its empire contained in Pericles's funeral oration with a realistic and penetrating description of the shortcomings of that democracy and the self-interested economic basis of its imperialism. The Old Oligarch's views are in some part valid for the Periclean age, but are especially pertinent to the decade or two following the death of Pericles when, due largely to the crisis of the war, passion triumphed over wisdom in the making of policy and demagogues, who played on the emotions and cupidity of the masses, replaced the courageous and far-sighted statesmen of the stamp of Pericles as leaders of the democracy. ... Although he spoke with the bitterness and exaggeration of a narrow partisan, much of the Old Oligarch's criticism of the character of the Athenian masses and the motives of their imperialism seems justified.

More than twenty centuries later, another aristocrat, the Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville, visited the United States to observe its new democracy in action. Some of the conclusions in his *Democracy in America* (1835), though expressed with far more reserve, are similar to those of the Old Oligarch:

> Are you concerned with refining mores, elevating manners, and causing the arts to bloom? Do you desire poetry, renown and glory? ... If in your view that should be the main object of men in society, do not support democratic government; it surely will not lead you to that goal. But if ... in your view the main object of government is ... to provide for every individual therein the utmost well-being, protecting him as far as possible from all afflictions, then it is good to make conditions equal and to establish a democratic government.

SOURCE 11.51 Bailkey, N. M. & Lim, R., 2002, *Readings in Ancient History,* 6th edition, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, p. 171

Again oligarchical states must abide by their alliances and their oaths. If they do not keep to the agreement, penalties can be extracted from the few who made it. But whenever the commons makes an agreement it can lay the blame on the individual speaker or proposer, and say to the other party that it was not present and does not approve what they know was agreed upon in full assembly; and should it be decided that this is not so, the commons has discovered a hundred excuses for not doing what they may not wish to do. If any ill results from a decision of the commons it lays the blame on a minority for opposing and working its ruin, whereas if any good results they take the credit to themselves.

They do not allow caricature and abuse of the commons, lest they should hear themselves evilly spoken of, but they do allow you to caricature any individual you wish to. They know that generally the man who is caricatured is not of the commons or of the crowd, but someone rich or well-bred or

(continued)

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influential, and that few of the poor and democrats are caricatured, and they only because they are busybodies and try to overreach the commons; so they are not angry when such men are caricatured either.

SOURCE 11.52 Bailkey, N. M. & Lim, R., 2002, *Readings in Ancient History,* 6th edition, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, pp. 171–2

ACTIVITY 11.7

Read through Sources 11.44 to 11.52.

1. Make notes about the points of view held by each author and the interpretation they make of Athenian democracy.
2. Do any of the sources hold more historical weight or significance? Why?
3. What are the benefits of a 'radical democracy' as noted by the authors?
4. What problems with the Athenian system of democracy are highlighted by the authors?
5. Using your notes and evidence from the sources, respond to the following question: Do the problems with democracy outweigh the benefits for the Athenian people?

11.10 Synthesising from sources about ostracism in Athens

This sentence of ostracism was not in itself a punishment for wrongdoing. It was described for the sake of appearances as a measure to curtail and humble a man's power and prestige in cases where these had grown oppressive; but in reality it was a humane device for appeasing the people's jealousy, which could thus vent its desire to do harm, not by inflicting some irreparable injury, but by a sentence of ten year's banishment ...

Each voter took an ostrakon, or piece of earthenware, wrote on it the name of the citizen he wished to be banished and carried it to a part of the market-place which was fenced off with a circular paling. Then the archons first counted the total number of votes cast, for if there were less than 6000, the ostracism was void. After this they sorted the votes and the man who had the most recorded against his name was proclaimed to be exiled for ten years, with the right however, to receive the income from his estate.

The story goes that on this occasion, while the votes were being written down, an illiterate and uncouth rustic handed his piece of earthenware to Aristides and asked him to write the name Aristides on it. The latter was astonished and asked the man what harm Aristides had ever done him. 'None whatever', was the reply. 'I do not even know the fellow, but am sick of hearing him called "The Just" everywhere!' When he heard this Aristides said nothing, but wrote his name on the ostrakon and handed it back.

SOURCE 11.53 Plutarch, *Aristides*, Chapter 7

ACTIVITY 11.8

Read Source 11.53 from Plutarch and answer the questions that follow.

1. From what perspective is Plutarch recording these events?
2. What interpretation does Plutarch give of the ostracism system – positive or negative? Why?
3. Why is ostracism a key feature of Athens's 'radical democracy'?
4. What conclusions can be made about Aristides's character from the anecdote recorded by Plutarch?
5. What are some positive and negative effects of giving men of all classes a vote in decision making?

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11.11 Synthesising from sources about sculpture and *arête*

ACTIVITY 11.9

Choose one of the sculptures listed below and complete the table using your own research. Once you have finished your research, respond to the following question: How does the work fulfil the Greek concept of *arête*?

Choose from:

- *Artemision Bronze*
- *Statue of Zeus* at Olympia
- Parthenon *Metopes*
- *Athena Parthenos*
- *Hermes and the Infant Dionysus*
- *Discobolus*
- *Charioteer of Delphi*
- The Parthenon pediments

i Artist and date	
ii Physical description (materials, size, elements missing and so on)	
iii Subject (including any relevant historical background of the subject)	
iv Significance of the work at the time of production	
v Interpretations made about purpose of the work	
vi Influences on future art	

Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about a historical period in the Ancient World

11.12 Evaluating sources about Greek theatre and religion

The didactic nature of Greek theatre

Greek theatre, tragedies in particular, were didactic in nature – they were written with a purpose to teach their audience. Those lessons often had their roots in current social and political issues of concern to Athenians at the time.

ACTIVITY 11.10

Choose one of the plays listed below and either read the play in its entirety (some are not long) or a read detailed synopsis. Then, answer the questions that follow.

- Aeschylus, *The Persians*
- Sophocles, *Antigone*
- Euripides, *Medea*
- Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex*
- Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*
- Aristophanes, *The Frogs*

(continued)

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ACTIVITY 11.10 continued

1. What are the key themes and issues explored in the play's subject matter?
2. What do you believe is the lesson or advice the playwright was trying to leave his audience?
3. Why would this be relevant to Athenian people during the fifth century BCE?
4. How reliable is your chosen play as a record of true events and daily life at the time?
5. When compared to historical works (such as those by Herodotus or Thucydides) and archaeological remains, what unique advantages do plays have?
6. What are their disadvantages or limitations as historical sources?

Temple archaeological sites

Modern historians are fortunate that there are numerous religious archaeological sites available that can help construct a picture of religious life in ancient Greece.

ACTIVITY 11.11

1. Choose one of the archaeological sites listed below and answer the questions that follow:
   - The Acropolis, Athens
   - The Agora, Athens
   - Sanctuary of Athena and Poseidon, Sounion
   - The Temples of Zeus and Hera, Olympia
   - Temple of Apollo, Delphi

   a. What facilities were available for worshippers at the site?
   b. What archaeological evidence has been uncovered of their activities?
   c. How useful is the evidence available in constructing a picture of religious practice?
   d. What limitations are present in the archaeological site? If it is difficult to interpret? Why or why not?

Objective 6: Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose in relation to a historical period in the Ancient World

For Unit 3, you must complete internal assessment tasks IA1 and IA2. IA1 is an essay in response to historical sources and as such, is the application of Objective 6. You can find further guidance about preparing for this IA1 task in the downloadable Assessment Guide.

GO

To assist in preparation, below are some sample key questions that would suit an IA1 task connected to this topic. Sources within this chapter can serve as supporting historical evidence.

SAMPLE KEY QUESTIONS

1. Was it a good idea to make it possible for all citizens to be involved in political decision making? Why or why not?
2. How were the social and citizenship structures of ancient Athens contrary to modern understandings of equality and democracy?
3. How can ancient Greek plays be considered a form of social commentary, designed to influence and challenge their audience?
4. How and why did the ancient Greeks use religious practices to secure their future?

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

- During the fifth century BCE, Athens reached the height of political power and cultural achievements.
- The era saw the distribution of political rights to all male citizens and the removal of power from old aristocratic institutions.
- Clear property qualifications for office were established.
- Athens used the economic resources of the Delian League to fund the rebuilding and beautification of the city after the Persian Wars.
- The Parthenon was built on the Acropolis and is considered the best example of classical architecture.
- Famous writers of tragedy and comedy used their works to explore social issues.
- Socrates and Plato began teaching and established their schools, making Athens the centre of philosophical learning for Greece.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend

Create a mind map that shows the main achievements of Athens in architecture, theatre, philosophy, democracy and political rights during the fifth century BCE.

Devise

Devise a series of focus questions exploring women's contribution Athens's success during the fifth century BCE.

Analyse

Analyse the sources in this chapter to justify the claim that 'the cultural achievements of fifth century BCE Athens reflected a vibrant community, confident in its democracy and sense of civic duty, but with it came also an arrogance that would ultimately lead to its fall'.

Synthesise

How and why did Athens turn its allies from a 'league' of unity into virtual slaves of its 'empire'?

Evaluate

Who are credible primary sources for this time period? Why?

Respond

How would Western civilisation be different today, without the Athenians achievements of the fifth century BCE?

Assessment

Examination-style questions

1. How significant was Pericles to the achievements and success of Athens in the fifth century BCE?
2. Considering the democratic institutions and how the political system functioned. To what extent was ancient Greek democracy successful in Athens?

Investigation tasks

1. How did themes and plots of Greek plays reinforce cultural and social norms of gender in the fifth century BCE?
2. Given the cultural achievements of Athens in sculpture, philosophy, architecture and theatre during the fifth century BCE, which of these has been the most significant in shaping modern Western culture?
3. How did the religious and mythological beliefs of the ancient Athenians guide their everyday lives?

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CHAPTER 12
Philip II and Alexander III of Macedon

DIANA PLATT

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the geographical and historical context of ancient Macedon during the reigns of Philip II and Alexander III with particular reference to the remains at key sites and other relevant sources.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the nature and range of sources for the period, and identification of key issues related to the investigation of sources; for example, authentication, excavation, reconstruction and/or conservation.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - the nature of governance and political developments.
  - significant events and key individuals.
  - social structure.
  - cultural life and practices.
  - religious beliefs and practices.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding.
- synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - the limitations, reliability and usefulness of sources

and either:

- create a response that communicates meaning to suit a purpose by presenting an essay in response to historical sources.

KEY DATES

399 BCE	c. 393 BCE	382 BCE	375 BCE	359 BCE
King Archelaus (illegitimate son of Perdiccas II) is assassinated. Archelaus lays the foundation for Macedonian military greatness; he strengthens and improves the country through the construction of forts and highways, and is instrumental in encouraging Greek literature during his 14-year reign.	Reign of King Amyntas III begins (sons were Alexander II, Perdiccas III and Philip II)	Birth of Philip II	Birth of Olympias, mother of Alexander III, to Neoptolemus I of Epirus	• Philip II of Macedon comes to power • Philip II marries Ilyrian Princess Audata

SOURCE 12.1 Portrait heads of Philip II (left) and Alexander III (right)

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or

- devise historical questions and conduct research and create a response that communicates meaning by presenting an independent source investigation.

Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the reconstruction of ancient Macedon in the time of Philip II and Alexander III.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about changing interpretations over time relating to an understanding of the period using, for example, new discoveries, research and technologies.

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SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

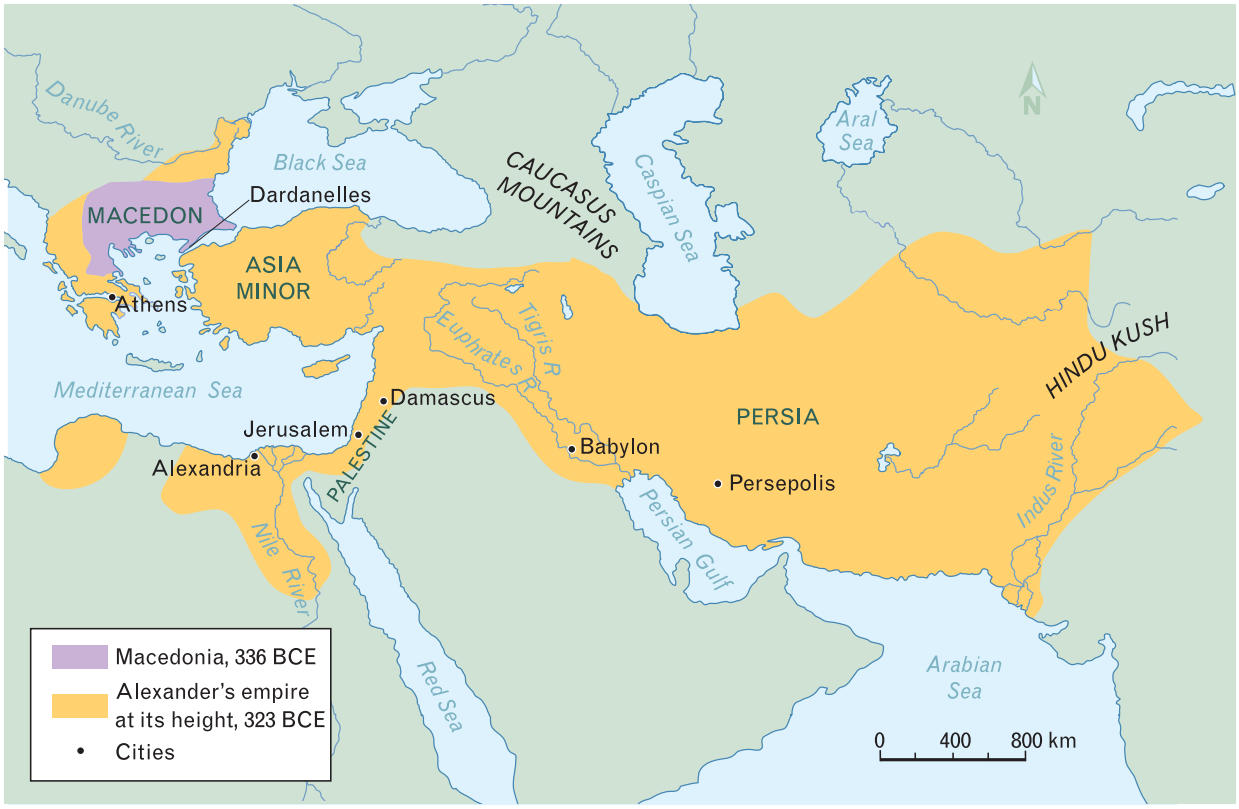
- Olympias (375–316 BCE): Princess of Epirus, daughter of King Neoptolemus I, fourth wife of Philip II, mother of Alexander III
- Aristotle (384–322 BCE): Greek philosopher and tutor to Alexander III
- Darius III (381–330 BCE): Persian king
- Parmenion (400–330 BCE): general under Philip II; when his son Philotas was convicted of treason, Parmenion was assassinated; a member of the aristocracy, possibly *hetairoi*
- Philotas: son of Parmenion, who rose to command of companion cavalry; accused of conspiring against Alexander, executed
- Oxyartes: Sogdian nobleman of Bactria; father of Roxana
- Roxana: Sogdian wife of Alexander III
- Demosthenes (384–322 BCE): Athenian orator of speeches against Philip II
- Theopompus (378–320 BCE): Greek historian and rhetorician
- Callisthenes (360–328 BCE): Greek historian, accompanied Alexander on Asiatic campaigns; Aristotle was his great uncle
- Hephaestion (356–324 BCE): Macedonian nobleman and a general in Alexander's army; friend of Alexander who was brought up with him
- Perdiccas (365–321 BCE): general in Alexander's army and supreme commander of the imperial army after Alexander's death; regent for Philip Arrideaus (Philip III)
- Pausanius of Orestis: bodyguard turned assassin of Philip II
- Alexander the Lyncestian: contemporary of Philip II, who was suspected of being involved in Philip's assassination with two brothers (Heromenes and Arrhabaeus); conspired against Alexander and was executed.

358 BCE	357 BCE	356 BCE	353 BCE	351 BCE	344 BCE
Athens in the midst of the Social War	• Philip II marries Olympias of Epirus • Philip II takes Crenides and changes its name to Philippi	• Alexander III born July 20 • 3rd Social War • c. Pydna and Potidae captured by Philip II	Methone and Olynthus captured by Philip II	Demosthenes delivers Philippics I	Demosthenes delivers Philippics II

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MAP



SOURCE 12.2 Expansion of Macedon

343 BCE	342 BCE	341 BCE	340 BCE	339 BCE
Aristotle becomes Alexander III's tutor	Expedition against Scythians	Demosthenes delivers Philippics III	• Philip II invades Thrace • Alexander III left as regent of Macedon at age 16 • Alexander III defeats Maedians and settles Alexandropolis • Phocion (a successful Athenian statesman and *strategos*) defeats Philip II at Byzantium	Philip II battles the Scythians

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

TERM	DEFINITION
Achaemenid Empire	empire and lands ruled by the Persian dynasty of kings from Cyrus the Great to Darius III (550–331 BCE)
***amphictiony* (also *amphictyony*)**	an association of neighbouring states in ancient Greece with a shared interest in defending the common religious centre at Delphi
Aphrodite	Greek goddess of love, pleasure, beauty and procreation
Apollo	Greek god of knowledge, music, art, poetry, oracles, sun, light, plague, archery and medicine
Argead Dynasty	ancient Macedonian royal house whose origins trace back to Argos in the Peloponnese, 700–310 BCE
Artemis	Greek goddess of hunting, archery, hills, forest and moon
Asclepius	Greek demi-god of medicine
Athena	Greek goddess of military victory and wisdom
Attic	relating to the culture and people of Attica, a province of Athens
Audata	Ilyrian princess, married Philip II, mother of Cynane; grandmother of Eurydice II of Macedon who married Philip III
autocrat	a ruler who has absolute power
Bactria	region of ancient Central Asia north of the Hindu Kush and south of the Amu Darya river; modern day Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan
basileus	king
basilikoi paides	royal pages
cabiri	group of Greek enigmatic underground (chthonic) deities
Cleopatra (Eurydice)	Macedonian noblewoman, last wife of Philip II, niece of Attalus; mother of Europa and Caranus, Olympias murdered her children after Philip's assassination; killed herself
constitutionalist	a government according to a constitution
Cybele	Oriental goddess; the great mother of the gods, personification of fertility, creation, motherhood, nature, destruction

338 BCE	338/7 BCE	337 BCE	336 BCE	336–323 BCE
Battle of Chaeronea; Alexander III has a commanding post	Development of the League of Corinth	• Philip II marries seventh wife, Cleopatra (Eurydice), a Macedonian - considered a love match rather than political • Greek assembly supports Philip's claim for Persian War; leads to tens of thousands of Greeks joining the Persian army to fight against the Macedonians	Assassination of Philip II by Pausanius	Age of Alexander

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TERM	DEFINITION
Demeter	goddess of the harvest, the sacred law, and the cycle of life and death; mother of Persephone
Dionysus	Greek god of wine, wine making, grape harvest, theatre, fertility, ritual madness and religious ecstasy
Dioscuri	in Greek mythology, the twin brothers Castor and Pollux, who are the gemini twins
Draco	snake god
egalitarian	supporting/following the idea that all people have the same rights and opportunities and are equal
Eucleia	Greek female spirit of good repute and glory
Gordian Knot	a legend regarding the chariot in the capital of Phrygia, Gordium; the legend suggested that anyone who could untie the intricate knots tied by the founder (Gordius) would rule Asia
hegemony	the leadership and dominance by one state or social group over another, as was the case with the dominance of Phillip II and the Macedonians over the Greeks
Helios	in Greek mythology, the personification of the sun
Hellene	an ancient Greek
Hellenistic Age	period of Mediterranean history from the death of Alexander until the establishment of the Roman Empire as seen through the Battle of Actium (323–31 BCE)
Heracles	divine hero in Greek mythology; gatekeeper of Mount Olympus; god of strength, heroes, health, athletes, sport, fertility, agriculture, trade, oracles and divine protector of humans
hetairoi	companions of the king or elite cavalry
hipparchies	cavalry unit (approximately 1000) with the intention to flank
hypaspists	stood between the phalanx and cavalry in battle formation
ile	cavalry unit of approximately 200

335 BCE	334 BCE	333 BCE	332 BCE 332/1 BCE
Destruction of Thebes	• Beginning of Alexander III Asiatic campaign • Battle at Granicus River • Capture of Sardis • Siege at Miletos and Halicarnassus	• Alexander III accomplishes Gordian Knot • Battle of Issus	• Capture of Darius III's family by Alexander III • Parmenion takes Damascus • Alexander III takes Sidon and Tyre • Siege of Gaza • Alexander III enters Egypt • Journey to Siwah

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TERM	DEFINITION
Isis	Egyptian goddess of magic, healing, motherhood, fertility, death and rebirth
kurioi	guardians of women
League of Corinth	also referred to as the Hellenic League, it was the federation of ancient Greek states, except Sparta, after the battle of Chaeronea; an offensive and defensive alliance under the leadership of Philip II
Maedians	Thracian tribe
Meda	wife of Philip II, married after Olympias; Thracian princess from Odessos; father was King Cothelas, a Getae
Muses	Greek goddesses of inspiration: literature, science and the arts
Nicesipolis	Thessalian from Pherae, wife of Philip II and mother of Thessalonica, who died after giving birth to her daughter c. 345 BCE
nymphs	Greek mythology, minor nature deities of landforms or locations
Paeonian	people of Paeonia, a kingdom bordered by Thrace, and Illyria
Pan	Greek god of shepherds and flocks, nature and the wild, rustic music, and companion of the nymphs
panhellenism	modern name given to the unity of Greeks as Greek *poleis* were independent
Persephone	Greek queen of underworld
phalangite	a member of the Macedonian phalanx; armed with a sarissa, metal helmet, leather jacket, shield and *xiphos*
phalanx	heavily-armed infantry formation that was refined by Philip II and known as the Macedonian phalanx whereby soldiers stood shoulder to shoulder in ranks 16 men deep
Phila	first or second wife of Philip II; from Elimeia
philia	members of the friends class (*philoi*)
Philinna	female dancer of Larissa in Thessaly, wife of Philip II, mother of Philip III
Philip Arridaeus	also known as Philip III; half brother of Alexander III; intellectually disabled; mother was Philinna
philoi	friends

331 BCE	330 BCE	330/29 BCE	329/8 BCE
• Battle of Gaugamela • The surrender of Babylon, Susa • The capture of Persian Gates, Persepolis • Alexandria, Egypt founded	• Destruction of Persepolis • Alexander III moves through Ecbatana and Afghanistan • Death of Darius III (last king of the Archaemenid Empire in Persia) • Deaths of Philotas, Alexander the Lyncestian and Parmenion (accused of conspiring to assassinate Alexander III)	• Alexander III crosses Hindu Kush • Punishment of Bessus (Darius III's murderer)	• Campaigns at Bactria and Sogdiana • Macedonian defeat at Potytimetus River • Death of Spitamenes (Sogdian warlord who led the Sogdiana uprising against Alexander III in 329 BCE)

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TERM	DEFINITION
Philotas	Son of Parmenion; rose to command of companion cavalry; accused of conspiring against Alexander; was executed
Phocians	People of the region Phocis, in the central part of Greece, which included Delphi
poleis	cities with their surrounding countryside
polytheism	the belief in multiple gods and deities
Sarapis	Graeco-Egyptian god of the sun
sarissa	long spear or pike (5–6 metres) introduced by Philip II in Macedonian phalanxes
satrapies	Macedonian provinces
Scythians	group of Iranian people and Eurasian nomads who inhabited the central and west Eurasia's steppes
Selene	Greek goddess of the moon
Sogdiana	a region in ancient Central Asia between the Oxus and Jaxartes rivers located in territories of modern day Tajikistan and Uzbekistan
somatophylakes	the king's bodyguard; a select group of seven
symposia	drinking practices which also included intellectual debates, entertainment and discussion of strategy
syntrophoi	served the king, protected him as he slept and went on hunts; they learnt how to rule and be ruled and were often hostages to ensure the good behaviour and cooperation of their fathers or family; considered foster brothers of the king's sons as they were close companions
Thessalian League	a loose confederacy of feudal-like city-states and tribes of the Thessalian plain in Northern Greece
tutelary	guardian or protector
xiphos	a one-handed, double-edged straight sword
Zeus	Greek god of sky and thunder who ruled as king of gods on Mount Olympus
Zeus-Ammon	Egyptian god Ammon (god of sun and air and king of the gods) associated with the Greek counterpart, Zeus

328 BCE	328/7 BCE	327 BCE	326 BCE
Death of Cleitus (an officer in the Macedonian army who saved Alexander III at the Battle of the Granicus; later killed by Alexander III in a drunken fight)	Alexander III marries Roxane, daughter of Oxyartes	• Conspiracy of Hermolaus (Alexander III's page who was executed for planning to kill the king) • Alexander III reaches India	• Battle of the Hydaspes against King Porus of the Paurava kingdom • Death of Callisthenes (Greek historian who accompanied Alexander III on his Asiatic expedition; he was the great nephew of Aristotle and was implicated by Hermolaus in the conspiracy to kill the king)

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SOURCE 12.3 *Battle of the Granicus*, Charles Le Brun, 1665, Louvre, Paris. How has the idea of Alexander's conquests been romanticised?

325 BCE	324 BCE	323 BCE	321/0 BCE	321–301 BCE
Gedrosian Campaign	• Alexander III returns to Susa • Mutiny at Opis • Death of Hephaestian, Alexander's closest friend, in Ecbatana	Death of Alexander III	• Alexander III's funerary carriage is taken to Egypt • Perdiccas, one of Alexander's generals, is defeated in Egypt	Continual warfare

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Introduction

Philip II (382–336 BCE) ruled the ancient kingdom of Macedon from 359 BC. He was very successful on the battlefield, with conquests including Athens and Thebes. He established the League of Corinth, an offensive and defensive alliance of the Greek states, with the exception of Sparta. When Philip was assassinated, he was succeeded by his twenty-year-old son Alexander III (356–323 BCE). Alexander continued his father's military tradition; he campaigned through Asia and northeast Africa, and achieved one of the largest empires of the ancient world. He is ofen referred to as Alexander the Great, and many people consider him to have been one of the most successful military commanders in history.

Reconstructing the period of history during the reigns of Philip II and Alexander III of Macedon poses challenges.



SOURCE 12.4 *Demosthenes Practising Oratory*, Jean-Jules-Antoine Lecomte du Nouy (1842–1923). Demosthenes used to study in an underground room he constructed himself. He would talk with pebbles in his mouth and recited verses while running. To strengthen his voice, he spoke on the seashore over the roar of the waves.

First, there is an issue surrounding the origin and ethnicity of the Macedonians. While some sources and historians have grouped the Macedonians as Greek, they were not Greek. Instead they were a distinct group that shared some similarities with the Greeks, such as religion. The Greek influence increased during the reigns of Philip II and Alexander III, which may have contributed to the confusion. The debate of ethnicity of Philip II and Alexander III continues to influence the national identity of modern Macedonians and Greeks.

Second, there is an issue concerning evidence. The primary sources, such as Demosthenes, contain bias or no longer exist. Furthermore, many of the ancient sources for this period were written more than 300 years after the death of Alexander, although the writers may have had access to primary sources that no longer exist. In addition to these issues of reliability, the sources have limitations. The sources remain quiet on certain aspects of this period, which contributes to the challenges of reconstructing the past. Much like a puzzle that is missing a few pieces and has distorted edges, one can try to put the pieces together and make out what the image is supposed to be. This is the challenge of reconstructing the past of Philip II and Alexander III.

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Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the reconstruction of a historical period in the Ancient World

12.1 Geography of ancient Macedon



SOURCE 12.5 Macedon and surrounding regions

George Rawlinson a Canon of Canterbury and Camden Professor of Ancient History at the University of Oxford, discusses Philip's acession:

> The situation of Philip at his accession was one of extreme embarrassment and difficulty. Besides Amyntas, his nephew, for whom he at first professed to be regent, there were at least five pretenders to the throne, two of whom, Pausanias and Argaus, were supported by the arms of foreigners. The Illyrians, moreover, had recently gained a great victory over Perdiccas, and, flushed with success, had advanced into Macedonia and occupied most of the western provinces. Paeonia on the north, and Thrace upon the east, were unquiet neighbors, whose hostility might be counted on whenever other perils threatened. Within two years, however, Philip had repressed or overthrown all these enemies, and found himself free to commence those wars of aggression by which he converted the monarchy of Macedon into an empire.
>
> Hitherto it had been the policy of Philip to profess himself a friend of the Athenians. Now, however, that his hands were free, it was his first object to disembarrass himself of these near neighbors, who blocked up his coast-line, watched his movements, and might seriously interfere with the execution of his projects. Accordingly, towards the close of BCE 358, when Athens was already engaged in the 'The Social War', he suddenly laid siege to Amphipolis. Having taken the town, while he amused Athens with promises, he proceeded to attack and capture Pydna and Potidaea,

(continued)

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actual Athenian possessions, making over the latter to Olynthus, to foment jealousy between [its] and Athens. He then conquered the entire coast district between the Strymon and the Nestus, thus becoming master of the important Thracian goldmines, from which he shortly derived an annual revenue of a thousand talents!

The year after these conquests we find Philip in Thessaly, where he interferes to protect the Aleuadae of Larissa against the tyrants of Pherae. The tyrants call in the aid of the Phocians, then at the zenith of their power, and Philip suffers certain reverses; but a few years later he is completely victorious, defeats and kills Onomarchus, and brings under his dominion the whole of Thessaly, together with Magnesia and Achaea Phthiotis. At the same time, he conquers Methone, the last Athenian possession on the coast of Macedon, attacks Maroneia, and threatens the Chersonese. Athens, the sole power which could effectually have checked these successes, made only slight and feeble efforts to prevent them. Already Philip had found the advantage of having friends among the Attic orators; and their labors, backed by the selfish indolence which now characterised the Athenians, produced an inaction, which had the most fatal consequences.

The victory of Philip over Onomarchus roused Athens to exertion. Advancing to Thermopylae, Philip found the pass already occupied by an Athenian army, and did not venture to attack it. Greece was saved for the time; but six years later the folly of the Thebans, and the fears of the Athenians, who won driven to despair by the ill success of the Olynthian and Euboic wars, admitted the Macedonian conqueror within the barrier. Accepted as head of the league against the impious Phocians, Philip in a few weeks brought the 'Sacred War' to an end, obtaining as his reward the seat in the Amphictyonic Council of which the Phocians were deprived, and thus acquiring a sort of right to intermediate as much as he liked in the affairs of Central and even Southern Hellas.

The main causes of Philip's wonderful success were twofold: bettering the lessons taught him by his model in the art of war, Epaminondas, he had armed, equipped, and trained the Macedonian forces till they were decidedly superior to the troops of any state in Greece. The Macedonian phalanx, invincible until it came to be opposed by the Romans, was his conception and his work. Nor was he content with excellence in one arm of the service. On every branch he bestowed equal care and thought. Each was brought into a state nearly approaching perfection. His cavalry, heavy and light, his peltasts, archers, slingers, darters, were all the best of their kind; his artillery was numerous and effective; his commissariat service was well arranged. At the same time, he was a master of finesse. Taking advantage of the divided condition of Greece, and of the general prevalence of corruption among the citizens of almost every community, he played off state against state and politician against politician. Masking his purposes up to the last moment, promising, cajoling, bribing, intimidating, protesting, he advanced his interests even more by diplomacy than by force, having an infinite fund of artifice from which to draw, and scarcely ever recurring to means which he had used previously.

SOURCE 12.6 Rawlinson, G., 1899, *Ancient History of Chaldaea, Assyria, Media, Babylonia, Lydia, Phoenicia, Syria, Judaea, Egypt, Carthage, Persia, Greece, Macedonia, Parthia, and Rome*, The Colonial Press, pp. 167–9

ACTIVITY 12.1

1. Using the map in Source 12.5 as well as Source 12.6, identify Philip II's expansion.
2. Identify possible motives for Philip II's actions.

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12.2 Nature of governance and political development

The nature of governance in Macedon evolved during the reigns of Philip II (359–336 BCE) and Alexander III (336–323 BCE). However, there is difficulty in attesting to the overall structure of government due to either a lack of evidence, perspectives or the non-contemporary nature of sources. Despite this, it is known that Macedon's political structure was a kingship, although there are two major schools of thought regarding the type of kingship: constitutionalist and monarchic autocracy.

Kingship in Macedon was hereditary and, as the king offered daily sacrifices and presided over religious festivals, the role was considered a priesthood. Under Philip II, diplomatic alliances were strengthened through marriage, as seen by the seven wives of Philip II. Furthermore, under the reign of Philip II, not only was Macedon restored, but also its lands extended to include Paeonia, Thrace and the Greek city-states (except Sparta), which had been unified by Philip II, with the establishment of the Greek League (338/7 BCE). However, Alexander III was considered increasingly an autocratic king.

Initially, Alexander III emulated the kingship style of his father, although, after the defeat of Darius III (331–330 BCE) he adopted aspects of Persian kingship, whereby the king was considered lord and master. Under the reign of Alexander III, Macedon's lands were further extended from the Nile River to the Indus River. Despite the expanse of the Macedonian kingdom, without an heir, the kingship disintegrated into provincial rule by Alexander's generals and companions upon his death (323 BCE).

Aristotle (Greek philosopher and tutor to Alexander III) wrote about two types of monarchy.

> and the things that happen about royal governments and tyrannies are almost similar to those that have been narrated about constitutional governments. For royal government corresponds with aristocracy, while tyranny is a combination of the last form of oligarchy and of democracy; and for that very reason it is most harmful to its subjects, inasmuch as it is a combination of two bad things, and is liable to the deviations and errors that spring from both forms of constitution. And these two different sorts of monarchy have their origins from directly opposite sources; royalty has come into existence for the assistance of the distinguished against the people, and a king is appointed from those distinguished by superiority in virtue or the actions that spring from virtue, or by superiority in coming from a family of that character, while a tyrant is set up from among the people and the multitude to oppose the notables, in order that the people may suffer no injustice from them. And this is manifest from the facts of history. For almost the greatest number of tyrants have risen, it may be said, from being demagogues, having won the people's confidence by slandering the notables. For some tyrannies were set up in this manner when the states had already grown great, but others that came before them arose from kings departing from the ancestral customs and aiming at a more despotic rule, and others from the men elected to fill the supreme magistracies (for in old times the peoples used to appoint the popular officials and the sacred embassies for long terms of office), and others from oligarchies electing some one supreme official for the greatest magistracies. For in all these methods they had it in their power to effect their purpose easily, if only they wished, because they already possessed the power of royal rule in the one set of cases and of their honorable office in the other, for example Phidon in Argos and others became tyrants when they possessed royal power already, while the Ionian tyrants and Phalaris arose from offices of honor, and Panaetius at Leontini and Cypselus at Corinth and Pisistratus at Athens and Dionysius at Syracuse and others in the same manner from the position of demagogue. Therefore, as we said, royalty is ranged in correspondence with aristocracy, for it goes by merit, either by private virtue or by family or by services or by a combination of these things and ability. For in every instance this honor fell to men after they had conferred benefit or because they had the ability to confer benefit on their cities or their nations, some having prevented their enslavement in war, for instance Codrus, others having set them free, for instance Cyrus, or having settled or acquired territory, for instance the kings of Sparta and Macedon and the Molossians. And a king wishes to be a guardian

SOURCE 12.7 Aristotle, *Politics*, 5.1310b

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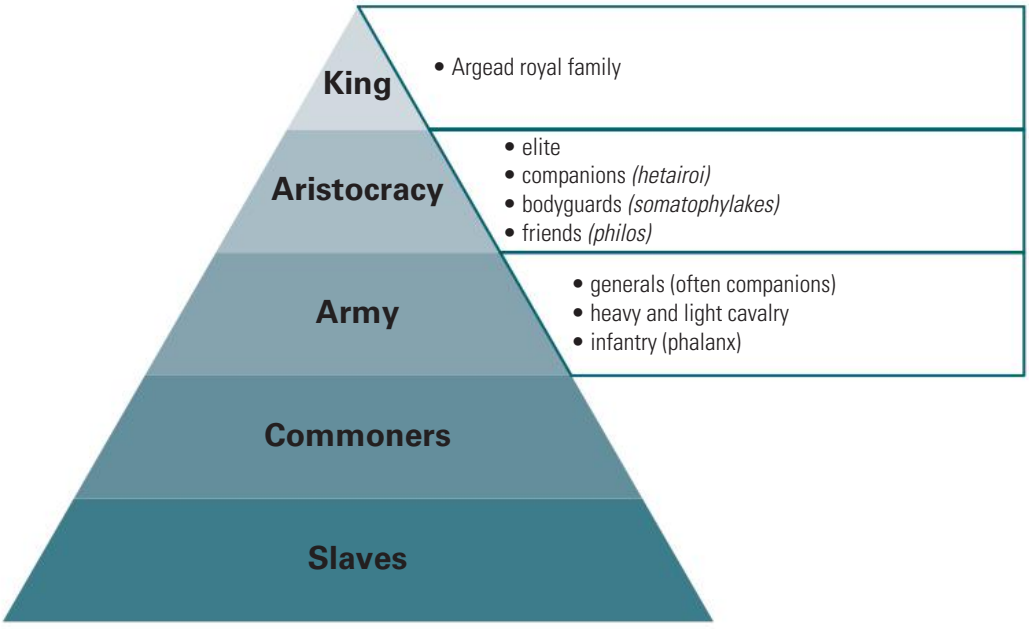
ACTIVITY 12.2

1. Identify the two types of monarchy suggested by Aristotle.
2. Propose which of the two types of monarchy you think are demonstrated by:
   a. Philip II
   b. Alexander III.

   (You may wish to revisit this proposal later, after you have conducted further investigation.)

12.3 Social structure

Macedon was a hierarchical aristocratic society with disproportions in power, privilege and wealth. The poor lived disposable lives without effect and most of the information on this period is centred on the royalty and the aristocracy.



SOURCE 12.8 Macedonian social hierarchy. What does this structure suggest about Macedonian society?

Royal family

The royalty of Macedon were of the Argead Dynasty whose origins traced back to Argos (Peloponnese). The Argead kings took many wives for political reasons, although this was not a practice within the aristocracy. Furthermore, the kings arranged marriages for their daughters to further establish or confirm political alliances, which established a network of *philia*. Royal fathers and brothers were *kurioi* (guardians) for royal women and the role of Argead women became more public following the reign of Philip II. Education of the royal family was individualised to honour the family and background of the mother. Additionally, the king was the head of the army, the state and chief priest of the kingdom.

Aristocracy

The aristocracy were significant landowners and dominated the cavalry and officer corps in the army. The monarchy would give gifts and land grants for the support of prominent families. The adolescent sons of leading Macedonians were conscripted into service as *basilikoi paides* (royal pages).

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SOURCE 12.9 Gold Medallion of Philip II of Macedon, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris



SOURCE 12.10 Gold Medallion of Olympias, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. What do these medallions suggest about the importance of the royal family?

The king's bodyguards came from the nobility in society and service was seen as a prestigious honour. There were two categories of bodyguards, the elite *hypaspists* (military unit of special forces numbered in the hundreds) and a smaller group of *somatophylakes* (highborn men of similar age) that formed the king's inner circle. At the time of Alexander III, this small group numbered eight. The king paid respect to the noble birth of Macedonians by choosing them as bodyguards. It was at the king's discretion to appoint, remove or replace the bodyguards. This was considered more a role of honour rather than an effective unit for protecting the king's life. As such, the king was still vulnerable, as seen by Philip II's assassination by Pausanius, one of his bodyguards.

Companions (*hetairoi*) were the primary associates and servants of the king. They enjoyed power at the court and had grown up with the king through the institution of *basilikoi paides*. They often accompanied the king in hunting, fighting and feasting. Companions or friends (*philos*) would attend to the king in large numbers both at home or on campaign by invitation only. They may give the king advice, hear his speeches and consult on matters of state. They were free to speak, although there is no indication that the king was bound to heed their advice or that a formal vote took place. Additionally, within the *hetairoi* there were marriage alliances that built kin networks.

Thomas R. Martin is an American historian specialising in the Greco-Roman world. Here he describes the relationship between the aristocracy and the monarchy.

> Unlike the city-states of Greece, Macedonia was ruled by a monarchy. The power of the king of the Macedonian state was constrained by the tradition that he was supposed to listen to his people, who were accustomed to addressing their monarch with considerable freedom of speech. Above all, the king could govern effectively only as long as he maintained the support of the most powerful aristocrats, who counted as the king's social equals and controlled large bands of followers. Fighting, hunting, and heavy drinking were the favorite pastimes of these men. The king was expected to demonstrate his prowess in these activities to show he was a Macedonian man's man capable of heading the state. Macedonian queens and royal mothers received respect in this male-dominated society because they came from powerful families in the Macedonian nobility or the ruling houses of lands bordering Macedonia and bore their husbands the heirs that they needed to carry on their royal dynasties. In the king's absence these royal women could vie with the king's designated representative for power at court.

SOURCE 12.11 Martin, T.R., 2013, *Ancient Greece: From Prehistoric to Hellenistic Times*, Yale University Press, p. 239

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Women

The family and the home were the centre of women's life in Macedon, so aristocratic women often did not go out in public or, if they did, wore veils of varying coverage. Rural and lower class women had to leave their homes to work.

Aristocratic women often held priesthoods and participated in public rituals. Women's religious experience centred on female deities and cults of children, protection in childbirth, fertility and healing. Many of the women-centred cult sanctuaries were placed outside the city walls. *Hetairoi* women were knowledgeable and involved in the political struggles of their clans.

Royal women had no title; they had their personal name and ancestry only. There was no institutionalised chief wife of the king; however, the mother of the heir was considered the primary source of dominance and status, although factors such ethnicity and family background could affect women's places at court. Furthermore, mothers were succession advocates for their sons (or grandsons) as seen in Olympias's alleged order of the execution of Eurydice and her child in order to secure her own son's (Alexander III) succession.

By the fourth century BCE, royal women became domestic supervisors due to the increased numbers of slaves and the size and luxury of the palaces.

Army

Philip II reorganised the army, increasing the size and introducing corps engineers. Under Philip II, the army became a professional occupation that paid well enough for active service year round, and which allowed for cohesion and unity. Additionally, the army had uniforms and an oath, which demonstrated loyalty to the king rather than hometowns. Philip II restructured the phalanx by giving each unit its own commander. He developed the Macedonian phalanx, known for its use of *sarissa*, *xiphos* and redesigned shield, and he developed the *hipparchies* and *hypaspists*. Furthermore, he made the military a way of life for Macedonian men. Initially, Alexander III continued this structure, but later he added Asiatic techniques, such as introducing archers on horseback, which was an adaptation from his campaigns in Sogdiana and Bactria.



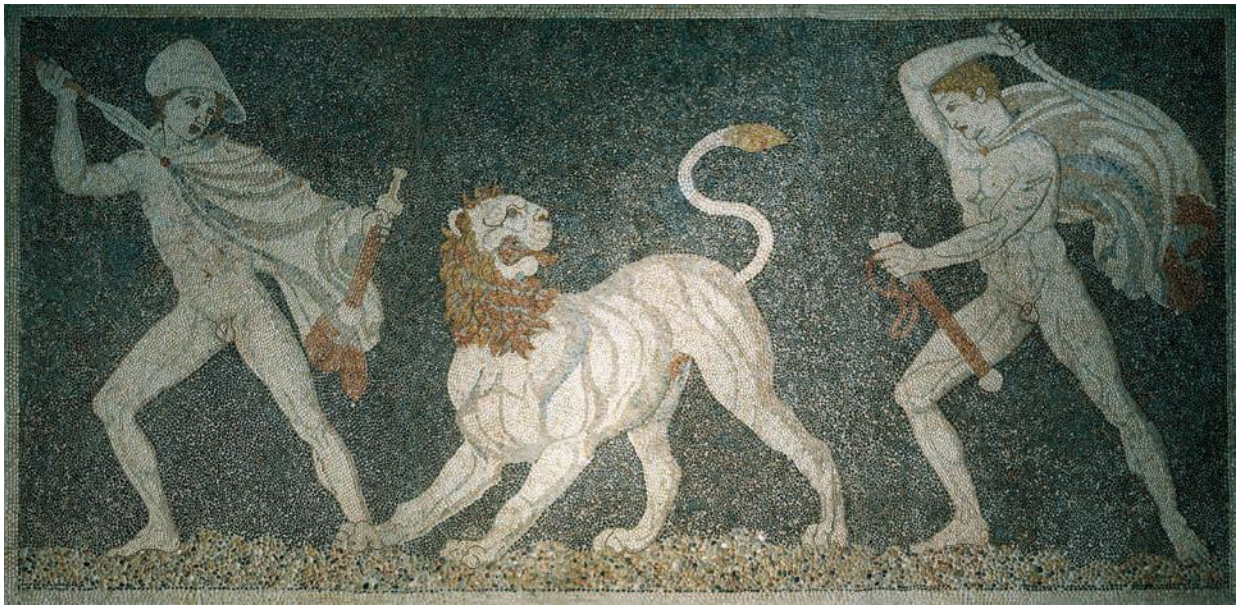
SOURCE 12.12 An artistic representation of a Macedonian phalanx

12.4 Cultural life and practice

The Macedonian court adapted many aspects of the cultural life of Greece, increasingly so with the reigns of Philip II and Alexander III. The Argead kings brought Greek intellectuals to court; in fact, Philip II brought Aristotle, the Greek philosopher, to be Alexander's tutor (343 BCE).

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The Macedonian *symposia* was central to aristocratic society and culture, although investigations into Macedonian *symposia* are difficult due to the limitations of relevant sources and the prejudices that are present within existing sources – for example, court histories by authors such as Callisthenes. Court *symposia* had an intellectual tone in that it was often an occasion of sophisticated debate. These gatherings had many functions such as relief, entertainment, and a platform to display power or to discuss strategy and international diplomacy. They were an opportunity for the companions and the king to interact; it was also an opportunity for the court to gain the king's attention and favour, and to maintain or improve their position. *Symposia* and hunting were major activities of the royalty and aristocracy.



SOURCE 12.13 Lion hunt, mosaic from Pella (ancient Macedon)

Religious beliefs and practice

Religious beliefs and practices of the ancient Macedonians are complicated due to ethnic diversity, the extent of the Macedonian kingdom, the Macedonian openness to foreign influence, polytheism and the changes in beliefs over time.

Worship of gods such as Zeus, Heracles, Dionysus and Isis were of importance in Macedon. Additionally, there were cults worshipping Aphrodite, Cybele, and nymphs. Zeus was the most important deity and was considered the father of Macedon, who was a mythical individual that all Macedonians are descended from. Furthermore, the Macedonian kings traced their lineage to Heracles. Both Artemis and Heracles-Cynagidas (Hunter) were *tutelary* deities for the coming of age of girls (beginning) and boys (end) respectively (however, Dionysus was considered the *tutelary* deity for the beginning of boys' coming of age). Additionally, there were links between the cult of Dionysus and a belief in the afterlife. This is further seen in the special reverence shown to Persephone. It was this engrained belief in the afterlife that sets the Macedonians apart from the Greeks. Furthermore, magic was practised among everyday Macedonians.

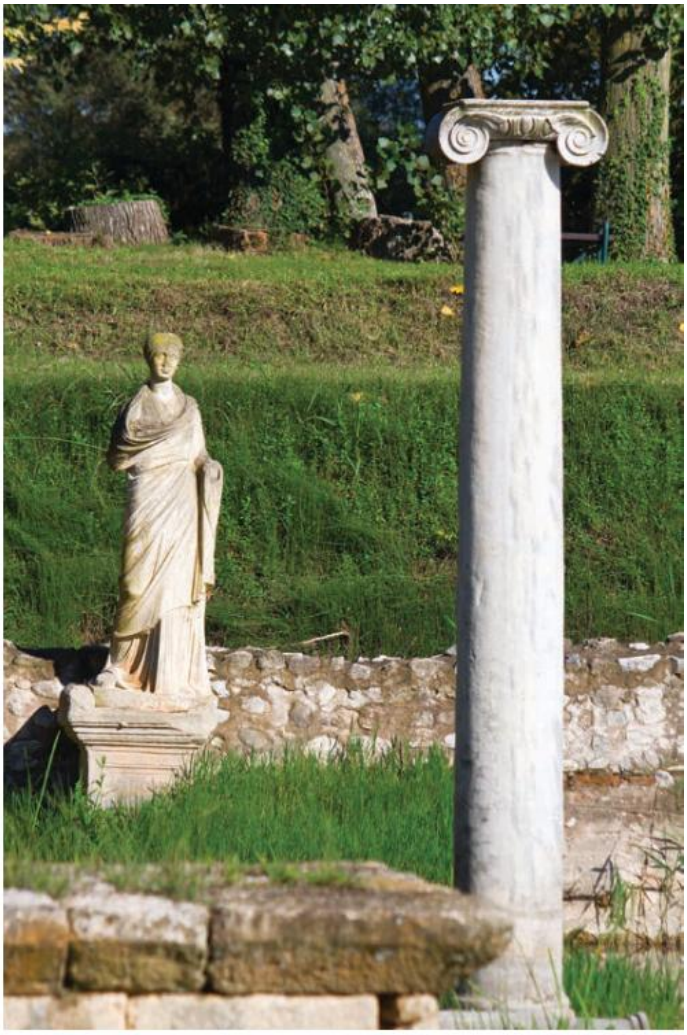


SOURCE 12.14 Statue of goddess Cybele c. second to first century BCE, found in Marvinci, Valandovo, Macedon

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The Macedonians were open to foreign influence in religion as seen in their worship of Isis, Sarapis and later Zeus-Ammon under Alexander III. The worship of Isis evolved quickly over time – initially Isis was identified with Demeter and Artemis. In addition, the cult of Sarapis gradually submerged into the worship of Isis. The worship of Ammon by Alexander III is referred to many sources such as Diodorus and Justin.

Due to the domination of Macedonian society by the aristocracy who were concerned with desire, freedom and wealth, the remaining monuments are familial rather than civic. There are scant monumental temples as religious expression of the Macedonians; instead, there are a considerable number of elaborate tombs with expensive grave goods. This further demonstrates the strong belief in the afterlife. Male burials of the Argead period contain weapons and armour as grave goods which supported the warrior nature of the society. Furthermore, male burials of the aristocracy contained items of athletic activity or drinking vessels. The burials of women contained jewellery and terracotta figurines relating to various cults. Although women and men were buried facing in different directions, both burials included vessels used in the funerary ritual, as well as gilded or gold wreaths and mouth coverings.



SOURCE 12.15 Temple of Isis at ancient Dion

Both Philip II and Alexander III encouraged others to assign them god-like status and worship the living rulers as gods, although Alexander is thought to be the prime mover in royal deification.

Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding in relation to specific historical periods in the Ancient World

12.5 Governance

In the next three sources, Roman historian Curtius from around the first century CE, and first-century BCE Greek historian Diodorus, discuss Macedonian kings.

> In capital cases, it was a long-established Macedonian practice for the king to conduct the trial while the army (or the commons in peace-time) acted as jury, and the position of the king counted for nothing unless his influence had been substantial prior to the trial.

SOURCE 12.16 Curtius, *The History of Alexander*, 6.8.25

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For after the death of Amyntas, Alexander, the eldest of the sons of Amyntas, succeeded to the throne. But Ptolemy of Alorus assassinated him and succeeded to the throne and then in similar fashion Perdiccas disposed of him and ruled as king. But when he was defeated in a great battle by the Illyrians and fell in the action, Philip his brother, who had escaped from his detention as a hostage, succeeded to the kingdom, now in a bad way.

SOURCE 12.17 Diodorus, *Library*, 16.2.4

When Phrynichus was archon at Athens, the Romans installed as consuls Titus Manlius Torquatus and Publius Decius. In this year King Philip, proudly conscious of his victory at Chaeronea and seeing that he had dashed the confidence of the leading Greek cities, conceived of the ambition to become the leader of all Greece.

SOURCE 12.18 Diodorus, *Library*, 16.89.1

Philip II

After his victory at the battle of Chaeronea in 338 BCE, Philip of Macedon set up the League of Corinth, which was a collection of Greek states under his leadership. This fragment of carved writing <ok?>, found on the Acropolis, is from the Athenian copy of the treaty which established the League. It is from the oaths to be sworn by the ambassadors from each state.

Oath: I swear by Zeus, Earth, Sun, Poseidon, Athena, Ares, all the gods and goddesses. I shall abide [by the Peace?] and I shall not break the treaty which ... [with Philip?], nor shall I bear weapons with hostile intent against any of those who abide by the oaths, whether by land or sea; and I shall not capture either city or fort or harbour, with intent to war, of any of those who share in the Peace, neither by trick nor strategem; and I shall not overthrow the kingdom of Philip and his descendants, or the constitutions existing in each place when they swore the oaths about the Peace; and I myself will do nothing contrary to this [treaty], nor shall I empower anyone else; ... in breach of the treaty, ... I shall help in whatever way ... requires; and I shall make war against anyone who contravenes ... in whatever way ... and the leader requires; and I shall not abandon the

SOURCE 12.19 Treaty with Philip II, IG II3 1 318 Date: 338–7 BCE, Fragment A

Justin, a Roman historian from around the second century CE, wrote about the Lacedaemonian resopnse to Philip's peace terms.

War being at an end in Greece, Philip directed deputies from all the states to be summoned to Corinth, to settle the condition of affairs. Here he fixed terms of peace for the whole of Greece, according to the merits of each city; and chose from them all a council, to form a senate as it were for the country. But the Lacedaemonians, standing alone, showed contempt alike for the terms and the king; regarding the state of things, which had not been agreed upon by the cities themselves, but forced upon them by a conqueror, as a state, not of peace, but of slavery.

SOURCE 12.20 Justin, *Epitome*, 9.5

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Diodorus considers Philip's wealth and how he used it.

> After this he went to the city of Crenides, and having increased its size with a large number of inhabitants, changed its name to Philippi, giving it his own name, and then, turning to the gold mines in its territory, which were very scanty and insignificant, he increased their output so much by his improvements that they could bring him a revenue of more than a thousand talents. And because from these mines he had soon amassed a fortune, with the abundance of money he raised the Macedonian kingdom higher and higher to a greatly superior position, for with the gold coins which he struck, which came to be known from his name as Philippeioi, he organised a large force of mercenaries, and by using these coins for bribes induced many Greeks to become betrayers of their native lands.

SOURCE 12.21 Diodorus, *Library*, 16.8

The orator Demosthenes was Philip's contemporary and frequently spoke out against him.

> Such were the means of the city: and I defy anyone to name anything else. Now consider those of our antagonist Philip. In the first place, he was the despotic commander of his adherents: and in war that is the most important of all advantages. Secondly, they had their weapons constantly in their hands. Then he was well provided with money: he did whatever he chose, without giving notice by publishing decrees, or deliberating in public, without fear of prosecution by informers or indictment for illegal measures. He was responsible to nobody: he was the absolute autocrat, commander, and master of everybody and everything.

SOURCE 12.22 Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 18: 235

Here, Diodorus talks about Philip as a military commander.

> In Europe Philip, the Macedonian king, marched against the cities of Chalcidice, took the fortress of Zereia by siege and razed it. He then intimidated some of the other towns and compelled them to submit. Then coming against Pherae in Thessaly he expelled Peitholaus, who was in control of the city.

SOURCE 12.23 Diodorus, *Library*, 16.52.9

A.B. Bosworth, Professor of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Western Australia, outlines governance under Alexander III:

> Philip reigned as an autocrat. The political institutions of Macedon were informal and rudimentary, and there were few practical constraints on a strong king. Like his son, Philip presumably consulted an inner council of intimates on major issues of state, but nothing suggests that the council was anything other than advisory.

SOURCE 12.24 Bosworth, A. B.,1993, *Conquest and Empire: The Reign of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge University Press, p. 7

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ACTIVITY 12.3

1. For each of Sources 12.16 to 12.24, complete an analysis table, using the template contained in the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 3*.
2. What issues arise with these sources?

Objective 5: Evaluate

3. What limitations exist with the evidence?
4. How useful are these sources to determine the governance of Philip II?
5. How reliable are these sources for the reconstruction of the past?
6. To what extent do the these issues affect the use of the sources as evidence?

Objective 4: Synthesise

7. Based on the evidence, draw conclusions about what type of governance existed under Philip II.

GO

The Interactive Textbook contains an activity on a longer passage by Didorus about Philip and the Battle of Chaeronea.

GO

Alexander III

Justin discusses the Macedonian reaction to Alexander's succession.

> To all these apprehensions the succession of Alexander was a relief, who, in a public assembly, so effectually soothed and encouraged the people, as to remove all uneasiness from those that were afraid, and to fill every one with favourable expectations. He was now twenty years old; at which age he gave great promise of what he would be, but with such modesty, that it was evident he reserved the further proofs of his ability for the time of action. He granted the Macedonians relief from all burdens, except that of service in war; by which conduct he gained such popularity with his subjects, that they said they had changed only the person, not the virtues, of their king.

SOURCE 12.25 Justin, *Epitome*, 11.1

Diodorus considers Alexander's method of establishing his authority.

> In this year Alexander, succeeding to the throne, first inflicted due punishment on his father's murderers, and then devoted himself to the funeral of his father. He established his authority far more firmly than any did in fact suppose possible, for he was quite young and for this reason not uniformly respected, but first he promptly won over the Macedonians to his support by tactful statements. He declared that the king was changed only in name and that the state would be run on principles no less effective than those of his father's administration. Then he addressed himself to the embassies which were present and in affable fashion bade the Greeks maintain towards him the loyalty which they had shown to his father.

SOURCE 12.26 Diodorus, *Library*, 17.2. 1-2

Bosworth describes governance post-Philip II's death:

> Alexander came to the throne immediately after the death of his father, but the details of his investiture are a mystery. It is totally unknown what acts and ceremonies conferred legitimacy upon

(continued)

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a Macedonian king. Acclamation was certainly important. In the immediate aftermath of Philip's death he was proclaimed by members of the nobility in the palace, and there is every reason to think that he was also acknowledged by the commons in an assembly at Aegae. Whether or not such a meeting had constitutional significance, it was advisable to have public endorsement of his regime. A formal assembly is attested some days later, in which Alexander addressed the people as King, promising to continue his father's policies.

SOURCE 12.27 Bosworth, A B., 1993, *Conquest and Empire: The Reign of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge University Press, p. 7

Philotas, one Alexander's generals, was accused of conspiring against him. In the next four sources, Curtius, Arrian (a first-century CE Greek historian), Justin and Curtius outline Alexander's response.

Even so, Alexander called a meeting of his friends, without inviting Philotas, and ordered Nicomachus be brought before it. So the decision was unanimous that Philotas should be interrogated under torture to force him to name his accomplices in the crime. Then Alexander dismissed them, telling them to remain silent about their decision and, in order not to betray any hint of the course of action they had recently adopted, he had marching orders issued for the following day.

SOURCE 12.28 Curtius, *The History of Alexander*, 6.8.25

Alexander called a meeting of his friends to discuss the situation [regarding Alexander the Lyncestian], and the members of the Companions most closely in his confidence expressed the opinion that it was a mistake in the first place to have put an untrustworthy officer in command of the best cavalry regiments, and that he should now be summarily disposed of, before he became hand in glove with the Thessalians and plotted rebellion.

SOURCE 12.29 Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander*, 1:25

What most incensed him was, that reflections were cast upon him in the common talk of the soldiers, for having cast off the customs of his father Philip and of his country. For this offence, Parmenio, an old man, next to the king in rank, and his son Philotas, were put to death; an examination by torture having been previously held on both of them.

SOURCE 12.30 Justin, *Epitome* 12.5

Who would have believed that a gathering fiercely hostile moments before could be paralysed with sudden panic at the sight of men being dragged off for punishment whose actions had been no worse than the others? They were terror-stricken, whether from respect for the title of king, for which people living in a monarchy have a divine reverence, or from respect for Alexander personally; or perhaps it was because of the confidence with which he so forcefully exerted his authority. At all events they were the very model of submissiveness: when, towards evening, they learned of their comrades' execution, so far from being infuriated at the punishment, they did everything to express individually their increased loyalty and devotion.

SOURCE 12.31 Curtius, *The History of Alexander*, 10.3.1-4

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Here, Martin describes Alexander's governance after Philip II's death.

> Alexander (356–323 BCE), promptly liquidated potential rivals for the throne and won recognition as king. In several lightning-fast campaigns, he subdued Macedonia's traditional enemies to the west and north. Next he compelled the southern Greeks, who had rebelled from the League of Corinth at the news of Philip's death, to rejoin the alliance. To demonstrate the price of disloyalty, Alexander destroyed Thebes in 335 BCE as punishment for its rebellion from the League.

SOURCE 12.32 Martin, T. R., 2013, *Ancient Greece: From Prehistoric to Hellenistic Times*, Yale University Press

In the following excerpt from a speech, Callisthenes, a Greek historian who accompanied Alexander the Great, criticises Alexander's actions.

> To take the lead in the way you did was a disgraceful thing: you ought to have remembered that you are not the attendant and advisor of Cambyses or Xerxes, but of Philip's son, a man with the blood of Heracles and Aecus (father of Achilles) in his veins, a man whose forefathers came from Argos to Macedonia, where they long ruled not by force, but by law.

SOURCE 12.33 Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander*, 4.11.5, speech by Callisthenes

Plutarch was a first-century CE Greek biographer and essayist who wrote about the life of Alexander. Here, he talks about some of the challenges Alexander faced upon receiving the kingdom.

> Thus it was that at the age of twenty years Alexander received the kingdom, which was exposed to great jealousies, dire hatreds, and dangers on every hand. For the neighbouring tribes of Barbarians would not tolerate their servitude, and longed for their hereditary kingdoms; and as for Greece, although Philip had conquered her in the field, he had not had time enough to make her tame under his yoke, but had merely disturbed and changed the condition of affairs there, and then left them in a great surge and commotion, owing to the strangeness of the situation.

SOURCE 12.34 Plutarch, *Alexander*, 11.1

Justin draws out contrasts between Philip and Alexander:

> To Philip succeeded his son Alexander, a prince greater than his father, both in his virtues and his vices. Each of the two had a different mode of conquering; the one prosecuted his wars with open force, the other with subtlety; the one delighted in deceiving his enemies, the other in boldly repulsing them. The one was more prudent in council, the other more noble in feeling. The father would dissemble his resentment, and often subdue it; when the son was provoked, there was neither delay nor bounds to his vengeance. They were both too fond of wine, but the ill effects of their intoxication were totally different; the father would rush from a banquet to face the enemy, cope with him, and rashly expose himself to dangers; the son vented his rage, not upon his enemies, but his friends. A battle often sent away Philip wounded; Alexander often left a banquet stained with the blood of his companions. The one wished to reign with his friends, the other to reign over them. The one preferred to be loved, the other to be feared. To literature both gave equal attention. The father had more cunning, the son more honour. Philip was more staid in his words, Alexander in his actions. The son felt readier and nobler impulses to spare the conquered; the father showed no mercy even to his allies. The father was more inclined to frugality, the son to luxury. By the same course by which the father laid the foundations of the empire of the world, the son consummated the glory of conquering the whole world.

SOURCE 12.35 Justin, *Epitome*, 9:8

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ACTIVITY 12.4

GO

1. Analyse the above sources, using the source analysis table contained in the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 3*.
2. What issues arise with these sources?

Objective 4: Synthesise

3. Based on the evidence, draw conclusions about the type of governance that existed under Alexander III.
4. How did Alexander III's governance differ from that of Philip II?

Objective 5: Evaluate

5. What limitations exist with the evidence?
6. How useful and reliable are these sources to determine the governance of Alexander III?
7. To what extent do the these issues affect the use of the sources as evidence?



SOURCE 12.36 Alexander routs Persians on one of the long sides of the Alexander Sarcophagus. What does this suggest about the way in which Alexander III ruled?

Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument about a historical period in the Ancient World

12.6 Society and culture

GO

In the Interactive Textbook, you will find a number of sources that demonstrate aspects of society and culture in the time of Philip and Alexander. Review this material and then complete the following activity.

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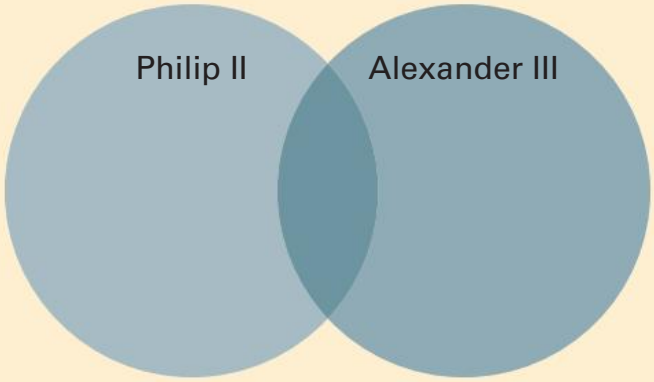
ACTIVITY 12.5

Use the additional sources from the Interactive Textbook to answer the following questions.

GO

Objective 1: Comprehend

1. Identify the roles of the classes in society at the time of Philip II and Alexander III.
2. Compare and contrast the culture and society of Macedon during the period of Philip II and Alexander III using the Venn diagram below.



Objective 2: Devise

3. Devise a key inquiry question regarding the impact of social structures and culture upon the governance of Philip II and Alexander III.

Objective 3: Analyse

4. Use the source analysis table available in the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 3* to analyse the sources.
5. Explain the connection between society and culture at this time.
6. Identify issues relating to the authentication, excavation, reconstruction and conservation of evidence. (You may wish to refer back to the Chapter 1 discussion of these matters.)

GO

Objective 4: Synthesise

7. Develop a hypothesis in response to your key inquiry question.

Objective 5: Evaluate

8. How useful and reliable are these sources to determine society and culture during the period of Philip II and Alexander III?
9. How do the perspectives of these sources affect the interpretation of the past?

12.7 Religion

Religious rituals were very important at the time of Philip and Alexander. Here are two extracts in which Plutarch discusses religious rites, and Alexander's claimed descent from the gods and heroes of myth.

> All the women of these parts were addicted to the Orphic rites and the orgies of Dionysus from very ancient times (being called Klodones and Mimallones), and imitated in many ways the practices of the Edonian women and the Thracian women about Mount Haemus, from whom, as it would seem, the word 'threskeuein' came to be applied to the celebration of extravagant and superstitious ceremonies.

SOURCE 12.37 Plutarch, *Alexander*, 2.5

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As for the lineage of Alexander, on his father's side he was a descendant of Heracles through Caranus, and on his mother's side a descendant of Aeacus through Neoptolemus; this is accepted without any question. And we are told that Philip, after being initiated into the mysteries of Samothrace at the same time as Olympias, he himself being still a youth and she an orphan child, fell in love with her and betrothed himself to her at once with the consent of her brother, Arymbas.

SOURCE 12.38 Plutarch, *Alexander*, 2.1



SOURCE 12.39 A piece of lead inscription with a text of Doric dialect and magical content, Amisos of the fourth century BCE



SOURCE 12.40 Obverse: Head of Herakles wearing lion skin headdress. Reverse: the word 'FILIPPO', trident head, lion's head. AV One-eighth stater. Mint: Pella (359–336 BCE), Philip II.



SOURCE 12.41 Obverse: Laureate head of Zeus facing right. Reverse: the word 'FILIP-POU', youth on horseback facing right, crowning horse with palm 'AP' shown under horse. AR Tetradrachm. Mint: Amphipolis (c. 323–315 BCE).



SOURCE 12.42 Early Philip II stater. Obverse: god Apollo Reverse: a charioteer, with Philip's name appearing in the exergue. Standard Philip II gold type design.



SOURCE 12.43 Obverse: typical depiction of Zeus. Reverse: the king on horseback, with the bow symbol in front of the horse's forelegs. Mint: Amphipolis (355–348 BCE).

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SOURCE 12.44 The Hero and the Grave I: Mural (royal tomb of Philip II at Vergina) of Hades kidnapping Persephone



SOURCE 12.45 Bronze lantern decorated with two heads of Pan (ancient Hellenic god) c. late fourth century BCE. Discovered in Royal Tomb II, Vergina.



SOURCE 12.46 Tetradrachm of Alexander III. Obverse: Alexander wearing a lion scalp (guise of Heracles). Reverse: the seated figure of Zeus.



SOURCE 12.47 Obverse: Head of Athena facing right, wearing a crested Corinthian helmet ornamented with a coiled serpent. Reverse: word 'ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ' for Alexander, Nike standing facing left, holding a wreath and a stylis, a trident-head on left. Gold stater mint: Amphipolis (336–323 BCE) lifetime issue.

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In classical times, many people consulted oracles – people who could provide counsel or prophecy through divine inspiration. Among the most famous was the Pythia or Oracle of Delphi, who were the priestesses at the Temple of Apollo in Delphi. Didorus records that at the start of his campaign in Asia, Philip asked the Oracle of Delphi whether he would be successful. As was often the case, they gave an ambiguous response, but Philip took it as positive.

> In any event, he thought that the gods supported him and was very happy to think that Asia would be made captive under the hands of the Macedonians.
>
> Straightaway he set in motion plans for gorgeous sacrifices to the gods joined with the wedding of his daughter Cleopatra, whose mother was Olympias; he had given her in marriage to Alexander king of Epirus, Olympias's own brother.

SOURCE 12.48 Diodorus, *Library*, 16.91.4

Alexander also took counsel from the oracles, as described by modern historian Thomas R. Martin, as well as Diodorus and Justin.

> During his time in Egypt, Alexander also paid a mysterious visit to the oracle of the god Ammon, whom the Greeks regarded as identical to Zeus, at the oasis of Siwah far out in the western Egyptian desert. Alexander told no one the details of his consultation of the oracle, but the news got out that he had been informed he was the son of the god and that he joyfully accepted the designation as true.

SOURCE 12.49 Martin, T. R., 2013, *Ancient Greece: From Prehistoric to Hellenistic Times*, Yale University Press, p. 247

> When Alexander was conducted by the priests into the temple and had regarded the god for a while, the one who held the position of prophet, an elderly man, came to him and said, 'Rejoice, son take this form of address as from the god also.'

SOURCE 12.50 Diodorus, *Library*, 17.51.1

> He then went to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to consult the oracle about the event of his future proceedings, and his own parentage. For his mother Olympias had confessed to her husband Philip, that 'she had conceived Alexander, not by him, but by a serpent of extraordinary size'. Philip, too, towards the end of his life, had publicly declared that 'Alexander was not his son'; and he accordingly divorced Olympias, as having been guilty of adultery. Alexander, therefore, anxious to obtain the honour of divine paternity, and to clear his mother from infamy, instructed the priests, by messengers whom he sent before him, what answers he wished to receive. The priests, as soon as he entered the temple, saluted him as the son of Ammon. Alexander, pleased with the god's adoption of him, directed that he should be regarded as his son. He then inquired 'whether he had taken vengeance on all that had been concerned in the assassination of his father'. He was answered that 'his father could neither be assassinated, nor could die; but that vengeance for Philip's death had been fully exacted'. On putting a third question, he was told that 'success in all his wars, and dominion over the world, was granted him'. A response was also given by the oracle to his attendants, that 'they should reverence Alexander as a god, and not as a king'.

SOURCE 12.51 Justin, *Epitome*, 11.11

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Here is a speech by Callisthenes to Alexander II.

> Again, not even Heracles was accorded divine honours by the Greeks while he was alive – nor when he was dead either, until the command to do so was given by an oracle of Apollo at Delphi ... do you really propose to force the Greeks, who love their liberty more than anyone else in the world, to prostrate themselves before you? Or will you let the Greeks off and impose this shameful duty only on the Macedonians?

SOURCE 12.52 Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander*, 4.11.6

ACTIVITY 12.6

Study Sources 12.37 to 12.52 and use them to respond to the questions below.

Objective 1: Comprehend

1. Why might the archaeological site at Vergina (Aigai) be significant?

Objective 4: Synthesise

2. To what extent did religion affect the reigns of Philip II and Alexander III?
3. How did religion evolve over time from Philip II to Alexander III?
4. To what extent could religion be seen as central to Macedonian society, culture and politics?

Objective 5: Evaluate

5. What limitations regarding the access to and the use of evidence to reconstruct the past exist with the evidence?
6. How useful and reliable are these sources to determine the impact of religion during the period of Philip II and Alexander III?
7. How do the perspectives of these sources affect the interpretation of the past?

Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about a historical period in the Ancient World

12.8 Philip II and Demosthenes

The work of Demosthenes is among the key primary sources of the period. Here, Mark Cartwright (contributor to the Ancient History Encyclopedia) describes Demosthenes.

> Demosthenes (c. 384–322 BCE) was an Athenian statesman who famously stood against Macedonian king Philip II and whose surviving speeches have established him as one of the greatest patriots and powerful orators from ancient Greece. He is not to be confused with the fifth century BCE Athenian general of the same name.

SOURCE 12.53 Cartwright, M.,14 March, 2016, 'Demosthenes', *Ancient History Encyclopedia*

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The following sources are all from speeches by Demosthenes discussing Philip.

> But if we leave these men too in the lurch, Athenians, and then Olynthus is crushed by Philip, tell me what is to prevent him from marching henceforward just where he pleases. I wonder if any one of you in this audience watches and notes the steps by which Philip, weak at first, has grown so powerful. First he seized Amphipolis, next Pydna, then Potidaea, after that Methone, lastly he invaded Thessaly.

SOURCE 12.54 Demosthenes, *Olynthiac 1*, 1:12

> But if anyone here, Athenians, is inclined to think Philip too formidable, having regard to the extent of his existing resources and to our loss of all our strongholds, he is indeed right, yet he must reflect that we too, men of Athens, once held Pydna, Potidaea, and Methone and had in our own hands all the surrounding territory, and that many of the native tribes now in his service were then free and independent and were indeed more inclined to side with us than with Philip.

SOURCE 12.55 Demosthenes, *Philippic 1*, 4: 4

> In the first place, Athenians, if anyone views with confidence the present power of Philip and the extent of his dominions, if anyone imagines that all this imports no danger to our city and that you are not the object of his preparations, I must express my astonishment, and beg you all alike to listen to a brief statement of the considerations that have led me to form the opposite conclusion and to regard Philip as our enemy. Then, if you think me the better prophet, adopt my advice; if you prefer those who have so confidently trusted him, give them your allegiance.

SOURCE 12.56 Demosthenes, *Philippic 2*, 6: 6

> If there is anyone among them who can be described as experienced in war and battle, I was told that Philip from jealousy keeps all such in the background, because he wants to have the credit himself of every action, among his many faults being an insatiable ambition. Any fairly decent or honest man, who cannot stomach the licentiousness of his daily life, the drunkenness and the lewd dancing, is pushed aside as of no account.

SOURCE 12.57 Demosthenes, *Olynthiac 2*, 2:18

> But if some slave or superstitious bastard had wasted and squandered what he had no right to, heavens! how much more monstrous and exasperating all would have called it! Yet they have no such qualms about Philip and his present conduct, though he is not only no Greek, nor related to the Greeks, but not even a barbarian from any place that can be named with honor, but a pestilent knave from Macedonia, whence it was never yet possible to buy a decent slave.

SOURCE 12.58 Demosthenes, *Philippic 3*, 9:31

> Does he not dictate to the Thessalians their form of government? Does he not send mercenaries, some to Porthmus to expel the Eretrian democracy, others to Oreus to set up the tyranny of Philistides? Yet the Greeks see all this and suffer it. They seem to watch him just as they would watch a hailstorm, each praying that it may not come their way, but none making any effort to stay its course.

SOURCE 12.59 Demosthenes, *Philippic 3*, 9:33

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ACTIVITY 12.7

1. What limitations exist with the evidence provided by Demosthenes's speeches about Philip II?
2. How useful and reliable is Demosthenes to determine Macedonian society, culture and governance at the time of Philip II and Alexander III?
3. How do the perspectives of Demosthenes effect the interpretation of the past?

In 338 BCE the liberty of the old Greek city-states was destroyed at Chaeronea in Boeotia by the victory of Philip of Macedon. This battle signalled the passing of the Greek system of city-states and the substitution of large military monarchies. However, was conflict avoidable? Who was to blame? Here are the thoughts of Diodorus on the matter.

In the year Charondas was first archon in Athens, Philip, King of Macedon, being already in alliance with many of the Greeks, made it his chief business to subdue the Athenians, and thereby with more ease control all Hellas. To this end he presently seized Elateia [a Phocian town commanding the mountain passes southward], in order to fall on the Athenians, imagining to overcome them with ease; since he conceived they were not at all ready for war, having so lately made peace with him. Upon the taking of Elateia, messengers hastened by night to Athens, informing the Athenians that the place was taken, and Philip was leading on his men in full force to invade Attica. The Athenian magistrates in alarm had the trumpeters sound their warning all night, and the rumour spread with terrifying effect all through the city. At daybreak the people without waiting the usual call of the magistrate rushed to the assembly place. Thither came the officials with the messenger; and when they had announced their business, fear and silence filled the place, and none of the customary speakers had heart to say a word. Although the herald called on everybody 'to declare their minds' as to what was to be done, yet none appeared; the people, therefore, in great terror cast their eyes on Demosthenes, who now arose, and bade them to be courageous, and forthwith to send envoys to Thebes to treat with the Boeotians to join in the defence of the common liberty; for there was no time (he said) to send an embassy for aid elsewhere, since Philip would probably invade Attica within two days, and seeing he must march through Boeotia, the only aid was to be looked for there. The people approved of his advice, and a decree was voted that such an embassy should be sent. As the most eloquent man for the task, Demosthenes was pitched upon, and forthwith he hastened away [to Thebes. Despite past hostilities between Athens and Thebes, and the counter-arguments of Philip's envoys, Demosthenes persuaded Thebes and her Boeotian cities that their liberty as well as that of Athens was really at stake, and to join arms with the Athenians.] ... When Philip could not prevail on the Boeotians to join him, he resolved to fight them both. To this end, after waiting for reinforcements, he invaded Boeotia with about thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse.

SOURCE 12.60 Diodorus Siculus, *The Battle of Chaeronea*, k. XVI, Chapter 14

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ACTIVITY 12.8

Read Source 12.60 and respond to the following:

1. Who was more to blame for bringing conflict between Macedon and Greece to a head, Demosthenes of Athens or King Philip of Macedon?
   - Write your answer in a paragraph. Provide a clear topic sentence that directly answers the question, incorporating key words from the question. The body of your responses should contain at least three direct quotes from the source. Be careful about your selections and elaborate on the significance of your choices (quote and comment). Consider combining quotations to strengthen your response (one example does not prove a point).
   - Finish with a clincher that summarises the key aspect or aspects of your response. In your response, consider the actions of both individuals, and give clear reasons why one is more to blame than the other.

GO

Objective 2: Devise historical questions and conduct research in relation to a historical period in the Ancient World

There are a variety of issues relating to Philip and Alexander. In order to gain a clear understanding of this period, it is important to understand what these issues are and how they can affect the reconstruction of the past.

12.9 Devising historical questions about the reigns of Philip II and Alexander III

Based on your knowledge and the evidence in this chapter, complete the following activities.

ACTIVITY 12.9

Consider the issues concerning reconstructing the past for the period of the reigns of Philip II and Alexander III.

1. Identify possible questions to effectively investigate the issues relating to reconstructing the past of Philip II and Alexander III.
2. Write a key inquiry question to focus this investigation. (See *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 2.*)
3. Write sub-questions to support the key inquiry question. (See *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 2.*)

GO

Example investigation questions:

4. To what extent did Macedonian society
   - **a.** undergo changes
   - **b.** maintain continuity during the reign of Alexander III as opposed to Philip II?
5. What are the most controversial, difficult and topical aspects concerning the reconstruction of the reigns of Philip and Alexander? (Prioritise these in terms of importance.)
6. How might changing interpretations of sources affect our understanding the reigns of Philip and Alexander?
7. Why has the historiography of both Philip and Alexander changed so much throughout the course of history?
8. Why has it been so difficult to discover the 'real' Philip and Alexander?

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Objective 6: Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose in relation to a historical period in the Ancient World

12.10 Creating responses about the reigns of Philip II and Alexander III

Using the evidence provided in this chapter, in addition to your own knowledge, complete the following.

ACTIVITY 12.10

Objective 4: Synthesise

1. Develop a hypothesis in response to the key inquiry question posed in Activity 12.9.
2. Develop three main arguments to support the hypothesis.
3. Categorise information and evidence for these using the essay planning template in the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 6*.

GO

Objective 5: Evaluate

4. What limitations exist with the evidence?
5. How useful and reliable is the evidence for the investigation?
6. What are the contested views on this issue?

Objective 6: Create a response

7. Write an essay in response to the key inquiry question. The essay should use formal essay structure. Your essay should include referencing, language conventions, reference to evidence and appropriate vocabulary and terminology. Refer to the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 6* for guidelines on structuring an essay.

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

- There is a distinction between ancient Macedonian and ancient Greek society and culture.
- There is limited access to evidence that demonstrates the Macedonian perspective.
- The sources are quiet on certain aspects of history at this time.
- Macedon was ruled by a monarchy, although debates arise regarding the type of kingship.
- Macedon evolved from Philip II to Alexander III due to an expanding empire and foreign influences.
- Society was hierarchical and aristocratic.
- Greece increasingly influenced culture and religion from Philip II to Alexander III.
- Religion was constantly evolving due to the the empire's expanse, foreign influences and the nature of polytheism.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend

Identify the issues that exist in reconstructing the past during the period of Philip II and Alexander III.

Devise

Using the sample investigation questions, devise three to five sub-questions for each. Categorise evidence into sub-questions.

GO

Analyse

Analyse the sources that will be used by completing the source analysis table from the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 3*.

Synthesise

Using the evidence, formulate a hypothesis in relation to the questions posed in the sample investigation questions.

Evaluate

For the evidence used, outline the limitations, usefulness, reliability and contestability.

Respond

1. Read the following source and describe the image of Philip that emerges from it.

> After settling affairs in Greece, Philip ordered delegates of all the states to be summoned to Corinth to settle the state of the present situation. There he determined the terms of the peace for all Greece in accordance with the deserts of the individual states; and he enrolled a council of all, like a single senate, from all. Only the Lacedaemonians held both the king and his laws in contempt, considering that it was slavery, not peace, that was not agreed to by the states themselves, but was imposed by the victor. Next the military contingents of the individual states were prescribed, in case the king had to be helped by that force [of troops], should somebody attack him, or in case war had to be waged [against another] under his leadership. For there was no doubt that the Persian empire was the object of these arrangements. The total of the military contingents was 200 000 infantry and 15 000 cavalry.

SOURCE 12.61 Philip's League of Corinth, Justin, *Epitome*, 9.5-1-6

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2. Read Source 12.62 below. Does Demosthenes confirm or negate the image of Philip as seen in Source 12.61? Justify your view with explicit reference to both sources and give reasons for your view.

On the contrary, his present course plainly proves that his former action also was the result of deliberate policy; and to any sound observation, it is plain that the whole of his plans are being organized for one end—the destruction of Athens. Indeed, this has now come to be, in a sense, a matter of necessity for him. Only consider. It is empire that he desires, and you, as he believes, are his only possible rivals in this. He has been acting wrongfully towards you for a long time, as he himself best knows; for it is the occupation of your possessions that enables him to hold all his other conquests securely, convinced, as he is, that if he had let Amphipolis and Poteidaea go, he could not dwell in safety even at home. These two facts, then, he well knows—first, that his designs are aimed at you, and secondly, that you are aware of it: and as he conceives you to be men of sense, he considers that you hold him in righteous detestation: and, in consequence, his energies are roused: for he expects to suffer disaster, if you get your opportunity, unless he can anticipate you by inflicting it upon you.

SOURCE 12.62 Demosthenes, 344 BCE, *The Second Philippic*, 15–18.

Assessment

Examination-style questions

....With such an appalling lack of money and with the government skills in confusion a young man just barely beyond boyhood had the audacity to entertain thoughts of Babylon and Susa, and even of an empire embracing all mankind - and this, mind you, with 30 000 foot and 4000 horse. Those at least are the figures given by Aristobulus; according to King Ptolemy there were 30 000 foot and 5000 horse, while Anaximenes gives 43 500 foot and 5500 horse. The great and magnificient sum which Fortune has provided for his travelling chest was 70 talents, as Aristobulus tells if, but Durus says he had only supplies for thirty days.

Then Alexander must have been an unthinking hothead to challenge such a formidable power with his meagre resources? Not at all. Did anyone ever start out for war with greater or better preparation for succeeding than nobility of character, intelligence, self-mastery and courage - with which philosophy had equipped him for his journey? He crossed over against the Persians with greater resources furnished by his teacher Aristotle than his father Philip. In fact there are writers who allege that Alexander once said that he had brought the *Iliad* and the Odyssey along as provision for the army; and we believe them, honoring Homer and though at other times his society was delightful and his manner full of charm beyond that of any prince of his age, yet when he was drinking he would sometimes become offensively arrogant and descent to the level of a common solider, and on these occasions he would allow himself not only to give away to boasting but also be led on by his flatterers.

SOURCE 12.63 Plutarch, *Life of Alexande*.

[Alexander] had great personal beauty, invincible power of endurance, and a keen intellect; he was brave and adventurous, strict in the observance of his religious duties and hungry for fame. Most temperate in the pleasures of the body, his passion was for glory only... He had an uncanny instinct for the right course in a difficult and complex situation.... In arming and equipping troops and his military dispositions he was always masterly. Noble indeed was his power of inspiring his men, of filling them with confidence, and, in the moment of danger, of sweeping away their fears by the spectacle of his own fearlessness... never in all the world was there another like him.

SOURCE 12.64 Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri*, 7.28–29

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1. How might Alexander III be considered a great leader of an empire?
2. To what extent was Alexander III's success reliant upon the success of Philip II?
3. Consider the issues with sources for the reconstruction of Macedon at the time of Philip II. Discuss this in regard to politics, society and empire.

Investigation tasks

1. Explain the extent to which religion developed from the reign of Philip II to Alexander III.
2. How was social class affected the governance of Philip II?
3. In what ways did Alexander III enhanced Philip II's empire?

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CHAPTER 13
Early imperial Rome

GLENN DAVIES

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this contextual study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the geographical and historical context of early Imperial Rome with particular reference to the remains at key sites and other relevant sources.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the nature and range of sources for the period, and identification of key issues related to the investigation of sources; for example, authentication, excavation, reconstruction and/or conservation.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - the nature of governance and political developments.
  - significant events and key individuals.
  - social structure.
  - cultural life and practices.
  - religious beliefs and practices.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding.
- synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument.
- evaluate
  - historical sources to make judgements about the limitations, reliability and usefulness of sources

and either:

- create a response that communicates meaning to suit purpose by presenting an essay in response to historical sources.

or

- devise historical questions and conduct research, and create a response that communicates meaning by presenting an independent source investigation.

KEY DATES

27 BCE	10 BCE	6 BCE	12 CE	14 CE	26 CE
Beginning of the Roman Empire, Augustus becomes Emperor	Claudius born at Lugdunum, in Gaul	Tiberius withdraws from politics and retires to island of Rhodes	Gaius Caligula is born at Antium	Augustus dies and Tiberius becomes Roman emperor	Tiberius retires completely to island of Capri

SOURCE 13.1 Colosseum, the violent heart of the Roman Empire

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Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the reconstruction of early imperial Rome.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about changing interpretations over time relating to an understanding of the period using, for example, new discoveries, research and technologies.

(Ancient History 2019 v1.2 General Senior Syllabus, © Queensland Curriculum & Assessment Authority)

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

- Augustus: the title conferred on Gaius Julius Caesar Octavian, grand-nephew and adopted son of Julius Caesar; the first *princeps* (first citizen) of Rome
- Tiberius: Augustus's stepson and successor; Julio-Claudian *princeps* 14–37 CE
- Virgil: significant poet of the Augustan age; wrote *Aeneid*, an epic poem of Aeneas, Prince of Troy
- Horace: significant poet of the Augustan age
- Ovid: significant poet of the Augustan age
- Livy: historian of the Augustan age
- Julio-Claudians: the successors of Augustus, Tiberius to Nero
- Germanicus: brother of Claudius; father of Gaius
- Gaius Caligula: Julio-Claudian *princeps* 37–41 CE
- Claudius: Julio-Claudians *princeps* 41–54 CE
- Agrippina the Younger: daughter of Germanicus; second marriage to Claudius; mother of Nero
- Nero: Julio-Claudians *princeps*, 54–68 CE
- Sejanus: Tiberius's prefect of the guard
- Seneca: philosopher and guide to Nero
- Burrus: prefect and guide to Nero
- Flavians: Vespasian and his sons, Titus and Domitian
- Vespasian: Flavian *princeps* 69–79 CE
- Titus: Flavian *princeps* 79–81 CE
- Domitian: Flavian *princeps* 81–96 CE
- Tacitus: historian and prose stylist
- Suetonius: historian and prose stylist.

31 CE	37 CE	41 CE	48 CE	54 CE
Gaius Caligula summoned to join Tiberius on island of Capri	• Tiberius dies and Gaius Caligula becomes Roman emperor • Nero is born	Gaius Caligula is assassinated and Claudius becomes Roman emperor	Claudius's wife Messalina tried for treason and executed	• Claudius dies, possibly from poisoning by his wife Agrippina the Younger • Claudius's step-son Nero becomes Roman emperor

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MAP



SOURCE 13.2 The Roman Empire at its greatest in 117 CE

59 CE	64 CE	68 CE	68 CE	69 CE	70 CE
Nero has his mother, Agrippina the Younger, murdered	Nero allegedly watches as Rome burns	Nero commits suicide	Year of the Four Emperors	Vespasian becomes Roman emperor	The Emperor Vespasian orders the building of the Colosseum

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

WORD	DEFINITION
arson	burning property on purpose
auctoritas	bringing honour to the family by working hard to reach a position of authority
autocrat	a person who has unlimited power or authority
cena	evening meal
dynasty	a sequence of rulers from the same family
enigmatic	a puzzling or contradictory personality
Forum Romanum	a large open area in the centre of the city of Rome; it lay between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills; the Forum and the buildings around it were the main business and religious area of Rome, and it was also the centre of political life
Julio-Claudian imperial family	the first five Roman emperors and their families; descendants of the Emperor Augustus (the Julian branch) and his wife Livia's children (the Claudian branch)
ludi	gladiator training schools
noxius	condemned criminals who were used as opponents of gladiators
pax Romana	the Roman peace
Praetorian Guard	responsible for the defence of the city of Rome, and the emperor's personal bodyguards
princeps	the first citizen, or sometimes considered the first man in Rome; the *princeps* supposedly had no more say than any other Senator initially, but this was the official title for the Roman emperors
principate	rule of a *princeps*, name given to the early Roman Empire period
proclamation	a public and official announcement
promiscuous	casual sexual relations with a number of partners
retarius	gladiators who fought with a net, three-pronged spear, dagger and a shoulder-guard
succession	the order of those entitled to become Roman emperor
treason	the offence of attempting to overthrow the government or kill the head of the government
triclinium	dining room

79 CE	80 CE	81 CE	96 CE	117 CE
• Vespasian dies and his son, Titus, becomes Roman emperor • Mount Vesuvius erupts and destroys Pompeii and Herculaneum	The Colosseum in Rome is completed	Titus dies, and his younger brother Domitian becomes Roman emperor	Domitian is assassinated and brings to an end the early Roman Empire	The Roman Empire reaches its greatest extent

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Introduction

The Roman Empire, at its height around 117 CE, was the most extensive political and social structure in Western civilisation. The first emperor of Rome was Augustus, who reigned from 27 BCE to 14 CE. In that time, as he said himself, he found Rome a city of clay but left it a city of marble. Augustus reformed the laws of the city and, by extension, the empire's, secured Rome's borders, initiated vast building projects, and secured the empire a lasting name as one of the greatest political and cultural powers in history. He introduced the *pax Romana* (Roman Peace), a time of peace and prosperity that would last over 200 years.

Following Emperor Augustus's death, power passed to his heir, Tiberius, who continued many of the emperor's policies but lacked the strength of character and vision which so defined Augustus. This trend would continue, more or less steadily, with the Julio-Claudian emperors who followed: Gaius Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. These first five emperors, who ruled the Roman Empire from 27 BCE to 68 CE, are referred to as the Julio–Claudian dynasty for the two family names they descended from (either by birth or through adoption) – Julian and Claudian. Nero's suicide in 68 CE ended the Julio-Claudian dynasty and initiated the period of social unrest known as The Year of the Four Emperors. At the end of this struggle Vespasian emerged victorious. He founded the Flavian dynasty which was characterised by massive building projects, economic prosperity and an expansion of the Roman empire.

Vespasian ruled from 69 to 79 CE, and in that time, initiated the building of the Flavian Amphitheatre (the famous Colosseum of Rome) which his son Titus (79–81 CE) would complete. Titus's early reign saw the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE which buried the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Emperor Vespasian's reign and those of his two sons, Titus followed by Domitian, ended in 96 CE and saw the early Roman Empire through to virtually the end of the first century CE in relative peace and prosperity.

Early Roman Empire sources

Ancient historians

The main sources of evidence for the Julio-Claudian dynasty are the ancient historians Tacitus, Suetonius and Cassius Dio. Tacitus was a member of the upper class, who, after being dismissed from an administrative position held a grudge against the Emperor Trajan. As a result, he tended to romanticise the earlier republican era. Suetonius, at one time the secretary to Emperor Hadrian, concentrated on personal lives and gossip, rather than on matters of policy. Cassius Dio, the son of a Roman senator, spent ten years collecting the information he needed to write his *History of Rome*. Unfortunately, most of this information was obtained from secondary sources. All three wrote after the last of the Julio-Claudians had gone and took the side of the Senate in most conflicts with the emperor, as well as the senator's views of the emperor. This resulted in biases, both conscious and unconscious.

By most accounts, the emperor Tiberius was not a sociable man. However, it is not easy to gain a clear picture of the character and rule of Tiberius from the primary sources because most of them were so clearly biased against him. While Tacitus saw the emperors as disguised monarchs with their own interests at heart, Velleius had no stated aim in writing his history, but the loyal service shown by his extended family, the Velleii, to both Augustus and Tiberius, and the advancements the family achieved under the Julio-Claudian emperors, should be considered. Suetonius recorded livid tales of sexual perversity and cruelty and, most of all, Tiberius's paranoia. While perhaps these accounts were sensationalised, the stories at least paint a picture of how Tiberius was perceived by the Roman people during his 23 years of rule.

Unfortunately, the emperor Caligula's reign was the most poorly documented reign of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The only surviving sources are Cassius Dio and the scandal-mongering Suetonius. Tacitus's account of the reign was lost. As a result, not only were many of the events of the reign unclear, but Gaius Caligula himself appeared more as a caricature than a real person. There were many famous stories about Caligula's bizarre behavior as Roman Emperor. However, in Roman politics, sexual perversity was often presented hand in hand with poor government. The ancient sources are practically unanimous as to the cause of Gaius Caligula's downfall: he was insane.

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Cassius Dio and Suetonius presented the emperor Claudius as a weakling, easily manipulated, and as a man with the capacity for cruelty. The philosopher Seneca mocked him as a fool. This was the view that had been preserved by history. The most generous view of Claudius is to be found in Robert Graves's historical novels, *I, Claudius* and *Claudius the God*. The diagnosis of Claudius's physical disabilities used in Graves's novels that were published in the 1930s, and widely accepted, was polio. More recent scholars have suggested it was cerebral palsy.

The majority of what was known of the emperor Nero comes from Tacitus, Suetonius and Cassius Dio, who were all of the Senatorial class. These sources disagree on a number of events in Nero's life including the death of Claudius, the death of Agrippina and the Roman fire of 64 CE, but they are consistent in their condemnation of Nero. His unpopularity among ancient historians may reflect his decision to lessen the power of the senatorial aristocracy, whose interests they supported. Tacitus's *Annals* was the most detailed and comprehensive history on the rule of the emperor Nero. He was unkind to Nero, but unlike other historians, he minimised the use of sensational stories. According to Tacitus, the population searched for a scapegoat after the Great Fire and rumors held Nero responsible. To shift the blame, Nero targeted a religious group called the Christians.

The sources for the Flavian period include Tacitus's *Histories* as well as Plutarch's *Lives of the Roman Emperors*. However, the main ancient source is the often unreliable Suetonius. Material sources from this time include coins, inscriptions, the site of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and buildings such as the Colosseum.

Poets

The early Roman Empire produced one of the world's greatest epic poets, Virgil, whose *Aeneid* was intended to flatter the emperor Augustus. The *Aeneid* is still enjoyed today as a powerful tale of adventure, love and war. Other ancient writers include: Ovid, whose erotic poems were the excuse to have him banned from the court at Rome; Horace, composer of satires as well as lyrics; the philosopher Seneca, tutor of Nero, who wrote essays and tragedies; and the historian Livy, who shared with Augustus an admiration of the republic and the old virtues. Livy incorporated his republican views into his history of Rome, along with the myth and legend associated with the foundation of the city of Rome.

The Roman poet Juvenal was best known for his biting satires. These satires ridicule the extravagance, corruption and immorality he saw in Rome. The third satire attacked Rome because it was noisy, uncomfortable, dangerous, and full of criminals and foreigners.

> Many a sick man dies here from want of sleep, the sickness itself having been produced by undigested food and clinging to the fevered stomach. For what rented lodgings allow of sleep? Rich men alone can sleep in the city. Hence the origin of the disease. The passage of carriages in the narrow windings of the streets, and the abuse of the drovers from the herds brought to a stand, would rob of sleep even [the heaviest of sleepers].

SOURCE 13.3 Juvenal, *Satires III*, 35

Architecture

Emperor Augustus carried on the traditional practice of prominent citizens under the Republic who had public works constructed at their own expense.

> Aware that the city was architecturally unworthy of her position as capital of the Roman Empire, besides being vulnerable to fire and river floods, Augustus so improved her appearance that he could justifiably boast: 'I found Rome built of bricks; I leave her clothed in marble.' He also used as much foresight as could have possibly been provided in guarding against future disasters.

SOURCE 13.4 Suetonius, *Life of Augustus*

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ACTIVITY 13.1

1. Juvenal was a satirist, as opposed to a historian. How reliable is he likely to be?
2. Compare the views of Juvenal and Suetonius on the city of Rome in Sources 13.3 and 13.4. Do the ideas in these sources and Source 13.5 appear to agree with or contradict each other? Support your answer with direct quotes.



SOURCE 13.5 *The Consummation from The Course of the Empire*, Thomas Cole, 1836

Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the reconstruction of a historical period in the Ancient World

13.1 Early Roman Empire

The five Julio-Claudian emperors had very different personalities from each other. Augustus was the more influential of the first emperors. His enormous achievements were also possible due to his long service to Rome. Tiberius was clearly the only possible successor when Augustus died in 14 CE but, upon the death of Tiberius twenty-three years later, the next three emperors were a peculiar mix of viciousness, arrogance, and inexperience. Gaius Caligula, better known as Caligula, was generally styled a monster, whose brief reign did Rome no service. His successor Claudius, his uncle, was a capable man who served Rome well, but was ridiculed for being controlled by his wives and freedmen. Nero was the last of the dynasty. He reigned more than three times as long as Caligula, and was responsible for a proportional amount of damage. Nero was an emperor remembered for crimes against his mother and the Christians. This was a sad decline from the heights of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius.

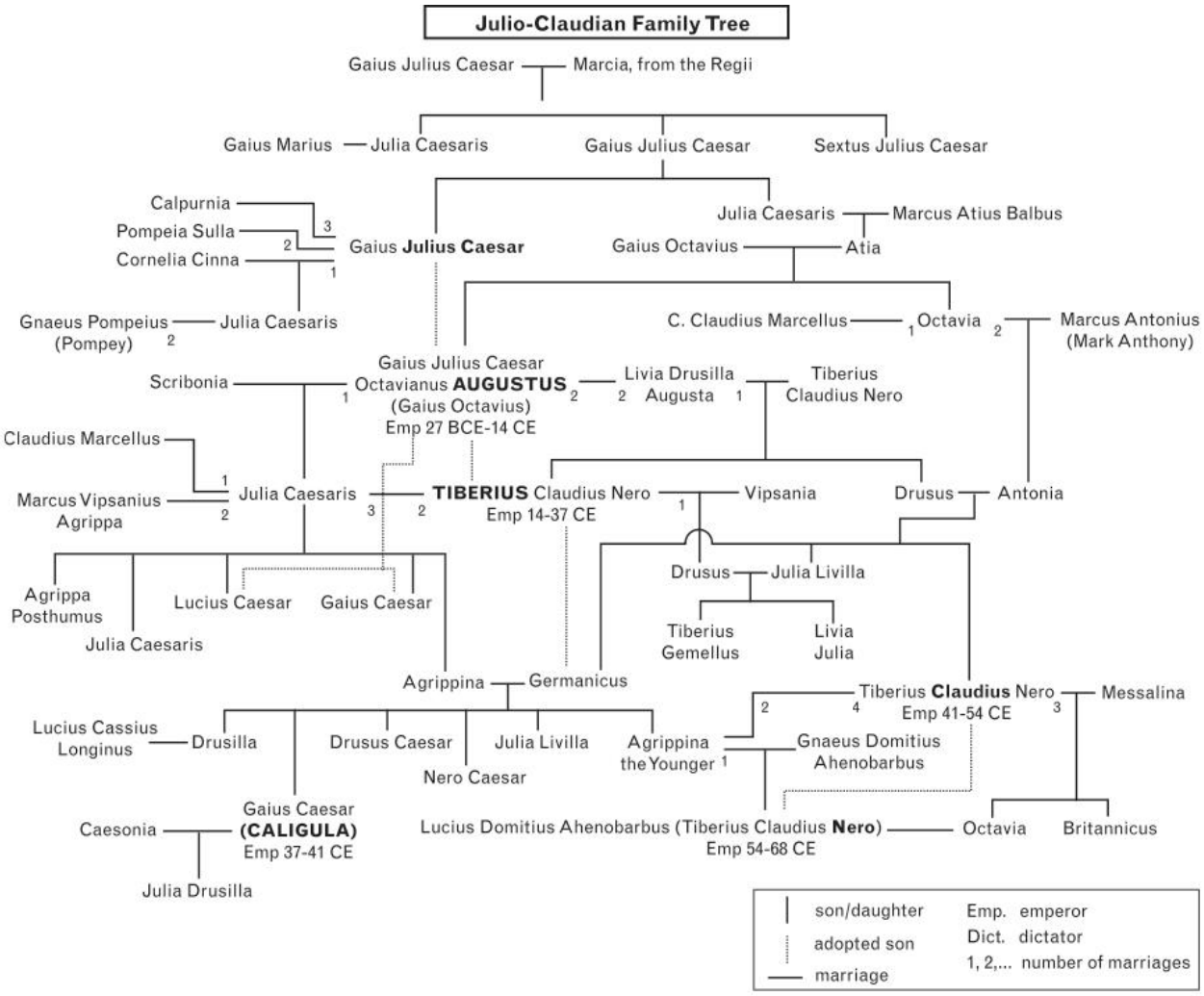
The succession problem in the Julio-Claudian imperial household

A lasting problem for the emperors of the early Roman Empire was succession. A process needed to be established that allowed imperial dignity to be handed from one leader to another. The first Roman Emperor, Augustus, decided to train his own relatives and, in this, he met several disappointments. The intrigues of the imperial household provide a fascinating glimpse into the one issue for which Augustus could find no easy answer: the problem of the succession. Eventually, for the position of *princeps*, he had to settle on his stepson, Tiberius, to be his successor. In doing so, he turned the *principate* into a dynasty. This paved the way for imperial family struggles in the future and eventually saw the Praetorian Guard, the imperial family bodyguard, and, later, Rome's army making emperors of their own choice.

The five Julio-Claudian emperors were linked through marriage and adoption into the Julian and Claudian patrician families. Julius Caesar was sometimes seen as the dynasty founder. This was not accurate as he was not an emperor and had no Claudian connections. Augustus was the correct dynasty founder. It is interesting how common the blood relationship between great-uncle and great-nephew is found between the Julio-Claudian emperors: Augustus was the great-nephew of Julius Caesar; Caligula was the great-nephew of Tiberius; Claudius was the great-nephew of Augustus; and Nero was the great-nephew of Claudius. Also, Tiberius was Claudius's uncle, and Claudius was Caligula's uncle. Interestingly, no

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Julio-Claudian emperor was a blood descendent of the emperor before him. The fact that ordinary father-son succession did not occur has contributed to the image of the Roman imperial court as a dangerous world where scheming family members were all too ready to murder the obvious direct heirs to bring themselves, their own immediate families or their lovers closer to the succession.



SOURCE 13.6 Julio-Claudian family tree

ACTIVITY 13.2

1. Look at Source 13.6. Is a family tree a primary or secondary source? Explain your answer.
2. Form a hypothesis about imperial succession in ancient Rome.
   - **a.** What information is not available from a family tree? What other sources would you use?
   - **b.** Which emperors would you use as examples?
   - **c.** How was the relationship between Julius Caesar and Augustus significant for the future succession model?
   - **d.** What is the evidence that supports your hypothesis? What other evidence or issues should be considered in order to make a valid decision?
   - **e.** In what ways does the evidence provide insights into the lives, personalities and achievements of the Julio-Claudian emperors?

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13.2 The purpose of festivals and feasts

While members of the Julio-Claudian imperial household were scheming over the succession, ordinary Romans enjoyed life through festivals and feasts.

Roman nobles or patricians held great feasts to celebrate victories in battle, to honour their emperors and to praise their gods. They enjoyed fresh meat, fish, fruits, vegetables and bread. The most popular sauce used on food was called *garum* and was made from fish guts. Honey was used to sweeten food. Poorer Romans existed on a diet of bread, olives and grapes. According to some Romans, the only purpose of food was to restore strength and to comfort the body by satisfying hunger. Those who took this view generally stood up to eat food that was frugal and cold. Soldiers would make do with an evening meal of biscuits washed down with water; travellers would eat bread and figs, and Romans in the city, unwilling to wait until the evening to eat, would gnaw at dry bread and boiled vegetables left over from the day before or an onion. Breakfast and lunch were usually light meals, with the main meal eaten early in the evening. This evening meal, or *cena*, was one of the high points of the Roman day. At the *cena* the food was of better quality and was cooked and eaten warm. The *cena* involved more than simply eating a meal; its purpose was to strengthen links with all the people gathered to share the meal. It was a social ritual that brought together the community. The *cena* took place in the *triclinium*, or dining-room. Three couches, covered with cushions, were arranged in a U-shape around a low table. Romans lay on couches to eat their meals. These couches were large enough to hold three people, and it was considered correct behaviour to rest on the left elbow. Diners were entertained with music, dancing or poetry reading. They would also discuss the important issues of the time. Food was placed on moveable tables. Slaves cut food for the guests as they did not use forks or knives. Instead, they ate with their fingers or a spoon. A typical Roman feast included pigeons stewed in a sauce of vinegar, oil, currants, wine, mint, pepper, other herbs and mushrooms, all cooked in honey. Fish was cooked with plums, crushed apricots and quince. During the meal guests usually put some pieces of food into their napkins as it was considered good manners to take some of the meal home. At the end of the meal, serious wine drinking began. Many feasts lasted eight to ten hours.

In Petronius's *Satyricon* he gives a long fictional account of a banquet at the house of Trimalchio, a millionaire freedman pictured as living in riotous splendour that reflects the extremity of Roman luxury in dining.

> At length we reclined, and slave boys from Alexandria poured water cooled with snow upon our hands, while others following, attended to our feet and removed the hangnails with wonderful dexterity, nor were they silent even during this disagreeable operation, but they all kept singing at their work. I was desirous of finding out whether the whole household could sing, so I ordered a drink; a boy near at hand instantly repeated my order in a singsong voice fully as shrill, and whichever one you accosted did the same. You would not imagine that this was the dining-room of a private gentleman, but rather that it was an exhibition of pantomimes.

SOURCE 13.7 Petronius Arbiter, *The Satyricon*, Vol.2: The Dinner of Trimalchio, 31

Juvenal describes his dinner menu below.

> Now listen to the courses furnished by no public markets. From my farm at Tivoli will come the well-fatted sucking-kid ... mountain asparagus which the bailiff's wife ... has gathered. Eggs of large size, besides, and warm from the twisted hay, are here, with the very hens that laid them, and grapes preserved for a part of the year just as they were upon the vines: the Signian and the Syrian pear, and, from the same baskets, apples rivaling those of Picenum.

SOURCE 13.8 Juvenal, *Satires*, XI

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Pliny the Younger did not enjoy expensive food. The menu he describes below suggests that treats were uncommon.

> Who are you, to accept my invitation to dinner and never come? Here's your sentence and you shall pay my costs in full, no small sum either. It was all laid out, one lettuce each, three snails, two eggs, barley-cake, and wine with honey chilled with snow ... besides olives, beetroots, gherkins, onions, and any number of similar delicacies. You would have heard a comic play, a reader or singer, or all three if I felt generous. Instead you chose to go where you could have oyster, sow's innards, sea-urchins, and Spanish dancing-girls.

SOURCE 13.9 Pliny the *Younger*, Letters, I.15

The poet Horace describes a simple *cena*.

> Off home I go to prepare my meal: fritters, leeks and peas. Three boys serve the food; two cups and a ladle stand on a white stone slab. There is a cheap salt-cellar and an earthware jug and saucer.

SOURCE 13.10 Horace, *Satires*, I.6

ACTIVITY 13.3

1. Compare Source 13.7 to 13.10 and Source 13.11 and suggest why there were different points of view on the purpose of meals in ancient Rome.



SOURCE 13.11 A wall painting from Pompeii showing a Roman feast, Pompeii Exhibition, British Museum, London

A day at the races

The Circus Maximus was a gigantic, long stadium used for chariot racing. The stadium was oval and held 250 000 spectators, or one-quarter of the population of Rome. It consisted of a dirt track and tiered seating with an area in the centre of the track for lap counting, award giving and other tasks related to chariot racing. The chariot was a two-wheeled cart pulled by a horse at high speed. Successful chariot drivers were given a purse full of gold and treated as heroes. They raced in teams known by their colours – Blues, Greens, Reds and Whites – and wore metal helmets, pads and leather bandages on their legs. Emperors and the public were supporters of one colour or another. The chariots raced around the track seven times. As the teams rounded the turns, horrible accidents often injured horses and drivers. Fortunes were lost and won on the result of the chariot races.

The following was written on a stone monument to the charioteer Diocles in Rome, 146 CE:

> Gaius Appuleius Diocles, charioteer of the Red Stable, a Lusitanian Spaniard by birth, aged 42 years, 7 months, 23 days ... Grand totals: He drove chariots for 24 years, ran 4257 starts, and won 1462 victories, 110 in opening races ... He made nine horses 100-time winners, and one a 200-time winner ... the champion of all charioteers ... he excelled the charioteers of all the stables who ever participated in the races of the circus games.

SOURCE 13.12 Inscription on monument to Diocles, 146 CE

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SOURCE 13.13 The Circus Maximus

The Circus Maximus was the centre of Roman entertainment before construction of the Colosseum in 80 CE.

Not all Romans loved the circus, however, and here Pliny the Younger describes his boredom at the spectacle:

> The Races were on, a type of spectacle which has never had the slightest attraction for me. I can find nothing new or different in them: once seen is enough, so it surprises me all the more that so many thousands of adult men should have such a childish passion for watching galloping horses and drivers standing in chariots, over and over again.

SOURCE 13.14 Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, IX. 6

The poet Ovid treated the circus more lightly. He saw it as an ideal opportunity to ensnare a girl.

> I am not sitting here an admirer of the spirited steeds; still I pray that he who is your favourite may win. I have come here to chat with you, and to be seated by you, that the passion which yea cause may not be unknown to you. You are looking at the race, I *am looking* at you.

SOURCE 13.15 Ovid, *Love Poems*, III.2.1.1–5

ACTIVITY 13.4

1. Compare Sources 13.12 and 13.15 and identify points of agreement and of difference. You could also search online for the chariot race scene from *Ben Hur*, and include this in your comparison.

13.3 Why did the Romans consider the emperor divine?

Roman religion was a mixture of Etruscan, Greek, Eastern and local religions. The traditional Roman religion was based on the Capitoline Triad. The three most important Roman gods were Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, who could be directly compared with the Etruscan gods Tinia, Uni and Menrva, or the Greek

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gods, Zeus, Hera and Athena. Rome inherited many myths and legends from the Greeks, and even gods and goddesses. By a change of name, Zeus became Jupiter and Hera, his wife, Juno. In fact, the whole Greek pantheon, with twelve major gods and goddesses, was taken over and worshipped by the Romans. These gods were at the heart of the official Roman religion practised throughout the Roman Empire. The worship associated with the Roman state religion took place in Rome's many temples. At one end of the Forum Romanum was the Temple of Vesta and house of the Vestal Virgins. Next to the Temple of Vesta was the Chief Priest's house, and nearby the Temple of Castor and Pollux, which was opposite the Temple of Saturn. There were also the Temple of Julius Caesar, the sacred Spring of Juturna, the Portico of the Twelve Gods, and many other temples and sacred places.

On the Palatine Hill, over a dozen temples have been identified by archaeologists, including one to the strangely named goddess Fever, and another to Viriplace, a goddess who acted as a marriage-guidance counsellor. Nearby, on the Capitoline Hill, the 'great gods' had their centre, such as the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, associated in worship with Juno and Minerva.

Romans believed nothing happened through chance or coincidence but rather according to set rules. The gods were offered animal sacrifices at the altars, on festival days and at times of national crisis. Priests called *augurs* would read the future by looking at the entrails (internal organs) of sacrificed animals. The positions of different colours and marks on the entrails would indicate signs of approval or disapproval from the gods regarding a person's plans. Romans also looked for messages from the gods in natural events such as thunder, lightning, locust plagues and the behaviour of birds. The Roman people believed the gods would protect the city if the priests kept up sacrifices.

The imperial cult began in the eastern Roman provinces during the time of the emperor Augustus as worship of the emperor's *numen* or spirit. On accepting the title of *princeps*, Augustus promoted the deification of his adoptive father, Julius Caesar. This meant Augustus became a *divi filius*, son of a god. The next step was the worship of a living emperor. This was a step first taken by the emperor Caligula, and later by other, but not all, pre-Christian emperors. The imperial cult was also the focus for the Roman army, who swore an annual oath of loyalty to the emperor. It was also to be one of the factors which led to the persecution of Christians.

Tacitus recorded an incident concerning Nero and the awe even an emperor had in the presence of the Vestal Virgins.

> Nero went to the Capitoline Hill to consult the gods about a journey. He worshipped the Capitoline gods, then entered the Temple of Vesta. Suddenly all his limbs started trembling. He was frightened by the goddess. Or perhaps he was always frightened, remembering his crimes. Anyway, he abandoned his journey.

SOURCE 13.16 Tacitus, *Annals*, XV. 36

Religion in first century CE Rome was a hodgepodge of cults and rituals: *cultus deorum Romanorum* means cults of the Roman gods.



SOURCE 13.17 Capitoline Triad, held in National Archaeological Museum of Palestrina

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SOURCE 13.18 The cult of the Roman gods

ACTIVITY 13.5

1. What information is implicit in the Source 13.16 and 13.17?
2. Do Sources 13.16 and 13.17 corroborate the active role religion played at all levels in Roman society shown in Source 13.18? In response, write a short paragraph using quotes and in-text references.

Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding in relation to specific historical periods in the Ancient World

13.4 Early Roman emperors

A study of the Julio-Claudian emperors after Augustus is valuable because it shows a comparison between the very different personalities and styles of rule of each emperor.

Why was Tiberius so unpopular?

Tiberius was the second Roman Emperor of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and ruled for twenty-three years, from 14 to 37 CE. He was the emperor at the time of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Tiberius was by birth a member of the noble Claudian family, and was the son of Tiberius Claudius Nero and Livia. His mother divorced his father and married Augustus in 39 BCE. Tiberius, on Augustus's order, was forced to divorce his loved first wife, Vipsania, and marry Julia, Augustus's daughter. This event seemed to have been the breaking point for Tiberius. The marriage between Tiberius and Julia was never a happy one. Reportedly, Tiberius once ran into Vipsania again, and proceeded to follow her home crying and begging forgiveness. Soon afterwards, Tiberius met with Augustus, and steps were taken to ensure that the two would never meet again.

In 6 BCE, Tiberius suddenly announced his withdrawal from politics and retired to the island of Rhodes. The motives for Tiberius's withdrawal are unclear. Historians have speculated a connection with Augustus's grandchildren, Gaius and Lucius, whom Augustus had recently adopted. These two brothers were encouraged and supported in the same manner as Tiberius and his brother Drusus had been years earlier. Tiberius was informed by Augustus that he would hold power only until Lucius and Gaius came of age. In addition, the very public promiscuous behavior of his unhappily married wife, Julia, may have played a part. Tiberius found himself married to a woman he loathed and who publicly humiliated him,

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and forbidden to see the woman he loved. This may have been the innermost reason for Tiberius departing for Rhodes.

When Augustus died in 14 CE, Tiberius was the last living choice for succession to the *princeps*. All of Augustus's grandsons had died. However, Tiberius, an excellent general, was an embittered man of 53 when he succeeded Augustus as emperor. He continued Augustus's policies but lacked his *auctoritas* and charm. Tiberius behaved reasonably during the early years of his reign and treated the Senate with great respect. However, as he became more embittered with the position of *princeps*, he began to depend more and more upon Sejanus, the prefect (captain) of the Praetorian Guard. In 17 or 18 CE, Tiberius had reduced the ranks of the Praetorian Guard, and had moved it from barracks outside the city walls into the city of Rome itself. This gave Sejanus access to 9000 troops. The death of Tiberius's son, Drusus, elevated Sejanus, at least in Tiberius's eyes, who thereafter referred to him as 'my partner'. Tiberius had statues of Sejanus erected throughout the city, and Sejanus became more and more visible as Tiberius began to withdraw from Rome altogether.

Finally, in 26 CE, Tiberius retired from Rome to the island of Capri, near Naples. While Tiberius was on Capri, Sejanus was left in charge of the entire Roman state and the city of Rome. Sejanus behaved badly and was used by Tiberius to inspire fear. However, in time, Sejanus tried to take too much power for himself. Tiberius had him strangled and a mob of Romans tore his body to pieces. The problems with Sejanus and the final years of treason trials that Tiberius held permanently damaged Tiberius's image and reputation. After Sejanus's death, Tiberius's withdrawal from Rome was complete. He became utterly paranoid, and reportedly spent a great deal of time brooding over the death of his son.

Tacitus appeared to write with a moral purpose about Tiberius and his personality.

> while under Augustus he was a private citizen or held high offices; a time of reserve and crafty assumption of virtue, as long as Germanicus and Drusus were alive. Again, while his mother lived, he was a compound of good and evil; he was infamous for his cruelty, though he veiled his debaucheries, while he loved or feared Sejanus. Finally, he plunged into every wickedness and disgrace, when fear and shame being cast off, he simply indulged his own inclinations.

SOURCE 13.19 Tacitus, *Annals*, 6.50

Suetonius's view of Tiberius was not much better than Tacitus's, and apparently reflected the people's view as well.

> The first news of his death caused such joy at Rome that people ran about yelling: 'To the Tiber with Tiberius!' and others offered prayers to Mother Earth and the Infernal Gods to give him no home below except among the damned.

SOURCE 13.20 Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 75

Cassius Dio, who wrote about two hundred years after Tiberius's death, followed a similar pattern to other ancient historians.

> This is the way he behaved under all conditions so long as Germanicus lived. Subsequent to that event he changed many of his ways. Perhaps he had been minded from the first as he later appeared to feel, and had been merely shamming as long as Germanicus existed because he saw that he was lying in wait for the leadership; or perhaps he was excellent by nature but drifted into vice when he was deprived of his rival.

SOURCE 13.21 Cassius Dio, *History of Rome*, Book 57, 13

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Velleius Paterculus published his brief history in 30 CE when Tiberius was still in power, and provides a different ancient view.

> Credit has been restored in the forum, strife has been banished from the forum, canvassing for office from the Campus Martius, discord from the senate-house; justice, equity and industry, long buried in oblivion, have been restored to the state; the magistrates have regained their authority, the senate its majesty, the courts their dignity.

SOURCE 13.22 Velleius Paterculus, *Roman History*, 2.126.2

The modern historian John Balsdon commented on Tiberius's ability and personality.

> Tiberius was an able and experienced general and a conscientious administrator, but he lacked Augustus's vast prestige, and he was a sour and unsociable character, utterly deficient in his predecessor's political tact. He was soon at odds with the Senate and died hated by the aristocracy.

SOURCE 13.23 Balsdon J.P.V.D., (ed.), 1965, *Roman Civilization*, Penguin Books, p. 65



SOURCE 13.24 Tiberius was 79 at the time of his death in 37 CE. This statue was made shortly after this. Held in Museo Chiaramonti, Vatican Museum. This statue does not appear realistic. What do you think was the intention of this statue?

ACTIVITY 13.6

Use Sources 13.19 to 13.23 to answer the questions below.

1. How does Velleius Paterculus's view of Tiberius compare with that of Tacitus, Suetonius and Cassius Dio?
2. List the evidence that historians use to suggest that it was Tiberius's personality and not his ability that was unsuited to the role of emperor.

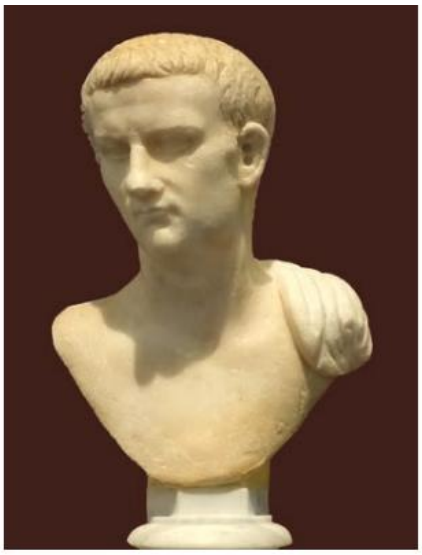
What brought about the change in Caligula's personality?

Caligula was the third Roman Emperor of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and ruled from 37 to 41 CE. Caligula was born as Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus on 31 August 12 CE, at the resort of Antium. He was the third of six surviving children born to Augustus's adopted grandson, the much-loved general Germanicus, and Augustus's granddaughter, Agrippina the Elder. Although Caligula ruled the Roman Empire for only four years, he was one of the most famous, or infamous, emperors in history.

As a boy of just two or three, the young Gaius became the mascot of his father's army. The soldiers were amused whenever Agrippina would put him in a miniature soldier's uniform, including boots and armour. He was soon given his nickname, Caligula, which meant 'little soldier's boot' in Latin, after the small boots he wore as part of his uniform. His childhood was not a happy one, spent in an atmosphere of paranoia and suspicion after a number of familial murders. Instability within the Julio-Claudian family, created by uncertainty over the succession, led to a series of personal tragedies. When his father died

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under suspicious circumstances in 19 CE, relations between his mother and his great-uncle, the emperor Tiberius, deteriorated dramatically. In 31 CE, Caligula was summoned to join Tiberius at his villa on the island of Capri. He remained on Capri until his succession in 37 CE. When the great-grandson of both Augustus and Mark Antony succeeded Tiberius as emperor in March 37 CE, Rome was jubilant. Aged twenty-four and son of the famous general Germanicus, Caligula promised to end the terror of Tiberius's later years. Caligula's popularity soared. It was revealed to the Senate that in Tiberius's will he had wanted Caligula to become joint-emperor with Tiberius Gemellus, Tiberius's grandson. However, Caligula, using the Senate's hatred of Tiberius to boost the Senate's support for himself, convinced the Senate to set aside Tiberius's will and declare him emperor. This strategy worked, and at the age of twenty-five, Caligula was declared emperor of the Roman Empire. Very popular at first, Caligula abolished treason trials and proved as generous as Tiberius had been mean. Yet within four years Caligula was murdered in a palace corridor by officers of the Praetorian Guard.



SOURCE 13.25 Portrait of Caligula, Pallazzo Massimo, Rome. Why do you think the portrait is designed with Caligula's head tilting downwards?

In October 37 CE, Caligula had fallen seriously ill. The causes of this illness have been debated by historians. Some ancient writers referred to the illness as 'brain fever'. Modern historians have linked it variously to either a severe nervous breakdown, encephalitis, epilepsy or meningitis. Caligula emerged from this illness with a personality more unbalanced than before.

The modern historian Howard Scullard theorised that a physical illness contributed to Caligula's later mental illness.

> In October [37 CE] Gaius had a serious illness and when he recovered he emerged, according to tradition, a monster of lust and diabolical cruelty.

SOURCE 13.26 Scullard, H.H., 1976, From the Gracchi to Nero: *A History of Rome from 133 BC to AD 68*, Methuen & Co., p. 293

Robert Graves, author of the historical novel *I, Claudius*, suggested that Caligula emerged from his sickbed claiming to have been transformed into a god.

> Caligula fell ill and for a whole month his life was despaired of. The doctors called it brain-fever ... One evening Drusilla [his sister] knocked at my door and said, 'Uncle Claudius! The Emperor wants to see you urgently ...'
>
> 'What does he want me for?'
>
> 'I don't know. But for Heaven's sake humour him. He's got a sword there. He'll kill you if you don't say what he wants you to say.' ...
>
> I said, saluting him, 'Oh, how I hurried! ... Can I dare to hope that you're better?'
>
> 'I have never really been ill. Only resting. And undergoing a metamorphosis. It's the most important religious event in history ...'
>
> 'But may I humbly enquire precisely what is the character of this glorious change that has come over you?'
>
> 'Isn't it immediately apparent?' he asked angrily ... I fell on my face and adored him as a God.

SOURCE 13.27 Graves, R., 1934, I, *Claudius*, Penguin Books, pp. 332–333

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Following his illness, Caligula began a reign of terror, executing the Praetorian prefect, Macro, and many senators. Caligula's behaviour became increasingly irrational. Details of his love affairs with men and women of high rank in Rome were revealed, as was the fact that he committed incest with his three sisters, most notably with his younger sister, Drusilla. Caligula's actions were particularly harsh to the Senate, the nobility and the equestrians. He had many distinguished men secretly killed and was often quoted as saying that merely at the nod of his head, the head of anyone he wanted dead would be off. One popular rumour, often repeated as an example of Caligula's insanity, was that he appointed his favourite horse, Incitatus, to the Senate and attempted to appoint it to the position of consul. He even built a temple to himself as co-equal with the Roman god, Jupiter. Caligula appeared to neither think nor care about what the people of Rome thought about all the murders and his other actions.

Suetonius referred to Caligula as a 'monster', and the surviving sources were universal in their agreement.

> Caligula made parents attend their sons' executions, and when one father excused himself on the grounds of ill-health, provided a litter for him. Having invited another father to dinner just after his son's execution, he over-flowed with good fellowship in an attempt to make him laugh and joke. He once asked a returned exile how he had spent his time. To flatter him the man replied that he had been praying for Tiberius's death and the ascension of Caligula. Caligula therefore concluded that the new batch of exiles were praying for his death, so he sent agents from island to island and then had them killed.

SOURCE 13.28 Suetonius, *Gaius Caligula*, 55.3

On 24 January 41 CE, Caligula was caught alone in a secluded palace corridor and murdered by Cassius Chaerea and several other officers of the Praetorian Guard. He was twenty-eight years old and had ruled Rome for three years and ten months. The Senate attempted to use Caligula's death as an opportunity to restore the Republic. However, the military remained loyal to the office of the Emperor and spirited Caligula's uncle, Claudius, out of the city to a nearby Praetorian camp. Claudius became emperor after gaining the support of the Praetorian Guard.

ACTIVITY 13.7

1. What impact does the universal hostility of the ancient sources have on the reliability of these sources?
2. Is a historical novel a primary or secondary source? Explain your answer.

Why was Claudius considered an enigma?

Claudius was the fourth Roman Emperor of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and ruled from 24 January 41 CE to his death in 54 CE. Claudius was born on 1 August 10 BCE at Lugdunum in Gaul, into the heart of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. His father was Drusus, the son of Augustus's wife Livia, and his mother was Antonia, the daughter of Mark Antony. His uncle, Tiberius, went on to become emperor in 14 CE and his brother Germanicus was identified for succession when, in 4 CE, he was adopted by Tiberius. It might be expected that Claudius would have enjoyed the active public life customary for young men of his background but this was not the case. Claudius was considered a rather unlikely man to become emperor. In an age that despised weakness, Claudius was unfortunate enough to have been born with defects; he limped, he drooled, he stuttered and was constantly ill. As a young man, Claudius spent much of his free time reading

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extensively. He became a scholar of considerable ability and composed works on many subjects, especially history. In fact, Claudius was the last person known who could read the ancient Etruscan language. He also acquired knowledge of how governments worked from studying history. These skills were to help him when he became emperor. Claudius had a generous personality, he cracked lame jokes, laughed uncontrollably, and lunched with the plebeians. He was also bloodthirsty and cruel, very quick to anger, and fond of gladiator combat and executions.

Claudius's family members mistook his physical disabilities as a mental disability and kept him out of the public eye, considering him to be an embarrassment. Claudius's mother, Antonia, referred to him as a monster, and used him as a standard for stupidity. She sent him to live with his grandmother, Livia, for a number of years. Livia was not much kinder than his mother and often sent him short, angry letters. The result was Claudius's family excluded him from public office. However, it was his physical disabilities that may have saved him from the violent fate of many other Roman nobles during the time of Tiberius's and Caligula's reigns. Through all the violent turmoil of the Julio-Claudian family Claudius survived primarily through being ignored as an embarrassment and a supposed idiot. His very survival as the last adult male of his family led to him being declared emperor after Caligula's assassination.

Claudius was also considered to be a fool by his wives but, despite his lack of political experience, he proved to be an able administrator and a great builder of public works. His reign saw an expansion of the empire, including the conquest of Britain. As a result, he was forced to increase the role of freedmen in the imperial administration as the powers of the *princeps* became more centralised and the administrative workload increased. Claudius took a personal interest in the law, presided at public trials and issued up to twenty verdicts a day. In 48 CE, Claudius's promiscuous wife, Messalina, was tried for treason and executed. Claudius then married his niece, Agrippina the Younger. Agrippina was the daughter of Claudius's brother, Germanicus, and a sister of Caligula, by whom she had been exiled for involvement in a conspiracy against him. Agrippina already had a son, Nero. Her ambitions for her son proved the undoing of Claudius. In 54 CE, Claudius was assassinated by poisoning possibly via a deadly mushroom dish. Many ancient writers record Agrippina as responsible for his death, and suggest that she acted to ensure her son Nero's succession.



SOURCE 13.29 Claudius: an implausible god, Vatican Museum

Source 13.29 is a statue of the emperor Claudius shown in the guise of the god Jupiter. This is often considered to be an implausible role for a person who was considered unimpressive and ungainly.

Seneca described Claudius arriving at Mount Olympus (the home of the Greek gods).

> Word comes to Jupiter that a stranger had arrived, a man well set up, pretty grey; he seemed to be threatening something, for he wagged his head ceaselessly; he dragged the right foot. They asked him what nation he was of; he answered something in a confused mumbling voice: his language they did not understand. He was no Greek and no Roman, nor of any known race.

SOURCE 13.30 Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 5

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Robert Graves's novel *I, Claudius* portrays Claudius as a good man with a keen intelligence. Livia, the wife of Augustus, and grandmother of Claudius, held a dinner with the fourteen-year old Caligula and Claudius as the guests.

> Listen Caligula. Your Uncle Claudius is a phenomenon. He's so old-fashioned that because he's sworn an oath to love and protect his brother's children you can always impose on him – as long as you live.

SOURCE 13.31 Graves, R., 1934, *I, Claudius*, Penguin Books, p. 286

ACTIVITY 13.8

1. List the qualities Livia attributes to Claudius in *I, Claudius*.
2. Compare the image of the statue of Claudius (Source 13.29) with Seneca's satirical story (Source 13.30). What is implicit in the sources about the ancient world's attitude towards physical disabilities?
3. Claudius was no fool but he was easily manipulated by his wives and freedmen. How fair is this as an assessment of Claudius? Respond in an extended paragraph.

Why was Nero one of the worst Roman emperors?

Nero was the fifth and last of the Julio-Claudian emperors, and was only seventeen when he succeeded his stepfather, Claudius, in 54 CE. Nero was born in 37 CE, the only son of Agrippina the Younger, who was the sister of the Emperor Caligula and the last wife of the Emperor Claudius. The first five years of Nero's rule were customarily called the *quinquennium* (five years), a period of good government, where Nero was guided by his mother Agrippina, the philosopher Seneca and the Praetorian prefect, Burrus. The latter two were allies in their education of the emperor. They often combined their influence against Agrippina who, having helped make her son the emperor, never let Nero forget the debt he owed his mother. However, by 55 CE, with her influence over her son diminishing, Agrippina turned to the nearly fifteen-year old Britannicus, son of Claudius, and began to groom him as another candidate for emperor. Britannicus died suddenly and suspiciously in 55 CE, the very day before his proclamation as an adult. It was claimed Nero poisoned him. In 59 CE, Nero had his mother murdered. This action proved a turning point in Nero's life and the *principate*. It now appeared any action was possible for this emperor.

Nero was an unusual youth who did not really fit the mould of an Emperor: he painted; sculpted, wrote poetry, took singing lessons and had secret desires to race his chariot team. Nero had artistic interests if not talents, and made a public performance as a singer in 64 CE. By then, with his mother Agrippina murdered, Burrus dead, and Seneca forced to commit suicide, Nero had become a monster to rival Caligula. He spent many nights roaming the city of Rome in disguise, with numerous companions, who terrorised the streets and attacked individuals. Those who dared to defend themselves often faced death afterward, because they had shown disrespect for the emperor. The scene was being set for the last phase of Nero's reign.

In 64 CE, a fire began in the south-eastern end of the Circus Maximus, spread through the shops which clustered there, and raged for the better part of a week, destroying half of Rome. Many people claimed the fires were deliberately set by Nero himself and that he sang in stage costume while the city burned. However, upon hearing news of the fire, Nero had rushed back from Antium to Rome to organise a relief effort, which he paid for from his own funds. All his efforts to assist the city of Rome though could not remove the suspicion that the emperor had fiddled while Rome burned. Nero lost favour even among the plebeians who had been his enthusiastic supporters, particularly when his plans for the rebuilding of the

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city revealed a large part of the centre of the city was to become his new home, the Golden House, grandest of all the imperial palaces.

As his popularity waned, Nero realised that individuals were needed who could be charged with the disaster. The Christians, who had made themselves unpopular because of their refusal to worship the emperor, their way of life and their secret meetings, were ideal scapegoats. They were unpopular with Romans because they constantly talked of the coming end of the world. But Nero's attempt, and hope, to shift all suspicion of arson away from him failed. Fatally, Nero neglected the Roman army, and it was the army rebellions that ended his rule in 68 CE. The Senate removed Nero and declared him an enemy of the state. Abandoned even by his slaves, Nero committed suicide on 9 June 68 CE.

Tacitus described how Nero deflected the blame for the Great Fire of 64 CE.

> Consequently, to get rid of the report, Nero fastened the guilt and inflicted the most exquisite tortures on a class hated for their abominations, called Christians by the populace. Christus, from whom the name had its origin, suffered the extreme penalty during the reign of Tiberius at the hands of one of our procurators, Pontius Pilatus, and a most mischievous superstition, thus checked for the moment, again broke out not only in Judaea, the first source of the evil, but even in Rome, where all things hideous and shameful from every part of the world find their centre and become popular. Accordingly, an arrest was first made of all who pleaded guilty; then, upon their information, an immense multitude was convicted, not so much of the crime of firing the city, as of hatred against mankind. Mockery of every sort was added to their deaths. Covered with the skins of beasts, they were torn by dogs and perished, or were nailed to crosses, or were doomed to the flames and burnt, to serve as a nightly illumination, when daylight had expired.

SOURCE 13.32 Tacitus, *Annals*, XV.44

The historian Josephus (37 –100 CE), while calling Nero a tyrant, was also the first to mention bias against Nero by other historians.

> But I omit any further discourse about these affairs; for there have been a great many who have composed the history of Nero; some of which have departed from the truth of facts out of favour, as having received benefits from him; while others, out of hatred to him, and the great ill-will which they bare him, have so impudently raved against him with their lies, that they justly deserve to be condemned. Nor do I wonder at such as have told lies of Nero, since they have not in their writings preserved the truth of history as to those facts that were earlier than his time, even when the actors could have no way incurred their hatred, since those writers lived a long time after them.

SOURCE 13.33 Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XX.8

The modern historian Howard Scullard argued that Tacitus's description of Nero's guilt in starting the fire was inaccurate.

> In their loss and misery the city populace turned against Nero and accused him of starting the fire, while rumour added that he watched the burning city from the Tower of Maecenas and had sung an aria over his own 'Sack of Troy'. Neither charge can be taken seriously.

SOURCE 13.34 Scullard, H.H., 1976, *From the Gracchi to Nero. A History of Rome from 133 BC to AD 68*, Methuen & Co., p. 320

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ACTIVITY 13.9

1. The ancient historians Tacitus and Josephus wrote their accounts of Nero and the Great Fire at about the same time. Compare the different accounts of each historian to the same event. Do Sources 13.32 to 13.34 corroborate the evidence in the secondary source? To what extent do you think an observer's personal feelings affect their version of history?



SOURCE 13.35 *The Remorse of the Emperor Nero after the Murder of his Mother*, John William Waterhouse, 1878. Based upon your reading of the sources on Nero, do you think he held remorse for the murder of his mother?

Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument about a historical period in the Ancient World

In the previous section, you analysed historical sources to develop an understanding of the reigns of the Julia-Claudian emperors. Now you will consider some more sources that illustrate the personalities of the emperors, and use these to synthesise responses.

13.5 Julio-Claudian emperors: mad or bad?

Although it could certainly be argued that some of the Julio-Claudian emperors were bad, some mad and some both, the underlying reason for their behaviours was based on fear: not only for their *auctoritas*, but also for their lives. None of the emperors who followed Augustus was convinced of their right to rule and all lived in the steadily waning light of Augustus. The chief aim of all four was to secure their position. They all feared rivals whose claim to the succession were equal or greater than their own. Their lives were full of palace intrigues in which the women in the imperial family, who were often more ambitious and capable than the men, played a large and sometimes decisive part in the constant plots. All the emperors faced attempts by the Senate to regain its influence and were haunted by the idea of a Senate restored to the power it had enjoyed during the time of the Roman Republic. The Senate was still an influential body and some Senators did carry the hope of recovering their old positions. Emperors were so fearful that every sign of opposition in the Senate was immensely exaggerated and every plot, real or imaginary, led to regular massacres among prominent members of the senatorial aristocracy. As a result, one by one, noble families vanished forever. It was within this power-hungry and personally dangerous world that the Julio-Claudian emperors lived.

Emperor Tiberius

Tiberius's relationship with the Senate was always an uneasy one. His conservatism won the approval of most of the older senators but he lacked Augustus's tact, did away with the cabinet of advisers and tended to be indecisive in Senate meetings. After he retired to Capri, the subservience of the Senate became obvious; misunderstandings multiplied and the suspicion of intrigue completely soured the Emperor–Senate relationship. The last few years of Tiberius's reign were reported by Tacitus and Suetonius to have constituted a reign of terror.

Mistrust and fear developed, between the senate and Tiberius and while some sources are positive, others are less so.



SOURCE 13.36 Tiberius statue, Romisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne

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While expending extremely little for himself, Tiberius laid out very large sums for the common good, either rebuilding or adorning practically all the public works. He assisted many cities and individuals

SOURCE 13.37 Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, Book 57, 10

Suetonius accuses Emperor Tiberius of going beyond being merely frugal.

Tiberius was close-fisted to the point of miserliness, never paying his staff a salary when on a foreign mission, but merely providing their keep.

SOURCE 13.38 Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 46

The execution of Sejanus and his followers for treachery towards Tiberius completed Suetonius's embitterment towards Tiberius.

Frenzied with blood, Tiberius now ordered the execution of all those arrested for complicity with Sejanus. It was a massacre. Without discrimination of sex or age, eminence or obscurity, there they lay, strewn about, or in heaps.

SOURCE 13.39 Tacitus, *Annals*, Book VI. 19

Suetonius describes how Emperor Tiberius maintained peace in Rome through strength.

Tiberius safeguarded the country against banditry and brigandage by decreasing the distance between police posts, and at Rome provided the Praetorian Guards ... with a regular camp. He also discountenanced city riots, and if any broke out, crushed them without mercy.

SOURCE 13.40 Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 37

Emperor Caligula

Caligula's evil reputation was well-earned and deserved. By modern standards his behaviour was clearly monstrous, bordering on the insane. Caligula's reign highlighted a weakness in the *principate* – only the self-discipline of the emperor could act as a restraint on his behaviour. From then on emperors who showed a lack of self-discipline could be removed through murder. It became established that emperors could not relinquish their powers without simultaneously relinquishing their lives.

At the beginning of his reign, Caligula's actions demonstrated a positive change from the terror of Tiberius's later years. He was 24 when he became emperor and remembered by the people of Rome as the son of the popular general, Germanicus. However, the changes he exhibited after his illlness of October 37 CE daramatically change the tenor of his *principate*.

According to Suetonius, Caligula planned to make his horse, Incitatus, a consul and that the horse would 'invite' dignitaries to dine with him in a house outfitted with servants there to entertain such events. Cassius Dio indicated that the horse was attended to by servants and was fed oats mixed with gold flake.

Emperor Claudius

Claudius was a more enigmatic figure than the other Julio-Claudian emperors. He was at once careful, intelligent, aware and respectful of tradition, but was also given to rages, cruelty and utter ruthlessness in his treatment of those who crossed him. There was more to the seemingly timid Claudius than met the eye. Despite Claudius's reputation as a fool, his relationship with the Senate was generally good.

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On the occasion of a severe famine [Claudius] considered the problem of abundant provisions not only for that particular crisis, but for all succeeding time. Practically all food used by the Romans was imported, and yet the region near the mouth of the Tiber had no safe landing-places nor suitable harbors ... Claudius undertook to build a harbor and would not be turned aside ... He desired a work worthy of the dignity and greatness of Rome, and he brought it to a successful conclusion.

SOURCE 13.42 Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 60.11

Claudius created departments within the imperial administration and had nearly all of them run by Greek freedmen. A few of these freedmen became very influential as Claudius's advisers. This caused resentment amongst the senators.



SOURCE 13.41 Senator Incitatus

Claudius fell so deeply under the influence of these freedmen [Narcissus and Pallas] and wives [Plautia Urgulanilla, Aelia Paetina and Valeria Messalina] that he seemed to be their servant rather than their emperor, and distributed honours, army commands, indulgences or punishments according to their wishes, however capricious, seldom even aware of what he was about.

SOURCE 13.43 Tacitus, *Annals*, 29

Claudius's 'Letter to Alexandria', though polite in tone, firmly settled the dispute between Greeks and Jews. In the unpromising Claudius, Rome had found an able administrator.

I tell you once for all that unless you put a stop to this ruinous and obstinate enmity against each other, I shall be driven to show what a benevolent emperor can be when turned to righteous indignation ... The Alexandrians show themselves forbearing and kindly toward the Jews, who for many years have dwelt in the same city, and dishonour none of the rights observed by them in the worship of their god but allow them to observe their customs as in the time of the deified Augustus, which customs I also, after hearing both sides, have confirmed. And, on the other hand, I explicitly order the Jews not to agitate for more privileges than they formerly possessed, and in the future not to send out a separate embassy as if they lived in two separate cities – a thing unprecedented ... Otherwise I will by all means proceed against them as fomenters of what is a general plague of the whole world. If, desisting from these courses, you both consent to live with mutual forbearance and kindliness, I on my side will exercise a solicitude of very long standing for the city, as one bound to us by ancestral friendship.

SOURCE 13.44 Letter from Claudius to the citizens of Alexandria



SOURCE 13.45 I, Claudius, held in Vatican Museum. This statue of Emperor Claudius does not display any obvious disabilities described by the ancient writers.

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Emperor Nero

The line of the Julio-Claudian dynasty died with Nero and civil war flared once again across the Roman world. Nero was one of the worst of Rome's emperors. Whatever talents he had, whatever good he may have done, all was overwhelmed by three events: the murder of his mother, the fire of Rome and his savage treatment of the Christians.



SOURCE 13.46 *The Fire of Rome,* Hubert Robert, 1785

Just 17 years old when he succeeded the elderly Claudius in 54 CE, Nero was initially guided by Seneca, Burrus and Agrippina the Younger, and seemed to rule well for the first five years.

> Nero exalted the memory of his father Domitius, and turned over all his public and private affairs to Agrippina's management. On the day of his accession the password he gave to the colonel on duty was 'the best of mothers'. Often he and she rode out together through the streets in her litter.

SOURCE 13.47 Suetonius, *Nero*, 9

Nero changed and began to live a dissipated life at the imperial court. When a great fire burnt down much of Rome, Nero used the now available land to build his long dreamed of palace, the Golden House. Rome was suspicious and began to turn against him.

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The entrance hall [of Nero's Golden House] was large enough to contain a huge statue of himself, 120 feet high [38 metres]; and the pillared arcade ran for a whole mile [3 kilometres]. An enormous pool, like a sea, was surrounded by buildings made to resemble cities, and by a landscape garden consisting of ploughed fields, vineyards, pastures, and woodlands – where every variety of domestic and wild animal roamed about. Parts of the house were overlaid with gold and studded with precious stones and mother-of-pearl. All the dining-rooms had ceilings of fretted ivory, the panels of which could slide back and let a rain of flowers, or of perfume from hidden sprinklers, shower upon the guests ... When the palace had been decorated throughout in this lavish style, Nero dedicated it, and condescended to remark: 'Good, now I can at last begin to live like a human being!'

SOURCE 13.48 Suetonius, *Nero*, 31



SOURCE 13.49 *Nero's Torches*, Henryk Siemiradzki, 1882 (also known as *Candlesticks of Christianity*)

ACTIVITY 13.10

Use Sources 13.36 to 13.49 to answer the following questions:

1. Each Julio-Claudian emperor could be described as a hypocrite, a madman, a fool and a knave. Do you think this is a valid description of them? Answer the questions below to help you to decide.
   - **a.** Tiberius received bad press from Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio Cassius. Would you agree or disagree with describing him as a hypocrite?
   - **b.** How would you support the contention that Gaius Caligula was a madman?
   - **c.** Physical prowess was prized over intellectual ability in the ancient world. Claudius likely had polio or perhaps cerebral palsy since childhood. He was awkward and unstable on his feet, and portrayed as a fool by many ancient writers. Is this an accurate portrayal of him based on all the ancient sources? In your answer consider Source 13.45.

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ACTIVITY 13.10 continued

d. Nero was known by the ancient writers for his debauchery, cruelty and the viciousness of his nature. How accurate is the claim that he was a knave?

2. The Julio-Claudian emperors have been portrayed as men who indulged in all kinds of sexual perversions, were negatively influenced by the women in their lives, and were megalomaniacs that made irrational decisions based on greed and lust for power. Use the sources to attempt to account for the fact that although their personal lives may have been colourful, the Roman Empire under their rule continued to expand and prosper.

Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about a historical period in the Ancient World

13.6 The role of the gladiatorial games in the early Roman Empire

Vespasian was emperor from 69 to 79 CE and was responsible for starting the building of what is known today as the Colosseum. He came to power as a mature man with a wealth of experience from being a soldier and official; Vespasian had also travelled widely throughout the empire. He possessed abundant common sense and he knew how to deal realistically with men and situations. Through him, the state regained financial stability, its administration was sound, and its frontiers strengthened against external attack. During his time as emperor, Vespasian took a sensible attitude towards the practice of emperor-worship. He permitted the practice to go ahead in the provinces, where he saw political benefits in banding together the people of the empire in a common bond. However, in Rome, he preferred to be considered a mere mortal. He guessed, however, that because of his services to the state, he would be deified after his death. Suetonius wrote in his *Life of Vespasian* 23:4 that Vespasian said on his death-bed, 'Alas, I think I am becoming a god.' He was indeed made a god by the Senate, and a special temple was built for his worship.

The Colosseum

The Colosseum was one of the most famous of Rome's monuments and was constructed largely as a means to promote the reputation of the Emperor Vespasian. After the Great Fire of Rome in 64 CE had destroyed a large part of the city, the Emperor Nero built himself an enormous palace, called the Golden House. A few years later, the Emperor Vespasian took advantage of its unpopularity, had it pulled down and began work on an enormous amphitheatre. This was completed by his son Titus the year after his death. Opened in 80 CE, the Colosseum had 80 entrances and 45 000 seats. Fights between gladiators, battles between men and wild animals, and other violent public entertainments were held there. People and animals were slaughtered in their thousands to satisfy the Roman's thirst for bloody entertainment. It was in the Colosseum that Christians were fed to the lions and other wild animals. Emperor Titus was succeeded by his less popular brother, Domitian. Anxious to outdo Titus's lavish shows, Domitian staged a *naumachia*, Latin for 'sea-battle', on the flooded floor of the Colosseum, and provided spectacular aquatic entertainments in a special lake near the River Tiber.

Rome was a city at the centre of the ancient world. During the first century CE, Rome had a population of around one million people. The Roman people, or plebeians, had lots of free time and there was always the danger that they would riot or rebel. The emperors made sure they kept the plebeians content by giving

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them free bread and entertainment as often as possible. Most Romans loved spectacle sports, especially violent ones, and usually the more violent the better.

The most important features of the Roman games were chariot races, wild animal fights and gladiator combats. The gladiator combats were held in amphitheatres, the best known of which was the Colosseum. These spectacles were scenes of violence and bloodshed on a horrific scale with man fighting man or beast, woman against dwarf, and beast against beast. For the politicians of the equestrian or senatorial classes, financing a *ludi* (Latin for 'games') was the way to win popularity with the people. For the plebeians it was a day of gambling, eating and drinking, and a means of forgetting their lack of influence or state of unemployment. These games all occurred at the expense of the Roman government.

Gladiators

Gladiators were professional fighters sometimes forced to fight to the death. By the first century AD, gladiator contests were an enormously popular spectator sport. The best fighters were superstars of the ancient world. These professional gladiators often fought opponents who were not properly trained. The opponents of gladiators included: bankrupt citizens who sold themselves to pay their debts, slaves sold to a gladiator school by their masters and condemned criminals, called *noxius*. These unlucky people were armed with only a small shield and dagger. However, not all Romans were thrilled with violent arena combats. A small minority of intellectuals found the entertainment encouraged bad behaviour, was needlessly cruel and pointless and contributed towards falling moral standards.

Suetonius wrote positively about Vespasian and saw him as a reformer.

> He also started work on several new buildings: a temple of Peace near the Forum, a temple to Claudius the God on the Caelian Hill, begun by Agrippina but almost completely destroyed by Nero; and the Colosseum, or Flavian Ampitheatre, in the centre of the city, on discovering that this had been a favourite project of Augustus ... He reformed the Senatorial and Equestrian Orders, weakened by frequent murders and longstanding neglect; replacing undesirable members with the most eligible Italian and provincial candidates available; and, to define clearly the difference between these Orders as one of status rather than of privilege, he pronounced the following judgement in a dispute between a senator and a knight: 'No abuse must be offered a senator; it may only be returned when given.'

SOURCE 13.50 Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 9

When the Colosseum was opened in 80 CE, there were lavish ceremonies that lasted for 100 days. It is believed that 9000 animals were killed in the arena during this time.

Ancient sources are universal in their praise for Titus's handling of the Mount Vesuvius disaster as well as the Great Fire of Rome in 80 CE. Suetonius describes the different views people held of Emperor Titus in Source 13.53.



SOURCE 13.51 The Divine Emperor: relief depicting an animal sacrifice from an altar in the Temple of Vespasian, at Pompeii

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SOURCE 13.52 The Colosseum today

> He was believed to be profligate as well as cruel, because of the riotous parties which he kept going with his more extravagant friends far into the night; and immoral, too, because he owned a troop of inverts and eunuchs, and nursed a notorious passion for Queen Berenice, to whom he had allegedly promised marriage. He also had a reputation for greed, since it was well known that he was not averse to using influence to settle his father's cases in favour of the highest bidder. It was even thought and prophesied quite openly that he would prove to be a second Nero. However, this pessimistic view stood him in good stead: so soon as everyone realised that here was no monster of vice but an exceptionally noble character, public opinion had no fault to find with him.

SOURCE 13.53 Suetonius, *Titus*, 7

Titus died of a fever in 81 CE and was succeeded by his brother Domitian from 81–96 CE. Domitian expanded and secured the boundaries of Rome, repaired the damage to the city caused by the Great Fire, continued the building projects initiated by his brother, and improved the economy of the empire. Even so, his autocratic methods and policies made him unpopular with the Roman Senate, and he was assassinated in 96 CE.

> Domitian made a number of social innovations: cancelled the public grain issue, restored the custom of holding formal dinners, added two new teams of chariot drivers, the Golds and the Purples, to the existing four in the Circus and forbade actors to appear on the public stage, though still allowing them to perform in private. Castration was now strictly prohibited, and the price of eunuchs remaining in slave-dealers' hands officially controlled.

SOURCE 13.54 Suetonius, *Domitian*, 6–7

The marble relief in Source 13.55 shows Emperor Domitian setting off on a military campaign. He is being farewelled by Minerva, Courage and the Senate.

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SOURCE 13.55 Farewell Domitian, Vatican Museum, Rome



SOURCE 13.56 Domitian, the grim, sometimes paranoid, emperor

The spread of the gladiatorial combats was largely due to the emperor's sponsorship, starting with Augustus.

> Augustus gave gladiatorial shows in the forum and amphitheatre ... Sometimes the shows consisted of animal-hunts ... there was even a sea-battle in the region of the Tiber.

SOURCE 13.57 Suetonius, *Life of Augustus*, 43

Martial wrote poems designed to flatter Emperor Domitian, the less popular brother of Emperor Titus.

> The task of Augustus had been to embattle fleets, and to arouse the waves with the sound of the naval trumpet. How inferior is this to what our Caesar accomplishes! [Behold] in the waves wild animals previously unknown ... chariots glowing along the foaming ocean course, and the steeds of ... [Neptune] passing before ... Whatever is seen in the circus and the amphitheatre, the rich lake of Caesar has shown to thee ... let ages to come remember but this one sea-fight.

SOURCE 13.58 Martial, *On the Public Shows of Domitian*, XXVIII

The Roman philosopher Seneca disapproved of the gladiatorial combats, decrying them as murder.

> By chance I attended a mid-day exhibition, expecting some fun, wit, and relaxation, – an exhibition at which men's eyes have respite from the slaughter of their fellow-men. But it was quite the reverse. The previous combats were the essence of compassion; but now all the trifling is put aside and it is pure murder ... The spectators demand that the slayer shall face the man who is to slay him in his turn; and they always reserve the latest conqueror for another butchering. The outcome of every fight is death

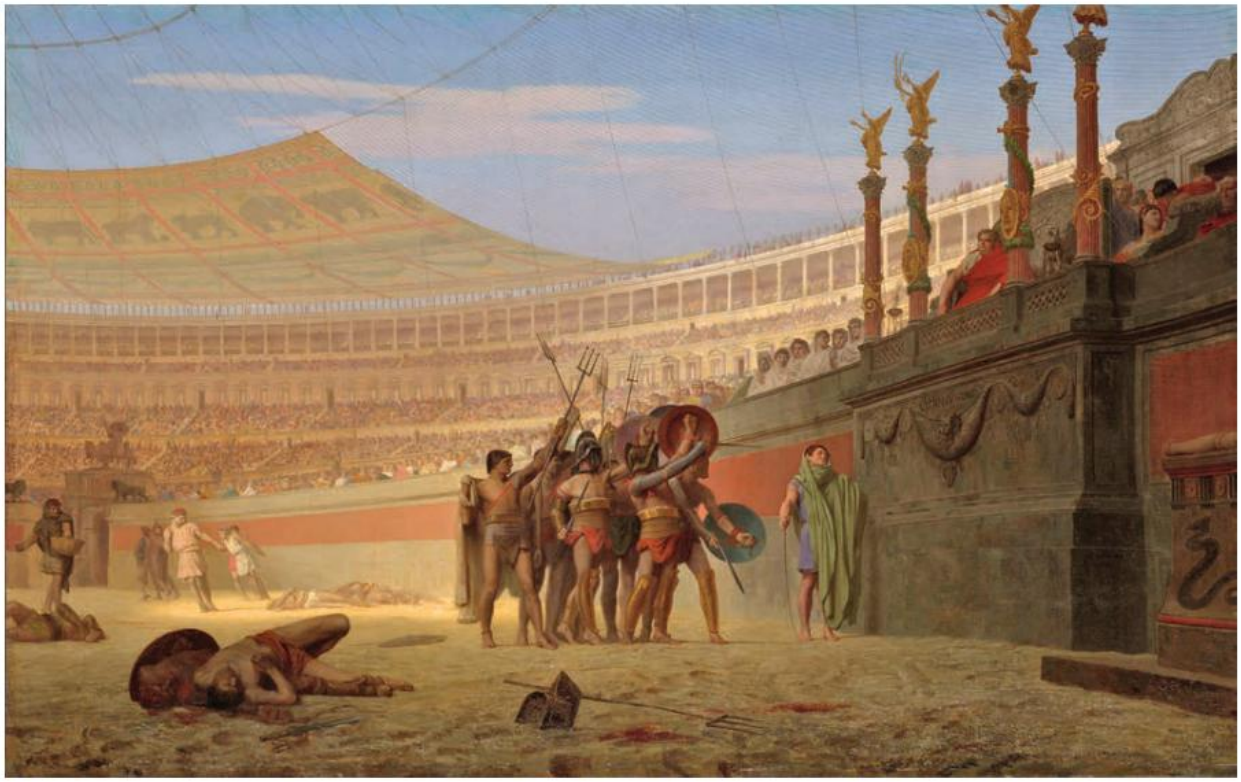
SOURCE 13.59 Seneca, *Letters to Lucilius*, VII

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Juvenal attacked women who chose to take part in the games.

> What modesty can you expect of a woman with a helmet who denies her sex and likes manly strength.

SOURCE 13.60 Juvenal, *Satires*, VI



SOURCE 13.61 *Ave Caesar Morituri te Salutant,* Jean-Leon Gerome, 1859, Yale University Art Gallery. The Latin phrase *'Ave, Imperator, morituri te salutant'* means 'Hail, Emperor, those who are about to die salute you'.

ACTIVITY 13.11

1. Vespasian was responsible for re-establishing the *principate*. Use the text in Sources 13.50, 13.53 and 13.54 and the images in Sources 13.51, 13.52, 13.55 and 13.56 to justify this statement.
2. One of the criticisms of the hereditary nature of the *principate* is that as a system of succession it could not guarantee that the office would always be held by a competent man. Describe what you think could be an alternative system to succession.
3. Identify the similarities between the Emperors Nero and Domitian.
4. The building of the Colosseum was a project initially proposed by Augustus. Why do you think Vespasian would have been keen to complete the building of the Colosseum?
5. Compare Source 13.58 and Sources 13.59 to 13.60 and identify points of agreement and disagreement.
6. Describe in a paragraph what is happening in Source 13.61.
7. Investigate the meaning of the phrase 'bread and circuses' in ancient Rome. Why do you think the Roman emperors implemented this policy?

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

- Succession was a problem in the Julio-Claudian imperial households as blood links did not always ensure who become emperor, and many in the imperial court were devious and even murderous in their attempts to secure power.
- Festivals and feasts were held to honour victories, emperors or gods.
- Chariot races and gladiator battles were staged partly in an effort to subdue and distract the plebians.
- The emperors were eager to link themselves to the Roman gods in order to inspire the loyalty and worship of the people.
- Tiberius was an unpopular emperor with a personality that did not endear him to his people.
- The short reign of Caligula was characterised by his cruelty and probable madness.
- Claudius, underestimated by those around him due to his physical deficiencies, was an able administrator.
- After early popularity, Nero arranged the murder of his mother which began his descent into a tyrant.
- Despite the madness and the badness of the Julio-Claudian emperors, the empire continued to prosper.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend

1. Draw a timeline to show the succession of Julio-Claudian emperors.
2. Define the following terms: enigma; *pax Romana*, Praetorian Guard, *principate.*
3. Who were the *noxius*? What modern word is similar to *noxius*? What does it mean?

Analyse

1. What issues of bias are there around the primary sources on the character and rule of Tiberius?
2. There does not appear to be two sides to the rule of Caligula within the ancient sources, they all agree that he was a monster or insane. Explain the potential problem with this depiction.
3. Why do you think the gladiator fights were an important part of life for the Roman mob?

Evaluate

1. Claudius appeared to have been vastly underrated by the ancient writers. Give reasons for these views.
2. Nero has been accused of murdering his mother, setting fire to Rome and savage treatment of the Christians. Suggest arguments for which action was the most reprehensible. Use quotes to support your decision.
3. Vespasian is generally agreed to have been a very competent emperor. Elaborate on possible reasons for this.

Synthesise

1. Tacitus wrote from a moral perspective. Is there a place for morality in government? Explain your answer.

Respond

1. Consider the modern world. Over the past few decades some Australians have argued to remove the British monarch as the Australian head of state and create an Australian republic. Are there any parallels to the example of ancient Rome?

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Assessment

Examination-style questions

1. Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius and Nero almost certainly deserve the black reputation given to them by the Ancient Sources. Evaluate this statement with reference to the reign of each of the Julio-Claudian emperors of the first century CE.
2. Outline the events which brought about the establishment of the Flavian Dynasty in 69 CE. What problems confronted the Flavians and how successful were Vespasian and his sons were in dealing with them? Justify your view with reference to the sources.
3. The Romans were a cruel, mean-spirited and bloodthirsty people at heart. Validate this statement with reference to the public entertainment performed in the Colosseum.

Investigation tasks

1. Evaluate the underlying reason for the personal danger surrounding the succession within the Julio-Claudian dynasty.
2. Tiberius is portrayed by ancient writers as a sinister and bloodthirsty tyrant, who used the treason laws to kill off all who opposed or offended him. Analyse the extent to which this impression is substantiated by the sources.
3. The most generous view of Claudius is to be found in Robert Graves's historical novels, *I, Claudius* and *Claudius the God*. Examine why Graves's novels of the 1930s are the popularly accepted account of Emperor Claudius.
4. Account for the significant role of the gladiatorial games during the early Roman Empire.

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CHAPTER 14
Pompeii and Herculaneum

SARAH COLEMAN

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this contextual study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the geographical and historical context of Pompeii and Herculaneum from their foundations to the period leading up to the eruption of Vesuvius with particular reference to the remains at these sites and other relevant sources.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the nature and range of sources for the period, and identification of key issues related to the investigation of sources; for example, authentication, excavation, reconstruction and/or conservation.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - the nature of governance and political developments.
  - significant events and key individuals.
  - social structure.
  - cultural life and practices.
  - religious beliefs and practices.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show an understanding.
- synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about the limitations, reliability and usefulness of sources

and either:

- create a response that communicates meaning to suit a purpose by presenting an essay in response to historical sources.

or

- devise historical questions, and conduct research and create a response that communicates meaning by presenting an independent source investigation.

KEY DATES

Seventh century BCE	Fifth century BCE	c. 290 BCE	202 BCE
The area around the Bay of Naples is believed to date to this time. In the very early days it was under Etruscan influence	By the end of the fifth century BCE, Samnite tribes from the Apennines had taken control of much of Campania including Capua, Cumae, Pompeii and Herculaneum. The Etruscans were expelled from the area	Samnites defeated by the Romans	Pompeii became a *socii* or ally of Rome

SOURCE 14.1 The city of Pompeii with Mount Vesuvius in the background

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Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the reconstruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgments about changing interpretations over time relating to an understanding of the period using, for example, new discoveries, research and technologies.

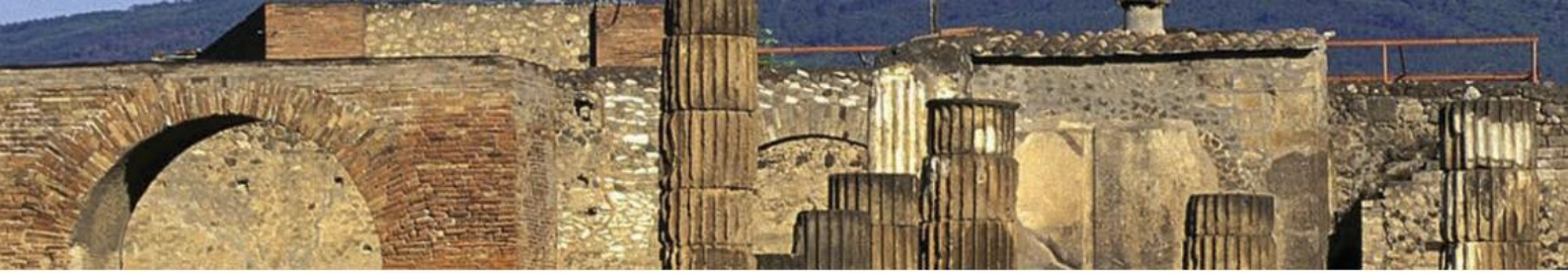
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SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

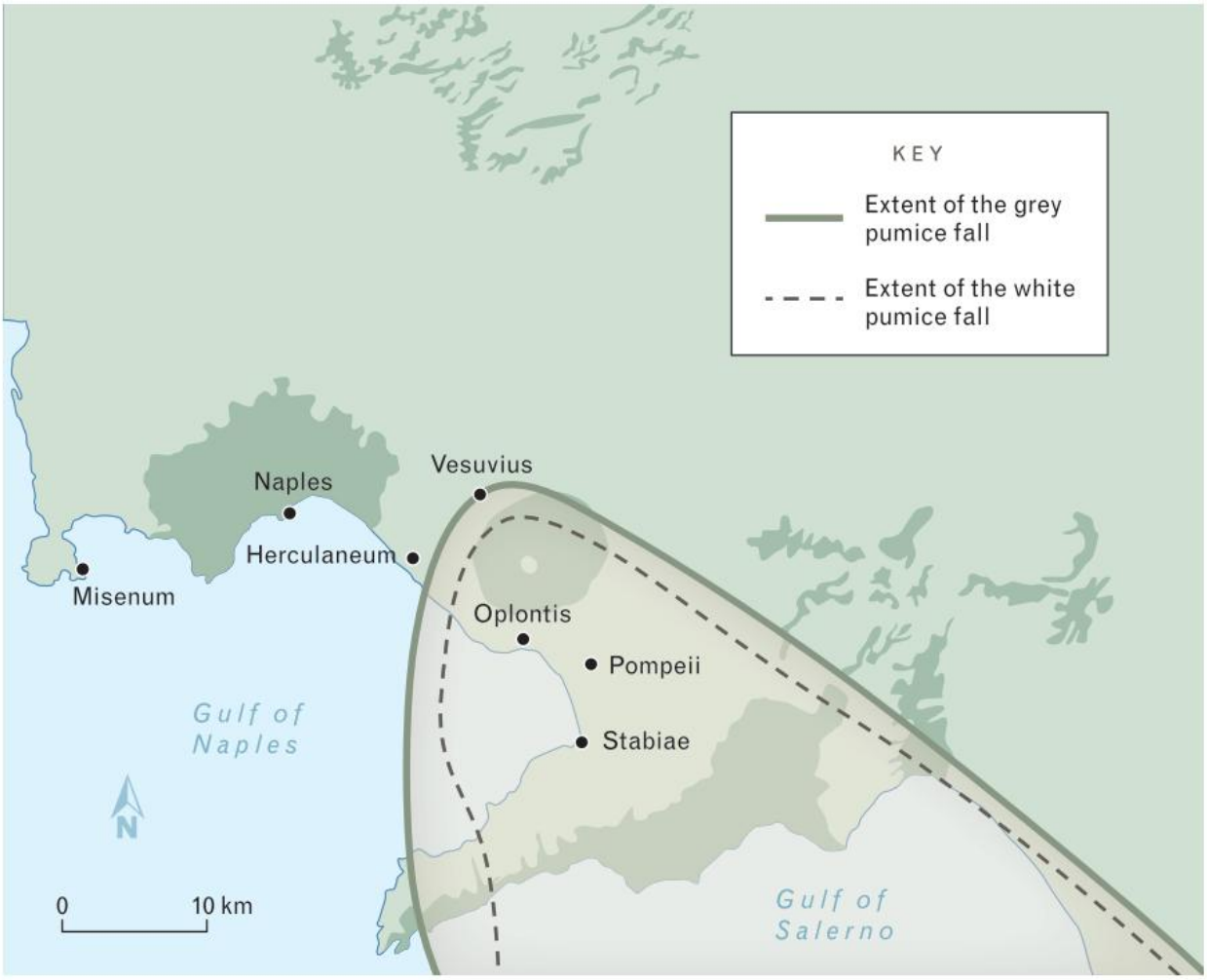
- Giuseppe Fiorelli: director of archaeology at Pompeii and Herculaneum
- Vittorio Spinazzola: director of archaeology at Pompeii and Herculaneum
- Amedeo Maiuri: director of archaeology at Pompeii and Herculaneum
- Andrew Wallace-Hadrill: British archaeologist
- Penelope Allison: Australian archaeologist
- Lawrence Richardson: architectural historian
- Haraldur Sigurdsson: volcanologist
- Eva Cantarella and Luciana Jacobelli: archaeologists
- Sara Bisel: American archaeologist studying bones and bodies
- Estelle Lazer: Australian archaeologist studying bones and bodies.

91 BCE	89 BCE	80 BCE	80–20 BCE
Social wars began, where Rome's allies fought for citizenship. Pompeii was besieged by Sulla, and ballista marks are still visible on the city walls	Pompeiians successful, along with other allies, in gaining Roman citizenship	• Pompeii becomes a Roman colony, settled with a large number of veterans (numbers vary) in confiscated property • Latin became the town's official language	• Temple of Jupiter in the Forum was rededicated as a Capitolium, sacred to the Capitoline trio of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno and Minerva • The Temple of Venus was built (Venus was Sulla's protectress) and other significant works included the Forum Baths and the Amphitheatre (c. 70 BCE)

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MAPS

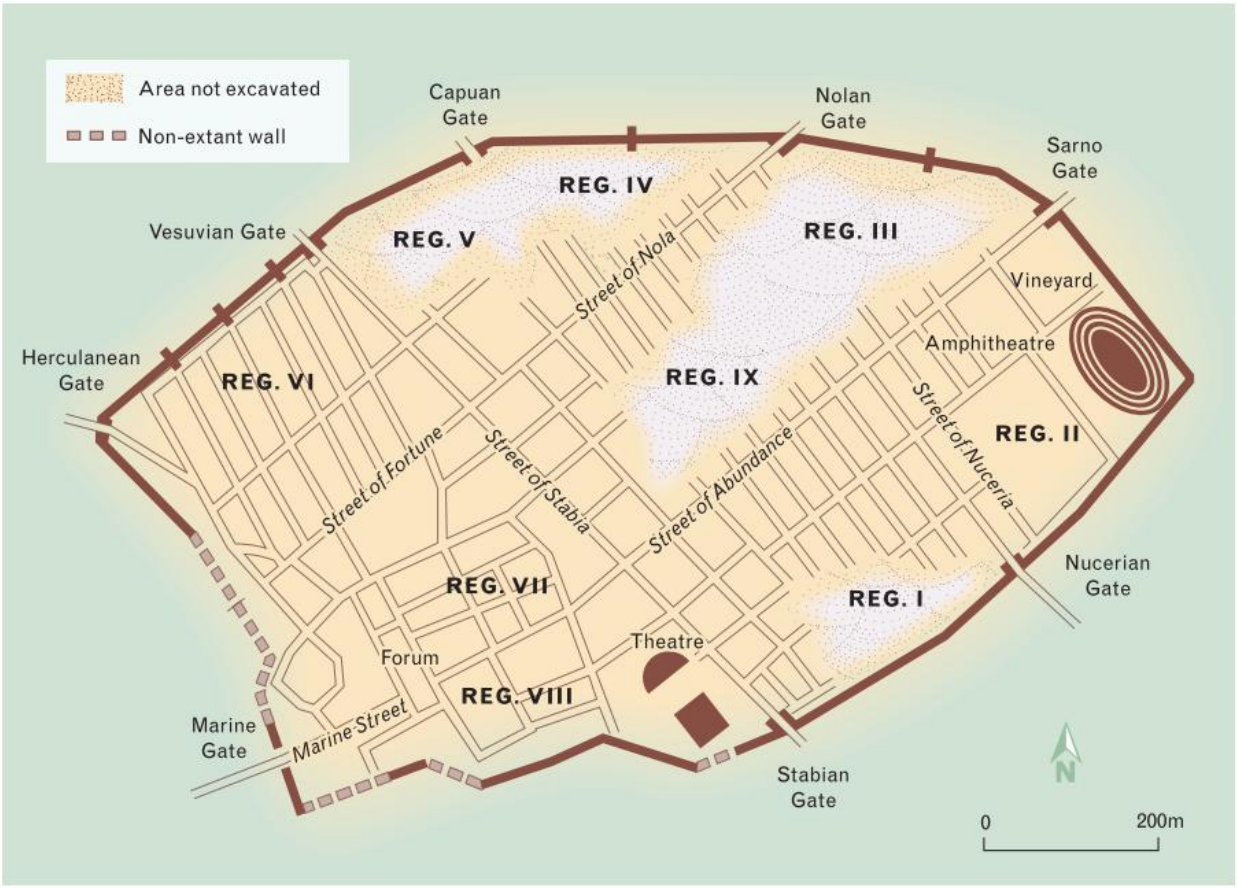


SOURCE 14.2 The areas affected by the Mount Vesuvius eruption in 79 CE. What areas, other than Pompeii and Herculaneum, were affected by the volcanic eruption?

20 BCE–79 CE	59 CE	69 CE
• The Large Palaestra next to the Amphitheatre was built, as was the Building of Eumachia • New temples were constructed (the Sanctuary of the Lares and Temple of Fortuna Augusta) and other Temples were restored • The major development in this period was the provision of running water via an aqueduct built to service the Misenum naval base. This allowed water to be piped directly into some wealthy people's houses and into the public fountains which were placed along the main streets	A riot occurred in the amphitheatre between the spectators from Pompeii and Nuceria in which many were killed or wounded. This is documented by Tacitus, as well as in artwork	A major earthquake struck Campania and caused extensive damage to Pompeii and other towns in the area. The earthquake is recorded in the works of Seneca

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SOURCE 14.3 The streets of Pompeii. How would you describe the layout of Pompeii?

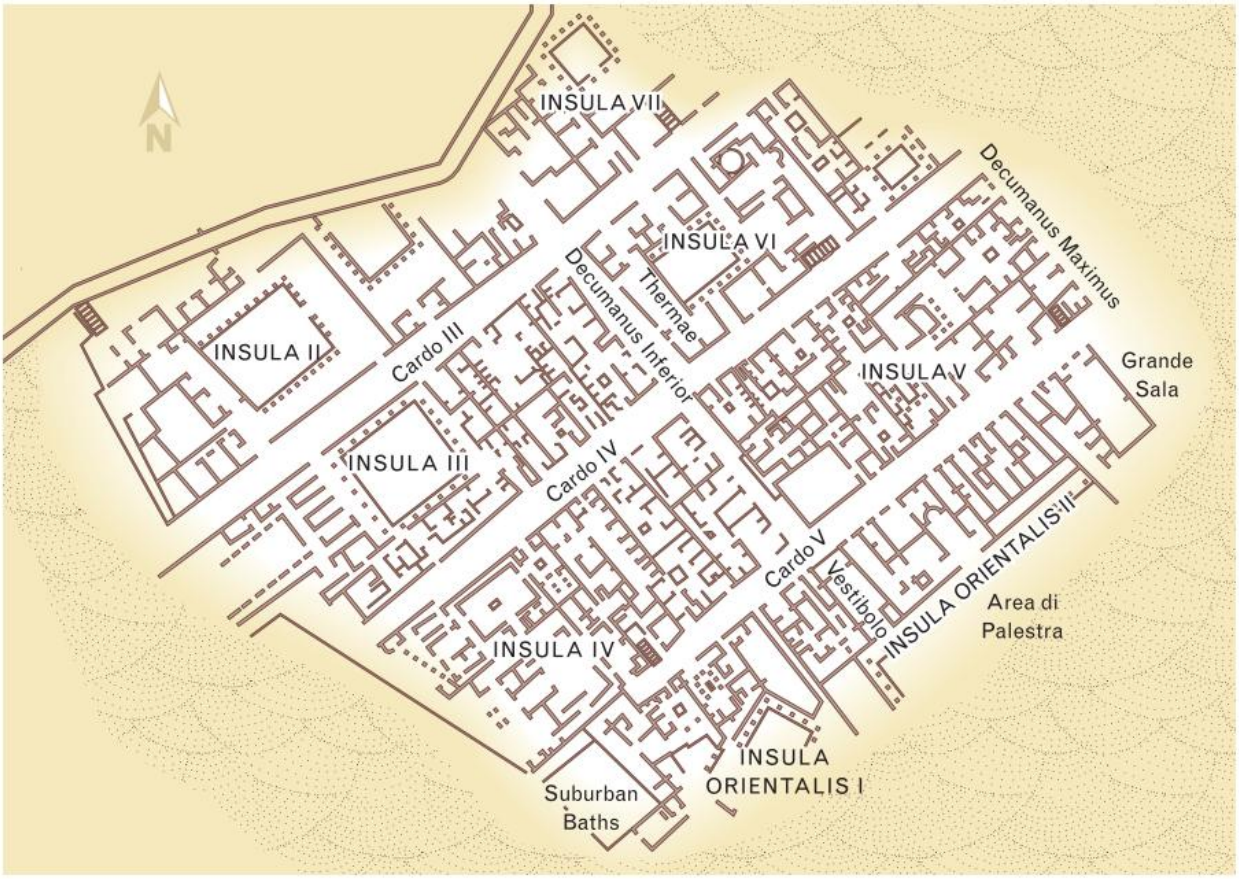
79 CE

The eruption of Vesuvius that resulted in the town's destruction. There were five phases of the eruption:

- Explosion thrust a great cloud of ash, pumice and gases 20 kilometres into the air
- Pumice fall-out over Pompeii began with pebbles called *lapilli*
- Hours later there was a ground surge, which is a turbulent cloud of volcanic ash and hot gases, which hugged the ground and raced towards Pompeii at an estimated speed of 100/km per hour
- It was immediately followed by a pyroclastic flow, a hot dry avalanche of pumice, ash and gases flowing at incredibly high speeds down the slopes of the volcano towards Pompeii to a depth of about four metres
- Pyroclastic flow and surges are identified in the geologic strata as thin black layers. Vesuvius is unique as there were six layers in the strata which means there were six pyroclastic flows

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SOURCE 14.4 Herculaneum map. How would you describe the layout of Herculaneum? How is it similar or different to Pompeii?

1594 CE	1689 CE	1711 CE	1738 CE
A workman discovered two Latin inscriptions when digging a canal. Discovery recorded by the architect Domenico Fontana	Ruined buildings and a Latin inscription were found by workmen building an aqueduct. The site was named Civitas – Latin for 'city'	First excavation of Herculaneum – workmen of Prince d'Elbeuf discover an ancient theatre under an old well, thought to be a temple at first. A series of tunnels were dug and artefacts were taken	King Charles appoints Rocco Gioacchino de Alcubierre to dig, but he used very destructive methods. Vertical tunnels were dug down to recover artefacts; no records were kept

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

TERM	DEFINITION
aediles	magistrates responsible for maintaining public buildings and spaces
amphitheatre	an oval shaped building providing seating; entertainment venue
atrium	open, central, public space of Roman house and centre of religious and social activity
basilica	justice building
Capitolium	temple of Jupiter, dedicated to Jupiter, Minerva and Juno; state religion
castellum	main water tank
caupona	a bar, tavern or inn
client	the subservient in a relationship who has a patron for protection and guidance
compluvium	square cut hole in the roof of a private house within the atrium to provide light, air and water
cubiculum	small room with various functions, but most commonly a bedroom
dolia	terracotta pots in thermopolia containing drinks
dominus	master, the head of the *domus*
domus	Roman household
familia	Roman family that lived in the household including the slaves
forum	a public Roman space with buildings used for town gathering, official religion and trade
fullonica	cleaning and production of cloth for clothing and laundry
garum	fish sauce
genius	god of the male line of descent; the family spirits
impluvium	the shallow pool which collected rain water under the *compluvium*
insula	(pl. *insulae*) a block of buildings with roads surrounding
lararium	private shrine of household gods
libertus	a former slave who has gained freedom

1748 CE

Charles III (King of Naples 1734–1759) instructed Roque Joaquín de Alcubierre to begin excavations, believing the site was Stabiae. Some artefacts and the first skeleton were found. Excavation followed no pattern and was conducted merely where it was believed something interesting might be found. The Amphitheatre and the Herculaneum Gate necropolis were uncovered

1750 CE

Karl Weber was appointed to assist Alcubierre in Herculaneum. He developed a more systematic method, excavating slowly and keeping logbooks, drawing plans and recording all finds. Villa of the Papyri was discovered

1763 CE

An inscription was found identifying the site as Pompeii. Street of the Tombs, Temple of Isis and a theatre unearthed. Moveable objects taken from site

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TERM	DEFINITION
macellum	large, covered meat and fish market in the Forum
neocropolis	cemetery
nymphaeum	a room or grotto dedicated to the nymphs, usually with a fountain
odeon	small theatre
officina	workshop
otium	any leisure activity
palaestra	public exercise ground for military and youth
pars rustica	quarters for slaves and workers on a country estate
patera	a flat dish for offerings
pater familias	highest ranking male in a family; Roman household patriarchal
peristyle	a colonnade around an outside private garden
pila	bladder ball
pistrina	bakery
pistrinum	a shop that produces and sells bread; a bakery
plebs	common people; abbreviation of plebeian
Plinian phase	first phase of the volcanic eruption as described by Pliny
pontarii	gladiators who fought on an elevated platform
Priapus	rustic god of fertility
programmata	epigraphic sources – election slogans
pumice	volcanic rock; due to the air content very light in weight
pyroclastic flow	volcanic debris and gas flowing at a fast pace, similar to a snow avalanche
quinquennials	magistrate elected every five years to carry out the census and control public morality
retiarus	gladiator who fought with a net
salutatio	morning ceremony where clients attended to their patrons

1765 CE	1778 CE	1828 CE	1829 CE
Excavation of Herculaneum was very difficult because of the depth (20 metres) and hardness of the volcanic deposits and the site's location under the modern town of Resina. Excavations were suspended to focus on Pompeii, which was more accessible	First plan of Pompeii drawn by Francesco La Vega. Excavations continued throughout the rest of the century	Excavations of Herculaneum recommenced when Francis I became king. The system of using tunnels was abandoned in favour of open digging	House of the Faun discovered

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TERM	DEFINITION
senator	Roman who has public office within the senate of Rome
socii	allies
sparsiones	perfumed showers to cool the spectators at the theatre or amphitheatre
spectaculares	the spectacles that were held in Rome for popular entertainment most readily associated with gladiatorial games
strata	(sing. stratum) layers of material built up or deposited at a site
stratigraphic	study of arrangement of layers of volcanic ash deposited
taberna	small workshops opening onto the street
tablinum	public reception area of the atrium where household records are kept
thermae	hot baths in a communal bath complex
thermopolium	a shop that produces and serves hot food and drinks
tocula	wine press
triclinium	formal dining room in private homes containing three couches
tufa	a volcanic stone that is produced from the volcano
velarium	a canopy suspended over the seats in the amphitheatre or theatre
vestibulum	entrance area to a private house
villa otium	villa built only for leisure
villa rustica	a working farmhouse and property, often also a vineyard
volcanology	scientific study of the eruption of volcanoes

1832 CE

House of the Painted Capitals discovered

1805–1835 CE

The French King of Naples sponsored excavation of Pompeii under Francois Mazois with 1500 men. Excavation of the site was haphazard: buildings judged of no interest were abandoned, some even reburied. Both sites were looted and the location of most objects was not recorded – their context was lost

1860 CE

Giuseppe Fiorelli became director of excavations and began a systematic approach. He excavated from the top rather than the side, and realised that cavities in the ash were from decomposed organic matter – he used plaster to recreate humans, animals, furniture, food and other matter. He also introduced a numbering system, by dividing the town into nine regions, each with up to 22 blocks (*insulae*) and each house was given a number

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Introduction

In 79 CE Mount Vesuvius, a large conical volcano on the Campanian plain near modern-day Naples, erupted. It spewed tonnes of ash into the air and buried the towns of Pompeii and Herculaneum under surges of pyroclastic flow of up to 20 metres deep. For over a millennia, the towns remained buried and forgotten until their rediscovery in the eighteenth century. Since this time, they have become the archetypes of provincial towns in the early Roman Empire. These cities of Vesuvius have captured the public imagination, and have become a feature of music, art and literature ever since. Additionally, the deterioration and decay of the towns, especially the collapse of the House of the Gladiators in 2010, has seen the excavation and preservation of the site become the subject of popular debate.

The rediscovery of Pompeii

The rediscovery of Pompeii was a happy coincidence for the intellectuals of the age who were throwing themselves into the Romantic movement with gusto; a significant characteristic of this artistic, philosophical and literary movement was a fascination with antiquity (as is attested to by the number of poems focusing on the ancient world, such as *Ozymandias*, *On Looking into Chapman's Homer*, and *Ode to a Grecian Urn*). The discovery of the subterranean Roman town saw the site become a 'must do' on the seemingly compulsory traverse of the continent by young aristocrats. Percy Byssche Shelley was one such traveler and antiquarian, who wrote a poem about Pompeii, and others were no doubt inspired by what the young poet saw when he visited the sites with his wife, Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, in December 1818.

In a letter to Thomas Peacock the following January, Shelley details what he saw:

> Since you last heard from me, we have been to see Pompeii ... I was astonished at the remains of this city; I had no conception of anything so perfect yet remaining ... We entered the town from the side towards the sea, and first saw two theatres; one more magnificent than the other, strewn with the ruins of the white marble which formed their seats and cornices, wrought with deep, bold sculpture ... You then pass through the ancient streets; they are very narrow, and the houses rather small, but all constructed on an admirable plan, especially for this climate. The rooms are built round a court, or sometimes two, according to the extent of the house. In the midst is a fountain, sometimes surrounded with a portico, supported on fluted columns of white stucco; the floor is paved with mosaics, sometimes wrought in imitation of vine leaves, sometimes in quaint figures, and more or less beautiful, according to the rank of the inhabitant. There were paintings on all, but most of them had been removed to decorate the royal museum. Little winged figures, and small ornaments of exquisite elegance, yet remain ... We next saw the temples. Of the temple of Aesculapius little remains but an altar of black stone, adorned with a cornice imitating the scales of a serpent. His statue, in terra cotta, was found in the cell. The temple of Isis is more perfect. It is surrounded by a portico of fluted columns, and in the area around it are two altars, and many ceppi for statues; and a little chapel of white stucco, as hard as stone, of the most exquisite proportion; its panels are adorned with figures in bas-relief, slightly indicated, but of a workmanship the most delicate and perfect that can be conceived ... Thence through other porticos and labyrinths of walls and columns (for I cannot hope to detail

1865 CE	1882 CE	1910–1923 CE	1923–1961 CE
Herculaneum came under the control of Fiorelli	German archaeologist, August Mau, studied the artworks in Pompeii and divided them into four distinct styles	Vittorio Spinazzola cleared Via dell'Abbondanza and excavated important buildings in the street such as House of the Cryptoporticus. Many facades were reconstructed and he made photographic record of his excavations	Amadeo Maiuri director of excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum. He was the first to dig below the 79 CE level to uncover the earlier history of Pompeii

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everything to you), we came to the Forum … The temple of Jupiter, of Venus, and another temple, the Tribunal, and the Hall of Public Justice, with their forests of lofty columns, surround the Forum.

SOURCE 14.5 Shelly, P.B., 1840, *Essays, letters from abroad, translations and fragments,* Edward Moxon, London, pp. 122–3

Following his visit, Shelley wrote *At Pompeii*, which clearly reflects the romanticism and awe associated with the sites at the time of their discovery and initial excavations.

I stood within the City disinterred;
And heard the autumnal leaves like light footfalls
Of spirits passing through the streets; and heard
The Mountain's slumberous voice at intervals
Thrill through those roofless halls;
The oracular thunder penetrating shook
The listening soul in my suspended blood;
I felt that Earth out of her deep heart spoke—
I felt, but heard not: through white columns glowed
The isle-sustaining ocean-flood,
A plane of light between two heavens of azure!
Around me gleamed many a bright sepulchre
Of whose pure beauty, Time, as if his pleasure
Were to spare Death, had never made erasure;
But every living lineament was clear
As in the sculptor's thought; and there
The wreaths of stony myrtle, ivy, and pine,
Like winter leaves o'ergrown by moulded snow, Seemed only to move and grow
Because the crystal silence of the air
Weighed on their life; even as the Power divine
Which then lulled all things, brooded upon mine.

SOURCE 14.6 Shelly, P.B., 1847, 'Ode to Naples', *The Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley,* Edward Moxon, pp. 274–6

Shelley endorses the view of those at the time: the awe and splendour of a town frozen in time. He also, however, provides interesting details of the early stages of excavations, and the ad hoc treasure hunting approach that was taken in the very early days. He refers to works removed to adorn palaces, as well as the items that had been left, due usually to their inferior quality and thus their value. This is what has undermined so much of the 300-odd years of scholarship that focuses on the cities of Vesuvius, and while it is by no means the only ancient site to suffer such indignities (Thera and Knossos also spring to mind), they are the ones that have garnered the most consistent public and political attention.

1927 CE	1939–45 CE	1943 CE	1944 CE	1977 CE	1980 CE
Excavations recommenced under Amadeo Maiuri	Work stops during World War II	Pompeii bombed by the Allies	Vesuvius erupts	Fausto Zevi becomes director of excavations. Stops any new excavations to focus on conservation of what had already been excavated	Earthquake causes damage

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In the three centuries since its initial rediscovery, Pompeii and its sister town Herculaneum, have had various excavation, documentation and preservation methods. In the early years after Pompeii's rediscovery, the area was nothing more than a site for looting: artefacts were stolen, sites damaged and context lost. As a consequence of early methods and later misconceptions, a particular version of Pompeii and Herculaneum has emerged from the evidence. This series of misconceptions, as a consequence of new information and technology, is being revised understandings once deemed to be orthodox have been challenged and replaced by new understandings of the towns, the people who lived there and their place in the greatest empire of the ancient world.

GO

This chapter forms the basis for a depth study of Pompeii and Herculaneum through the evidence, written and archaeological, which allows for a detailed historiographical analysis of the sources. How the interpretations of sources contribute to our collective understanding of these sites and, in turn, help us to make decisions around ethical questions of conservation and preservation, can be applied not only to the sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum, but to other sites around the world also. We will examine how these sources have been used to construct an understanding of relevant social, political, religious and economic institutions and practices in Pompeii and Herculaneum. The issues associated with using these sources to make valid judgements about life in these towns will also be explored.

Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the reconstruction of a historical period in the Ancient World

14.1 Geographical and historical context

The studies of the cities of Vesuvius is complex, and requires the understanding of key factors in the initial devastation of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and the rediscovery (or second death as it is referred to by some historians) that commenced in the eighteenth century. The manner of their destruction, by Vesuvius in 79 CE and by the treasure hunters and looters of the eighteenth century particularly, is instrumental in our understanding of the evidence for Pompeii, its limitations and subsequent reexamination.

ACTIVITY 14.1

To establish some context, it is important to consider the geography and placement of Pompeii and Herculaneum in their ancient Roman context. Read Sources 14.7 to 14.15 and as you read, make notes of key ideas, terms, concepts and events.

Strabo (64–63 BCE – c.24 CE), a Greek geographer, describes Herculaneum:

> The next town is Herculaneum, which occupies a cape jutting out into the sea, where it feels the southwest wind to such an amazing extent that the settlement is a healthy one.

SOURCE 14.7 Strabo, *Geography* 5.4.8

Pliny the Elder, a first-century CE Roman naturalist, writes favourably about the Campanian region.

> How [to describe] the Campanian coast and its happy, indeed blessed delightfulness, plainly the handiwork of Nature in her favourite spot!

SOURCE 14.8 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, Bk III 40

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In the second century CE, another Roman, Florus, is similarly positive about the area.

> Campania's coastal area is the finest, not only in Italy but in the entire world. Nowhere is the climate gentler. Spring comes with its flowers twice a year there.

SOURCE 14.9 Florus, *Brief History*, 1.11.3 6

Didorus Seculus, a first-century BCE Greek historian, mentions Vesuvius in connection with the myth of Heracles.

> Heracles then moved on from the Tiber, and as he passed down the coast of what now bears the name of Italy he came to the Cumaean Plain. Here, the myths relate, there were men of outstanding strength, the fame of whom had gone abroad for lawlessness and they were called [Giants]. This plain was called Phlegraean ('Fiery') from the mountain which of old spouted forth a huge fire as Aetolia did in Sicily; at this time, however, the mountain is called Vesuvius and shows many signs of the fire which once raged in those ancient times.

SOURCE 14.10 Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, IV, 21

Here, Strabo talks about Mount Vesuvius.

> Next after Neapolis comes the Heracleian Fortress, with a promontory which runs out into the sea and so admirably catches the breezes of the southwest wind that it makes the settlement a healthful place to live in ... Pompaia, on the River Sarnus – a river which both takes the cargoes inland and sends them out to sea – is the port-town of Nola, Nuceria, and Acherrae ... Above these places lies Mount Vesuvius, which, save for its summit, has dwellings all round, on farmlands that are absolutely beautiful. As for the summit, a considerable part of it is flat, but all of it is unfruitful, and looks ash-coloured, and it shows pore-like cavities in masses of rock that are soot-coloured on the surface, these masses of rock looking as though they had been eaten out by fire; and hence one might infer that in earlier times this district was on fire and had craters of fire, and then, because the fuel gave out, was quenched. Perhaps, too, this is the cause of the fruitfulness of the country all round the mountain; just as at Catana, it is said, that part of the country which had been covered with ash-dust from the hot ashes carried up into the air by the fire of Aetna made the land suited to the vine; for it contains the substance that fattens both the soil which is burnt out and that which produces the fruits; so then, when it acquired plenty of fat, it was suited to burning out, as is the case with all sulphur-like substances, and then when it had been evaporated and quenched and reduced to ash-dust, it passed into a state of fruitfulness.

SOURCE 14.11 Strabo, *Geography*, V, 4

Seneca the Younger (c. 4 BCE to 65 CE), a Roman philosopher and naturalist, writes about an earthquake that struck Pompeii in 62 CE, seventeen years before the eruption of Mount Vesuvius.

> The extent of the disaster may be gathered from a few details. Part of the town of Herculaneum fell; the buildings left standing are very insecure. The colony of Nuceria had painful experience of the shock, but sustained no damage. Naples was just touched by what might have proved a great disaster to it; many private houses suffered, but no public building was destroyed. The villas built on the

(continued)

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cliffs everywhere shook, but without damage being done. In addition, they say, a flock of six hundred sheep was destroyed, and statues were split open; some people were driven out of their minds, and wandered about in helpless idiocy.

SOURCE 14.12 Seneca, *Natural Questions*, Book 6

Here is another extract from Pliny the Elder, describing the region.

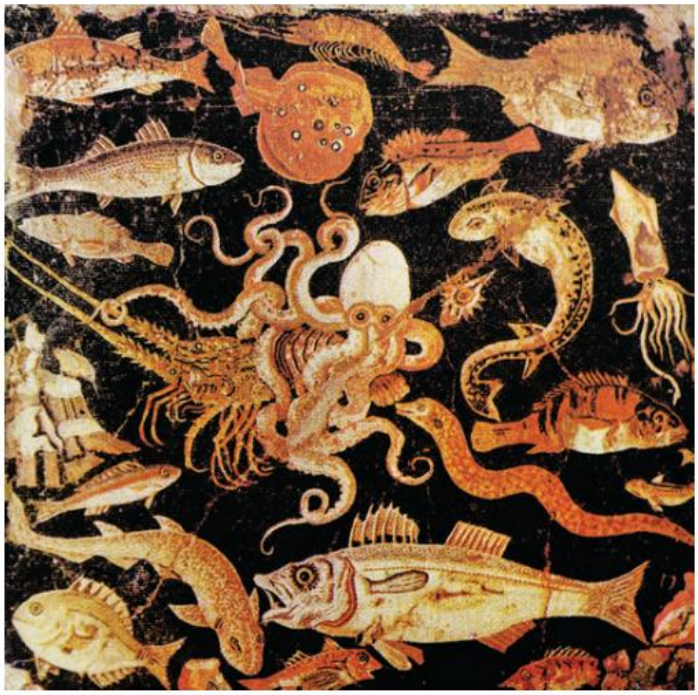
Next comes Campania, a region blessed by fortune. From this bay onwards you find vine-growing hills and a noble tipple of wine famed throughout the world. Over this area the gods of wine and grain fought their hardest, or so tradition tells us ... These shores are watered by warm springs; they are famed beyond any other for their shellfish and their fine fish. Nowhere do olives produce more oil – the production strives to match the demands of human pleasure.

SOURCE 14.13 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, III, 60

Here is a further extract from Seneca the Younger's description of the 62 CE earthquake.

On the 5th of February, in the consulship of Regulus and Virginius, this shock occurred, involving widespread destruction over the whole province of Campania; the district had never been without risk of such a calamity, but had been hitherto exempt from it, having escaped time after time from groundless alarm.

SOURCE 14.14 Seneca, *Natural Questions*



SOURCE 14.15 Mosaic of aquatic life from the House of the Faun

ACTIVITY 14.2

Having read the sources, and with reference to the maps at the beginning of this chapter, answer the following questions.

1. Explain the geographical context of Pompeii and Herculaneum.
2. List the notable features and resources of the region as identified in the evidence.
3. Explain the significance of Vesuvius for the inhabitants of the Campanian plains.
4. Based on your current understanding of Pompeii and Herculaneum, what do you expect to see in the evidence from the town, regarding trade, commerce, diet, industry and the like?

The eruption of Mount Vesuvius

While the Vesuvian region was not unused to tectonic movement, and had experienced a major earthquake in 62 CE, volcanic eruptions were not known in living memory. In fact, the last identified eruption of the

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mountain dates to approximately 217 BCE. The eruption in 79 CE was characterised by a large column of ash and pumice, hot gas and pyroclastic surges, known today as a Plinian or Vesuvian explosion. The two settlements were affected in different ways due to their geographical locations, proximity to the volcano, and the influence of prevailing winds; the best indicator for this is that Herculaneum was buried under 20 metres of volcanic matter, whereas Pompeii was under only four. Our understanding of the initial explosion is a consequence of a letter from Pliny the Younger, to his friend and historian Tacitus. There are many considerations that need to be taken into account when reading Pliny's letters, namely the fact that although he was an eye-witness to the explosion (the 17-year-old Pliny was staying at Misenum at the time of the eruption) he documented his account 25 years later. Time colours the accounts even of those who bore witness to the events in consideration. The Interactive Textbook contains two of Pliny's letters, and an activity to help you analyse them.

GO

Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding in relation to specific historical periods in the Ancient World

In undertaking an effective study of Pompeii and Herculaneum, it is vital to have a good grasp of the historiographical limitations of the sites, of which there are many. Due to the nature of the excavations in the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, evidence is damaged, missing and without context, since the focus in those times was to remove items of value for the benefit of wealthy benefactors. One only needs to consider the treatment of the piles of disarticulated bones found at various locations at both sites to see this. The archaeological and epigraphic records dominate the evidence available for the study of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and these provide important information about trade, commerce, gender, entertainment and leisure, architecture, and the general features of life in the towns. The literary records, with the exception of the letters of Pliny the Younger, are often very distanced, cursory or fragmentary, and thus their applicability is questionable.

14.2 The nature of the evidence

Ancient writers

TABLE 14.1 A list of ancient writers

Writer	Date	Context	Content
Pliny the Younger	61–113 CE	• main source on the eruption in 79 CE • in about 112 CE, Pliny the Younger wrote a letter to the historian Tacitus describing the eruption and recounting his uncle's rescue attempt • although he glorifies his uncle's role in the rescue, the facts he presents are supported by archaeological evidence	• his uncle (Pliny the Elder) was a naval commander based at Misenum, across the bay from Herculaneum • he and his uncle both witnessed the eruption • pliny the Elder then set out by boat to rescue his friend Pomponianus who was trapped in Herculaneum • he reached the city but died, apparently from asphyxiation (he was asthmatic)

(continued)

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Writer	Date	Context	Content
Pliny the Elder	23–79 CE	• a prefect in the Roman navy, was also a noted naturalist	• wrote about the geography and economy of Campania
Strabo	64/63 BCE– c.24 CE	• Greek geographer whose work is largely based on his own travels	• wrote about Campania
Cassius Dio	155–235 CE	• Roman politician who wrote an 80 volume history of Rome • the volumes covering the period between 63 BCE and 54 CE are almost complete; however the other volumes exist only in fragments	• in one of the volumes he mentions the destruction of Pompeii, but his account is not entirely credible
Seneca the Younger	c. 4 BCE – 65 CE	• Roman philosopher and naturalist	• wrote about the earthquake that damaged Pompeii and Herculaneum in 62 CE
Tacitus	c. 56–after 117 CE	• Roman senator who wrote two histories of the Roman Empire, covering the period from 14–69 CE • not all of his works survive	• he mentions a fight between rival spectators at the gladiatorial games in Pompeii in 59 CE, which caused the emperor Nero to ban all such games in the city for ten years
Vitruvius	c. 80–70 BCE, died after c. 15 BCE	• architect and engineer, wrote *De Architectura*, a manual on architecture and building methods	• for a time was the authority on Pompeian building usage, but this does not always correspond with the archaeology

Epigraphy

Epigraphy refers to written public and private inscriptions. Generally they are a part of the archaeological record, but oftentimes they suffer the fate of being fragmentary, out of context or illegible. For our study of Pompeii and Herculaneum, epigraphs comprise a large percentage of the workable evidence.

14.3 The limitations, reliability and contestability of the evidence

Due to the nature of the sites, and particularly their early excavation, there are significant issues around the reliability of the evidence. This is for a number of reasons.

- Much of the evidence at Pompeii and Herculaneum has been stolen, lost or destroyed.
- Early excavations used little to no methodology and the excavators were interested only in treasure, which meant valuable historical evidence was merely cast aside or thrown out. Reporting was inconsistent, and some buildings did not even get an excavation report, while other reports were unpublished.
- Digging destroyed structures, others collapsed due to negligence and skeletal remains were lost or destroyed – all before the finds were properly documented.
- Tourists have also caused considerable damage.

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- Exposure of the sites to the elements has seen oxidisation and thus deterioration. Open to the elements, Pompeii in particular has been affected by heavy rain and flooding. The sun fades the exposed frescoes, and in recent years UV resistant Perspex has been installed to protect them.
- Protection and preservation, especially from the elements, on the scale that is required is almost financially prohibitive, and for this reason over a third of Pompeii remains untouched. Archaeologists are waiting until better technology is available, which will allow them to excavate whilst inflicting minimal damage.
- There is also too little written evidence to back up the archaeological evidence, as Pompeii and Herculaneum were simply small towns, albeit with a great summer trade from tourists heading down from Rome to escape the summer heat (a bit like Noosa, Airlie Beach or Port Douglas).
- Much evidence has disappeared forever and continues to disappear through the deterioration of the sites.
- The context of many artefacts has been lost as they were looted or put in museums without the recording of their locations they were found in houses. This has made it difficult to ascertain ownership, function of rooms, standards of living and the status of people.
- Literary evidence is unavailable or disagrees with the architecture (for example, Vitruvius's accounts versus the archaeology). The names of rooms as used by Pompeians is not known, and rather are based on the terminology in Vitruvius's *De Architectura* (On Architecture); basic Pompeiian house structure, however, dates to the Samnite period and thus pre-dates the Roman period of the cities, which causes issues in the study of the urban landscape.
- Much work has been done recently on the human remains of Pompeii, especially by Australian archaeologist Estelle Lazer. Originally these remains were not considered important for study and were discarded or unceremoniously lumped together in storage; not only a poor way to treat human vestiges, but it also removed bodies from their original contexts.
- The main commercial, religious and political centre of Herculaneum, focused on the Forum, has not been recovered.

The following sources reflect the range of evidence available in the study of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

I beg you to elect Cn. Helvius Sabinus *aedile*, worthy of public office. Maria asks this.

SOURCE 14.16 A graffito from the Street of Abundance, Pompeii

28 July, Florus won at Nuceria; 15 August, won at Herculaneum.

SOURCE 14.17 A graffito from the House of the Gladiators, Pompeii

To let, for the term of five years, from the thirteenth day of next August to the thirteenth day of the sixth August thereafter, the Venus bath, fitted up for the best people, shops, rooms over shops, and second-story apartments in the property owned by Julia Felix, daughter of Spurius.

SOURCE 14.18 Rental advertisement from the House of Julia Felix

Eumachia L.f. *sacerdos publica*, in her own name and that of M. Numistrius Fronto her son, built with her own money the portico, corridor and colonnade, and dedicated them to Concordia Augusta (and?) Pietas.

SOURCE 14.19 Dedicatory inscription on the woolstore from Eumachia, CIL X 810

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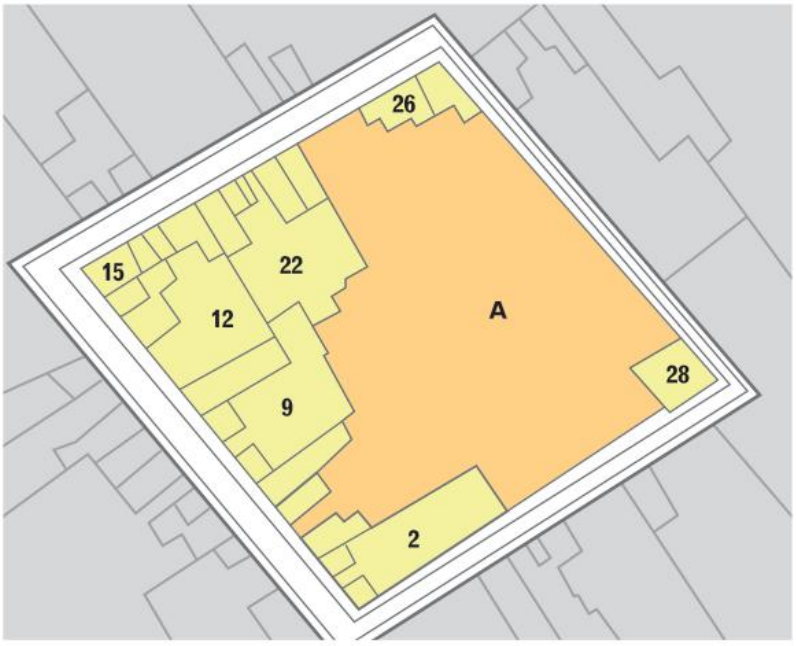
SOURCE 14.20 Cave Canem from the House of the Tragic Poet

Umbricia Januaria declares that she has received from Lucius Caecilius Jucundus 11 039 sesterces, which sum came into the hands of Lucius Caecilius Jucundus by agreement as the proceeds of an auction sale for Umbricia Januaria, the commission due him having been deducted. Done at Pompeii, on the 12th of December, in the consulship of Lucius Duvius and Publius Clodius [AD 54].

SOURCE 14.21 Banking transactions, CIL IV 3340 tab 25



SOURCE 14.22 Remains of a bakery in Pompeii



SOURCE 14.23 Insula 4, Regio I - Reg I, Ins 4 lies at the junction of the Via dell'Abbondanza and the Via Stabiana. The *insula* has sustained considerable damage in the past and most of the properties are in a semi-ruinous or ruinous condition.

Full list of properties at the junction of the Via dell'Abbondanza and the Via Stabiana

The Via dell'Abbondanza is one of the main east – west streets in Pompeii, cleared in the early twentieth century. The Via Stabiana is one of the main north – south streets crossing it.

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TABLE 14.2 Buildings at the junction of the Via dell'Abbondanza and the Via Stabiana (see Source 14.23)

Door number	Property name or description	Area (square metres)	Number of rooms	Description, decoration and comments
1–3	Unnamed house	230	8	Fairly standard atrium or garden plan. Atrium. Tablinum. Peristyle. Nos. 1 and 3 are shops linked with the atrium. Stairs up. Little surviving decoration. Semi-ruinous.
4	Shop	38	2	Undecorated shop with back room. Window in south wall overlooking No. 3. Semi-ruinous state.
5, 25	House of the Citharist	2318	50+	Two atria. Three *peristyles*. 50+ rooms. Private baths suite. One of the largest houses in Pompeii. Little surviving decoration. Bronze statue of Apollo Citharoedus.
6	Shop	22	2	Undecorated shop with back room. Linked to atrium of No. 5. Ruinous state.
7	Fullonica of Passaratus and Maenianus	66	3	Three undecorated rooms. Ruinous state.
8	Shop	16	1	Undecorated single room with stairs up. Ruinous state.
9	Unnamed house	231	11	Atrium. Tablinum. Stairs up. Little decoration. Ruinous state.
10	Shop	22	1	Undecorated single room. Ruinous state.
11	Caupona of Copiosus	66	4	Four undecorated rooms. Ruinous state.
12	Shop/bakery	218	6	Six rooms. Millstones. Oven. Stairs up. No decoration. Linked to No. 17. Ruinous state.
13	Shop	52	2	Undecorated shop with back room (left rear). Oven. Linked to No. 14. Ruinous state.
14	Taberna	18	1	Undecorated single room with stairs up. Plaster remnants. Linked to No. 13. Ruinous state.
15	Taberna D. Junius Proculus	35	1	Undecorated single room. Plaster remnants. Linked to No. 16. Ruinous state.
16	Shop	13	1	Undecorated single room. Plaster remnants. Two niches on south wall. Linked to No. 15. Ruinous state.
17	Shop	32	2	Undecorated shop with back room. Plaster remnants. Linked to No. 16 and No. 12. Ruinous state.
18	Taberna of Sabinus	37	2	Undecorated shop with stairs up. Back room. Plaster remnants. Ruinous state.

(continued)

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Door number	Property name or description	Area (square metres)	Number of rooms	Description, decoration and comments
19	Shop	36	2	Undecorated shop with back room. Plaster remnants. Ruinous state.
20–21	Shop	18	1	Shop at No. 20. Undecorated single room. Stairs up at No. 21.
22	Casa del Pressorio di Terracotta	152	11	Long entrance passage (*fauces*). Central atrium. Tablinum. Eleven rooms. Plaster remnants. Marble puteal. Marble table. Ruinous state.
23–24	Shops	66	4	Undecorated shops. Two back rooms. Linked to fauces of No.22. Ruinous state.
26	Shop with apartment	45	4	Undecorated shop with living quarters. Plaster remnants.
27	Thermopolium	41	3	Undecorated thermopolium. Counter with hearth. Back room. Latrine. Plaster remnants.
28	House of Q. Octavius Romulus	113	6	Atrium. Stables. Plaster remnants. Blocked up link to No. 25.



SOURCE 14.24 Decoration from the House of the Golden Bracelet

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ACTIVITY 14.3

Each of the previous sources reflects a source type. Using the evidence provided and your understanding of the limitations of evidence, complete the following questions.

1. Categorise the evidence using the table below. Make a judgement about the type of evidence, what it depicts (the content), what conclusions can be drawn about life in Pompeii and Herculaneum, and how reliable the evidence is.

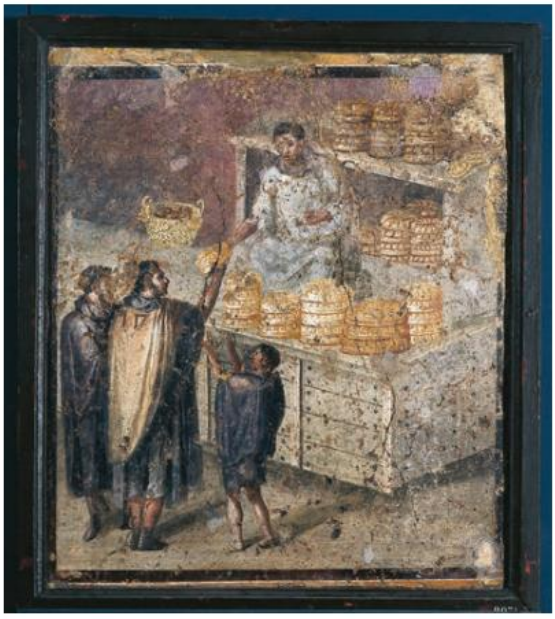
Source	Evidence type	Content	Conclusions	Reliability
Source 14.16				
Source 14.17				
Source 14.18				
Source 14.19				
Source 14.20				
Source 14.21				
Source 14.22				
Source 14.23				
Source 14.24				

2. Describe what these sources reveal about the inhabitants of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

The following sources reflect the characteristics of life in a Campanian town.



SOURCE 14.25 A bust thought to be of the banker Lucius Caecilius Jucundus. Credit: Pompeii, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (Archaeological Museum)



SOURCE 14.26 Fresco from the *tablinum* at VII.iii.30 at Pompeii depicting the sale of bread from a temporary sales stand

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SOURCE 14.27 Statue of the priestess Eumachia from the Pompeian Forum



SOURCE 14.28 Remains of a Roman theatre in Pompeii overlooking Mount Vesuvius



SOURCE 14.29 Gladiator parade helmet made of bronze from Pompeii, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (Archaeological Museum), Roman Civilisation

ACTIVITY 14.4

Having considered the evidence, answer the following questions.

1. Identify the sources that can be used to corroborate:
   - **a.** the presence of gladiators in Pompeii and Herculaneum
   - **b.** the existence of a banker named Jucundus
   - **c.** the existence of a woman named Eumachia
   - **d.** the role of women in Pompeii
   - **e.** bakeries as a key commercial entity in Pompeii and Herculaneum
   - **f.** the presence of skilled artists in Pompeii and Herculaneum
   - **g.** the presence of organised religion in Pompeii and Herculaneum
   - **h.** the existence of shops and stalls in Herculaneum.
2. Organise the evidence into categories of commerce, trade, leisure, social structure, housing and architecture.
3. With reference to two of the topics above, write a short analysis of the historical record of Pompeii.
4. What questions do the selection of evidence provided raise about life in Pompeii and Herculaneum?
5. What strategies might you employ to help answer these questions?

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Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about a historical period in the Ancient World

14.4 Everyday life

The sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum have provided modern historians with evidence of the occupations (and thereby the economy and commerce of the cities) and the pastimes of their inhabitants. Although there are some significant limitations around the evidence we are still able to make guided and educated judgements about life in Campanian Italy, and perhaps more broadly provincial Roman towns. It is important, however, to consider the evidence in light of our knowledge of these limitations, and thus make insightful and justified evaluations of the usefulness, value, and significance of the historical record for these sites.



SOURCE 14.30 Sunset view of Via dell'Abbondanza (Street of Abundance), lower decuman (gate) of Pompeii (UNESCO World Heritage Site, 1997). What physical features of Pompeii can you identify in this image?

In the ancient world, local economies were very closely connected to local geography and trade routes. The fertile soils of the Vesuvian plains and the coastal climate supported livestock, the growth of grapes and olives, and access to the ports facilitated trade. Unlike Herculaneum, where the evidence suggests a quieter resort-style town, Pompeii appears to have been a thriving commercial centre, with an excess of 600 privately owned shops, bars, inns and workshops. The blurring of public and private has caused some misinterpretation over time, but the work of archaeologists, especially Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, whose focus on housing and building structures in Pompeii has seen the reinterpretation of the nature of public and private, domestic and commercial, in Pompeii. Wallace-Hadrill has also suggested that only one brothel can be confirmed, whereas earlier estimates had this number much higher. This is not to suggest, however, that amatory activities in exchange for payment did not take place elsewhere, but that there is only one definitive purpose-built brothel. The epigraphic record especially attests to the variety of guilds and retailers, and signs outside buildings attest not only to their purpose, but their owner also.

Leisure and entertainment in Pompeii, as in many Roman towns, is based around the amphitheatre, the smaller odeon and the gladiatorial barracks, and written accounts from the likes of Tacitus support the strength of the *spectaculares* in Pompeii. Inscriptions that detail those responsible for games, as well as of the gladiators and their physical excellence, gives gripping insight into the pastimes of the ancient Roman town. The bath houses are also a testament to traditional Roman activities, and the thriving trade of bars and inns around these areas suggests that they were very well patronised.

Commercial activities in Pompeii

The following sources illustrate three different commercial activities in Pompeii: Sources 14.31 and 14.35 relate to the sale of *garum* (fish sauce), Sources 14.32 and 14.33 to the clothing industry, and Sources 14.34, 14.36 and 14.37 to baking.

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Finest fish sauce by Umbricius Abascantus
Scaurus's finest mackerel sauce
Best finest mackerel sauce from the workshop of Aulus Umbricius Abascantus
Scaurus's finest mackerel sauce from Scaurus's workshop,
Best fish purée of Aulus Umbricius Scaurus

SOURCE 14.31 Inscriptions on *garum* jars

An important role in the Roman clothing industry was played by the fullers. The websites of the Parco Archeologico di Pompei and *AD 79 Destruction and Rediscovery* explain this trade.

One important trade in Pompei was that of the fullones, or fullers: 13 laboratories processed raw wool, 7 handled spinning and weaving, 9 dyeing, and 18 washing. A typical example is the 'Fullonica of Stephanus's (mentioned in a campaign message on the façade: was he the owner or manager?), formed by re-modeling an existing house and using the ground floor for work activities, the upper floor as a dwelling and for drying the cloth. At the back of the building is a series of tubs used for washing: the fullones trampled the cloth in a mixture of water and soda (soap was unknown at the time) or urine, both degreasing substances due to their high ammonia content.

SOURCE 14.32 Parco Archeologico di Pompei, Fullery of Stephanus

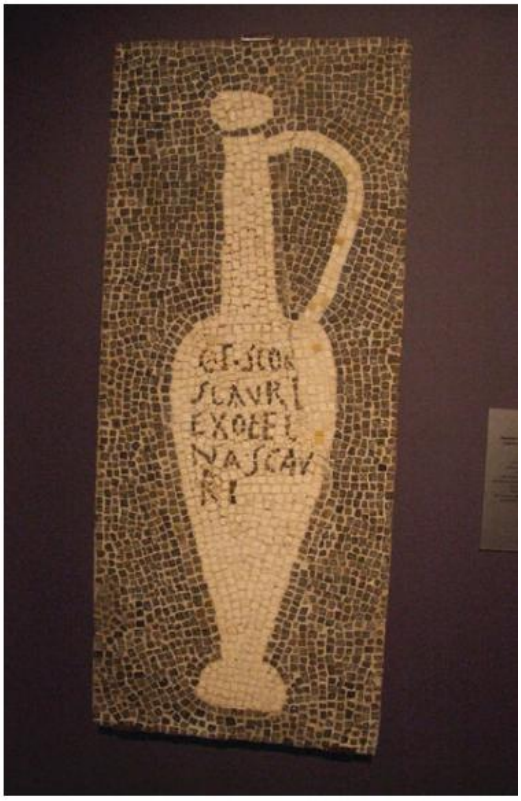
The Fullonica of Stephanus, or Fullonica Stephani, lies on the south side of the Via dell'Abbondanza. The property, which was excavated in 1912, is the only laundry in Pompeii that had not simply been adapted from an existing building, but was a full restructuring of a patrician house, rationally laid out to best fulfil its new function. The name of the probable owner, a man named Stephanus, was deduced from election propaganda painted near the entrance which also inform us that women as well as men worked therein.

SOURCE 14.33 Clements, P. and Clements, M., 'Fullonica of Stephanus', *AD 79 Destruction and Rediscovery* website

This extract from the *AD 79 Destruction and Rediscovery* website describes a bakery in Pompeii.

The Pistrinum, or bakery, occupies a central location on the east side of Cardo V. Inside the bakery, the whole cycle of bread-making from milling the grain to baking the bread, which came in a variety of forms, was carried out.

SOURCE 14.34 Clements, P. and Clements, M., 'Pistrinum', *AD 79 Destruction and Rediscovery* website



SOURCE 14.35 A mosaic floor in the home of a man named Aulus Umbricius Scaurus depicts jars of *garum* ready for sale (Scaurus owned a store that sold *garum*)

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SOURCE 14.36 A charred loaf of bread from Modestus's bakery in Pompeii



SOURCE 14.37 Pistrinium millstones used for flour

The Caupona of Sotericus

The Caupona of Sotericus lies on the south side of the Via dell Abbondanza immediately east of the bakery owned by the same proprietor. The *caupona* was excaledin 1914. On the facade was a sign, now no longer visible, painted with the helmeted head of Minerva. Also lost to the elements are some obscene graffiti left by the *caupona's* regular clients referring to the amatory services provided by the waitresses and hostess. Below is the key for Source 14.38.

a. entry with bar
b. rectangular atrium which
c. a substantial table consisting of a circular marble top on a stuccoed and painted masonry base.
d. masonry counter with five inset jars for hot food
e. flight of stairs leading to the upper floor
f. small *cubiculum* or bedroom decorated with mythological scenes
g. corridor
h. *tablinum*
i. backyard
j. kitchen
k. basin
l. small room – use unknown



SOURCE 14.38 *Caupona* or Tavern of Sotericus and its usage

> It has been observed that Pompeian wines are rather dangerous as they may cause a headache which lasts till noon on the following day.

SOURCE 14.39 Pliny the Elder on Pompeiian wine, *Natural History* XIV 70

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Hedone says 'You can drink here for one as, if you give two, you will drink better; if you give four, you will drink Falernian.'

SOURCE 14.40 Graffiti from the tavern of Valeria Hedone

Thermopolium

A thermopolium was the equivalent of fast food outlet, or a café. Hot and cold food was sold from what was usually an L-shaped masonry counter containing terracotta vessels. There are over 160 of these uncovered throughout Pompeii, although this number is problematic, given the patchy understanding of property use in some areas, especially when located adjacent to a *caupona*, which was the more formal tavern setting, with seating and the like.

The website *AD 79 Destruction and Rediscovery* has the following description of a thermopolium.

The thermopolium and house of Vetutius Placidus are closely linked. The bar area, which served both food and drink, opens directly onto the south side of the Via dell'Abbondanza. The marble counter has jars inset into the worktop which were used to hold food ... A stove, positioned on the counter facing the eastern wall, was intended for heating food.

SOURCE 14.41 Clements, P. and Clements, M., 'Thermopolium of Vetutius Placidus (Reg I, Ins 8, 8-9)', *AD 79 Destruction and Rediscovery* website



SOURCE 14.42 Thermopolium marble counter

ACTIVITY 14.5

Having examined the previous image and text sources, and in combination with your existing historical knowledge, answer the following questions.

1. Describe the primary industries of Pompeii and Herculaneum as reflected in the evidence.
2. To what extent are the industries a reflection of the geographical context of Pompeii and Herculaneum as evidenced in Activity 14.2?

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ACTIVITY 14.5 continued

3. Examine Sources 14.32 and 14.33 in regards to fullones (or fullers) and use the evidence to answer the following.
   a. Describe the activities that took place in a fullery.
   b. Explain the role archaeology played in the naming of the fullery of Stephanus in Reg I, Ins 6 (Source 14.33). How reliable is this evidence?
   c. Explain the particular significance of this site. What conclusions might be drawn from it?
4. Examine Source 14.38 – the Caupona of Sotericus – and use the evidence to answer the following.
   a. Describe the activities that took place in the Caupona of Sotericus.
   b. What conclusions can be drawn from the plan of the tavern about land usage in Pompeii?
   c. Explain the limitations of this evidence and how it might influence our understanding of these types of establishments.
   d. What other sources can be used to corroborate the importance of taverns in Pompeiian society?
5. Source 14.34 refers to a bakery – *pistrinum* – in Herculaneum.
   a. Explain how useful this source is in understanding the milling and bread-making process in Herculaneum.
   b. Explain how useful this source is in understanding commercial activities taking place in Herculaneum.
   c. Identify other evidence that would be helpful in drawing conclusions and making judgements about bakeries in the region.
6. Assess the usefulness of these sources in contributing to the knowledge and understanding of the primary industries of the Vesuvian region of Campania. Answer using specific examples.
7. Evaluate the significance of physical evidence in contributing to our understanding of the economies of Pompeii and Herculaneum.
8. Identify what evidence is available for the economic activity in and around Pompeii and Herculaneum.

14.5 Leisure and entertainment

Gladiators and games

Roger Dunkle describes the basis for gladiatorial games.

> As a warrior society in origin, Romans were fascinated with martial virtue and the high-risk game of life and death that was war and gladiatorial combat. Wistrand has pointed out that gladiatorial combat demonstrated the most fundamental of all Roman values, *virtus*, a word whose basic meaning is manhood, which came to mean courage in war ... The gladiator [w]as an archetypal symbol of Roman culture, whose code in extreme situations was either to kill when necessary, or to accept death when inevitable.

SOURCE 14.43 Dunkle, R., 2008, *Gladiators: Violence and Spectacle in Ancient Rome*, Routledge, p. 19

The following is a piece of graffiti from a Pompeii wall:

> The gladiatorial troupe of Aulus Suettius Certus will fight at Pompeii on the 31 May. There will be a hunt and awnings. Good fortune to all Neronian games.

SOURCE 14.44 Graffito: games under the aedileship of Suettius Certus

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Seneca was a stoic philosopher, and the Emperor Nero's tutor and advisor. The following is a description of gladiatorial combat (not necessarily in Pompeii) in a letter to Lucilius.

I turned in to the games one mid-day hoping for a little wit and humour there. I was bitterly disappointed. It was really mere butchery. The morning's show was merciful compared to it. Then men were thrown to lions and to bears: but at midday to the audience. There was no escape for them. The slayer was kept fighting until he could be slain. "Kill him! flog him! burn him alive" was the cry: "Why is he such a coward? Why won't he rush on the steel? Why does he fall so meekly? Why won't he die willingly?" Unhappy that I am, how have I deserved that I must look on such a scene as this? Do not, my Lucilius, attend by the multitude, or, if you show disgust, be hated by them. So stay away.

SOURCE 14.45 Seneca, *Epistles*



SOURCE 14.46 The Neronian – graffiti from a tomb in the Pompeiian necropolis outside the Nucerian gate. The translation reads: Games at Nola of Marcus Cominius Heres over 4 days. 'The Chief', Neronian, fought 13, 10 victories, victor. Hilarus, Neronian, fought 14, 12 victories, victor. Creunus, fought 7, 5 victories, reprieved.

This inscription (now lost) appeared on the family tomb of the Clodii, commemorating the career of Aulus Clodius Flaccus. It places emphasis on the games that he gave at the festival in honour of Apollo, each time he held the duumvirate (the equivalent of a town councillor).

Aulus Clodius Flaccus, son of Aulus, of the Menenian voting tribe, duumvir with judicial power three times, quinquennial, military tribune by popular demand. In his first duumvirate, at the games of Apollo in the Forum, [he presented] a procession, bulls, bull-fighters, and their fleet-footed helpers, 3 pairs of stage-fighters, boxers fighting in bands, and Greek-style pugilists; also [he presented] games with every musical entertainment, pantomime, and Pylades; and he gave 10 000 sesterces to the public coffers. In return for his second duumvirate, which was also his quinquennial duumvirate, at the games of Apollo [he presented] in the Forum a procession, bulls, bull-fighters, and their fleet-footed helpers, and boxers fighting in bands; on the next day in the Amphitheatre [he presented] by himself 30 pairs of athletes and 5 pairs of gladiators, and with his colleague [he presented] 35 pairs of gladiators and a hunt with bulls, bull-fighters, boars, bear and the other hunt-variations. In his third duumvirate [he presented] with his colleague games by a foremost troupe, with extra musical entertainment.

SOURCE 14.47 Games of Aulus Flaccus, funerary inscription, CIL X 1074d

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Tacitus was a Roman historian of the late first and early second centuries CE. He was a supporter of the Flavian dynasty, under which he lived, and a vehement opponent of the gratuitous excess of the Julio-Claudian era. Here, he describes a riot that took place in Pompeii.

About this time [59 CE] there was a serious fight between the inhabitants of two Roman settlements, Nuceria and Pompeii. It arose out of a trifling incident at a gladiatorial show ... During an exchange of taunts – characteristic of these disorderly country towns – abuse led to stone-throwing, and then swords were drawn. The people of Pompeii, where the show was held, came off best. Many wounded and mutilated Nucerians were taken to the capital ... The emperor instructed the senate to investigate the affair. The senate passed it to the consuls. When they reported back, the senate debarred Pompeii from holding any similar gathering for ten years. Illegal associations in the town were dissolved; and the sponsor of the show and his fellow-instigators of the disorders were exiled.

SOURCE 14.48 Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.71

The inscription pictured in Source 14.50 is found near the southern entrance to the arena. It states that Quinctius Valgus and Marcus Porcius, who were duumvirs or magistrates of Pompeii, had erected the amphitheatre at their own expense. These two men also commissioned the Odeon, or small theatre.



SOURCE 14.49 Cockfight mosaic from the Casa del Fauno



SOURCE 14.50 Dedicatory inscription from the Pompeian Amphitheatre

Cicero was a politician, orator and statesman of the first century BCE. He was conservative in his political views, and was very concerned about the image one conveyed through ones actions.

And yet I realise that in our country, even in the good old times, it had become a settled custom to expect magnificent entertainments from the very best men in their year of aedileship. So both Publius Crassus, who was not merely surnamed 'The Rich' but was rich in fact, gave splendid games in his aedileship; and a little later Lucius Crassus (with Quintus Mucius, the most unpretentious man in the world, as his colleague) gave most magnificent entertainments in his aedileship. Then came Gaius Claudius, the son of Appius, and, after him, many others – the Luculli, Hortensius, and Silanus. Publius Lentulus, however, in the year of my consulship, eclipsed all that had gone before him, and Scaurus emulated him. And my friend Pompey's exhibitions in his second consulship were the most magnificent of all. And so you see what I think about all this sort of thing. Still we should avoid any suspicion of penuriousness. Mamercus was a very wealthy man, and his refusal of the aedileship was the cause of his defeat for the consulship. If, therefore, such entertainment is demanded by the people, men of right judgement must at least consent to furnish it, even if they do not like the idea.

(continued)

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But in so doing they should keep within their means, as I myself did. They should likewise afford such entertainment, if gifts of money to the people are to be the means of securing on some occasion some more important or more useful object.

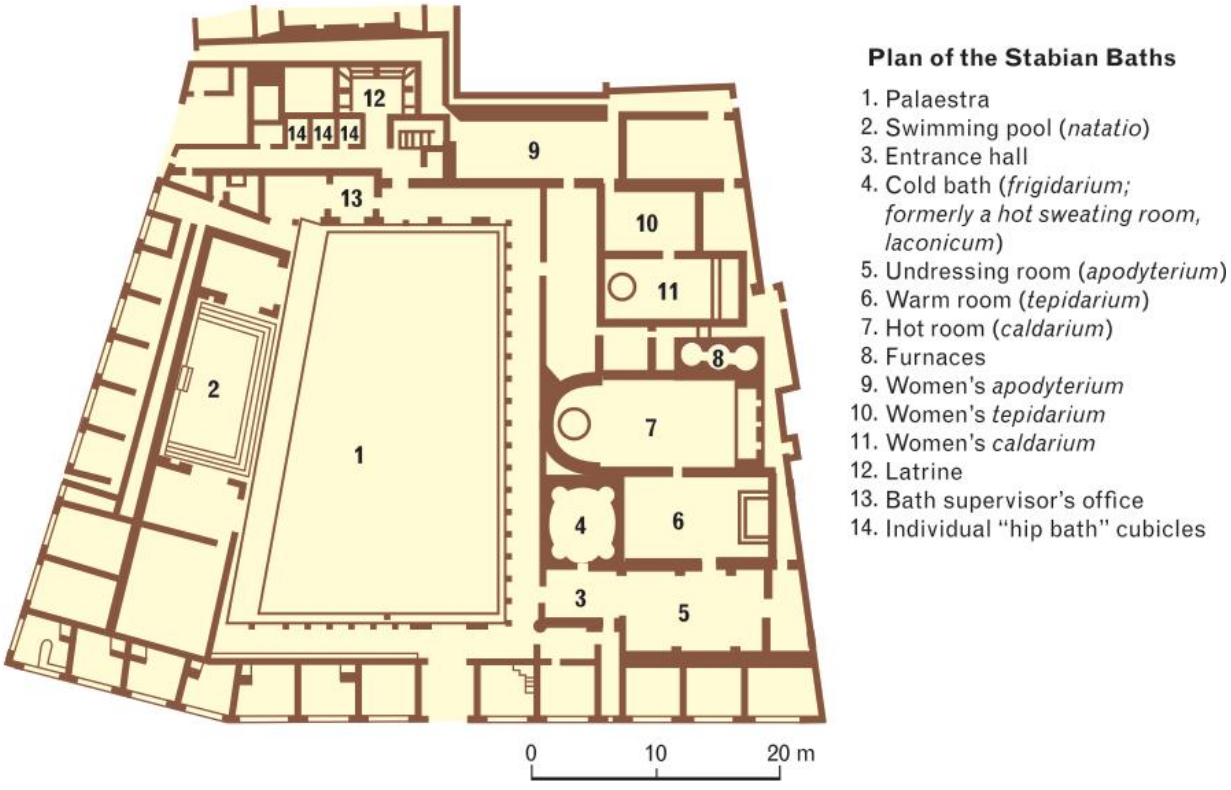
SOURCE 14.51 Gladiatorial combat for political favour, Marcus Tullius Cicero

Bathhouses

Seneca describes activities at the baths.

If you want to study, quiet is not nearly as necessary as you might think. Here I am, surrounded by all kinds of noise (my lodgings overlook a bath-house). Conjure up in your imagination all the sounds that make one hate one's ears. I hear the grunts of musclemen exercising and jerking those heavy weights around; they are working hard, or pretending to. I hear their sharp hissing when they release their pent breath. If there happens to be a lazy fellow content with a simple massage I hear the slap of hand on shoulder; you can tell whether it's hitting a flat or a hollow. If a ball-player comes up and starts calling out his score, I'm done for. Add to this the racket of a cocky bastard, a thief caught in the act, and a fellow who likes the sound of his own voice in the bath, plus those who plunge into the pool with a huge splash of water. Besides those who just have loud voices, imagine the skinny armpit-hair plucker whose cries are shrill so as to draw people's attention and never stop except when he's doing his job and making someone else shriek for him. Now add the mingled cries of the drink peddler and the sellers of sausages, pastries, and hot fare, each hawking his own wares with his own particular peal.

SOURCE 14.52 Seneca, *Epistles*



Plan of the Stabian Baths

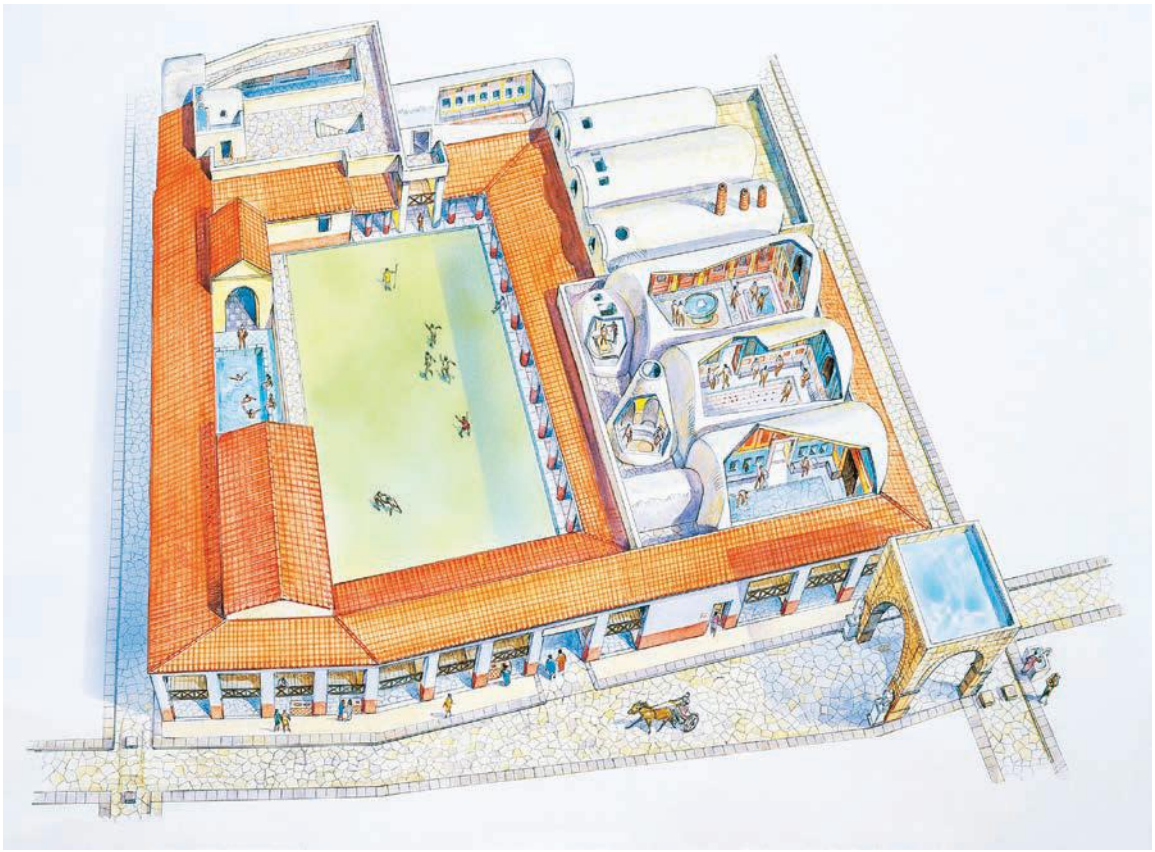
1. Palaestra
2. Swimming pool (*natatio*)
3. Entrance hall
4. Cold bath (*frigidarium; formerly a hot sweating room, laconicum*)
5. Undressing room (*apodyterium*)
6. Warm room (*tepidarium*)
7. Hot room (*caldarium*)
8. Furnaces
9. Women's *apodyterium*
10. Women's *tepidarium*
11. Women's *caldarium*
12. Latrine
13. Bath supervisor's office
14. Individual "hip bath" cubicles

SOURCE 14.53 Plan of the Stabian Baths

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SOURCE 14.54 The apodyterium at the Stabian Baths



SOURCE 14.55 Modern interpretation of a bath house

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ACTIVITY 14.6

Having examined the previous images and text sources, and in combination with your existing historical knowledge, answer the following questions.

1. Describe the leisure and entertainment of the citizens of Pompeii and Herculaneum as reflected in the evidence.
2. To what extent is the leisure and entertainment presented in the evidence a reflection of the broader Roman context of Pompeii and Herculaneum?
3. Examine the sources that focus on gladiatorial combat.
   - **a.** Explain what can be inferred about the popular view of gladiatorial games in the evidence.
   - **b.** Describe Seneca's tone in Source 14.45. What does this suggest about his view of the people who attend the games?
   - **c.** What do we learn about the *spectaculares* in Pompeii from Seneca's account? Consider the statements below, and select the most accurate – justify your response.
     - **i.** We do not know whether Seneca's account refers to Pompeii. However we can draw conclusions about *spectaculares* generally, and this can be applied to towns in the empire, including Pompeii.
     - **ii.** Nothing. It is not known whether Seneca is in Pompeii and thus it is not relevant. Other sources specific to Pompeii would be a far more valuable source of information.
     - **iii.** That they were well supported by the masses of Rome, and comprised a variety of types of combat.
     - **iv.** Although it is unknown whether this letter was referring to Pompeii specifically, we know that the games were brutal.
   - **d.** Evaluate the value of Seneca's account of the *spectaculares* as a resistant or alternative view of the games.
   - **e.** Examine the account of Tacitus in Source 14.48. What is the significance of this excerpt for the study of Pompeii?
4. Assess the extent to which the evidence suggests a connection between entertainment and politics. Explain your response using examples.
5. Evaluate what the prevalence of leisure and health-based activities suggests about the inhabitants of Pompeii.
6. Describe the features of bath houses and the activities that could be undertaken in them.
7. To what extent does the evidence provided by Seneca provide an accurate and reliable picture of events in Pompeii and Herculaneum?
8. Identify the different types of evidence that contribute to our knowledge about leisure and entertainment in Pompeii and Herculaneum.
9. Which source do you find the most interesting in building your understanding of life in Pompeii and Herculaneum? Explain your answer.

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Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument about a historical period in the Ancient World

14.6 Social structure

Social structure in the towns of Pompeii and Herculaneum is difficult to definitively identify, and various interpretations are largely shaped by the degree to which the towns were defined as 'Roman' by 79 CE. Having only formally become a Roman town in the first century BCE, the origins of many of the inhabitants were a mix of Greek, Samnite and Oscan influences (some graffiti suggests Oscan was still spoken at the time of the eruption), and the large number of inhabitants, who were descendants of slaves. There are key superficial identifiers of the 'Roman-ness' of the towns, such as temples, bath houses and amphitheatres, but the subtleties of the multicultural nature of the town, and the influence this had on social structure, are more difficult to define. Despite this, there are a range of key social structures that are reflected in the evidence, including the socially-mobile nature of the populace, freedmen and women, slaves, patron-client relationships and the role of women.

The sources below are extracts from modern Pompeiian scholars. Read them carefully, identifying any key concepts, themes, issues and ideas, before answering the activity that follows.

The impact of commerce on social structure

Historian Marcel Brion considers the social history of Pompeii.

> It is not easy to determine at what moment began the democratisation of Pompeii, a democratisation which Herculaneum never attained thus explaining the very great difference in aspect of the two cities. But the evolution was far advanced if not completed in 79, and not the least surprising fact which strikes today's visitor is the contrast between the aristocratic elegance of certain dwellings and the vulgarity of the trades or businesses established in them. This social phenomenon arose from the increasing wealth of the business class as a result of the thriving trade, operating through the medium of the port of Pompeii, between northern Italy, Greece and the countries of the East ... This commercial prosperity had raised men of the lower-middle class, often freedmen who through their ability and intelligence had made fortunes, to administrative position and the status of eminent citizens ... The social history of Pompeii reveals, simultaneous with the rise of these new-rich proletarians, the decline of the aristocracy, which did not enter into trade or business. Thus there came about, at the moment when these freedmen were greatly expanding their trading activities, an exodus of the upper class, who left a city which had become noisy, vulgar and over-run by nouveaux-riches, and retired to the country, where they devoted themselves to the cultivation of their lands, in which they achieved considerable progress. Before quitting Pompeii, they made over their elegant mansions to merchants and artisans, who set themselves up without ceremony. Hence, the wonder of today's visitors at the sight of fullers' vats set out in atria or gardens created once for the delight of some gentleman of leisure.

SOURCE 14.56 Brion, M., 1960, *Pompeii and Herculaneum: The Glory and the Grief*, Elek Books Ltd., p. 62

Men and women in society

In the following extract from a book written to accompany a BBC TV dramatisation of the destruction of Pompeii, Paul Wilkinson discusses the role of women.

> In her Campanian household a Roman woman held the respected position of mistress. Whilst servants and slaves handled most of the chores, they, in turn, were managed by the mistress of the house. Roman women usually married between the ages of 13 and 17. Until the late republic most

(continued)

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marriages were of the so-called *manus* type. This entailed the woman leaving the *patria potestas* of her own family and transferring herself and her property to her husband's *patria potestas*. There were serious disadvantages in this system, both to herself and to her family. She would no longer have access to her own wealth, and if she died, her own family would be excluded from any inheritance. The more typical marriage at Pompeii and Herculaneum excluded *manus* and was a marriage by contract before witnesses. This allowed the woman to retain her property and, more importantly, allowed her, by a declaration of will, to divorce her husband. This new type of marriage destroyed the old concept of Roman patriarchal wedlock.

As well as legal marriage, there also existed in Pompeii and Herculaneum a form of living together without legal bonds, the *concubinatus*, which gained in popularity from the time of Augustus. Yet Tacitus and other Roman writers still extolled the Roman ideal of womanhood, the chaste and obedient wife and mother who would bring up the children and be a loyal companion in good times and bad.

SOURCE 14.57 Wilkinson, P., 2003, *Pompeii: the Last Day*, BBC Books, pp. 28–30

Slaves in Pompeian society

Historians Alex Butterworth and Ray Laurence talk about Roman slaves being given their freedom.

The Roman Empire is alone among all the slave societies that have existed, in that significant numbers of those it imported in chains would eventually earn their freedom and become citizens. Although slaves were denied all rights, including over their own bodies, they could nevertheless aspire ultimately to be freed and to establish a family. They might, in due course, take pride in their own lineage in just the same way as their masters had.

On being freed, a slave took the first two parts of his master's three names as his own. We know, for example, of a Decimus Lucretius Stephanicus, who had almost certainly been a slave of Decimus Lucretius Valens known merely as Stephanicus before being freed. It was the freed slave's continued identification with their master and his family, along with the opportunity both to borrow funds and share in a network of contacts, which provided them with the platform to become such a formidable force within the economy. However, a family would have freed only their most dutiful, loyal and reliable slaves. It would have been inconceivable to let men and women who bore the precious family name loose in the world unless there was considerable confidence that they would not bring it into disrepute. The names of successful families were the Roman equivalent of commercial 'brands' and were guarded as jealously as the image rights of contemporary celebrities.

SOURCE 14.58 Butterworth, A & Laurence, R., 2005, *Pompeii: The Living City*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, pp. 20–1 & 65–6

Patrons and clients

Brian Brennan and Estelle Lazer discuss how elite members of society offered patronage to certain poorer citizens

Political life at Pompeii and Herculaneum was dominated by the patronage of poorer citizens and of particular social and business groups by members of a powerful, wealthy and influential elite. In a way similar to Rome itself, where the great senatorial families had an impressive tradition of office-holding and public service, powerful local Pompeians offered both protection and assistance to individuals. They assisted those who sought advancement in political office or desired to make connections and alliances that would help them in business or in social life. In return, the patrons expected support in elections and public recognition of their exalted status. The patron, *patronus*, could expect support from his clients, *clients*. Every *patronus* sought to outdo his rivals in the size and

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extent of his supporters, *clientela*. The number of clients who came to your house in the morning, or who accompanied you to the forum, or who cheered you in the theatre, indicated your importance. Patronage might also be extended to separate groups within the community or to the whole populace, whose support was won by offering benefits, *beneficia*. Benefits could include the provision of food, gladiatorial entertainments, public works or projects such as theatres, temples or public baths.

SOURCE 14.59 Brennan, B. & Lazer, E., 2004, 'Pompeii and Herculaneum: Interpreting the Evidence', NSW: Ancient History Seminars

Freedmen and freedwomen

Historians Alison E. Cooley and M.G.L. Coolie outline the position of freedmen and freedwomen in society.

Freedmen and freedwomen ... became increasingly prominent from the Augustan period onwards ... After their release, ex-slaves became clients of their patron and retained close connections with their original household. They might still live in the same house, and might be buried in the household's tomb at their death. Some freedmen and freedwomen promoted their patron's commercial interests. Some of their epitaphs provide intriguing glimpses of the success with which they and their families were integrated into Roman citizen society after their manumission. Freedmen were excluded from reaching the ranks of the governing class, but could achieve positions of importance and act as benefactors of the community at a lower level, in certain religious cults and as Augustales.

SOURCE 14.60 Cooley, A.E. & Cooley, M.G.L., 2013, *Pompeii and Herculaneum: A Sourcebook*, Routledge, pp. 146–7

ACTIVITY 14.7

Having read the evidence, respond to the following questions.

1. Create a diagram to demonstrate the relationships between the classes in Pompeii and Herculaneum.
2. Describe the social structure in Pompeii.
3. Evaluate the reason for differences in class composition between Pompeii and Herculaneum.
4. To what extent are the commerce and the social economics of the broader Roman Empire reflected in societies of Pompeii and Herculaneum?
5. Complete the table below.

Source	Social element	Evidence	Comment
14.56	Upwardly mobile		
14.57	Men and women		
14.58	Slaves		
14.59	Patrons and clients		
14.60	Freedmen and women		

14.7 Representations of women in Pompeii and Herculaneum

The following six sources were all found in Pompeii.

Mamia, daughter of Publius, a public priestess [built this] to the genius [of the colony and Augustus] on her own land at [her own] expense

SOURCE 14.61 The dedication of the Temple of the Lares by the priestess Mamia

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1) I beg you to make Pupius duumvir. Appuleia with her neighbour Mustius (asks), and Narcissus asks you.
2) [written on bakery (?) wall]. We beg you to make M. Casellius and L. Albucius *aediles*. Statia and Petronia ask. Such citizens (would be?) in the city forever.
3) I ask you to make A. Vettius Firmus *aedile*. He is worthy. Caprasia asks with Nymphius, together with the neighbours. (We) ask you to vote for him.
4) I beg you to elect Cn. Helvius Sabinus *aedile*, worthy of public office. Aegle asks for this.
5) I beg you to elect Cn. Helvius Sabinus *aedile*, worthy of public office. Maria asks for this.

SOURCE 14.62 Election graffiti by women

Quintus Cornelius Diphilus, freedman of Quintus and Publius, Cornelia Heraes, freedwoman of Quintus lie here and this place is given to my freedmen and freedwomen and all of mine.

Mamia, daughter of Publius, public priestess. The place of burial was given by decree of the *decuriones*.

SOURCE 14.63 Women in the family, funeral inscriptions

Inscribed marble plaque: 'Baths of Marcus Crassus Frugi with seawater and baths with fresh water. Ianuarius, freedman.'

Marble plaque in the centre of the tomb's facade, Nucerian Gate necropolis: 'To Gaius Veranius Rufus, Son of Quintus, duumvir; Veraina Clara, freedwoman of Quintus, to her excellent patron, for herself and her household.'

Inscribed marble slab: 'Publius Ancarsulenus Philadelphus, freedman of Publius, President of Mercury, Ancarsulena Eleutheris, freedwoman of Publius, freedwoman.'

SOURCE 14.64 Inscriptions pertaining to freedmen and women

Naevoleia Tyche, freedwoman of Lucius, for herself and for Gaius Munatius Fustus, Augustalis and Country District Dweller, to whom the town councillors with the consent of the people, decreed an honorific chair for his merits. Naevolia Tyche had this monument made in her lifetime for her own freedmen and freedwomen and those of Gaius Munatius Faustus.

SOURCE 14.65 Inscription on the tomb of a freedwoman outside the Herculaneum Gate

In the duumvirate of Lucius Albucius Iustus and Lucius Veranius Hypsaeus, I, Privatus, slave of the colony, have written that I have received from Lucius Caecilius Iucundus 1 652 sesterces, from the outstanding amount for the fullery before this day, 14 July.

Transacted at Pompeii, 14 August, in the consulship of A. Paconius Sabinus and A. Petronius.

SOURCE 14.66 Receipt for rental payment from Pompeii

Dr Sarah Bisel was a physical anthropologist whose analysis of the physical and chemical features of ancient skeletons provided greater insight into the nutrition and health of the populations. Source 14.67 is her report on the body of a 14-year-old girl found at Herculaneum.

I suspect she was a slave. There are scars on the upper shafts of her humeri where the pectorials major joins the bone. That means she used those bones for heavier work than she should have.

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Grooves on her teeth indicate inadequate nutrition, when she was about 11 months old, and she suffered from either sickness or starvation even to the point of death.

SOURCE 14.67 Bisel, S.C. and Bisel, J.F., 2002, 'Health and nutrition at Herculaneum: An examination of human skeletal remains', in *The Natural History of Pompeii*, ed. Jashemski, W.F. and Meyer, F.G., Cambridge University Press, p. 46

ACTIVITY 14.8

Having analysed the modern interpretations of social structure in Pompeii and Hercuaneum, read the primary sources and identify any key concepts, themes, issues and ideas, before answering these questions.

1. What does the evidence reveal about the role and status of women in this period? Cite clear and specific examples to support your answer.
2. Assess the value of the epigraphic record for historians studying women in ancient Pompeii.
3. Complete the table below.

Source	Element of society	Evidence	Comments
14.61			
14.62			
14.63			
14.64			
14.65			
14.66			
14.67			

4. What do the sources suggest about the role of women in religion and politics?
5. Go back to Activity 14.3 and consider Sources 14.18 and 14.19 which refer to Eumachia and Julia Felix. How do these change your view of women in Pompeii?
6. Having analysed and evaluated all the evidence, draw together the different views and perspectives to craft a historical paragraph in response to the following: Joseph Deiss claimed that 'by the time of Vesuvius's eruption, the Roman upper-class structure had become rigidly stratified on the basis of wealth.' Assess the validity of this statement with reference to the sources provided.

Objective 2: Devise historical questions and conduct research in relation to a historical period in the Ancient World

14.8 Researching an archaeological project in Pompeii or Herculaneum

The interpretations of Pompeii and Herculaneum and their inhabitants have changed over time, especially as new technologies have become available. Due to the sheer scope of these developments and the subsequent effects, this chapter is not able to detail the nuances of these changing interpretations, but you can undertake independent research.

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ACTIVITY 14.9

Select one of the following projects and archaeologists that aim to fill the gaps left by inadequate documentation in the early excavation stage through archival research, analysis of the existing remains and excavation below the 79 CE level. The extent of deterioration of the remains can also be studied.

For each of the following projects consider these questions:

- Who is running the project? (The person or organisation.)
- Where is the project?
- What is the purpose of the project?
- What has the project achieved?
- Other information; for example, when the project began, duration of the project and funding for the project.

The projects

- The Houses in Pompeii Project
- The Insula of Menander Project
- The Pompeian Forum Project
- Anglo-American project at Pompeii
- The British School at Rome's Pompeii Project
- Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia
- Via dell'Abbondanza Project
- The Swedish Pompeii Project
- The Villa of Oplontis Project
- Philodemus Project.

Also examine the work of some individual archaeologists:

- Wilhelmina Jashemski
- Andrew Wallace-Hadrill
- Sarah Bisel
- Estelle Lazer
- Jaye McKenzie-Clark
- Penelope Allison.

ACTIVITY 14.10

Having conducted some primary reading and selected a key project and archaeologist, respond to a question to create your own historical investigation.

You will need to:

- create an inquiry question that allows you sufficient scope to examine an aspect of the interpretation of Pompeii and Herculaneum.
- establish three historical questions and appropriate sub-questions.
- conduct research from a balance of ancient and modern historians.
- organise your findings in an appropriate manner (table, chart, infographic or video).

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Objective 6: Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose in relation to a historical period in the Ancient World

14.9 Creating a response about an archaeological project in Pompeii or Herculaneum

Based on the research you conducted in Activity 14.9, complete the following activity.

ACTIVITY 14.11

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, a British archaeologist, argued that Pompeii 'is at once the most studied and the least understood of sites. Universally familiar, its excavation and scholarship prove a nightmare of omissions and disasters. Each generation discovers with horror the extent to which information has been ignored, neglected, destroyed and left unpublished'.

Craft a well-written historical essay, article or multimodal presentation that addresses the following question: To what extent have the projects and archaeologists post-1960 fundamentally altered modern interpretations and improved our understanding of life in ancient Pompeii and Herculaneum? (You could use the above quote as a starting point.) Refer to the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 6* for the process you need to follow in order to create your response.

GO

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

- The locations of Pompeii and Herculaneum were heavily influenced by the geography of the region, especially the fertile plains and proximity to the sea.
- Vesuvius erupted in 79 CE, burying both Pompeii and Herculaneum.
- Excavation commenced in the 1700s and up until the later part of the nineteenth century was poorly done, and amounted to not much more than treasure hunting.
- Pompeii and Herculaneum are recognised as problematic sites as a result – there is much source deterioration and uncontextualised and missing artefacts.
- The sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum still provide important information that is always being extended upon and reinterpreted, especially through the likes of Estelle Lazer, Sarah Bisel and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill.
- Vital information is provided from these sites about religious practises, entertainment and leisure, occupation and trade, social structure, and so on in a provincial Roman town.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend
With reference to the information and ideas represented in this chapter, and your own knowledge, explain how new research and technologies since the 1980s have changed earlier interpretations of human remains from Pompeii and Herculaneum.

Devise
To assess the evidence, make a list of questions you should ask when examining a source.

Analyse
What does the housing reveal about society in Pompeii and Herculaneum?

Evaluate
Given the degradation and poor archaeological practices that dominated the site for so long, to what extent does Pompeii continue to be a valuable source?

Synthesise
What do sources reveal about the nature of local political life in Pompeii and Herculaneum?

Respond
Read the source below and answer the question that follows.

> Ghoulish as they are, for most of us (me included), these bodies are always one of the highlights of any display of the discoveries from Pompeii (and a group of them will be starring in an upcoming exhibition at the British Museum). ... The truth is, though, that they are not actually bodies at all. They are the product of a clever bit of archaeological ingenuity, going back to the 1860s.

SOURCE 14.68 Beard, M., 2013, 'Pompeii's not-so-ancient Roman Remains', *BBC News Magazine*

To what extent do the plaster casts of deceased Pompeiian residents represent a master stroke of archaeological ingenuity?

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Assessment

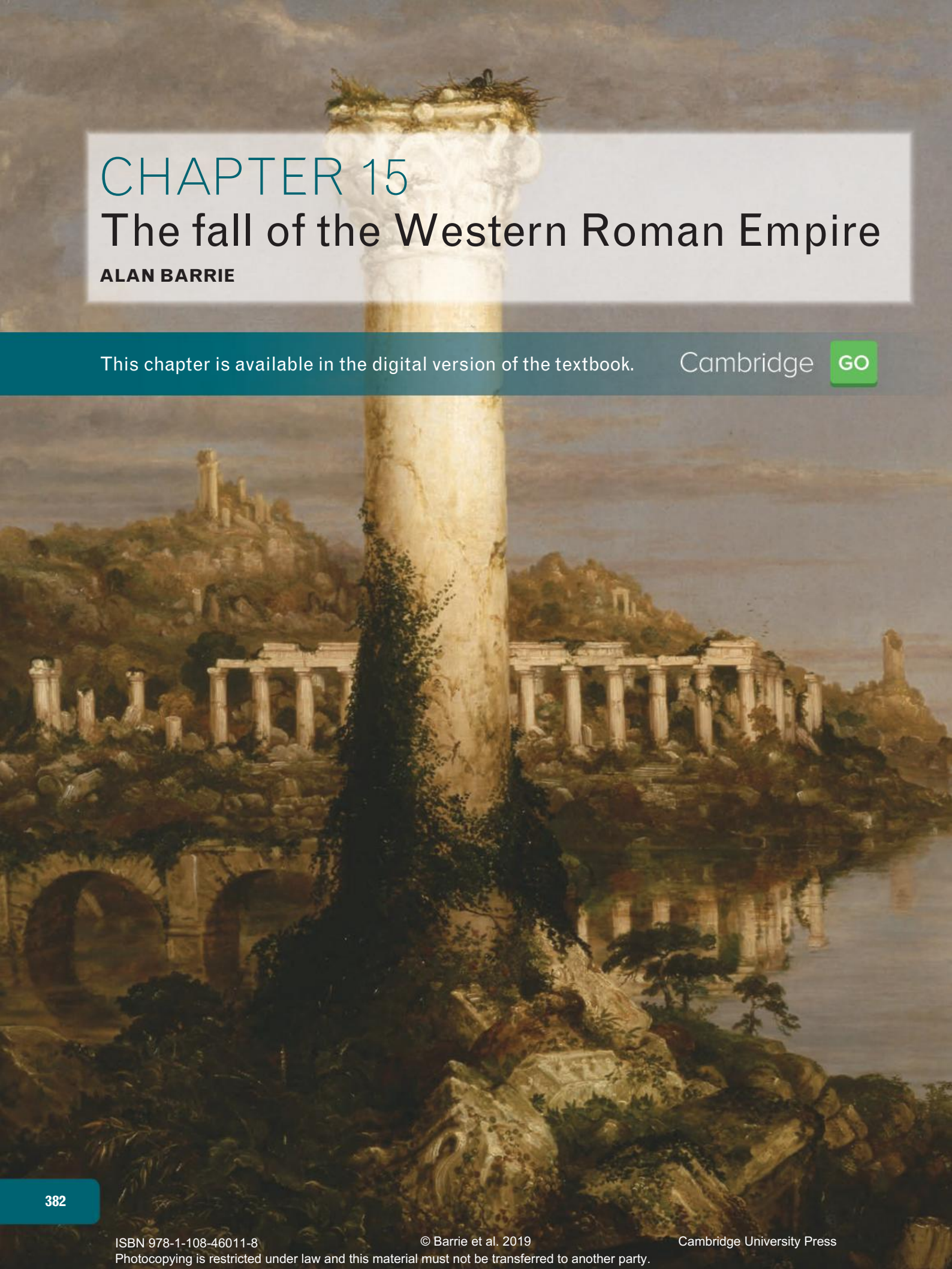
Examination-style questions

1. Evaluate the limitations of the evidence with reference to the role of women in Pompeii and Herculaneum.
2. Discuss the significance of religion for the people of Pompeii and Herculaneum
3. Compare the destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum with Thera. What are the similarities and differences?
4. What does the evidence reveal about political life in a Roman provincial town?
5. To what extent is the statement that 'commercial life in Pompeii was inactive' accurate?
6. To what extent does the evidence reflect the religious ideals of everyday Pompeiians?
7. Evaluate the following statement: Leisure and entertainment in Pompeii was a reflection of the Empire in the first century CE.

Investigation tasks

1. Assess the work of Estelle Lazer in contributing to our knowledge of the physicality of the inhabitants of Pompeii.
2. Investigate the representation of wealthy elite in the towns.
3. How do the inhabitants of Pompeii compare to those from Herculaneum?

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CHAPTER 15
The fall of the Western Roman Empire

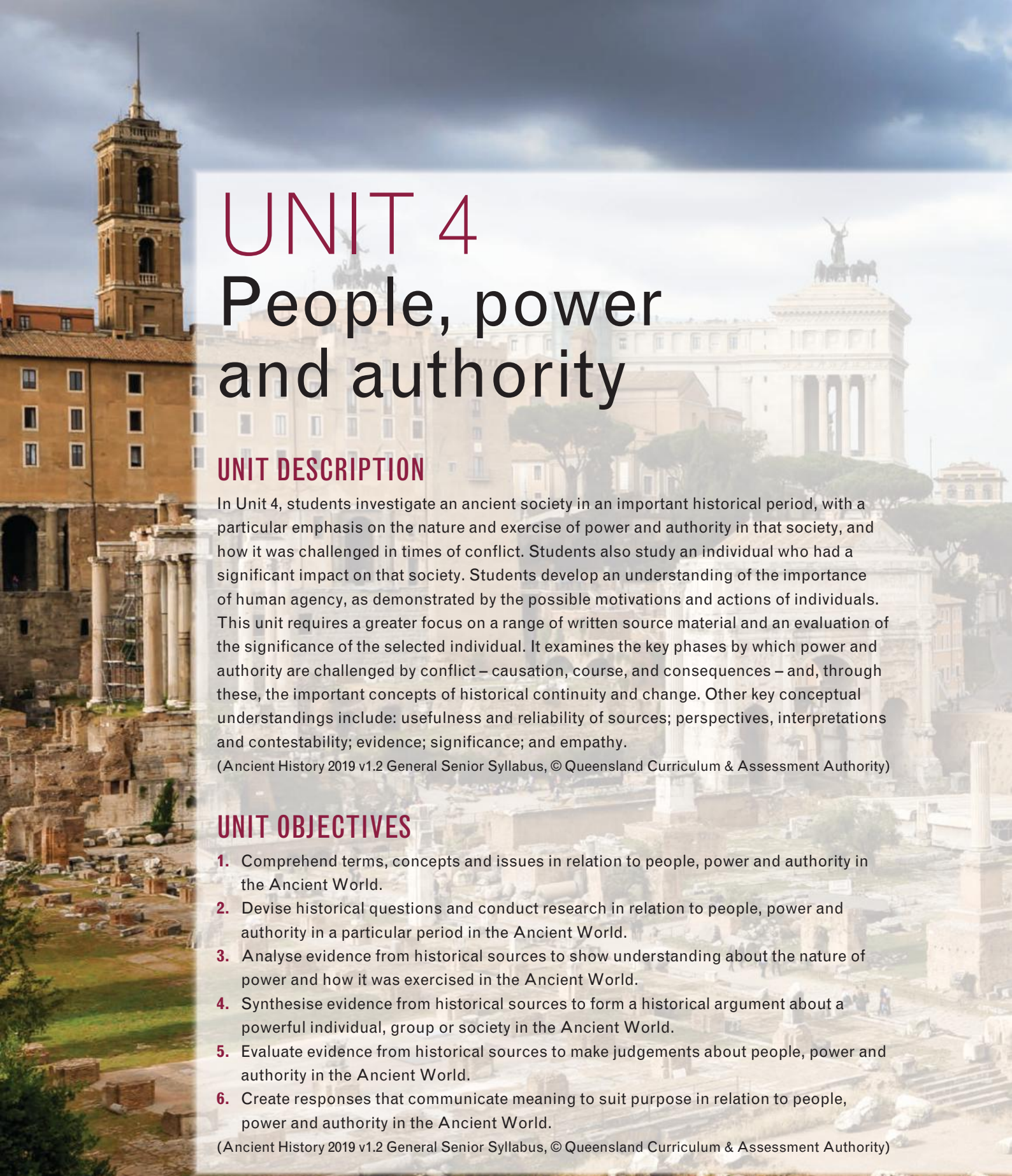
ALAN BARRIE

This chapter is available in the digital version of the textbook. Cambridge GO

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UNIT 4
People, power and authority

UNIT DESCRIPTION

In Unit 4, students investigate an ancient society in an important historical period, with a particular emphasis on the nature and exercise of power and authority in that society, and how it was challenged in times of conflict. Students also study an individual who had a significant impact on that society. Students develop an understanding of the importance of human agency, as demonstrated by the possible motivations and actions of individuals. This unit requires a greater focus on a range of written source material and an evaluation of the significance of the selected individual. It examines the key phases by which power and authority are challenged by conflict – causation, course, and consequences – and, through these, the important concepts of historical continuity and change. Other key conceptual understandings include: usefulness and reliability of sources; perspectives, interpretations and contestability; evidence; significance; and empathy.

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UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to people, power and authority in the Ancient World.
2. Devise historical questions and conduct research in relation to people, power and authority in a particular period in the Ancient World.
3. Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the nature of power and how it was exercised in the Ancient World.
4. Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument about a powerful individual, group or society in the Ancient World.
5. Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about people, power and authority in the Ancient World.
6. Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose in relation to people, power and authority in the Ancient World.

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KEY CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDINGS

- usefulness and reliability of sources
- perspectives
- interpretations and contestability
- evidence
- continuity and change
- cause and effect
- significance
- empathy.

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KEY INQUIRY QUESTIONS

- How was power and authority gained, maintained and challenged in the Ancient World?
- How does this understanding inform our modern perspectives on power?

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CHAPTERS IN THIS UNIT

CHAPTER	
Powers	*Material on the Persian Wars and the Peloponnesian War can be found in the downloadable resources. This can be used in conjunction with sources in Chapter 19 (Themistokles) and Chapter 20 (Alkibiades) for full study of these topics.*
Chapter 16	Ancient Rome: civil war and the breakdown of the Republic
Individuals	
Chapter 17	Thutmose III (DIGITAL CHAPTER)
Chapter 18	Rameses II
Chapter 19	Themistokles
Chapter 20	Alkibiades (DIGITAL CHAPTER)
Chapter 21	Scipio Africanus (DIGITAL CHAPTER)
Chapter 22	Julius Caesar (DIGITAL CHAPTER)
Chapter 23	Augustus

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CHAPTER 16
Ancient Rome: civil war and the breakdown of the Republic

JENNA HAYWOOD

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this contextual study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - the nature of power and authority, what is meant by the term 'power', how power has been viewed over time, and the kinds of groups and individuals who have exercised power over time.
  - the historical and geographical context of the Roman Republic.
  - an overview of key developments.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about:
  - key archaeological and written sources for the period.
  - the nature and range of sources for the period and the identification of key issues related to the investigation of sources; for example, authentication, excavation, reconstruction and/or conservation, and incompleteness and/or fragmentary nature.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to how power was exercised, and the change and development that led to civil war and the breakdown of the Republic.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding.
- synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - the limitations, reliability and usefulness of sources.
  - changing interpretations of sources over time and their influence on understanding of the period.
- devise historical questions and conduct research, and create a response that communicates meaning to suit purpose by presenting a historical essay based on research.

KEY DATES

753 BCE	509 BCE	Fifth century BCE	Mid-fifth century BCE	108 BCE
According to legend, Rome founded by Latin prince Romulus	Last king of Rome, Lucius Tarquinus Superbus, is expelled	Deep antagonism develops between patricians and plebeians – patricians had economic and social control of society while plebeians had virtually no rights. Beginning of Struggle of the Orders	The Twelve Tables are written. These were the first codified (written) laws and were publically displayed for all to read. The laws aimed to address class inequality	*Lex Villia Annalis* law establishes the *cursus honorum*

SOURCE 16.1 The Roman Forum as viewed from the Palatine Hill

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Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - how historians and theorists have debated the nature of power and the way it is exercised.
  - the historical significance of the study of power during the civil war and breakdown of the Republic.

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SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

- Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus
- Gaius Marius
- Sulla
- Pompey the Great
- Julius Caesar
- Crassus
- Cicero
- Catiline
- Lepidus
- Octavian
- Mark Antony
- Cleopatra.

133 BCE	123 BCE	111–89 BCE	88 BCE	86 BCE
Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus elected Tribune of the Plebs. He is assassinated as he attempts to stand for re-election (a second consecutive term was unprecedented and likely illegal)	Gaius Gracchus (younger brother of Tiberius, together they are known as the Gracchi) elected Tribune of the Plebs. Serves two consecutive terms, but dies in 121 BCE	Rome engages in successive wars against foreign powers, including Jugurtha, Germanic tribes in southern France and alpine Italy, and other allied cities in Italy	Civil war between Marius and Sulla	Marius dies

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MAPS

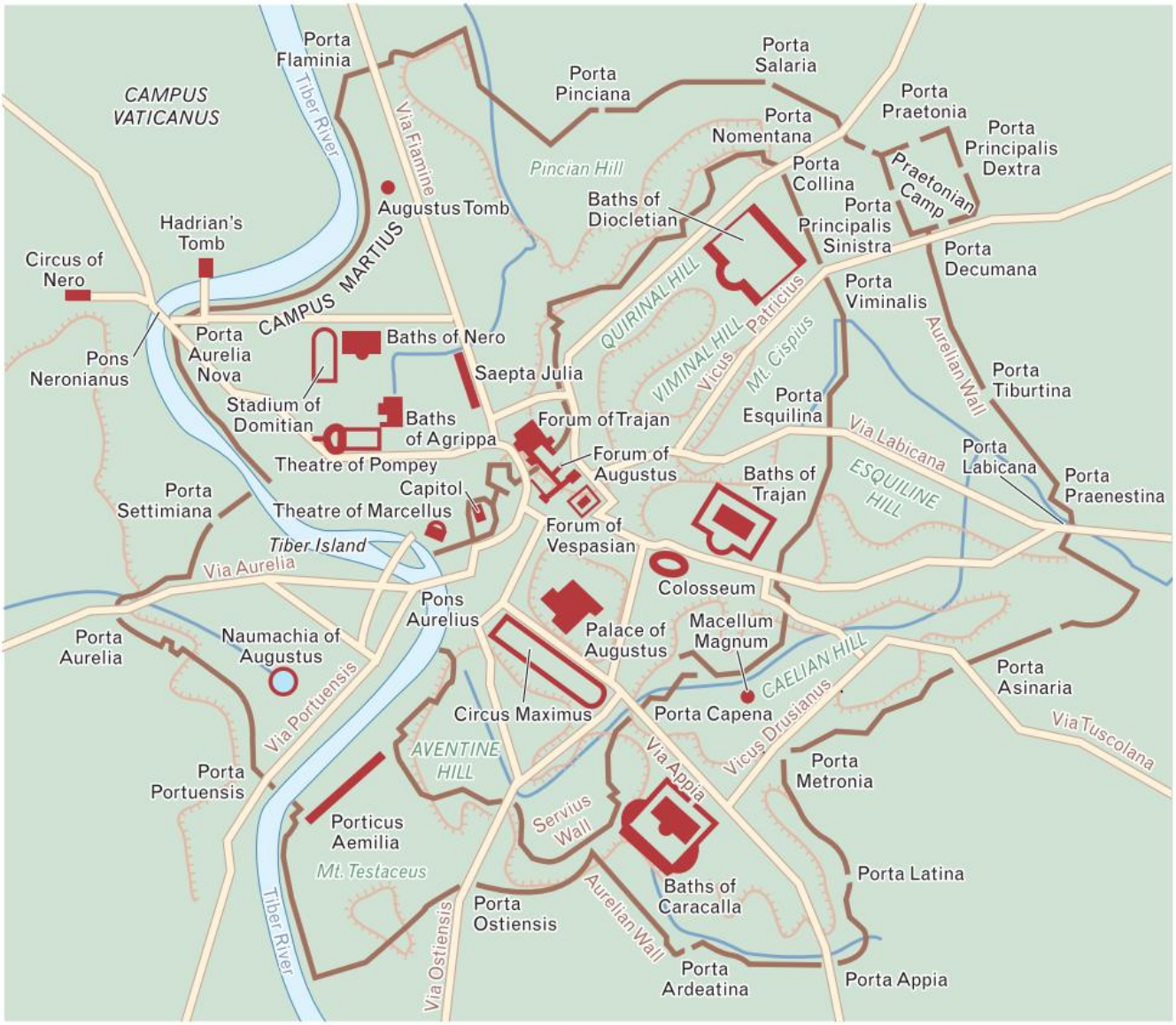


SOURCE 16.2 Roman expansion. What facilitated the rapid expansion of territory under Roman control?

83–82 BCE	78 BCE	70 BCE	67–66 BCE	60 BCE
Continuation of civil war between Sulla and Marian supporters	Sulla dies	Pompey elected consul after successful military career and rise in popularity	Pompey wages successful wars against Mithridates (King of Pontus in Northern Turkey) and piracy in the Mediterranean	First Triumvirate between Caesar, Pompey and Marcus Crassus. Caesar elected consul the following year. Crassus dies in 53 BCE

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SOURCE 16.3 Map of Rome. What features on this map can you identify on modern satellite imagery?

60–51 BCE	50 BCE	49 BCE
Caesar wages successive campaigns in Gaul (France) against the Germanic tribes. He is also the first to invade Britain. Gaul is firmly in Roman control by 51 BCE with the surrender of Vercingetorix at Alesia. Caesar's success sees his popularity with the people and his soldiers skyrocket. During Caesar's absence, Pompey emerges as the sole power in Rome	Pompey given command over all Italian forces to march against Caesar, who refused to disband his army at the conclusion of Gallic campaign	Caesar crosses the Rubicon River (the traditional border between Rome and her provinces where legions were disbanded and *imperium* held by generals ceased) with his army intact, effectively declaring war on Rome

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

TERM	DEFINITION
assemblies	various groups which held voting authority in the Republic; membership of assemblies varied; the Senate was the only one with authority to make laws
client	a freeman who made an agreement with a patron (man of wealth) for protection (financial and legal assistance); by the first century BCE, the system had become hereditary
consul	most powerful position of the *cursus honorum*
cursus honorum	structure of magistracies (positions) within the Republican political system; set out minimum standards of experience and age for each position
dictator	magistracy position enacted by the Senate in times of crisis, for a limited term; the dictator had *imperium* over all other magistracies
equites	a middle class that grew during the second and third centuries BCE as provision was made for plebeians who could afford to equip their own horse to enlist in the cavalry
imperium	Latin for power to command; applied to magistracy positions that had ultimate control and authority at their level
legion	largest unit of soldiers within the army; approximately 4500 men
Lex Agraria	land and property reforms introduced in 133 BCE by Tiberius Gracchus intended to address the economic and social gap between classes
magister equitum	Latin for master of the horse; lieutenant appointed to serve a dictator
mos maiorum	ancestral customs; Roman traditions that informed social behaviour and etiquette; separate but complementary to the legal law
novus homo	Latin for new man; applied to men who were the first in their family to serve as consul; the definition later widened to include the first man in a family to serve the Senate

48 BCE	45 BCE	44 BCE	44–42 BCE
Caesar defeats Pompey at Dyrrachium and Pharsalus. Pompey flees to Egypt but is murdered soon after his arrival	Caesar consolidates power, effectively taking sole control of the Roman world	Caesar declared dictator for life, along with multiple other honours. On the 15th (Ides) of March, he is assassinated by a conspiracy led by Brutus and Cassius (ex-supporters of Pompey who had been pardoned by Caesar)	Civil war between supporters of Caesar's and the conspirators ends with defeat of Brutus and Cassius at the Battle of Philippi

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TERM	DEFINITION
optimate	Latin for best men; a political faction that included most of the aristocracy. They wanted to maintain traditional Roman values and the power of the Senate
pater familias	Latin for father of the family; the eldest male within a family group held absolute authority over their wife, children, certain other relatives, clients and slaves; his responsibilities were guided by *mos maiorum*
pater patriae	Latin for father of the country
patria potestas	Latin for power of a father; the power and authority held by the *pater familias*
patrician	wealthy social class; small group of privileged elite who came from old aristocratic families
plebeian	lower social class; the majority of Rome's population
pontifex maximus	chief priest of Rome
populares	political faction that believed success could be achieved by working with the people
sacrosanctity	the declaration that something is sacred or under religious protection; at this time, the position of tribune was sacrosanct
Senate	oldest and most powerful assembly in the Republic. It had the legislative power to make laws but its membership was dominated by the patricians
***Senatus Populusque Romanus* (SPQR)**	The Senate and People of Rome; used in reference to the government of the people
Struggle of the Orders	series of conflicts between plebeians and patricians in the second and third centuries BCE due to increasing social, economic and political disparity between the classes
tribune	magistracy position representing the plebeian class; an annual term
tribunicia potestas	tribune's power to veto decisions
Triumvirate	joint rule between three individuals; termed *triumvirs*. The first century BCE saw two Triumvirates: a) Julius Caesar, Pompey the Great, Crassus b) Octavian, Marc Antony, Lepidus.

43 BCE	40 BCE	32 BCE	31 BCE
Second Triumvirate between Octavian, Mark Antony and Lepidus	Treaty of Brundisium, dividing control of Roman territory between Antony and Octavian. Mark Antony begins relationship with Cleopatra, despite marriage to Octavian's sister	Rumours spread that Mark Antony is going to make Cleopatra Queen of Rome. Senate declares war on Mark Antony and Cleopatra	Octavian defeats Mark Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium. Both commit suicide on their return to Egypt. Octavian returns to Rome a hero

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Introduction

When Rome expelled her last king in 509 BCE, a republic was established with the intention that it should represent all of the people within Rome through a system of assemblies and magistracies. However, as Rome grew in power and controlled more of the regions around the Mediterranean, the system failed to adapt and change with this growth. Consequently, a large social, political and economic disparity emerged between the two main social classes – the patricians and plebeians. Beginning in the middle of the second century BCE, a succession of individuals began to expose the flaws in the system as they sought power for themselves, rather than using it for the public good. This resulted in 100 years of civil war between various powerful generals and the aristocratic Senate. Arguably, the Republic collapsed due to the combination of actions of key individuals and the socio-political climate at the time. Sources from the period form a valuable account of the vast difference in opinion held by those at the time.

Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to people, power and authority in the Ancient World

When examining the breakdown of the Roman Republic, it is important to understand how the Roman political system was designed to work to see its weaknesses and later failures. This will enable you to identify causes and consequences, along with continuity and change over time.

16.1 Nature of power and authority

> Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely.

SOURCE 16.4 Dalberg Acton, J., 1st Baron Acton, April 5 1887, Letter to Bishop Creighton

Classical history features many stories of the strong and powerful. In a time when military prowess was a key means of getting further in life, having power and authority enabled individuals to achieve fame and glory.

In the decline of the Roman Republic, it is important to distinguish between power and authority. German sociologist Max Weber defined power as the ability to exercise one's will over others, and authority as power that is accepted by others who agree to follow it. He argued there were three types of authority: charismatic (deriving from strength of personality), bureaucratic (given to a person by the law) and traditional (from established customs, such as inherited positions).

As you explore the complex reasons behind the collapse of the Republic, you will see that investing power or authority in the hands of individuals, rather than keeping the balance between all elements of the system, had serious repercussions. The people of the Republic did not realise this lesson and it eventually led to the downfall of the Republic itself. The powerful individuals in this chapter all had some combination of authority and power.

ACTIVITY 16.1

Read Source 16.4. How does this understanding inform our modern views on power? You may like to consider current social and political conflicts in Australia and globally in your response.

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ACTIVITY 16.2

1. How would you explain the difference between power and authority?
2. Can you identify any personalities in history who you believe had power and authority? (Extension question: Was the combination of both essential to their success? Why or why not?)
3. Can you identify any personalities in history who had only power or authority?
4. How did the lack of one affect their leadership or position?

16.2 Historical and geographical context of the Roman Republic

Historical context

The foundation of Rome is steeped in legend, and was a source of pride to the Roman people.

The most common story centres on the Trojan hero Aeneas. Ancient Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus says:

> Aeneas, coming from the land of the Molossians, founded Rome with Odysseus.

SOURCE 16.5 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 7 BCE, *Roman Antiquities*, Book 1, 72.182–3

The Greek victory at Troy sent the Trojan people wandering, and some of them, including Aeneas, settled in the area of Lavinium.' The story of Aeneas's arrival in Italy is recorded in Livy's poem *The Aeneid* (29–19 BCE). These people came to be known as the 'Latins'.

Later, two descendants of Aeneas, the princes Romulus and Remus, were spared a death sentence ordered by King Amulius and set adrift on the River Tiber. The river god ensured they were carried safely downstream where they were discovered and cared for by a female wolf. This part of the story is immortalised in the iconic Capitoline Wolf sculpture. Eventually, a local shepherd discovered Romulus and Remus and raised them as if they were his own sons. When they had grown, the two set out to found their own city, but argued over the location. Romulus wanted to build their city on the Palatine Hill, but Remus preferred the Aventine Hill. This is described by Livy in his *History of Rome*:



SOURCE 16.6 The Capitoline Wolf (Lupa Capitolina): the wolf statue dates from the eleventh and twelfth centuries CE and is cast in bronze, the two twins were a fifteenth century addition. Why would the two twins have been added in the fifteenth century?

> Romulus and Remus ... were suddenly seized by an urge to found a new settlement on the spot where they had been left to drown as infants and had been subsequently brought up. There was, in point of fact, already an excess of population at Alba ... For this purpose Romulus took the Palatine Hill

SOURCE 16.7 Livy, 27 BCE, *History of Rome*, Book 1, 6.3–4

After much argument, Romulus killed Remus. The date of Remus's death marks the foundation of Rome – generally acknowledged as 21 April 753 BCE.

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ACTIVITY 16.3

1. Why might the Romans be happy to accept these myths about the foundation of their city?
2. What parallels can you see between the legend of Romulus and Remus, and any other stories you know?

Archaeological evidence suggests that by the eighth century BCE, a series of small villages were scattered over the seven hills of modern Rome. These villages grew and blended into a distinct community, which came into contact with travelling Greeks and the Etruscan people to the north. By the end of the seventh century BCE, a marketplace (the Forum) was added after part of the marshy site was drained.

Geographical context

The central geographic location of Rome within Italy and the wider Mediterranean played a large part in its rise to dominance. At its height, the Roman Empire included land that today covers more than 25 countries.

ACTIVITY 16.4

1. Using a copy of Source 16.9 (see the next page), mark the locations of the following:
   - **a.** rivers: Po, Arno, Tiber
   - **b.** seas: Adriatic, Tyrrhenian, Ionian
   - **c.** plains: Etruria, Latium, Campania
   - **d.** mountain ranges: Alps, Apennine
   - **e.** islands: Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica
   - **f.** cities: Rome.
2. Where do you think most of the settlement in Italy occurred? Why? (Consider the position of rivers, plains, mountain ranges and so on.)
3. In which direction do you think it would have been most natural for the Romans to expand?
4. In the first century BCE, Roman statesman Cicero wrote the following.

> How, then, could Romulus have acted with a wisdom more divine, both availing himself of all the advantages of the sea and avoiding its disadvantages, than by placing his city on the bank of a never-failing river whose broad stream flows with unvarying current into the sea? Such a river enables the city to use both the sea for importing what it lacks and for exporting what it produces ... and by means of it likewise the city can ... obtain from the land, carried on its waters, whatever is the most essential for its life and civilisation. Consequently, it seems to me that Romulus must have had a divine intimation that the city would one day be the seat and hearth-stone of a mighty empire

SOURCE 16.8 Cicero, 54 BCE, *De re publica*, Book 2

   - **a.** Why does Cicero believe Romulus made the right choice in placing Rome where he did?
   - **b.** How far do Cicero's comments appear to agree with the geographical features indicated on the map?

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SOURCE 16.9 A relief map of Italy

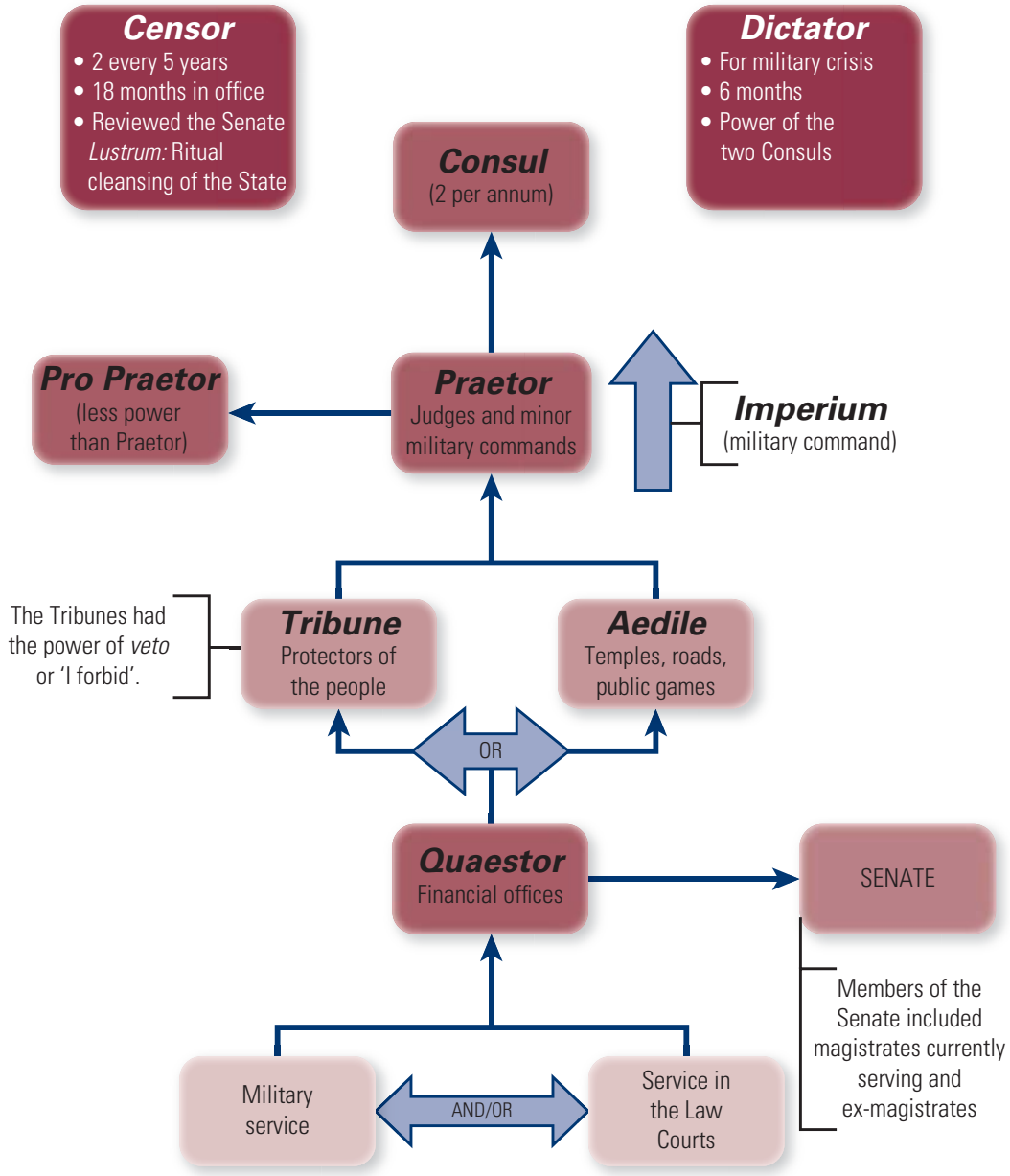
16.3 Political structures in the Republic

When the last king of Rome was expelled in 509 BCE, a constitution was developed that aimed to represent the unified and independent mindset of the new Republic. As the system developed in the centuries following 509 BCE, the constitution created new institutions so that the Republic would fulfill the driving concept of *Senatus Populusque Romanus* or 'SPQR' – The Senate and People of Rome. The people would work with the Senate through various elected magistracies and assemblies to collectively govern Rome. Power would be invested in the hands of many, not few or one. After their experiences of being ruled by a monarchy, Romans feared the threat that overwhelming power vested in one person, such as a king, presented.

The magistracies

Various magistracies (or political positions) were responsible for ensuring the effective day-to-day running of the Republic. The *cursus honorum* provided the structural framework for these positions. All positions were re-elected annually with the exception of censor (18 months) and dictator (a position only created and filled in times of crisis for a maximum of six months). Minimum ages and levels of prior military or legal experience were also set to ensure that those holding such positions had the capability to do what the job required.

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SOURCE 16.10 The ladder of honours (*Cursus Honorum*)

TABLE 16.1 The Roman magistrate

The Roman magistrates							
	Consuls	**Praetors**	**Aediles**	**Quaestors**	**Tribunes**	**Censors**	**Dictator**
Number	2	1 > 2 > 6 > 8 > 16	4	2 > 4 > 8 > 20 > 40	Originally 2 – later 10 by mid-fifth century BCE	2	1

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TABLE 16.1 *(continued)*

The Roman magistrates							
	Consuls	**Praetors**	**Aediles**	**Quaestors**	**Tribunes**	**Censors**	**Dictator**
Origin	Replaced king in 509 BCE	366 BCE: created by patricians to offset opening of consulship to Plebeians	Plebeian in 494 BCE	One of the earliest officials – probably dated back to kings. Helped the consuls	494 BCE: after the First Secession of the Plebs	443 BCE: to cope with increasing business of magistrates	First dictator supposedly in 501 BCE
Functions	Chief officials. Commanded army, summoned the Senate, conducted elections and became governors of provinces upon retirement	Judicial officials. City praetor was the supreme civil judge. Usually went on to govern the provinces	Local government officials. Regulation of markets, care of streets and buildings, police duties, organisation of games and festivals	Financial officials. Managed taxes, treasury, army pay and all monetary matters	People's officials. Defended the interests of the plebeians	Registrars. In charge of census and public morals, superintended various public works	Emergency appointment only. Had complete power while in office

ACTIVITY 16.5

Using Table 16.1, which details functions of various magistrate positions and the *cursus honorum* diagram, complete the following questions.

1. In small groups, develop a game to test your knowledge of the ***cursus honorum***. You could use online resources (for example, Quizlet, Kahoot) or base your game on an existing one.
2. Why do you think the number of praetors and quaestors increased but the other magistracies remained constant?
3. Decide which magistrate would have dealt with the following situations:
   - **a.** collecting taxes from a new province
   - **b.** keeping a register of contracts
   - **c.** paying the soldiers and generals in the army
   - **d.** allocating work gangs to fix holes in the road
   - **e.** accepting the responsibility of governing a province
   - **f.** selecting participants for the gladiatorial games

(continued)

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ACTIVITY 16.5 continued

g. registering the birth of a new baby
h. appealing against a proposal not in the best interest of the people
i. judging civil disputes between citizens
j. leading the army in times of military crisis
k. implementing senatorial decisions
l. expelling a senator for lax morality
m. nominating an older person for a position as senator
n. classifying people in order to determine political rights and military duties.

Those in the highest positions were vested with *imperium* and were recognised by the *auctoritas* (authority) that they held. This prestige filtered through to the holder's family – descendants of consuls were called *nobiles*. The elevation in social status of an entire family assisted in the development of a social elite. Voters often preferred *nobiles* because of the respect and prestige conferred on the family. This meant that elections were more about an individual's family connections rather than the individual themselves. Thus the creation of a public image through carefully orchestrated friendships and marriages became key to political success. The expectation of success was so high that should a son fail to achieve similar levels of prestige as his ancestors, it would be akin to bringing shame upon the family. This disparity between families, and eventually social classes, contributed to the collapse of the Republic.

The Assemblies

Four main assemblies were part of the Republic's political system. Every male citizen was eligible to vote on legislation and the election of magistrates, the assemblies met only to vote – not to discuss or initiate action. Legislation was initiated by an individual magistrate, developed in the Senate, and then taken to the respective assembly for voting. No amendments were permissible. The task of the assembly was simply to vote yes or no. For further details on the individual assemblies and how they interacted with the various magistracies, see Source 16.11.

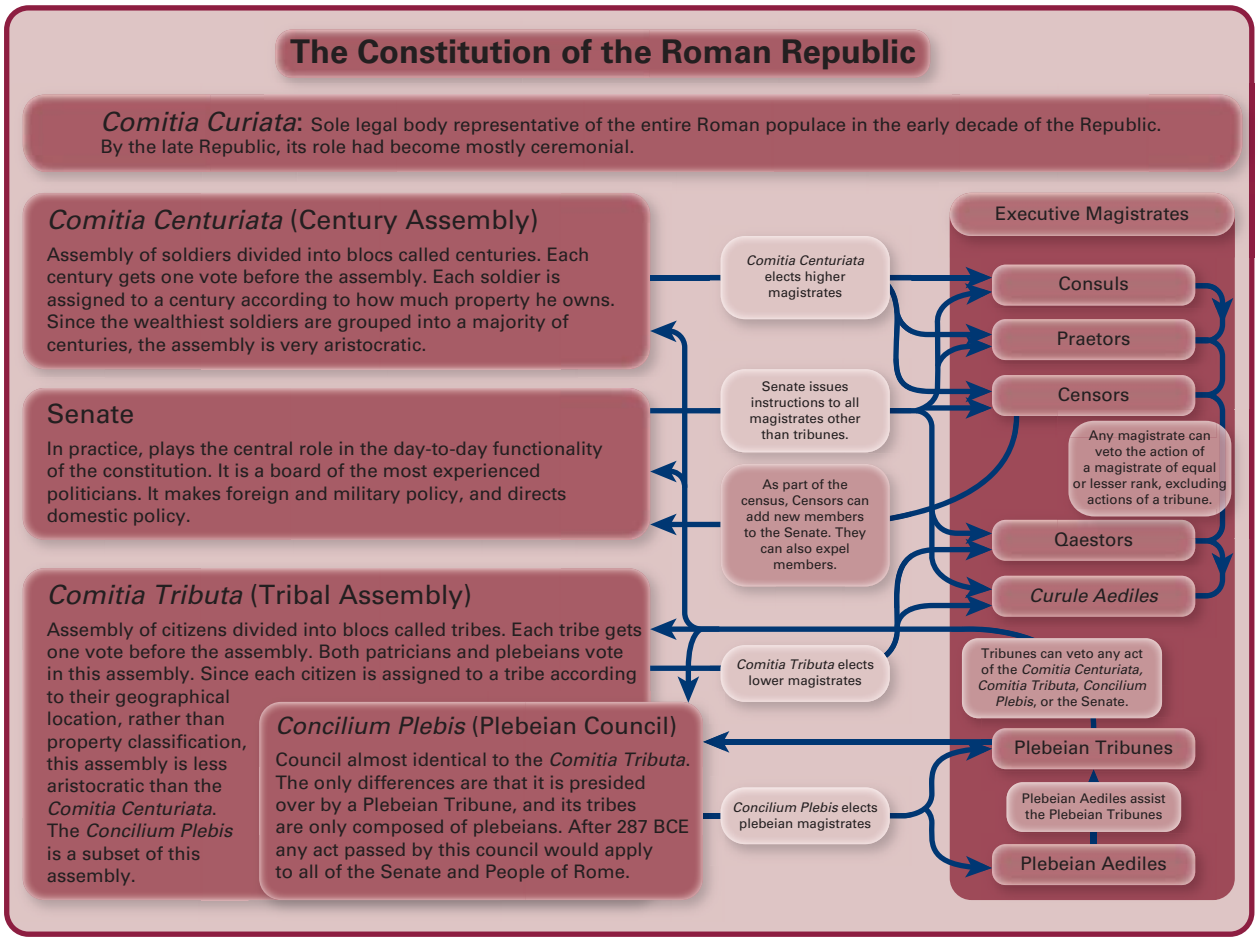
The Senate

Before the expulsion of the last king of Rome, the Senate was a body comprising local clan leaders who advised the monarch. They were an advisory body only. All legislative and judicial powers rested entirely with the king. Once the Republic was established, the Senate considered itself the guardian of the new constitution. It grew in prestige during the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE) thanks to its authority to grant military commands. When commanders were successful, it reflected positively on the Senate. The source of the Senate's power lay in the ancestral custom of *mos maiorum*. This unwritten code of values, whereby supreme authority lies in the hands of the elders, gave the Senate an informal ability to make decisions without the formal legal authority to do so. As the Republic grew, the appointment of individuals to the Senate began to follow less stringent guidelines.

Inherent problems

In theory, the system of assemblies established in the Republic was equitable. As Rome expanded its influence a variety of inherent problems emerged:

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SOURCE 16.11 The Constitution of the Roman Republic

1. In order to vote, an individual had to be physically present. The expanding Republic often drew people away on campaign or business. If they could not attend, their vote was not counted.
2. Senators and patricians often used their influence to sway the voting, essentially monopolising political decisions.
3. Senators controlled what legislation came before the assemblies. In that sense, the Republic was arguably more oligarchic than truly democratic.

The Struggle of the Orders

The growing domination of the patricians over political affairs caused resentment and tension between the patricians and plebeians. The patricians had economic and social control over society, and as the plebeians had virtually no rights, their economic situation was steadily becoming more desperate. From 500 BCE, the plebeians began to challenge patrician control, and aimed to reduce the widening gulf between the privileged few and the majority. This series of conflicts has been termed the Struggle of the Orders.

Without access to legal and political processes, the plebeians had little chance of improving their economic, social or religious status. During Rome's wars of expansion, the plebeians were the ones away from home on unpaid military service (landowners were obliged to serve when called upon). They often returned home after years abroad to discover their lands and homes in ruin. The main grievances of the plebeians are outlined in the table below.

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TABLE 16.2 Grievances of the plebeians

Injustice	Description
Political	– patricians monopolised government – only active political role was to vote in *comitia centuriata*
Social	– no plebeian could marry a patrician, perpetuating social divisions – even if financially prosperous, they were regarded as inferior – patricians wore distinguishing clothes
Economic	– many plebeians were poor and ran the risk of being enslaved for debt – excluded from sharing in public land
Religious	– plebeians were excluded from (politically important) priestly offices
Legal	– laws were unwritten and plebeians subject to whim of patricians with no right of appeal

One of the plebians' first moves was to establish their own assembly, the *Concilium Plebis*. The assembly was only officially recognised in 471 BCE, due to the sheer weight of public support for it. Decrees passed by the *Concilium Plebis* were initially only binding on its members, but this changed in 287 BCE when they became applicable to the Senate and people. Patricians were excluded from participation in the plebeian assembly, and it had the right to veto any legislation passed by the Senate.

The next task the plebeians tackled was the codification of laws. Until the mid-fifth century BCE, laws were not written down or published for the information of all people. Magistrates could make any decisions they liked, and plebeians did not have the knowledge or evidence to argue their case. The first codification of Roman laws became known as the Twelve Tables. The twelve bronze tablets were displayed publicly in the Forum for all people to read and theoretically they remained the basic law of Rome for 1000 years. In reality, many laws were forgotten and ignored.

Gradually, access to public office was granted to the plebeians, and laws banning intermarriage between plebeians and patricians were changed. The execution of insolvent debtors was also outlawed. Wealthy plebeians benefitted the most from these changes. Many accrued more wealth than patricians thanks to their business acumen as merchants. These plebians' wealth made them eligible for recruitment into the cavalry. Consequently, their involvement in the cavalry saw the emergence of a new middle-class in Rome – the *equite*.

The Struggle of the Orders did not eliminate the plebians' main grievance: the privileged position of the patricians. The patricians retained control over most government institutions, and land ownership continued to be the key to political power and office. The wars of expansion made the rich wealthier as they gained control of more land, and the poor continued to be excluded from power.

16.4 Tiberius Gracchus

The situation in 133 BCE

When Tiberius Gracchus was elected Tribune of the Plebs in 133 BCE, Rome was suffering from significant internal struggles. While the Republic had grown substantially, the internal governing structures had not been adapted to suit the new conditions.

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TABLE 16.4 The problems facing Roman society in 133 BCE

The main problems
• Wars of expansion had changed Rome from a simple rural society into a complex imperial state (with all the accompanying problems). • Wars of expansion had dramatically increased the numbers of slaves in Rome, damaging existing economic structures. • The emergence of *equites* as an upper-middle class caused a problem for patricians – they could not engage in trade or business, but the *equites* could. Consequently, the *equites* became wealthier. • Increased contact with Greece saw the arrival of Hellenism, which was particularly influential on religion and education. • Men who owned small farms often returned from their time on campaigns with the army to find their farms and homes ruined. The number of volunteers – the backbone of the Roman army – began to decline. • Senatorial factions emerged and began to block each other's reforms.

Who was Tiberius?

According to Roman historian Velleius Paterculus, Tiberius Gracchus was:

> a man otherwise of complete integrity of life, of brilliant intellect, of great consistency of purpose, in short, equipped with all the qualities as the human condition allows when brought to perfection both by nature and effort

SOURCE 16.12 Velleius Paterculus, c. 30 BCE, *Roman History*, Book 2, 2.2

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus

Born: c. 169–164 BCE
Died: 133 BCE

- Father: Tiberius Gracchus the Elder, one of the most powerful men in Rome during the second century BCE who had held positions of consul, censor and provincial governor. Many of his opponents considered him a political opportunist.
- Mother: Cornelia Africana (daughter of Scipio Africanus – general responsible for defeating Hannibal at the Battle of Zama in 202 BCE).
- Upbringing: Cornelia carefully supervised his education – a balance of traditional Roman values and the best of Greek learning. His Greek education meant that he often associated with liberal aristocrats and intellectuals.

Tiberius's career in politics didn't begin well. While quaestor, he was sent to Spain as part of a contingent to fight the Numantines. To save the defeated Roman army, Tiberius managed to arrange a treaty with the Numantines. While the Roman people were thrilled, and hailed Tiberius as a hero for returning their loved ones safely, the Senate was angry that he had stepped beyond the boundaries of his position, and refused to ratify the treaty. This experience with the Senate, along with the suffering of the Roman people he had seen while on campaign, motivated Tiberius to run as Tribune of the Plebs. He was successfully elected in 133 BCE.

The *Lex Agraria*

Using his position as Tribune, Tiberius wanted to pass reforms that would alleviate the suffering of the poor. The bill proposed that:

- Small farms would be created out of land acquired after the Second Punic War and given to those who had lost land previously or were unemployed.
- New owners were to pay a small rent, and were forbidden to sell their holdings.
- Present landowners could not keep more than 130 hectares.

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The bill aimed to redistribute land to the poor and enable those with no source of income or employment to establish farms. Increasing the number of landowners also made it possible for these people to become involved in politics – reducing the monopoly that the wealthy had on political power and authority – and it also provided more troops for the Roman army. Its provisions further aimed to stop aristocrats, who would have land taken from them, from seeking revenge.

Tiberius vs the Senate

Tiberius's true intensions behind the *Lex Agraria* are widely debated. While they certainly speak of a desire to help the poor and recognition of their need, he was also 'obliged' to achieve something given the reputation of his father but the law would have also made him popular and thus securing support in future elections. However, Tiberius made what would become fatal errors in the methods he employed to achieve his aims. Rather than following convention, Tiberius became increasingly revolutionary in his dealings with the Senate.

Tiberius
- Tiberius introduces his land bill in 133 BCE
- He has the support of his father-in-law, Appius Claudius Pulcher (censor) and Publius Scaevola (current consul)
- **REVOLUTIONARY MOVE 1:** Tiberius introduces his bill directly to the popular assembly and not to the Senate for customary consultation. His reasons for doing so are unclear, but senatorial factionalism and the earlier failure of another land law are possibilities.

Senate
- Furious with Tiberius for showing such disrespect (though technically what Tiberius did wasn't illegal)
- Possibly bribes another Tribune, Octavius, to veto Tiberius's bill

Tiberius
- **REVOLUTIONARY MOVE 2:** He has Octavius deposed, thus violating his sacrosanctity
- The land bill passes

Senate
- Tries to block the bill from proceeding by refusing to grant the necessary funds

Tiberius
- Announces that the inheritance left by King Attalus of Pergamum to Rome would be used to finance his Land Comission
- **REVOLUTIONARY MOVE 3:** Foreign policy and financial matters were the preserve of the Senate—Tiberius had no authority to make such a claim

Senate
- Begins to threaten reprisals against Tiberius when his term ended and he was no longer sacrosanct

Tiberius
- He decided to run for a second consecutive term as tribune. This would offer protection, and he could also continue enacting reforms.
- **REVOLUTIONARY MOVE 4:** Seeking a consecutive term in office was unprecedented and illegal

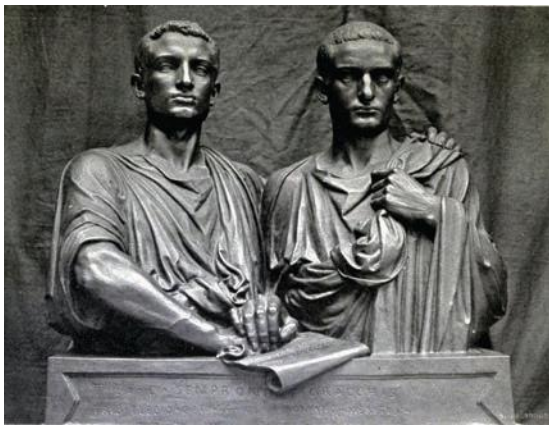
Senate
- A group of senators led by Tiberius's cousin Scipio Nasica clubbed him to death in 133 BCE

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Aftermath

After Tiberius was assassinated, the Land Commission that had been established by his *Lex Agraria* continued to function. This has led to the argument that the Senate wasn't opposed so much to the bill itself, rather, the methods Tiberius used to achieve its passing, and the power it would give the Claudian faction in the Senate. It was certainly successful – there was an estimated increase of 76 000 property owners between 131 and 125 BCE.

In creating a crisis of power with the Senate, Tiberius's actions opened wounds that did not heal easily. They set a precedent for what was possible when one individual with power and authority tried to force their own way. The wide support that Tiberius had for the *Lex Agraria* showed the Senate the real and active power that came with being popular among the plebeians. Crucially, it also revealed that the Senate was not all-powerful and invincible. Yet they failed to recognise that their arrogance, pride and condoning of violence also contributed to the crisis of 133–132 BCE, and the years that followed.



SOURCE 16.13 Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus depicted in, *The Gracchi*, Jean-Baptiste Claude Eugène Guillaume, 1853. What other representations of the Gracchi can you find in art? Are they consistent?

16.5 Marius and Sulla

Populares and *optimates*

In the decades after Tiberius's death, political factions began to emerge among the aristocrats. The two main factions, the *populares* and *optimates*, were both concerned with keeping political power. However, they differed in their preferred methods of gaining this power.

TABLE 16.5 Comparing approaches to maintaining power in Rome

Populares	*Optimates*
• chose to work through the tribunate and popular assemblies • believed power and authority was to be gained by working with the people (popularity would equal success) • the political successors of the Gracchi • their political agenda was designed to appeal to the Roman people as a whole • comprised forward-looking patricians (usually younger men who, like Tiberius, had enjoyed a Greek education)	• chose to work through the Senate and traditional avenues. • translates as 'best men' • represented the propertied classes and old aristocratic elite • saw themselves as the defenders of tradition – they wanted to maintain the status quo and senatorial power • most senators aligned themselves with the *optimates*

Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE) was a Roman statesman and orator, who introduced elements of Greek philosophy to the Romans. He served as consul in 63 BCE during which time he suppressed an attempted overthrow of the government. He often argued for returning to a traditional republican government, and referred to the *populares* as 'dissident nobles'. However, the division between the *populares* and *optimates* was generally not a class-based one. Both drew predominantly from the aristocracy, and it was not uncommon for men to switch factions when it suited them.

Trouble brewing in the Republic

In the decades before the civil wars between Marius and Sulla, Rome dealt with an ever-increasing number of conflicts:

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- 100 BCE: a slave uprising involving 30 000 slaves in Italy
- 112–106 BCE: Jugurthine War in Numidia
- 113–101 BCE: Wars against the Cimbri and Teutones in Cisalpine Gaul and Gallia Narbonensis
- 91–88 BCE: the Social Wars.

These conflicts placed continual pressure on the Republic and made heavy demands on her resources (people and finances). However, the conflicts also resulted in the emergence of powerful generals who were responsible for building the strong army that was to become the backbone of the Roman Empire.

Gaius Marius

Gaius Marius

- Born: c. 157 BCE
- Died: 86 BCE
- He was from the *equite* class, so he was considered a *novus homo* or 'new man'.
- He made his name at the siege of Numantia in Spain under command of Scipio Aemilianus (Tiberius Gracchus's adoptive cousin) who recognised his capabilities.
- He married into the Julian family (his wife was the aunt of Gaius Julius Caesar).
- He was Described by Roman historians Plutarch and Sallust as follows:

> He was by nature a virile type, a person devoted to war, whose training had been in the army rather than in civilian life; and when he had power he was incapable of controlling his passions.

SOURCE 16.14 Plutarch, 75 BCE, *Life of Marius*, Book 2.1

> He was a hard worker, a man of integrity and an experienced solider. Indomitable on the battlefield, he was frugal in his private life, proof against temptations of passion and riches, and covetous only of glory.

SOURCE 16.15 Sallust, c. 41–40 BCE, *The Jugurthine War*, Chapter 63.6

Marius's military reforms

Before Marius, the Roman army was a part-time citizen army. Soldiers were all conscripts from small farms who were called up to fight when necessary. Each man was expected to provide his own armour, and those with little or no property (*proletarii*) were only called up in a crisis (in which case the state paid for their armour). By the beginning of the second century BCE, with the rise in conflicts all around their territories, the Roman army was proving to be increasingly inadequate.

TABLE 16.6 Roman army reforms, second century BCE

Marius's army reforms
• Any man who volunteered was accepted regardless of property holdings or qualifications. • New training methods were introduced; in 105 BCE, Rutulius Rufus used instructors who had previously worked at gladiator schools to train soldiers in the more skilled use of weapons. • The *maniple* was replaced by the *cohort* as the fundamental tactical unit. • The iconic Roman eagle became the standard carried into battle before the army. • Soldiers were now required to carry all their equipment and were consequently nicknamed 'Marius's mules'. By carrying all their equipment, the army became more mobile and could move quickly. • Various colonies were established as army bases. • Veterans were promised land on retirement, making them more loyal to the general who could 'push' the Senate to award the land, rather than the State they fought for.

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SOURCE 16.16 Modern re-enactment of Roman soldiers. What activities are undertaken by re-enactment groups in your area?

Marius's career

As a *novus homo,* the political ladder was a lot harder for Marius to climb than the military one. Marius's success against the Germanic tribes was crucial in establishing his political career. He also had the advantage of being a client of the powerful Metellus family from the relatively late age of 38. He won his first magistracy in 119 BCE as Tribune of the Plebs and this was followed by the governorship of Hispania Ulterior. His political prospects improved and he caught the attention of the Senate in 111 BCE when he married Julia Maria (who would become the aunt of Julius Caesar). As a patrician woman, marrying someone like Marius who was below her social status could have reflected negatively upon her and her family. However, despite Marius's later downfall, she was always considered a virtuous and faithful woman.

After being elected consul in 107 BCE, Marius convinced the Senate to grant him the command against Jugurtha, King of Numidia (modern Algeria). He then took the unprecedented step of enlisting landless recruits to make up the shortfall in his legions. The war against Jugurtha had already dragged on for years so Marius was charged by the Senate to achieve a quick and decisive victory. He did just that, and it was his quaestor, Sulla, who captured Jugurtha. Marius returned to Rome for a triumph (a public celebration of his victory) and Jugurtha was thrown into prison to starve to death.

In the following years Marius was also part of Rome's victories over the Germanic Cimbri and Teutones. These significant victories explain why Marius was able to serve as consul for five successive years between 104 and 100 BCE. Consuls could not usually serve successive terms. The fact that Marius did so five times is a strong illustration of the power and authority he held over the Senate and People of Rome.

Marius makes a mistake

Marius's career began to decline in 100 BCE when he allied himself with Glaucia (a praetor) and Saturninus (a tribune) in an effort to regain his consulship for yet another successive term. Both Glaucia and Saturninus were notorious and unscrupulous politicians. Glaucia allegedly had a rival to the consulship murdered. Saturninus had attempted to introduce agrarian reforms not dissimilar to those of Tiberius Gracchus, but was known to be violent in his dealings with others. Both were killed late in 100 BCE but Marius's reputation never recovered from association with them. He went into exile in Asia in 98 BCE, but returned to Rome a few years later.

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Sulla

Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix

- Born: c. 138 BCE
- Died: 78 BCE
- His father was Lucius Cornelius Sulla.
- He came from the Cornelius clan (an old, leading family, but relatively poor).
- He had a good education, and developed a lifelong love of Greek and Roman literature.
- He possessed a driving political ambition.
- He was conservative at heart – an *optimate*.
- He was described by Roman historians Plutarch and Sallust as follows:

> He [Sulla] seems to have had a character that was very irregular and full of inconsistencies. He would have a man beaten to death for some inconsiderable offence; yet on other occasions he would meekly put up with really serious misdeeds.

SOURCE 16.17 Plutarch, 75 BCE, *Life of Sulla*, 6.7–6.8

> He was eloquent, shrewd and an accommodating friend. His skill in pretense was such that no one could penetrate the depths of his mind ... of his subsequent conduct I could not speak without feelings of shame and disgust.

SOURCE 16.18 Sallust, c. 41–40 BCE, *The Jugurthine War*, chapter 95

Sulla experienced military success against Jugurtha, under Marius's command. He was also involved in ending the Social War of 90 BCE. As consul in 88 BCE, he led the Republic against King Mithridates VI of Pontus (modern Turkey). Sulla experienced some success in Pontus, but his attention was soon recalled to Rome by Marius's return to politics and Marius's attempt to seize the command of the campaign against Mithridates. Motivations for Marius's return to politics may have included jealousy of Sulla's success. By this time, Marius and Sulla were considered the leaders of their respective factions.

Civil war, round one: 88–86 BCE

- Marius uses support from the tribunes to seize the command against Mithridates from Sulla (88 BCE).
- Sulla rallies supporters and marches on Rome.
- Marius is driven out of Rome and flees to Africa.
- Sulla departs Rome again for Pontus.
- During Sulla's absence, the consul Cinna betrays him and helps Marius besiege Rome (87 BCE).
- Marius and Cinna slaughter *optimates* in Rome.
- Marius and Cinna elected consuls in 86 BCE.
- Marius dies unexpectedly two weeks later of poor health (possibly from pleurisy, as suggested in Plutarch).

Civil war, round two: 83–82 BCE

- Sulla returns from the east and defeats the Marian party (83 BCE).
- Sulla follows the example set by Marius and begins to slaughter the *populares*. He offers prizes to assassins and punishes those who conceal wanted men.
  - Plutarch: 'Sulla now devoted himself entirely to the work of butchery' (*Sulla*, 31).
  - Appian of Alexander, a second-century CE Greek historian with Roman citizenship, claims that no one dared speak out against Sulla's treatment of the *populares*.

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- Plutarch recounted that sons and grandsons of those he executed have their civil and property rights taken away from them '(effectively eliminating their eligibility for office, and stripping families of their wealth and sources of income). (*Sulla*, 31)
- Sallust: 'Sulla is the only man in history who has ever devised punishments for the unborn' (*Histories*, 1.48.6).

• Sulla is declared dictator by the Senate, with no set time limit for his term in office (82 BCE). Appian wrote:

> Thus Sulla became a king, or tyrant, de facto – not elected but holding power by force and violence ... There had been autocratic rule by dictators before but it was limited to short periods. Under Sulla it first became unlimited and so was an absolute tyranny ... Nevertheless, by way of keeping up the form of the Republic he allowed them to appoint consuls ... But Sulla, like a reigning sovereign, was dictator over the consuls.

SOURCE 16.19 Appian, c.162 CE, *The Civil Wars*, Book 1.99–1.100



SOURCE 16.20 An artist's depiction of the entrance of Cornelius Sulla into Rome, where he was appointed as dictator in the first century BCE. How consistent is this artistic depiction with events recorded in sources?

Sulla's dictatorship

Sulla ruled unopposed for three years, until his unexpected retirement. During that time, a significant number of reforms were made to the magistracy. Through these reforms, Sulla aimed to restore stability to Rome by strengthening the Senate, reducing the power of the tribunes and reorganising the courts.

TABLE 16.7 Sulla's changes to the magistracy

The Senate • enlarged by 300 members, mainly *equites* • automatic membership to ex-quaestors • senate approval required before legislation was presented to the assembly	**The Tribunate** • right of veto was limited • tribunes became ineligible for further political office • tribunes lost the power of enacting legislation
Office holding • *lex Villia* of 180 BCE re-enacted – this meant the *cursus honorum* had to be strictly observed • increased number of magistrates to improve the efficiency of government • treason laws forbade governors from leaving their provinces or declare war without Senate permission	**Judicial reforms** • number of courts increased to seven • courts had the power to try serious crimes (a power previously in the hands of popular assemblies) • jurors were all senators

ACTIVITY 16.6

1. Appian wrote the following about Sulla:

> He [Sulla] forbade anybody to hold the office of praetor, until after he had held that of quaestor, or to be consul before he had been praetor, and he prohibited any man from holding the office a second time till after the lapse of 10 years.
> ...

(continued)

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He reduced the tribunician power to such an extent that it seemed to be destroyed. He curtailed it by a law which provided that one holding the office of tribune should never afterwards hold any other office.

SOURCE 16.21 Appian, c. 162 CE, *The Civil Wars*, Book 1.100

a. Based on what you have learnt so far in this chapter, how else had these rules been broken in recent years?

2. Velleius Paterculus commented on a change Sulla made to the court system:

The right to sit in judgement in the courts which C. Gracchus had taken from the Senate and given to the knights, Sulla gave back to the Senate.

SOURCE 16.22 Velleius Paterculus, c. 30 BCE, *Roman History*, Book 2, 32

a. What was the result of the changes in law described in Sources 16.21 and 16.22?

3. Appian writes about reforms to the Senate:

To the Senate itself, which had been much thinned by the seditions and wars, he added about 300 members from the best of the knights, taking the votes of the tribes on each one.

SOURCE 16.23 Appian, c. 162 CE, *The Civil Wars*, Book 1.100

a. What do you see as the objective behind the reforms in Sources 16.22 and 16.23?

4. Appian continues:

To the Plebeians he added more than 10 000 slaves of proscribed persons, choosing the youngest and strongest, to whom he gave freedom and Roman citizenship, and he called them Cornelii, after himself. In this way he made sure of having 10 000 men among the plebeians always ready to obey his commands.

SOURCE 16.24 Appian, c. 162 CE, *The Civil Wars*, Book 1.100

a. What are your views on Appian's conclusion of why Sulla did this?

5. Aulus Gellus, a second-century CE author and grammarian, writes about a law introduced by Sulla:

A number of wealthy men were notorious *bons viveurs* [people devoted to refined sensuous enjoyment, particularly good food and drink] and squandered their wealth and property, pouring it away in banquets and parties. So the dictator L. Sulla passed a law in the people's Assembly to the following effect: on the Kalends [1st day of month], Ides [15th or 13th day of month] and Nones [9 days before Ides] of each month, on the days public games were held, and on certain regular festivals, people might legally spend up to 300 sesterces on a dinner, but on all other days, no more than 30 sesterces.

SOURCE 16.25 Aulus Gellius, c. 2 CE, *Noctes Atticae*, Book 2.24.11

a. What do you see as Sulla's motive behind this law? Was he being hypocritical?

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16.6 Gaius Gracchus

Information about Gaius Gracchus is available in the Interactive Textbook

GO

The legacy

Gaius Marius and Cornelius Sulla both held positions of authority, and wielded power over those beneath them. Both were responsible for spreading the authority and reach of the Republic throughout the Mediterranean and bringing some significant foreign threats under control. In enacting reforms, both made changes to the fabric of Roman society that facilitated the success of later generals, consuls and arguably, emperors. Both, however, were influenced by their personal desires for power and glory. Marius and Sulla blatantly broke the guidelines set by the *cursus honorum*, yet were not held to account by the people. Their actions went so far as to make the city of Rome itself the focus of military action between them. The social struggles highlighted by Tiberius Gracchus evolved into military power struggles under Marius and Sulla.

16.7 Pompey and Caesar

Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (Pompey)

- Born: 106 BCE
- Died: 48 BCE
- Father: Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo, who had served as consul but generally was disliked.
- His family were considered *novi homi* (plural of *novus homo*); they were wealthy, but not aristocrats.
- Pompey was a protégé of Sulla. At the age of 23 he raised an army for Sulla. He also married Sulla's stepdaughter.
- He was given the title Magnus ('great') after campaigns against Marius in Sicily and Africa.
- He demanded and was given a triumph. This was illegal on several fronts – he was not a praetor or consul, he was underage, and triumphs were given at the Senate's discretion.



SOURCE 16.26 Bust of Pompey

Pompey's early political career

In 70 BCE, Pompey was elected joint consul with Marcus Licinius Crassus. Crassus had fulfilled all of the requirements of the *cursus honorum*, but Pompey had not. While popularity with the people would have convinced the Senate to pass decrees of exemption for Pompey, it was primarily his alliance with Crassus that ensured his smooth ascent. In accepting Pompey and making exemptions for him, a crucial lesson was given to others who held such aspirations – it showed the Senate was not immune (as they would have people believe) from external control.

Military success

As consul, Pompey had numerous successes leading military campaigns. In 73 BCE, he defeated the remaining anti-Sullan forces, who were holding out in Spain. He gave amnesty to many of them and in doing so, won their loyalty and allegiance. Their allegiance would be crucial in his later war against Julius Caesar. Next, he turned his attention to the slave revolt led by the gladiator Spartacus in Sicily. While the command against the slaves was given to his co-consul Crassus, it was Pompey who arrived at the end and eliminated the remaining rebels. This seeming 'theft' of Crassus's glory created bad feeling between the two colleagues, which gave Pompey a very convenient reason not to disband his army.

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The impact of Spartacus

Despite his popularisation in modern literature and media, very little is known about the historical Spartacus. Many of the surviving accounts are contradictory, leaving historians with a difficult task in determining the truth. The conflict between Spartacus and the Republic (known as the Third Servile War) had several repercussions. First, it showcased the Roman practice of slavery in all its barbarity. Second, Pompey's 'theft' of Crassus's glory permanently damaged their relationship and the two were never at ease with one another thereafter. Third, it demonstrated to the Republic that it had enemies both within and outside its borders. Although the Romans would not like to admit it, the rebellion of slaves led by Spartacus was a serious threat to the Republic.

What other weaknesses of the Republic did Spartacus's rebellion expose?

In 67 BCE, Pompey was given the responsibility for addressing the issue of piracy in the Mediterranean. Years earlier, Rome had destroyed the main naval power in the Mediterranean – the Greek island of Rhodes. Now, without Rhodes to keep them in check, pirates had managed to cut off Rome's supply of corn and other significant imports. Pompey's response showed a shrewd political mind. He realised that many were driven to piracy because of economic depression. By offering them land to settle on, Pompey managed to eliminate piracy almost entirely within three months.

His most significant military victory was arguably his defeat of Mithridates in 64 BCE. After bringing Cilicia, Bithynia and Pontus under firm Roman control, Pompey continued through Syria and Palestine to subdue the remaining rebels. Like Alexander the Great, Pompey took scholars on his campaign with the aim of gathering geographical, cultural and scientific knowledge of the area. This 'progress' to bring Roman law and order through the eastern provinces became known as Pompey's Eastern Settlement. Pompey's arrangement of the various provinces and client kingdoms endured through to the third century CE – a testament to Pompey's skill. The client kingdoms were provinces deemed to be too backward for Roman rule. These were ruled locally and they paid a tribute to Rome.

The emergence of Caesar

Gaius Julius Caesar

- Born: 100 BCE
- Died: 44 BCE
- Father: Gaius Julius Caesar; the Julian family was old and illustrious, but also had numerous connections with the *populares* faction through marriages.
- His mother was Aurelia Cotta.
- He became head of the family at age 16, on his father's death.
- Plutarch alleges that he was subject to epileptic fits – warfare became the treatment for his health. While he spent money recklessly, his ability to secure the affection of his soldiers and get the best out of them was remarkable.
- Suetonius describes him as a brilliant orator, one who was not naturally vindictive, but who could be arrogant.
- He was a skilled swordsman and horseman who balanced caution in battle with daring.

The First Triumvirate

Pompey, Caesar and Crassus each had their own goals when they decided to form the First Triumvirate. Pompey was trying to introduce legislation that would enable him to grant his veterans land as acknowledgement of their service. Crassus represented the interests of wealthy *equites* and had been unsuccessfully trying to get a revision of the tax collection contracts in Asia. Caesar desired election to



SOURCE 16.27 The First Triumvirate: (left to right) Caesar, Crassus and Pompey. How would you describe these men based on their physical appearance?

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the consulship in 59 BCE. While Pompey and Crassus still did not get along, Caesar reconciled the two as they all recognised they would gain personal advantages from the alliance. Unbeknownst to them, the First Triumvirate was a catalyst for the civil war that would erupt a decade later. However, at the conception of the First Triumvirate, the three individuals had the support of the army, the Roman people and the *equites*. The 'Senate and People of Rome' had begun to crumble.

Publius Clodius Pulcher and Titus Annius Milo

Clodius and Milo were supporters of Caesar and Pompey respectively. Both acted as political agitators during Caesar's campaigns in Gaul. Clodius used his position as tribune to push through pro-*populares* legislation on Caesar's behalf. In addition, he successfully exciled Cicero (on the grounds that when Cicero put down a conspiracy initiated by senator Lucius Sergius Catilina, he summarily executed the conspirators rather than giving them a trial) and sent Cato (an enemy of Caesar) to Cyprus. Once he began his personal attack on Pompey, he became a target for *optimates* like Milo. Milo facilitated Cicero's recall from exile, but Clodius's gangs attacked him. Milo was unsuccessful in prosecuting Clodius in 57 BCE for this violence. In 52 BCE, the respective gangs met on the Appian Way (the sources are conflicted as to whether Clodius was lying in wait for Milo, or if the meeting was by chance). Fighting ensued and Clodius was killed. Cicero later spoke in defence of Milo at his trial but lost his composure and was intimidated by the Clodian supporters. Milo was exiled to Gaul and died in 48 BCE as part of a rebellion against Caesar.

ACTIVITY 16.7

1. How do you think the violent actions by Caesar and Pompey's supporters influenced their reputations?
2. How did the actions of Caesar and Pompey influence the breakdown of the Republic?

Caesar's campaigns in Gaul

The main weakness of the Germanic tribes was a lack of political unity – they were constantly engaged in tribal warfare. this gave Caesar the advantage in the following military actions:

- 58 BCE: campaign against the Helvetii
- 58 BCE: defeated Ariovistus, King of the Suebi
- 57 BCE: campaign against the Belgae; Caesar was given a 15-day thanksgiving in Rome by the Senate to celebrate this victory
- 56 BCE: defeated the Veneti
- 55–54 BCE: further victories against Germanic tribes; Caesar crosses the Rhine (a Roman first)
- 55 BCE: invaded Britain to cut off reinforcements from rebellious Gauls
- 52 BCE: Gauls rose again under leadership of Vercingetorix (Caesar was delayed in leaving Rome); Caesar laid siege to Vercingetorix at his fortress of Alesia until he surrendered
- 51 BCE: Gaul firmly under Roman control.

Caesar's campaigns against the Gauls showed his statesman-like qualities. He allowed local tribal governments to continue and encouraged their loyalty by giving gifts. Latin language was also gradually adopted by the people. Caesar's campaigns in Gaul transformed the growing Republic from a purely Mediterranean empire to a continental European one.

16.8 The civil war

During Caesar's absence in Gaul for almost a decade, Pompey gained significant popularity with the people. So much so, that he was the only consul appointed in 52 BCE. His wife Julia (Caesar's daughter) had died in 54 BCE and Crassus died fighting the Parthians in 53 BCE, so there were few factors keeping Caesar and Pompey's alliance together.

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SOURCE 16.28 *Caesar*, 1875, by Adolphe Yvon. Why is Caesar such a popular subject in art throughout history?

Caesar and Pompey, along with their respective allies, moved against each another in 50 BCE. Both refused to dismiss their soldiers unless the other did so. To break the stalemate, the *optimates* in the Senate granted Pompey the right, as commander of all Italian forces, to march against Caesar. Caesar attempted to negotiate a compromise through tribune Mark Antony, but the offer was rejected. He then marched into Italy with his legions in 49 BCE. By crossing the Rubicon River with his army still intact, he was essentially declaring war on Rome and forfeiting his *imperium*.

Panicked by Caesar's imminent invasion, the Senate, Pompey and his army fled Rome, and moved across the Adriatic Sea to Greece, leaving Caesar to capture Rome with ease. Caesar then moved to defeat Pompey's allies in Spain, because he wasn't yet strong enough to take on Pompey directly. The first encounter between the two was at Dyrrachium (in modern Albania) in 48 BCE. Later, at the Battle of Pharsalus, Caesar's clever tactics won him the battle, despite being heavily outnumbered.

After fleeing the Battle of Pharsalus, Pompey went to Egypt but was murdered on the orders of Egyptian King Ptolemy XIII. Caesar arrived in Egypt soon after, and was presented with Pompey's head and signet ring on his arrival. He reportedly wept at the sight.

Summary of Pompey's political career and character

- Pompey did not fit easily into any accepted category of Roman politics – he never wholly belonged to any specific group and so was never completely trusted.
- He sought power and broke constitutional rules to achieve it, but not via direct force (though he threatened to use his army on more than one occasion).
- Pompey has been described as vain, hypocritical and devious. The sources say that he liked to think his services were indispensable to the State.
- Plutarch captures the essence of Pompey's desires by describing his actions as a 'pursuit of glory'.
- Pompey was remembered as a legend in his time.

ACTIVITY 16.8

Study all the sources in this section relating to Pompey before answering the questions below.

1. Was Pompey a destroyer or defender of the Republic?
2. Why did Pompey acquire the power he did? How do his actions help us understand his motivations?

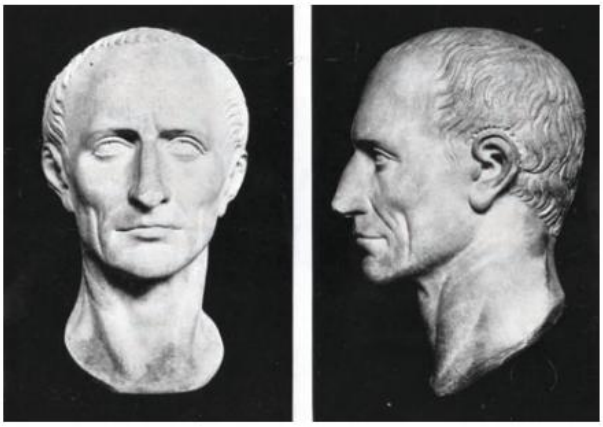
The dictatorship of Caesar

Caesar had been accumulating titles and positions of responsibility for a number of years before his defeat of Pompey. He was appointed dictator for 12 months in 48 BCE and was reappointed for a 10-year period in 46 BCE. Finally, in 44 BCE, he was named dictator for life and the Senate ordered that an oath of allegiance should be taken in his name. He also served as consul, *pontifex maximus*, augur and *praefectura morum* (giving him the powers of a censor). The most telling illustration of the power Caesar had accumulated was the Senate granting him the sacrosanctity of a tribune, without actually holding the office.

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Caesar's honours

- He was named *parens patriae* (father of the country).
- The month Quinctilus was renamed Julius (July).
- His statue was placed in the temple of Quirinus and in other temples.
- In 44 BCE his head appeared on Roman coins.
- His birthday was celebrated by public sacrifice.
- He was given the title *imperator*.
- He was granted a gold chair and garment once used by kings.



SOURCE 16.29 Caesar. Does this representation of Caesar support your understanding of his character?

After Pompey's death, Caesar, captivated by its Queen Cleopatra, stayed on in Egypt. Eventually he left Egypt to her and her younger brother (Ptolemy XIII had been killed). Caesar made his way back to Rome via Pontus to confront Pharnaces I, the son of Mithridates. He defeated him at the Battle of Zela and commemorated the victory with his famous words, 'Veni, vidi, vici' ('I came, I saw, I conquered'). The suicide of Cato in 46 BCE marked the acknowledgement by the *optimates* faction that they had lost. Caesar was now master of the Roman world.

Given he was only in sole power for a short period of time, Caesar achieved a vast amount. He showed his skill as a statesman and a soldier. He pardoned Pompey's soldiers, hoping the act of clemency would bring him universal gratitude and support.

TABLE 16.8 Caesar's reforms

Areas of reform under Caesar	Description
Colonies	mostly for veterans, included Hispalis, Corduba, Urso, Carthage, Apameia and Corinth
Senate	enlarged Senate from 600 to 900 members, widening its base
Citizenship	extended citizenship to Transalpine Gaul, a legion raised in Narbonese Gaul, and future doctors and teachers in Rome
Debt	cancelled all interest due since start of civil war – effectively 25% of current debts owed
Agriculture	required at least 1/3 of cattlemen employed by landowners to be free men
Corn dole	reduced number on corn dole from 320 000 to 150 000
Abolition of collegia	abolished all collegia (political, social and trade unions), except for genuine guilds and Jewish religious gatherings
Public buildings and works	new roads and harbour at Ostia; plan to drain Pontine Marshes; new building projects – Basilica Julia and another forum (named after himself)
Calendar	reformed inaccurate Roman calendar, replaced it with one, slightly modified, which still influences the Gregorian Calendar in use today

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Caesar's downfall

Caesar's downfall was a very sudden change in his fortune. Sixty to eighty conspirators were led by Marcus Junius Brutus and Gaius Cassius Longinus, both of whom had been supporters of Pompey previously pardoned by Caesar. They cornered him on the portico of the Theatre of Pompey where the Senate was meeting on the Ides of March (15th) in 44 BCE, stabbing him to death with daggers they had concealed in their togas. He fell mortally wounded at the base of Pompey's statue.

The conspirators probably acted from a variety of motives from private grudges to a genuine fear that he was destroying the Republic. Despite his positive reforms, Caesar could not hide his contempt for Republican institutions and it is likely this negative attitude was his undoing. At the time of his death, the power and authority he held as dictator were as great as those of any king. Given Rome's traditional abhorrence of kingship, it is a wonder that in elevating Caesar to such heights, they did not realise the consequences of their actions. It is testament to Caesar's political acumen that he was able to rise so high and hold what was effectively absolute power in an nation that prided itself on representing the interests of both the Senate and the people of Rome.



SOURCE 16.30 *Death of Julius Caesar*, Vincenzo Camuccini, 1771. How does Camuccini's painting compare with historical accounts of Caesar's assassination?

16.9 Mark Antony and Octavian

The conspirators who assassinated Julius Caesar believed his death would solve their problems and that the Roman people would welcome it joyfully. Instead, it created a power vacuum that resulted in 13 years of civil war between Caesar's supporters and their opponents. Caesar's two main supporters, his adopted son Octavian and Mark Antony, joined forces to avenge Caesar's death. Once the assassins were dealt with, they still had each other to contend with.

Mark Antony (Marcus Antonius)

- Born: 83 BCE
- Died: 30 BCE
- Father: Marcus Antonius Creticus, who was considered incompetent and corrupt.
- Stepfather: Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura, who was executed for his involvement in the Catiline Conspiracy.
- Mother: Julia Antonia, who was a distant cousin of Julius Caesar.
- His upbringing was characterised by a lack of proper parental guidance and support. By age 20, he had amassed significant debts and was a known member of street gangs.

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Gaius Octavian

- Born: 63 BCE
- Died: 14 CE
- Father: Gaius Octavius
- Adoptive father: Julius Caesar
- Mother: Atia Balba Caesonia, niece of Julius Caesar
- His upbringing was characterised by inconsistent parental figures. His father died when he was four, and his maternal grandmother who raised him also died when he was quite young. During his teenage years his mother, stepfather and uncle (Julius Caesar) began to take a more active role in his education.

Stage 1: 44–42 BCE (Antony and Octavian vs the conspirators)

Immediately after Caesar's death, the Roman people were terrified. As consul, Antony took advantage of the situation and stirred up the people against the assassins through a famous eulogy he gave at Caesar's funeral. Fearing for their lives, Brutus, Cassius and other key conspirators fled Rome.

The rise of Octavian

After Caesar's funeral, it emerged that his grand-nephew and adopted son Octavian was his heir. This was a significant disappointment to Antony, who had expected to be named as such. Octavian was only 18 when Caesar died, and he returned to Rome when he heard the news. Given his relatively young age and lack of experience, Octavian had difficulty in forcing Antony to recognise him as the legitimate heir. The name 'Caesar' was his greatest asset in the beginning and he was able to use it to win over two of Antony's legions. This was a significant demonstration of the change that had begun to occur within the Roman army – while officially they took their instructions from the Senate, their true loyalty lay with their general.

While Antony was in Modena pursuing Brutus, Octavian saw an opportunity to make himself the champion of the Roman state. By raising troops to help Brutus, Octavian ensured Antony was defeated. While such actions seem somewhat contradictory (why defend the man who killed your adoptive father?), Brutus and Cassius had arguably done the right thing – they acted in order to protect the Republic. As both consuls at the time had died during the conflict, Octavian demanded the right for himself. The Senate refused since Octavian met none of the criteria for holding the office. In response, Octavian marched on Rome and the Senate acquiesced.

The Second Triumvirate: 43 BCE

Although Octavian had control of Rome, Antony and Lepidus (Caesar's *magister equitum*) both still had armies, and Brutus and Cassius were on the run in the East. Despite their mistrust of each other, they agreed that they alone had the ability to bring peace and stability to Rome. The three united in a joint dictatorship, with the Senate granting them unlimited power for five years. Once this Second Triumvirate was formed, Octavian, Antony and Lepidus set about removing their opponents. Some 300 senators and 2000 *equites* perished as a result of proscriptions, including the famous pro-Republican orator Cicero.

Stage 2: 42–30 BCE (Antony vs Octavian)

The Triumvirate managed to defeat Brutus, Cassius and their supporters at the Battle of Philippi in 42 BCE. In despair at their failure, Brutus and Cassius committed suicide within days of each other. In 40 BCE through the Treaty of Brundisium, Octavian, Antony and Lepidus divided Roman territory between them. Lepidus was granted Africa (the least wealthy region), Antony took the east, and Octavian took Italy and the west. To seal their alliance further, Antony was married to Octavian's sister Octavia. Unfortunately, it was only a few years after their alliance was sealed that Lepidus became disgruntled with his position within the

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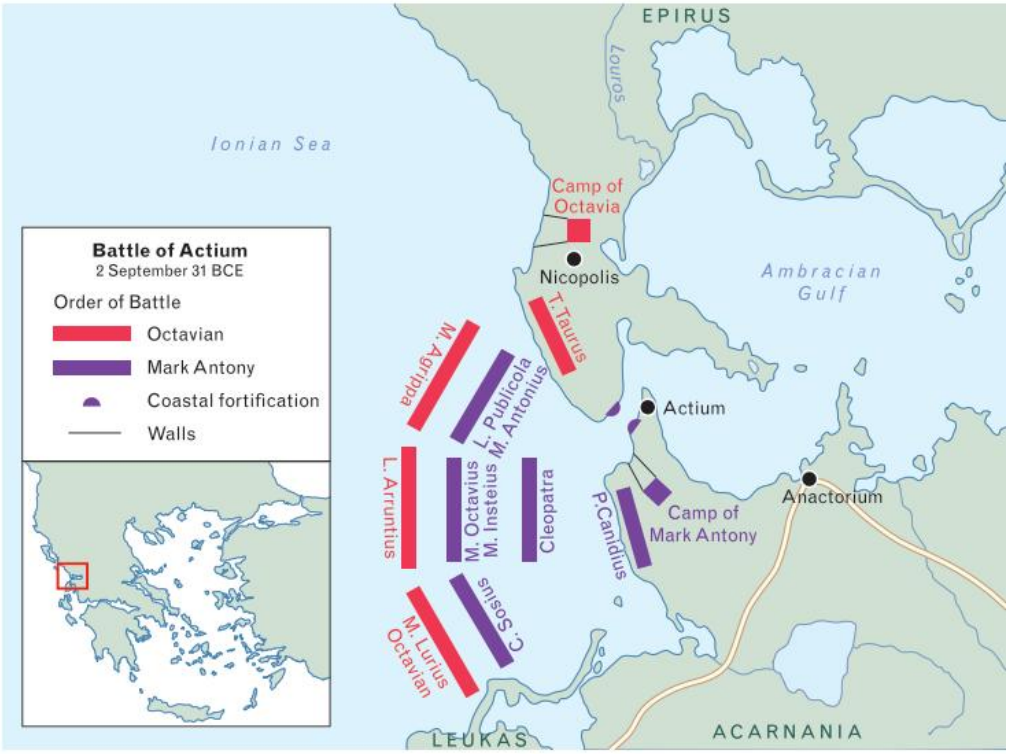


SOURCE 16.31 (left to right) Octavian, Lepidus and Marc Antony. What was the age difference between them?

Triumvirate and began to move against Octavian, who he felt was treating him like a subordinate, rather than an equal. Embarrassingly, when confronting Octavian's legions in Sicily, Lepidus's troops defected, leaving him little choice but to concede defeat. In 36 BCE, Lepidus was stripped of all his offices except for *pontifex maximus* and sent into exile. Despite his wife and son being caught up in a later conspiracy against Octavian, Lepidus was able to live out the rest of his life in relative obscurity, dying in 13–12 BCE.

The alliance between Antony and Octavian did not last long. Antony was not successful in bringing stability to the east, and his relationship with Cleopatra sealed his doom. For Octavian, Antony's divorce from his sister was unforgivable, while Antony's growing infatuation with and promotion of Cleopatra led many Romans to see him as an 'oriental monarch'. This was aggravated further by his granting Roman provinces to his children by Cleopatra in his will.

In 32 BCE, Octavian and the Senate declared war on Antony and Cleopatra. Octavian used the rumour that Antony was going to make Cleopatra Queen of Rome and transfer the seat of government to Egypt to gain support for his cause. In 31 BCE, Octavian set sail for Epirus in Greece where he defeated Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium. During the battle, a large portion of Antony's army defected. Realising the scale of their loss, both Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide. Octavian returned to Rome a hero, albeit a hero with a mighty task in front of him. Rome had endured 100 years of civil war. The people craved peace and prosperity. It was his task to deliver that security.



SOURCE 16.32 Map showing the Battle of Actium. What advantages did each party have going into the battle?

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SOURCE 16.33 *Battle of Actium*, Lorenzo A. Castro, 1672. Did Roman ships actually look like this?'

Objective 2: Devise historical questions and conduct research in relation to people, power and authority in a particular period in the Ancient World

16.10 Reforms

ACTIVITY 16.9

Research the following laws that aimed to address the divide between plebeians and patricians and match them to the descriptions of reforms listed in the first column of the table. Note that some laws will address multiple issues. Describe the effectiveness that the resulting change would have had on each particular issue.

- *Lex Valeria de Provocatione* or First Valerian Law (509 BCE)
- First Secession of the Plebs (494 BCE)
- *Lex Publilia* (471 BCE)
- The Twelve Tables (451–450 BCE)
- *Leges Valeriae Horatiae* (449 BCE)
- *Lex Canuleia* (445 BCE)
- Licinian-Sextian Laws (367 BCE)
- *Lex Publilia* (339 BCE)
- *Lex Ogulnia* (300 BCE)
- *Lex Hortensia* (287 BCE)

(continued)

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ACTIVITY 16.9 continued

Injustice	Description	Reform	Effectiveness
Political	• patricians monopolised positions in government • plebeians only voted in the *Comitia Centuriata* in the early Republic		
Social	• no intermarriage • wealthy plebeians were regarded as inferior • patricians wore distinguishing clothes		
Economic	• debt laws were very harsh on plebeians • plebeians were excluded from leasing public land		
Religious	• plebeians were excluded from all priestly offices		
Legal	• plebeians could not access laws as they were unwritten • plebeians had no right of appeal		

16.11 The contribution of individuals towards the breakdown of the Republic

ACTIVITY 16.10

GO

For each of the seven key individuals discussed in this chapter, construct a key inquiry question and suitable sub-questions that assess the contribution each individual made towards the breakdown of the Roman Republic. Refer to the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 2* for guidelines on how to frame questions.

a. Tiberius Gracchus
b. Gaius Marius
c. Sulla
d. Pompey
e. Julius Caesar
f. Mark Antony
g. Octavian.

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Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the nature of power and how it was exercised in the Ancient World

16.12 Literary sources about the breakdown of the Republic

Modern historians looking at the time of the Republic's collapse have an advantage in the numerous literary sources available. However, because of the volatile nature of society and politics at the time, and even in later years under the emperors, these sources are clouded by emotion and propaganda.

Key sources

TABLE 16.9 Ancient literary sources on Rome's decline

Greek authors	Roman authors
Appian	Cicero
Dio Cassius	Julius Caesar
Diodorus	Livy
Dionysius	Polybius
Plutarch	Sallust
	Suetonius

ACTIVITY 16.11

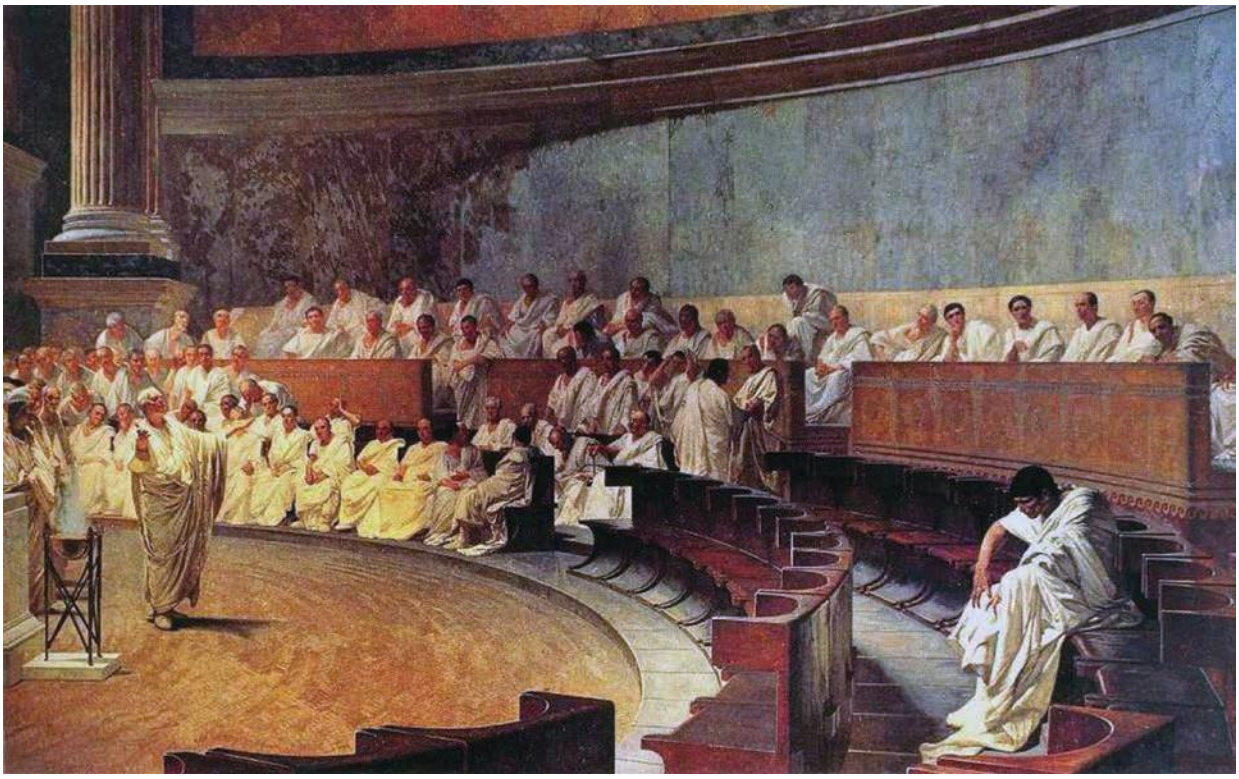
For each of the key sources listed, make notes about the distinguishing features of the author. Use these prompt questions to guide you.

1. **Origin:** Where was the author born? What was their childhood like? What was their role and place in society? Did they have any privileges? Why or why not?
2. **Motive:** Why did they write? How did their motive result in the editing of history and did they intentionally leave things out)? Why did they present certain people or events in particular ways (i.e. what was their purpose)?
3. **Audience:** Were their texts addressed to any particular audiences? What type of texts did they write? Did the intended audience have an impact on what they wrote?
4. **Perspective:** What is their perspective on particular issues? Who do they support? Who do they speak against? Does their point of view represent the views of a social or political group? How?
5. **Context:** When were they writing? What else was going on at the time that may have influenced them?

ACTIVITY 16.12

1. Compare your notes for Activity 16.11 with other students. Did you come to the same conclusions or were there discrepancies? Why do you think this is?
2. Using your notes from the last activity, determine which historians would provide a reliable account for the actions of the following people. Why? Which historians would be unreliable? Why?
   - **a.** Tiberius Gracchus
   - **b.** Gaius Marius
   - **c.** Sulla
   - **d.** Pompey
   - **e.** Julius Caesar
   - **f.** Mark Antony
   - **g.** Octavian.

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SOURCE 16.34 *Cicero Denounces Catiline*, Cesare Maccari, 1889. What did the Senate house really look like?

Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument about a powerful individual, group or society in the Ancient World

16.13 Roman consuls

GO

Full content on this objective is available in the Interactive Textbook.



SOURCE 16.35 *Cornelia With Her Sons Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus*, painting by Jose Garnelo y Alda (1866–1944) this woodcut by P. Fruehauf from *Moderne Kunst (Modern Art)*, illustrated magazine published by Richard Bong, 1891–1892, Year VI, No 4, Berlin. Is Cornelia's clothing historically accurate?

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Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about people, power and authority in the Ancient World

When evaluating evidence from historical sources on the breakdown of the Roman Republic, it is important for you to consider the way theorists and historians have debated the nature of power, and the way it is exercised. You should also reflect on the historical significance of the study of power during this time.

16.14 Tiberius

Full content on this objective is available in the Interactive Textbook.

GO

Objective 6: Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose in relation to people, power and authority in the Ancient World

16.15 Creating responses to key inquiry questions

ACTIVITY 16.13

1. Use your own research to create a succinct response to one of the key inquiry questions listed at the start of this chapter.
2. Your response should include the following.
   - **a.** A succinct answer to the key question in your introduction.
   - **b.** A series of paragraphs where you examine the key issues and provide historical evidence to support your argument.
   - **c.** Diversity in primary and secondary sources.
   - **d.** Correct referencing of historical sources.

Further information on the construction of extended written responses can be found in the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 6*.

GO

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

- Rome abandoned her system of kings in 509 BCE and instituted a system that aimed to fairly represent the interests of the people through a combination of assemblies and magistracies.
- As the Republic grew, its political system failed to adapt to the new social context. The patricians became increasingly wealthy and monopolised political control; the plebeians had no way of improving their station in life.
- By acting against established tradition and procedure to try and address the disparity between social classes, Tiberius Gracchus opened cracks in the Republican system.
- Through his military reforms, Gaius Marius enabled later generals to capitalise on the loyalty their legions had for them personally, rather than to the Republic.
- Despite positive reforms, Sulla's dictatorship was characterised by violence, making the people fearful of individuals with too much personal power.
- Pompey recognised that he could gain more position and power by entering the First Triumvirate. He became more popular while Caesar was in Gaul and the two clashed in a civil war.
- Julius Caesar used the First Triumvirate to achieve his personal ambitions, and by using his legions as a threat he was able to see himself vested in unprecedented personal authority and power. He was later assassinated by a group of *optimates* who feared that he was beginning to model himself as a king.
- Mark Antony and Octavian banded together to avenge Caesar's death, but eventually turned on each other when Antony began to style himself as an oriental 'king' with Cleopatra by his side.
- Octavian emerged from 100 years of civil war as the hero of Rome.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend

1. How were the plebeians disadvantaged in comparison to the patricians?
2. How did the Republican political system fulfil the concept of SPQR – The Senate and People of Rome?
3. How did the Republic aim to ensure it had capable leaders?

Devise

Construct a research question for each of the seven key personalities discussed in this chapter (Tiberius Gracchus, Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar, Antony and Octavian).

Analyse and synthesise

Choose one of the topics listed below. Using Sources 16.37 to 16.42, provided on pages 425–6, and your own knowledge, respond to the topic in an extended response of 300 words. Ensure you: include a brief introduction where you clearly respond to the question, comment on the reliability of the sources and give a short conclusion.

- Topic 1: How did the career of Marius weaken the hold of the senatorial aristocracy on Roman politics even more than the careers of the Gracchi did?
- Topic 2: To what extent was the violence enacted by Sulla justified, given the significance of the reforms he made once in power?

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Marius attempted his sixth consulship ... The need that state had of his services in war gave him power and dignity; but in civil matters ... he was forced to curry favour of the crowd. He was not content to be a good man; he would settle for nothing less than great ... Marius entered the city with his bodyguard ... These men killed many citizens ... even his personal friends ... at his direct orders ... Marius's rage and the thirst for blood increased ... he kept on killing all against whom he had even the remotest grudge ... So Marius was elected consul for the seventh time.

SOURCE 16.36 Plutarch, 75 BCE, *Life of Marius*, Book 28

Marius was welcomed back by a united populace [in 101 BCE]. Offered two triumphs, he was satisfied with but one. The leading men of Rome, who had once detested him as an upstart [*novus homo*] raised to such great honours, maintained that he was the Saviour of Rome.

SOURCE 16.37 Livy, c. 27–9 BCE, *History of Rome: Epitomes*, Chapter 68

Meanwhile, he [Marius] continued to sign on soldiers, not, in accordance with traditional custom, from the propertied classes, but accepting any man who volunteered – members of the proletariat for the most part. Some said he did this because he could not get enough of a better kind; others he wanted to curry favour with men of low condition, since he owed to them his fame and advancement ... The result of this new method of enlistment was that Marius set sail with a force considerably larger than that authorised by decree.

SOURCE 16.38 Sallust, c. 41–40 BCE, *The Jugurthine War*, Chapter 86

Sulla achieved little besides adding to the sum of human misery. His system aggrieved the *equites*, the urban populace, the disposed peasants and the new citizens made no provision for veterans in the future. Social discontents continued, as the senate remained indifferent to the distress of the poor. It was the memory of Sulla's example and methods that proved most enduring.

SOURCE 16.39 Brunt, P.A., 1971, *Social Conflicts in the Roman Republic*, Norton, p. 111

He [Sulla] forthwith proscribed about forty senators and 1600 knights. He seems to have been the first to make a formal list of those whom he punished, to offer prizes to assassins and rewards to informers, and to threaten with punishment those who should conceal the proscribed [i.e. those named on the list]. Some of these, taken unawares, were killed where they were caught, in their houses, on the streets or in the temples. Others were hurled through mid-air and thrown at Sulla's feet. Others were dragged through the city and trampled on, none of the spectators daring to utter a word of remonstrance against him.

SOURCE 16.40 Appian, c. 162 CE, *The Civil Wars*, Book 1.95

He [Sulla] forbade anybody to hold the office of praetor, until after he had held that of quaestor, or to be consul before he had been praetor, and he prohibited any man from holding the office a second time till after the lapse of 10 years ... He reduced the tribunician power to such an extent that it seemed to be destroyed. He curtailed it by a law which provided that the one holding the office of tribune should never afterwards hold any other office ... The right to sit in judgement in the courts which G. Gracchus had taken from the Senate and given to the knights, Sulla gave back to the Senate.

SOURCE 16.41 Appian, c. 162 CE, *The Civil Wars*, Book 1.100

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Evaluate

What are the common strengths and weaknesses found in primary sources for this time period? Make mention of specific authors where relevant and explain why such issues are present where possible.

Respond

1. What can be learned from the breakdown of the Republic by modern scholars about power, authority and leadership?
2. How responsible was the Senate for its own decline in power and prestige during the late Republic? (Think about the Senate's traditional attitudes towards the plebeians, how they underestimated individuals and dealt with the problems they created, and why powerful individuals came to power in the first place.)

Assessment

Examination-style questions

Respond to the validity of one of the following statements:

1. The fall of the Republic was a result of the continual and repetitive abuse of power by those in key political positions.
2. The motives of Tiberius Gracchus were honourable in their desire to restore the balance of land ownership. However, the methods he employed to achieve his aims irreparably damaged the political system, paving the way for others to abuse their power and position.
3. Because the Roman political system failed to adapt to suit the changing social and economic context of the first century BCE, the collapse of the Republic was inevitable.
4. The success of powerful leaders during the breakdown of the Republic would not have been possible without the personal loyalty of the legions they commanded.

Investigation tasks

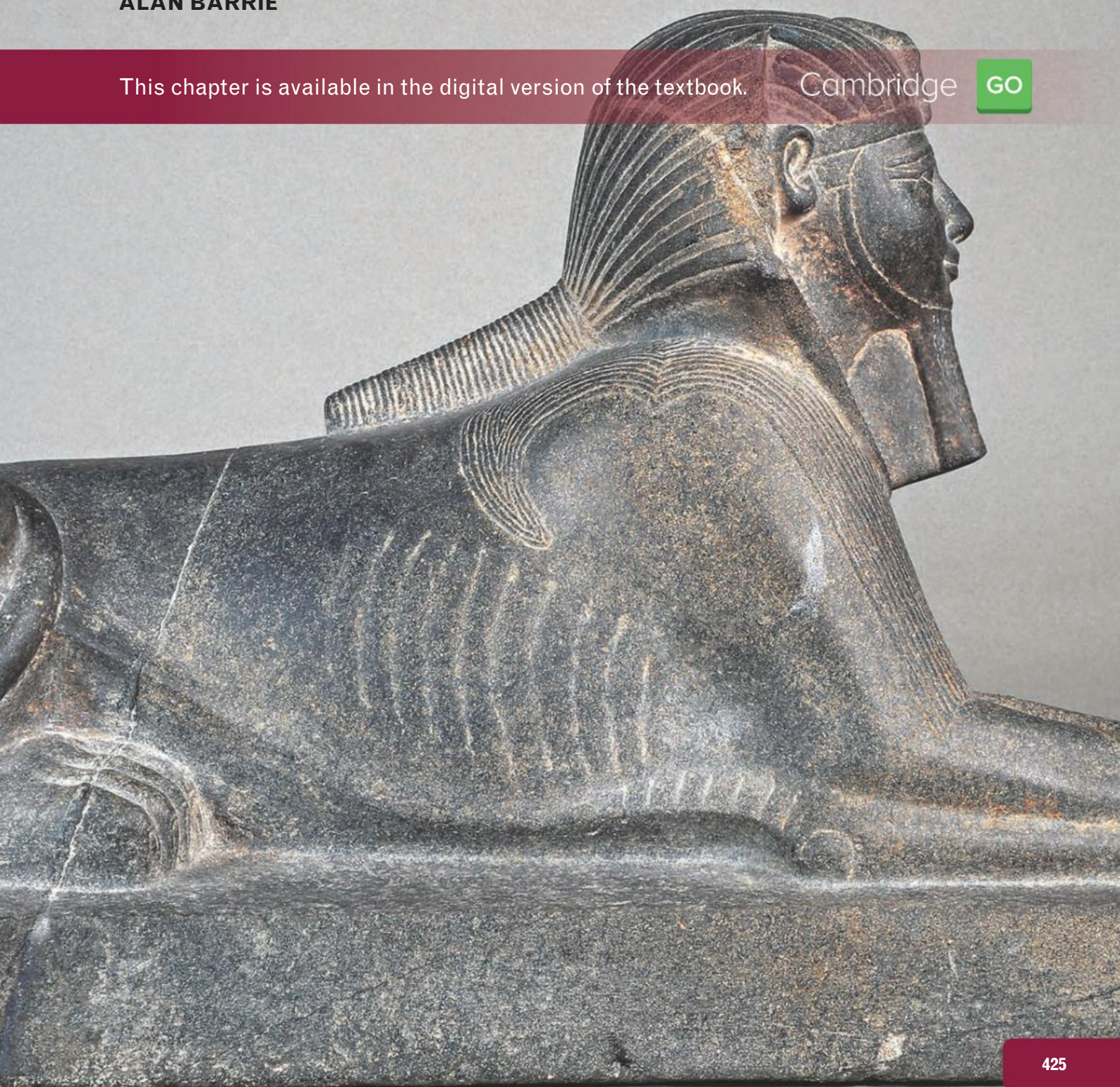
1. Of the seven individuals examined in depth during this chapter (Tiberius Gracchus, Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar, Antony and Octavian), whose actions contributed the most towards ensuring the breakdown of the Republic?
2. What historical evidence supports the conclusion by some historians that Julius Caesar wanted to be a king?
3. How did Marius's military reforms contribute to the success of later generals and political leaders like Pompey and Caesar?
4. In what ways can Tiberius Gracchus's actions in 133–132 BCE be considered the the beginning of, or the first stage in the breakdown of the Republic?

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CHAPTER 17
Thutmose III

ALAN BARRIE

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CHAPTER 18
Rameses II

BEN HEGERTY

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this contextual study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to Rameses II:
  - the geographical and historical context of his life.
  - his family background and status.
  - the key events in his rise to prominence.
  - the significant influences on early development.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show an understanding about the nature and range of sources for the period, and identification of key issues related to the investigation of sources.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

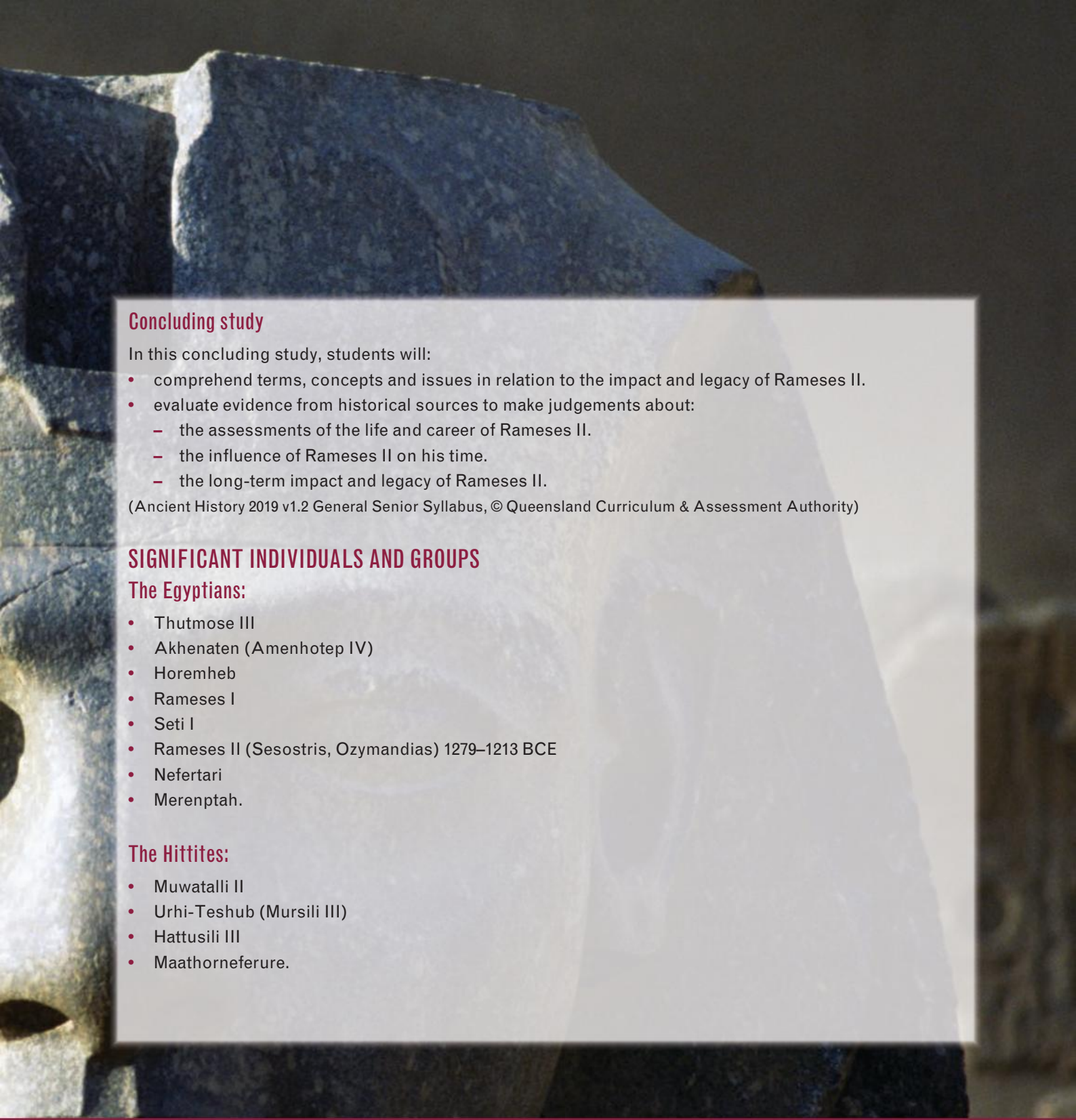
- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the career of Rameses II.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding.
- synthesise evidence from historical sources and evidence to form a historical argument.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - Rameses II's change of role, position and status over time.
  - depictions of Rameses II during his lifetime.
  - the possible motivations for his actions.
  - the methods used to achieve his aims.
  - his relationships with groups and other individuals.
  - the significant events in the career of Rameses II.
  - the manner and impact of his death.
  - judgements of Rameses II by other individuals in his lifetime and after his death; for example, in writings, images and film.
- Create a response that communicates meaning to suit purpose by completing short responses to historical sources.

KEY DATES

	1279 BCE	1278 BCE	1276 BCE	1275 BCE	c. 1264–c. 1244 BCE
Rameses II's regnal year	1	2	4	5	
	Rameses II becomes pharaoh; completes construction of his father's mortuary temple	Repels a minor invasion of the Sea People (Sherden), orders sinking of a well in Nubia	Initial short-lived conquests in Syria-Palestine	Battle of Kadesh	Probable dates for the construction of Abu Simbel

SOURCE 18.1 Colossal head of Rameses II, Temple of Amun-Re, Theban Necropolis

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Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the impact and legacy of Rameses II.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - the assessments of the life and career of Rameses II.
  - the influence of Rameses II on his time.
  - the long-term impact and legacy of Rameses II.

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SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS

The Egyptians:

- Thutmose III
- Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV)
- Horemheb
- Rameses I
- Seti I
- Rameses II (Sesostris, Ozymandias) 1279–1213 BCE
- Nefertari
- Merenptah.

The Hittites:

- Muwatalli II
- Urhi-Teshub (Mursili III)
- Hattusili III
- Maathorneferure.

1273–1270 BCE	1259 BCE	1250 BCE	1246 BCE	1213 BCE
7–10	21	30	34	66
Suppression of rebellions in Syria-Palestine; siege of Dapur; begins large scale building projects	Peace treaty between Egyptian and Hittite empires	Celebrates first Sed Festival	Diplomatic marriage to daughter of Hattusili III	Death of Rameses II

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MAP



SOURCE 18.2 Map of Egyptian Empire in the reign of Rameses II (1279–1213 BCE)

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

TERM	DEFINITIONS
Abu Simbel	area in Nubia where Rameses II completed a temple in Year 34 to commemorate victory at the Battle of Kadesh
Amun-Re	the chief god in the New Kingdom, cult centre was Thebes
Amurru	the region around Kadesh
Canaan	southern region of the Levant roughly where Israel and Palestine are located today
Hatti	the kingdom of the Hittites
Hattusa	the name of the Hittite capital city
Hattusili III	the king of the Hittites in the middle years of Rameses II's reign
Hittite Empire	Egypt's main antagonist and a rival superpower in the New Kingdom
Karnak	Egypt's major temple complex in the New Kingdom; Rameses II's main contribution to the complex was the addition of the huge Hypostyle Hall
Muwatalli II	king of the Hittites in Rameses II's early years Rameses II's opponent at the Battle of Kadesh
Pi-Rameses	Rameses II's capital city; he moved the capital here from Thebes and built the city near the previous site of Avaris, in the eastern region of the Nile Delta; the choice of this location was probably an acknowledgement of the strategic need to have a power base closer to the contested area of the Levant
Ramesseum	a temple in Thebes constructed by Rameses II for future worship after death
Sherden	name given to a mysterious seafaring people, also commonly referred to as the Sea Peoples; they invaded Egypt unsuccessfully during Rameses II's reign, and would eventually cause the downfall of the Hittite Empire

Introduction

In this chapter you will learn about the career and achievements of Rameses II. He was known as Rameses the Great and is the Great') considered by many to be one of the greatest pharaohs in the history of ancient Egypt. Rameses II is also one of the best-known pharaohs due to the production of a significant number of temples, monuments, statues and other forms of propaganda during his reign, which was made possible by his lengthy career that span over sixty years. Rameses II is a controversial figure, however, as it is unclear if the achievements he recorded during his long reign, such as his apparent single-handed victory over the Hittite forces in the Battle of Kadesh, were quite as impressive as official propaganda suggests. By analysing the evidence for his reign, with particular focus on key achievements in building, administration and warfare, as well as the legacy he left for future kings, you will be challenged to draw conclusions about the extent to which Rameses's reputation is deserved.

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Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to people, power and authority in the Ancient World

18.1 The nature of divine rule in Rameses II's reign

The position of the pharaoh in ancient Egypt was very different from the political leaders of today. As well as being the head of state, the pharaoh was the intermediary between the gods and the people, and was considered to be semi-divine; he ruled with the blessing and support of the deities. The pharaoh's overall responsibility was to ensure that temples to the gods were built and maintained, including the temples dedicated to the previous pharaoh, who was believed to have become a god upon death.

The close relationship between the pharaoh and the gods is apparent from the very beginning of Rameses II's reign; in his first year he visited important temples at Karnak and Luxor, and completed construction of his deceased father's temple at Abydos (a city associated with Osiris, the god of the underworld). An inscription known as the great Abydos inscription, on his father's temple, supposedly relays Seti I's words from the underworld; Rameses II is declared to be the rightful king, and will enjoy victory and joy, and rule for the eternity of his lifetime. Rameses built new temples and expanded existing temples to the gods throughout his lifetime.

Rameses II used the exterior walls of temples, probably visible to the public, as a canvas for inscriptions to advertise his achievements and to reinforce to his people that he was the chosen one of the gods. In many of these inscriptions he connects himself to the most powerful god of the New Kingdom, Amun-Re, who was primarily worshipped at Thebes. From the start of the New Kingdom, when the god Amun-Re was elevated to the status of chief god, the Amun-Re temples, and the priests who worked there, received significant wealth in return for their support of the pharaoh and the recognition of his divine nature.

The considerable wealth, power and political influence of the priests of Amun-Re appears to have been a factor in the religious reforms implemented by the earlier pharaoh Akhenaten. Akehnaten may have feared that the priests could threaten the pharaoh's position of unquestioned authority so he radically attempted to take power back from the them. Akhenaten did this by promoting the worship of the Aten sun disc at the expense of the old gods, and by moving the royal court away from the influence of Amun-Re through building a new capital city, Akhetaten, in between Thebes and Memphis.

Later pharaohs, including Rameses II, undid Akhenaten's reforms by tearing down the temples dedicated to the Aten and restoring the worship of Egypt's traditional gods. However, Rameses II seems to have taken measures to avoid Amun-Re's priests from challenging the pharaoh again. While Rameses glorified Amun-Re as assisting him in warfare, he made sure to pay similar homage to other important gods, including Ptah, Atum and Re. Probably inspired by the example of Amenhotep III, Rameses II appears to have elevated himself to an equal status with the gods in many of his statues and temples (especially in Nubia), further cementing his, the pharaoh's, unquestioned authority.

ACTIVITY 18.1

Answer the following questions based on your reading of the text above.

1. Explain what the relationship between the pharaoh and the gods was in the New Kingdom.
2. Explain how the 'great Abydos inscription' would have reassured Rameses II's subjects that he was the rightful heir to the throne.
3. What actions by Akhenaten would have seemed quite controversial to Egyptians of the New Kingdom?
4. Explain how Rameses II used religion to his advantage during his reign.

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18.2 What kind of kingdom did Rameses II inherit?

For much of the New Kingdom, Egypt had competed with a rival superpower, the Hittite Empire, for control over southern Syria, Palestine and Israel, which together form the region historians call the Levant. In ancient times, these areas were referred to as the land of Canaan (modern-day Israel-Palestine) and Amurru (modern-day southern Syria). In addition to the gold mines that Egypt controlled in Nubia, the Levant was an important source of wealth for the Egyptian empire, generating income through trade and from tribute. Retaining control over the lands to the east was a high priority for most pharaohs; the city of Kadesh, a fortified city located on the Orontes River in southern Syria was of particular strategic importance for control over this region.

Through a series of successful military campaigns, Thutmose III (18th Dynasty) expanded Egypt's control over this region, as well as Nubia, creating the biggest empire Egypt had ever seen. However, near the end of the 18th Dynasty and at the start of the 19th Dynasty, control over the Levant changed hands a number of times. Much of Egypt's influence over the lands to the east, including the fortress-city of Kadesh, was lost during the turbulent reign of Akhenaten, who appears to have shown little regard for foreign affairs while implementing his religious reforms. Understanding its importance to Egypt, Akhenaten's successors Tutankhamun and Horemheb (the last pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty) tried and failed to recapture the city of Kadesh.

Little is known of Horemheb's successor, Rameses I, the first king of the 19th Dynasty, except that he was from a military background rather than of royal blood, and had served as Horemheb's vizier and chief of the army. Of the second pharaoh of the 19th Dynasty, however, we know more. Rameses I's son Seti I subdued rebellious peoples in Palestine and Southern Syria, and waged war on the Hittites to recover provinces that had been lost by Egypt. Seti I managed to temporarily conquer the city of Kadesh, but on his return to Egypt it was lost to the Hittites, where it became a stronghold for Hittite defences in Syria.

Rameses II (1279–1213 BCE) became pharaoh in 1279 BCE following the death of his father Seti I. He had been prepared for this moment by sharing a co-regency with Seti from around the age of 14 and participating in some minor military skirmishes in Nubia. For the early period of his career (regnal Years 1–4) there is not a great deal of evidence, and what does exist is often fragmentary or riddled with gaps.

In comparison to the kings of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the role of the pharaoh in the New Kingdom needed to evolve. As a result of Egypt's foreign conquests, each pharaoh was now challenged with defending Egypt's empire through military campaigns and maintaining diplomatic relations with foreign kingdoms. This was on top of the traditional duties of acting as intermediary between their subjects and the gods, maintaining *ma'at* (order and harmony), dispensing justice and overseeing matters of domestic administration.

Bernadette Menu describes the operation of Egypt's empire at the start of Rameses II's reign:

> The Near East empire formed by the four pharaohs named Thutmose and the four Amenhoteps comprised a cluster of more or less autonomous cities and states under Egyptian supervision. The coloniser sent army garrisons and a governor who collected tribute. The pharaohs built temples to the national Egyptian divinities: to Amun at Gaza and to Amun or Ptah at Jerusalem. The semi-autonomous princes of Syria-Palestine sent their children to Egypt to be educated. Nubia, on the other hand, was administered directly, as an Egyptian province.

SOURCE 18.3 Menu, B., (trans. Hirsch, L.), 1999, *Ramesses the Great: Warrior and Builder*, Thames & Hudson, p. 20

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ACTIVITY 18.2

Answer the following questions based on your reading of the text and sources.

1. Under which pharaohs had Egypt reached the height of its empire?
2. Using the map provided in Source 18.2, describe the extent of Egypt's empire by the conclusion of Thutmose III's reign.
3. Which lands were part of Egypt's empire? How did Egypt maintain control over these areas?
4. What challenges faced the pharaohs who succeeded Akhenaten?
5. Why was the city of Kadesh of particular strategic importance to Egypt's pharaohs?
6. What were the roles, duties and expectations of pharaohs in the New Kingdom?



SOURCE 18.4 Image of Rameses II in battle against Nubians, from the wall of a temple built by Rameses at Beit el-Wali in Lower Nubia. What messages did this image convey to the local population?

Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the nature of power and how it was exercised in the Ancient World

18.3 What sources are available for the reign of Rameses II?

Most of our knowledge of Rameses II's reign comes from the non-literary evidence he himself left behind in the form of hundreds of written inscriptions and visual representations carved on the buildings, stelae and statues he constructed at Abydos, Karnak, Luxor, Abu Simbel and the Ramesseum. There are however other sources, including earthworks, biological and anatomical evidence, tomb contents and wall paintings, which can enhance our understanding of his life.

Some types of evidence available for Rameses II are below.

Literary sources	Non–literary sources
• Written inscriptions on walls of buildings, stelae, statue bases	• Visual representations of the pharaoh, gods and others inscribed on walls of buildings and stelae
• Diplomatic correspondence – clay tablets, scarabs	• Physical structures: buildings, monuments, obelisks – religious and secular
• Papyrii – generally copies of inscriptions	• Statuary

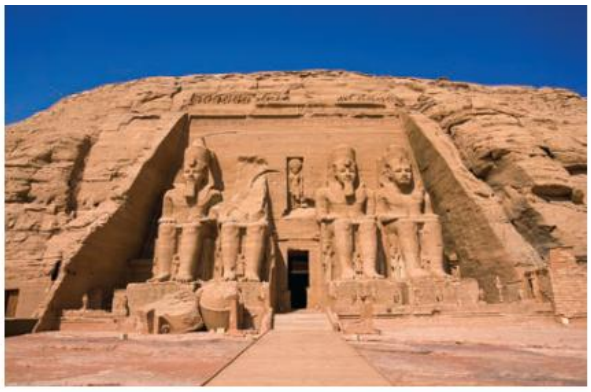
The analysis of a source means studying it in detail by breaking it down into its component parts. The skill of analysis requires close and multiple examinations of a source in order to understand the explicit (immediately apparent or obvious) meanings, as well as the implicit (not outwardly stated or obvious) meanings.

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Abu Simbel temple is located in Nubia, south of Egypt. The temple was completed in Year 34 of Rameses's reign.



SOURCE 18.5 Depiction of Nubian prisoners of war on wall of Abu Simbel Temple, Nubia



SOURCE 18.6 Four colossal statues of Rameses II in front of Abu Simbel temple, Nubia

The following inscription describes the enemy chief who Rameses II fought at the Battle of Kadesh (Year five of his reign). It was carved into the walls of the temples at Luxor, Abu Simbel and the Ramesseum, and is accompanied by a visual depiction of the chief.

> The vanquished, wretched chief of the Hittites, standing before his infantry and chariots with his face turned round, and his heart afraid. He went not forth to battle, for fear of his majesty, after he saw his majesty prevailing against the vanquished chief of the Hittites and all the chiefs of all the countries who were with him. His majesty he overthrew them. The vanquished chief of the Hittites said: 'He is like Set, great in might; Baal is in his limbs'.

SOURCE 18.7 A description of a Hittite chief

ACTIVITY 18.3

1. For Sources 18.5 to 18.7 complete the source analysis table available in the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 3*.
2. What do these sources show about how Egypt regarded its enemies or foreigners?
3. How might these sources have helped reinforce Rameses's power over his people?
4. Which aspects of Egyptian life might these sources be useful for? Explain your answer in relation to the following:
   - daily life
   - warfare
   - religious beliefs
   - administration of the empire
   - diplomatic relations
   - art and architecture.

GO

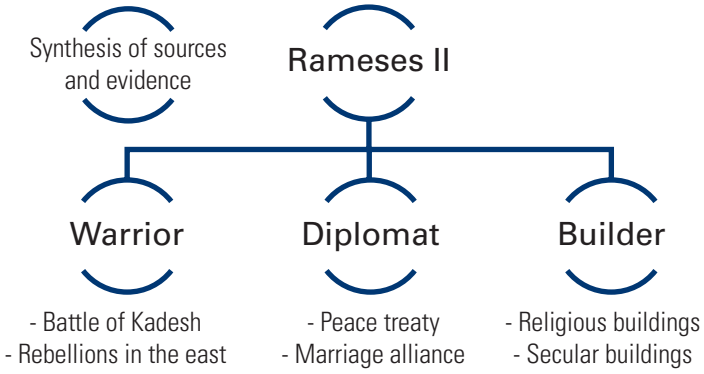
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SOURCE 18.8 The Ramessesum, Rameses II's memorial temple. What type of source is this? What might be the limitations of using a source like this for knowledge of Rameses's reign?

Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument about a powerful individual, group or society in the Ancient World

In this section, you will assess Rameses II's reign by considering his reputation versus his actual achievements in three fields: as a warrior, a diplomat and a builder.



18.4 Was Rameses II really a great warrior?

In Year 4 of Rameses II's reign, he mounted his first major military campaign into the Levant, where he had success against the Hittites and gained control over the region of Amurru. However, not long after, Amurru was recaptured by the Hittite King Muwatalli II. In Year 5 of his reign, Rameses II returned to the region with a large force of infantry and chariots that had been assembled at his new capital city of Pi-Rameses (House of Rameses). His sights were set on retaking the city of Kadesh.

Inscriptions and visual representations recounting Rameses II's military campaigns in the Levant, particularly the famous Battle of Kadesh, feature so prominently on buildings throughout his kingdom that it is clear he considered this to be the greatest achievement of his reign. Multiple versions of Rameses's official account of the Battle of Kadesh, which occurred in Year 5 of his reign, were inscribed on temples at Karnak, Luxor, Abydos, Abu Simbel and the Ramesseum. These versions appear in three forms: the record, (the official narrative of the main events of the battle), the poem (another version of the battle, but with more artistic licence), and in visual representations of the battle. All of these versions glorify Rameses as a heroic warrior favoured by the gods.

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ACTIVITY 18.4

Answer the following questions based on your reading of the text above.

1. In what region of the world did the Battle of Kadesh take place?
2. What evidence is there that Rameses II considered this battle to be a highlight of his reign?

The Battle of Kadesh (Years 4–5 of reign)

In Rameses's fifth year, his army departed Pi-Rameses his capital city in the Nile Delta, on a campaign against the Hittite stronghold of Kadesh on the Orontes River. Along the way, a force of recruits was detached to secure a nearby seaport at Simyra, on the coast of the region of Amurru. His main army was divided into four main forces (named after the gods Re, Amun, Ptah and Set), each consisting of around 5000 men, both infantry and chariots.

About thirteen kilometres south of Kadesh, Rameses crossed the Orontes River near the town of Shabtuna, and then passed through a wooded area to arrive at a plain just south of the city. Two Hittite spies (Shasu tribesmen) allowed themselves to be captured and gave false information about the whereabouts of the Hittite king, stating that he was still in the region of Aleppo, well north of Kadesh. Convinced by this information, Rameses approached the city of Kadesh with only one quarter of his army and set up camp.

The following official narrative of the Battle of Kadesh is mainly adapted from the version inscribed on the Ramesseum, with gaps filled in by copies of the same narrative from Abu Simbel and Luxor temples. It provides information on events leading up to the Battle, as well as the Battle itself.

(When) his majesty had arrived at the locality south of the town of Shabtuna, there came two Shasu tribesmen, to speak to his majesty as follows: 'Our people, who belong to the greatest of the families with the vanquished chief of the Hittites, have made us come to his majesty, to say: "We will be subjects of Pharaoh and we will flee from the chief of the Hittites; for the chief of the Hittites sits in the land of Aleppo, on the north of Tunip. He is too afraid of the Pharaoh to come southward."' Now, these Shasu spoke these words to his majesty falsely, for the chief of the Hittites made them come to spy where his majesty was, in order to cause the army of his majesty not to be prepared for fighting him ...

The chief of the Hittites came with every chief of every country, their infantry and their chariots, which he had brought with him by force, and stood, ready and armed, drawn up in line of battle behind Kadesh, while his majesty (Rameses II) was unaware. Then Rameses proceeded northward and arrived on the northwest of Kadesh; and his army made camp there.

Then, as Rameses sat upon a throne of gold, there arrived a scout who was in the following of his majesty, and he brought two scouts of the vanquished chief of the Hittites. They were conducted into his presence, and his majesty said to them: 'What are you?'

They said: 'As for us, the chief of the Hittites has commanded that we should come to spy out where his majesty is.'

Said Rameses to them: 'He! Where is he, the chief of the Hittites? Behold, I have heard, saying: "He is in the land of Aleppo."'

Said they: 'See, the chief of the Hittites is ready, together with many countries ... they are standing, drawn up for battle, behind Kadesh.'

Then his majesty had the princes called into the presence, and had them hear every word which the two scouts of the chief of the Hittites, who were in his presence, had spoken ... Said the princes who were in the presence of his majesty: 'It is a great fault, which the governors of the countries and the officials of Pharaoh have committed in not informing you that the chief of the Hittites was near the king ... '

(continued)

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Then the vizier was ordered to hasten the army of his majesty, while they were marching on the south of Shabtuna, in order to bring them to the place where his majesty was.

While his majesty sat talking with the princes, the chief of the Hittites ... crossed over the channel on the south of Kadesh, and charged into the army of his majesty while they were marching, and not expecting it. Then the infantry and chariots of his majesty retreated before them, northward to the place where his majesty was. [The Hittites] surrounded the bodyguard of his majesty, who were by his side.

When his majesty saw them, he was enraged against them, like his father, Montu, lord of Thebes. He seized his weapons, and dressed himself in his coat of mail. He was like Baal in his hour. Then he went to his horses, and led quickly on, being alone by himself. He charged into the army of the chief of the Hittites, and the numerous countries which were with him. His majesty was like Set, the great in strength, smiting and slaying among them; his majesty hurled them headlong, one upon another into the water of the Orontes.

'I charged all countries, while I was alone, my infantry and my chariots having forsaken me. Not one among them stood to turn about. I swear, as Re loves me, as my father, Atum, favours me, that, (everything I stated), I did it in truth, in the presence of my infantry and my chariots.'

SOURCE 18.9 The record – Rameses's official account of the Battle of Kadesh

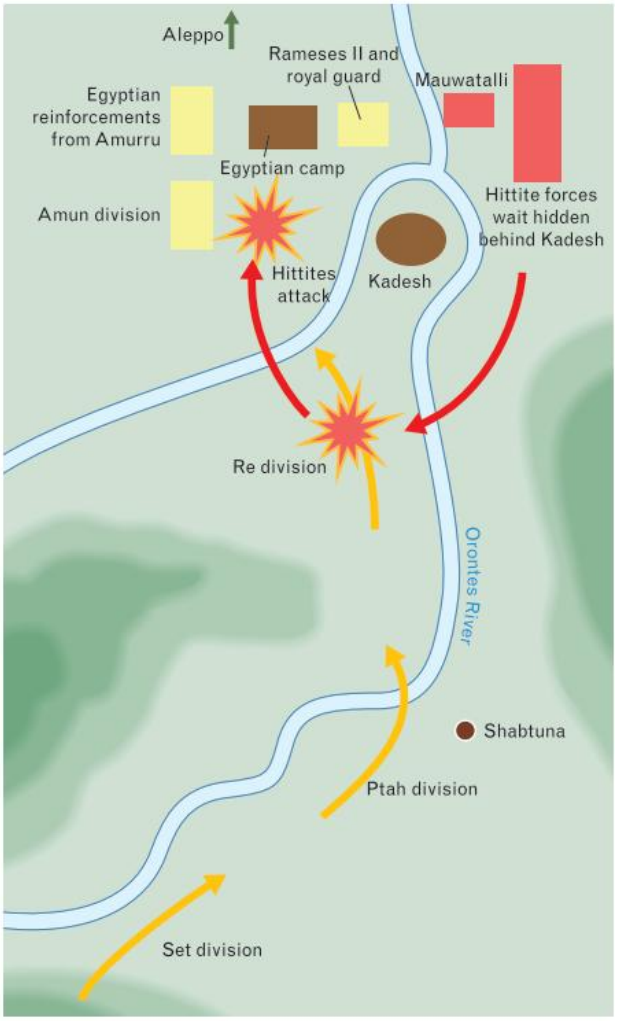


SOURCE 18.10 A Hittite chariot carried three soldiers, Egyptian chariots carried only two. Research the roles of the crew of a Hittite chariot and suggest why the third charioteer provided an advantage over the Egyptian chariot in battle.

ACTIVITY 18.5

Answer the following questions based on your reading of the record (Source 18.9).

1. Create a flowchart or sequence to explain the main events and turning points of the Battle.
2. How was Rameses II caught by surprise by the Hittite chief Muwatalli?
3. Based on Source 18.9, what impression did you get about Rameses as a warrior and military commander?
4. Suggest why Rameses II adds his own statement at the end of the inscription.



SOURCE 18.11 The relative positions of the Egyptians and Hittites at the Battle of Kadesh

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The following version of the Battle of the Kadesh is adapted from versions inscribed on Luxor and Karnak Temples, as well as from versions that exist on papyri. It does not mention Rameses being tricked by the Hittites. Consider how the following excerpts explain the reason for the final outcome of the battle.

[Rameses] rode at a gallop, and charged the enemy army of the Hittites, being all alone and having none with him.

When his majesty looked behind him he saw that 2500 enemy chariots had him surrounded

...

the wretched Prince of the Hittites stood in the midst of his army and watched the fight, which his majesty (Rameses II) fought all alone without infantry or chariots. He stood with face averted and irresolute

...

[On the second day of the Battle]

the wretched fallen prince of the Hittites sent and revered the great name of his majesty [Rameses II]: 'You are Re-Harakhty, you are Set, great in strength, son of Nut; Baal is in your limbs, and you terrorise the land of the Hittites. You have broken forever the back of the prince of the Hittites.' He sent his envoy with a letter, which was addressed to the great name of my majesty ... [the letter said] 'You are the son of Re, who came from his limbs, and he has given you all lands united in one. The land of Egypt and the land of the Hittites, they are your servants and they lie at your feet ... Yesterday you slew hundreds of thousands, and today you come and leave us no heirs surviving. Be not severe in your words, O mighty king; peace is better than strife of battle. Give us breath!'

SOURCE 18.12 The poem – another widely copied version of the Battle of Kadesh

ACTIVITY 18.6

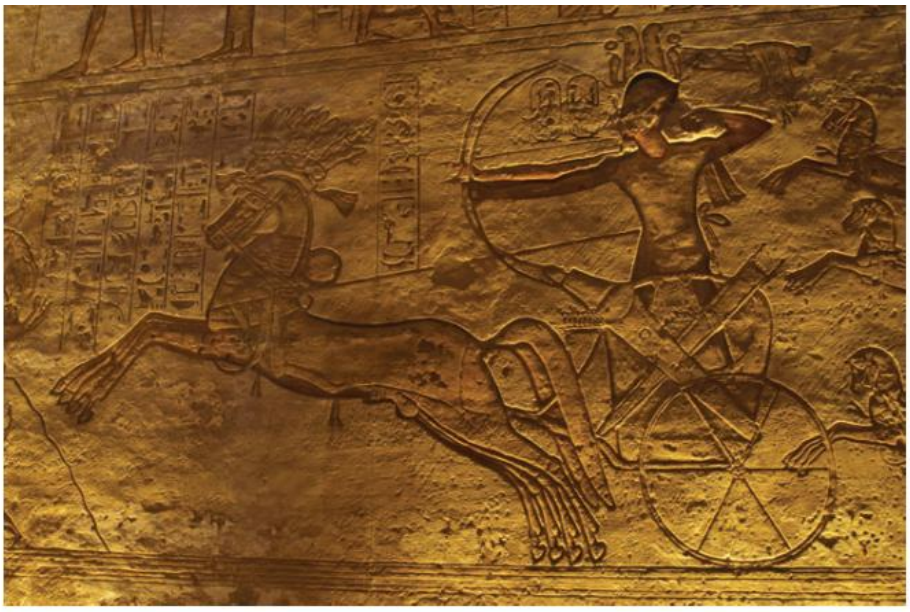
1. What information in Source 18.12 (the poem) corroborates the version in Source 18.9 (the record)?
2. What additional information about the battle did you learn from reading the poem? Add this to your flowchart or sequence from question 1 of Activity 18.5.
3. Create a simple T-chart to compare the personal qualities of Rameses and Muwatalli II. Include two quotes from the sources for each leader that illustrates how they are respectively presented.

Rameses II	Muwatalli II

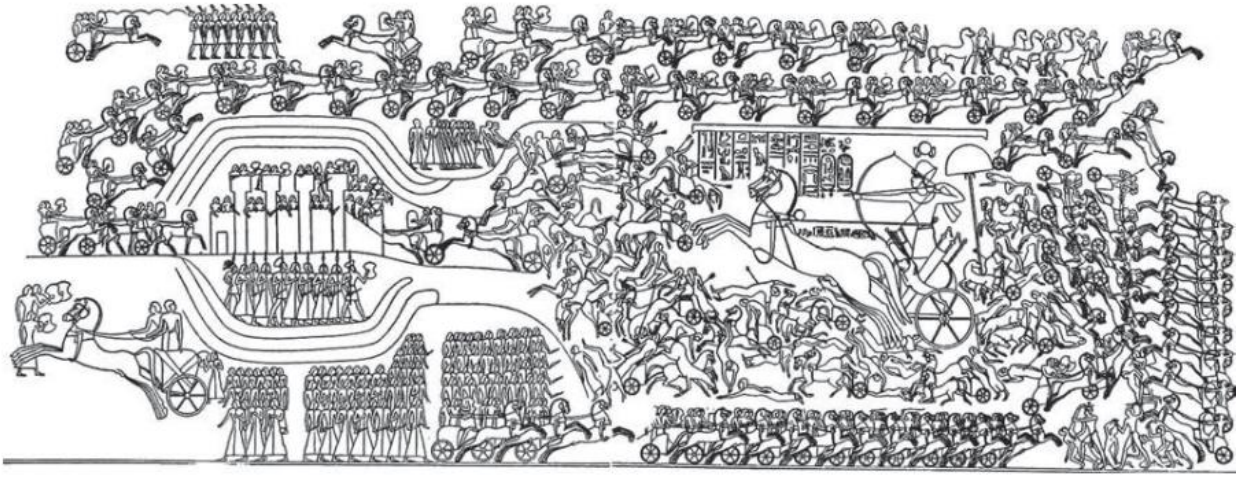
4. Why do you think Rameses continually emphasises that he was alone? To what extent do you think this could be historically accurate? Justify your answer.
5. According to the poem, how does the battle end?

The visual representation of Rameses in Source 18.13 (refer to the next page) is from Abu Simbel Temple in Nubia and the visual representation of the Battle of Kadesh in Source 18.14 comes from the Luxor Temple. Illustrations of inscriptions like these are commonly used where the original inscription has deteriorated or is unclear. At Luxor, Abu Simbel and the Ramesseum, the visual representations of the Battle of Kadesh are annotated with inscriptions describing what is happening in the various Muwatali parts of the scene. The inscription in Source 18.15 is located next to some of Rameses's soldiers. Most historians believe this representation describes the recruits who had been diverted via Simyra arriving just in time to save Rameses.

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SOURCE 18.13 Image of Rameses II at Kadesh



SOURCE 18.14 Visual representation of the Battle of Kadesh

> The arrival of the recruits of Pharaoh from the land of Amurru (Simyra). They found that the force of the chief of the Hittites had surrounded the camp of his majesty on its western side. His majesty had been camping alone, no army with him, awaiting the arrival of his officers and his army and the division with which Pharaoh was, had not finished setting up the camp. Now the division of Re and the division of Ptah were on the march; they had not yet arrived, and their officers were in the forest of Bewey. Then the recruits cut off the enemy belonging to the chief of the Hittites, while the enemy were entering into the camp, and Pharaoh's officers slew them; they left not a single survivor among them. Their hearts were filled with the mighty valour of Pharaoh, their good lord.

SOURCE 18.15 An additional inscription that accompanies the visual representations

The next highly important source (Source 18.16) was discovered on a clay tablet in the ruins of the Hittite capital city, Hattusa (modern-day Boğazkale in Turkey). It is from a letter written a number of years after the Battle of Kadesh by the later Hittite King Hattusili III, describing the Hittite point of view on his predecessor Muwatalli's war against Rameses II.

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At the time that Muwatalli took the field against the king of the land of Egypt and the country of Amurru, and when he then had defeated the king of the land of Egypt and the country of Amurru, he returned to the country Upi (Damascus). When Muwatalli, my brother, had (also) defeated Upi, he [returned to] the Hatti land, but [left] me in the country of Upi.

SOURCE 18.16 A Hittite perspective on Kadesh

ACTIVITY 18.7

1. What qualities of Rameses II are emphasised in the way he is depicted in the visual representations of Sources 18.13 and 18.14? In what ways do these support the information about him from the record and poem?
2. Describe elements from the record or poem that you can see depicted in Source 18.14. In your description, include information about where they are found in the image (for example, top-left corner; bottom-right).
3. In Source 18.14, what geographical clue is there that the city depicted is Kadesh?
4. In Sources 18.13 and 18.14, why do you think Rameses II chose to represent the battle visually as well as through his written inscriptions?
5. What new information does Source 18.15 offer that is not in the other sources?
6. How does the Hittite version in Source 18.16 of the Battle of Kadesh compare to the Egyptian versions? Which do you think is more reliable?

Viewpoints on the Battle of Kadesh

Popular historian Joyce Tyldesley comments on the outcome of the Battle of Kadesh:

What really happened? Muwatalli had not committed his full infantry to the ambush on Re division; had he done so, the result would have been a foregone conclusion and Rameses would have suffered the humiliation of becoming the first New Kingdom monarch to be captured by the enemy. The bulk of the Hittite army waited instead with Muwatalli on the east bank of the Orontes, relying on the surprise chariot attack to wipe out a quarter of Rameses's divided army. The timely and totally unexpected arrival of the Egyptian elite troops – who are not mentioned in the texts but who can be seen arriving on a relief scene – came as a complete shock to the Hittites.

The Hittite records, recovered from Boğazkale, tell of a very different battle ending with a humiliated Rameses forced to retreat from Kadesh in ignominious defeat. The known facts do tend to support this Hittite version. Rameses's departure, without a signed treaty, allowed the Hittites to reinforce their hold on Kadesh and regain control of Amurru, deposing the unfortunate Benteshina who was marched off to Hatti to explain himself. The Hittites then pushed further south through the Beqaa Valley to secure the Egyptian territory of Upi which was placed under the control of the king's brother Hattusili. Soon Egypt's sphere of influence was once again restricted to Canaan.

SOURCE 18.17 Tyldesley, J., 2001, *Rameses: Egypt's Greatest Pharaoh*, Penguin Books, pp. 72–3

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The English novelist (and first winner of the Booker Prize) Percy Howard Newby offers his evaluation of Rameses at Kadesh:

> Rameses II, as he approached Kadesh, showed surprising lack of prudence and even gullibility ... Believing what he wanted to believe, Rameses swallowed the story that Kadesh was his for the taking and pressed on at the head of the Amun division, not even waiting for the rest of the army.

SOURCE 18.18 Newby, P.H., 1980, *Warrior Pharaohs: The Rise and Fall of the Egyptian Empire*, Book Club Associates, pp. 151–2

Cambridge historian Dr Toby Wilkinson evaluates the Egyptian tactics at Kadesh:

> But then, as if in answer to Rameses's desperate prayers, help arrived in the nick of time. It was not a miracle but the result of the Egyptians' tactical genius. While the main Egyptian army had marched overland to Kadesh, a reserve force of elite warriors had been sent by sea, up the Phoenician coast. Its instructions were to land at the Syrian port of Simrya and cut inland ... to link up with Rameses at Kadesh on the day of his arrival. They had done exactly as instructed.

SOURCE 18.19 Wilkinson, T., 2010, *The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt*, Random House, pp. 305–306

ACTIVITY 18.8

Answer the following questions based on your reading of Sources 18.17 to 18.19.

1. Complete the table below by identifying each author's point of view on Rameses's abilities as a warrior and commander at the Battle of Kadesh; select a relevant quote that best represents each author's point of view. Historians and experts on the topic disagree on some aspects of Rameses's military competence; rank each point of view from 1 to 3 to indicate which you found most and least convincing, and explain the reasoning for your decisions.

Source	Point of view on Rameses II	Quote from the author	Rank of how convincing
18.17 Tyldesley			
18.18 Newby			
18.19 Wilkinson			

2. Between the Egyptians and Hittites, which side do you think benefited most from the outcome of the battle? Who achieved their objectives?
3. Based on the secondary evidence provided, do you think the outcome of Kadesh for Rameses II was a win, loss or stalemate (draw)? Justify your answer.
4. What does the comparison of primary and secondary evidence show us about the nature of Rameses II's use of propaganda?
5. Do you think Rameses's subjects would know if the official version of events advertised on the walls of buildings around Egypt was not true? Justify your answer.
6. Using the primary and secondary evidence available, write a paragraph to argue whether you believe that Rameses deserves his reputation in history as a great warrior and military commander. Aim to include references to at least two primary and two secondary sources in your answer.

(continued)

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ACTIVITY 18.8 continued

7. Additional paragraph topics are below. Respond to one of the statements in a paragraph.

- Rameses II won the battle, but he lost the war.
- While Kadesh was a military loss for Rameses II, it was a propaganda victory.
- The result of Kadesh shows that Rameses II deserves his reputation as a master of spin.

Rameses II responds to rebellions (Years 7–10 of reign)

Rameses's return to Egypt after failing to conquer the city of Kadesh had almost immediate consequences for Egyptian control over the Levant. A number of princes in the region must have sensed weakness as they revolted against Egyptian rule. Between Years 7–10 of Rameses II's reign, he conducted a series of campaigns in the Levant, capturing Jerusalem, Jericho and the land of Upi (Damascus), before proceeding as far north as the land of Amurru (in southern Syria), where he marched against the cities of Dapur and Tunip to the north of Kadesh. As with the Battle of Kadesh, Rameses advertised his accomplishments in Dapur and Tunip on the walls of temples across Egypt. However, due to their distance from Egypt, Rameses was unable or unwilling to maintain control over these territories, which returned to Hittite control soon after the Egyptian forces returned home. After around 16 years of hostilities between Egypt and the Hittite empire, they agreed on a treaty of peace, which was honoured by both sides until Rameses's death.



SOURCE 18.20 Rameses II besieges Dapur. What does an analysis of this source reveal about the nature of Egyptian and Hittite warfare?

Source 18.20 is a visual representation from Luxor Temple (the illustration is based on the original inscription) of Rameses II besieging the town of Dapur.

18.5 Was Rameses II really a great diplomat?

The Egyptian–Hittite peace treaty (Year 21 of reign)

In Year 21 of Rameses II's reign, after approximately 16 years of conflict, the Egyptian and Hittite Empires agreed to a formal peace treaty. Remarkably, this peace treaty was honoured until the eventual collapse of the Hittite Empire nearly 80 years later. It is unclear which side had first requested the treaty, but it appears to have suited the strategic situation of both empires: Egypt faced increased pressure in the west from the growing threat of the Sherden (Sea Peoples) and the Hittites found themselves under threat from the rise of the Assyrian empire to their east.

The Egyptian–Hittite peace treaty is particularly interesting as it is the only peace treaty from the ancient Near East for which we have versions from both sides: the Hittite version, originally written in Akkadian, was inscribed on a silver tablet, then presented to Egypt, where it was translated and inscribed for posterity on stelae in the temples of Karnak and the Ramesseum; and the Egyptian version was discovered

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in the early 1900s on a cuneiform tablet in the archaeological site of Boğazkale, once the location of the Hittite capital city of Hattusa. The Egyptian version was discovered in what would have originally been the administrative archives of the Hittites; it is a copy made in ancient times of the version of the treaty that would have been sent from Egypt to the Hittites. Today it can be found in the Museum of the Ancient Orient, in Istanbul.



SOURCE 18.21 The Egyptian version of the Egyptian-Hittite peace treaty

ACTIVITY 18.9

Answer the following questions based on your reading of the text above and image of the Egyptian–Hittite peace treaty.

1. What was each side's motivation for agreeing to a peace treaty?
2. What does this source show about the problematic nature of using archaeological evidence from the Ancient World?

The following is a selection of some of the terms of the peace treaty made in Year 21 of Rameses II's reign, adapted from inscriptions on the temples at Karnak and the Ramesseum.

Behold then, Hattusili, the great chief of Hatti, is in treaty relation with Usermaatre-Setepenre (Rameses II), the great ruler of Egypt, beginning with this day ...

Behold, I, even the great chief of Hatti, am with Rameses II, the great ruler of Egypt, in good peace and in good brotherhood. The children of the children of the great chief of Hatti shall be in brotherhood and peace with the children of the children of Rameses II, the great ruler of Egypt, being in our relations of brotherhood and our relations of peace, that the land of Egypt may be with the land of Hatti in peace and brotherhood like ourselves, forever.

There shall be no hostilities between them, forever. The great chief of Hatti shall not pass over into the land of Egypt, forever, to take anything therefrom. Rameses, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not pass over into the land of Hatti, to take anything therefrom, forever.

If another enemy come against the lands of Usermaatre-Setepenre (Rameses II), the great ruler of Egypt, and he shall send to the great chief of Hatti, saying: 'Come with me as reinforcement against him,' the great chief of Hatti shall come, and the great chief of Hatti shall slay his enemy. But if it be not the desire of the great chief of Hatti to come, he shall send his infantry and his chariots, and shall slay his enemy.

If another enemy come against the great chief of Hatti, and he shall send to the great chief of Egypt, Usermaatre-Setepenre (Rameses II) for reinforcements then he shall come to him as reinforcement, to slay his enemy. But if it be not the desire of Rameses, the great ruler of Egypt, to come, he shall send his infantry and his chariots and shall slay his enemy.

If any great man of the land of Egypt shall flee and shall come to the great chief of Hatti, from a town of the lands of Rameses, the great ruler of Egypt, and they shall come to the great chief of Hatti, then the great chief of Hatti shall not receive them, but the great chief of Hatti shall cause them to be brought to Usermaatre-Setepenre (Rameses II), the great ruler of Egypt, their lord therefore.

Or if any great man shall flee from the land of Hatti, and he shall come to Usermaatre-Setepenre (Rameses II), the great ruler of Egypt, from either a town or a district or any region of those belonging

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to the land of Hatti, and they shall come to Rameses, the great ruler of Egypt, then Usermaatre-Setepenre (Rameses II), the great ruler of Egypt, shall not receive them, but Rameses, the great ruler of Egypt, shall cause them to be brought to the great chief of Hatti. They shall not be settled.

SOURCE 18.22 The text of the Egyptian version of the treaty

In the next source, are side-by-side adapted versions of introductions to the Hittite copy of the treaty and the Egyptian copy of the treaty. Overall, the text of the bodies of the two treaties is similar, but the introductions have a distinct difference.

Hittite version – in Hittite archives	**Egyptian version – inscribed on Egyptian temples**
And so be it, Rameses, the great king of Egypt, the strong, with Hattusili, the great king, king of the land Hatti, his brother, in order to give good peace, good brotherhood and to obtain a mighty kingdom between them as long as we live and forever a treaty has made.	Copy of the tablet of silver which the great chief of Hatti, Hattusili, caused to be brought to Pharaoh by the hand of his messenger ... in order to beg peace from the Majesty of Usermaatre-Setepenre (Rameses II), son of Re ... who makes his boundary where he will in every land.
Thus speaks Rameses (II), the great king, king of Egypt, the strong in all lands ... unto Hattusili, the great king, king of the land Hatti ... behold now I give good brotherhood, good peace between us forever, in order to give good peace, good brotherhood by means of a treaty of Egypt with Hatti forever. So it is.	The treaty which the great prince of Hatti, Hattusili, the strong ... made upon a tablet of silver for Usermaatre-Setepenre (Rameses II), the great ruler of Egypt, the strong ... the good treaty of peace and brotherhood, giving peace and brotherhood between us by means of a treaty of Hatti with Egypt forever

SOURCE 18.23 Hittite and Egyptian copies of the treaty

ACTIVITY 18.10

Answer the following questions based on your reading of Sources 18.22 to 18.23.

1. Summarise the main terms of the peace treaty. For how long was this treaty meant to last?
2. Describe how each peace treaty is introduced. What differences are there in the introductions?
3. Why might both sides have wished to portray the treaty as having initially been requested by the other king?

Viewpoints on the peace treaty

Professor Stephen Langdon and Alan Gardiner offer an observation on the peace treaty:

There can be no shadow of doubt that the Karnak and Ramesseum stelae preserve the final version of the treaty as accepted by Hattusili ... Students have not hitherto drawn the correct inference from the passages referring to Muwatalli – passages which, as we have shown, stood in the Hittite original. They seem to contain an acknowledgment of Hatti aggression which, whether exacted by Rameses or not, indicates a certain humility of attitude on the part of the Hittite king. There has been a tendency of late to assume that the Egyptians were the real losers in the war with Hattusili; our researches,

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if they suggest any conclusion on this point, suggest rather that Hattusili was the one who sued for peace and was ready to cry *peccavi* [acknowledge he was wrong].

SOURCE 18.24 Langdon, S. and Gardiner, A.H., 1920, The Treaty of Alliance between Hattusili, King of the Hittites, and the Pharaoh Ramesses II of Egypt, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 6.3, p. 201

Egyptologist James. Breasted discusses the relations of Egypt and Hatti after the peace treaty:

This is the light then, in which the Egyptians chose to represent their relations with Hatti. But the peace was not broken, and we are able to trace the amicable relations between the two nations through the thirty-fifth year of Rameses's reign, and we know it continued also into that of his successor.

SOURCE 18.25 Breasted, J. H., 1988, *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical documents from the earliest times to the Persian conquest*, Vol. 3, Histories & Mysteries of Man, p. 175

Joyce Tyldesley evaluates the outcome of the peace treaty:

The sealing of the treaty brought an end to eastern hostilities. Amurru and Kadesh were now irretrievably lost (by Egypt) to the Hittites but the Syrian territories would remain Egyptian and there would be free access to the important port of Ugarit. Rameses never relaxed firm control of his eastern vassals and his reign saw the start of a deliberate policy of remodelling which was to continue into the early 20th Dynasty. Canaanite cities deemed to be of little to no economic use were now abandoned, while others, considered to be of economic or strategic importance, were strengthened to serve as Egyptian outposts. The more important cities housed permanent garrisons containing large numbers of Egyptian soldiers and Nubian police.

The Hittite and Egyptian courts were suddenly on the most friendly of terms, with the two royal families exchanging a series of personal letters and gifts.

SOURCE 18.26 Tyldesley, J., 2001, *Ramesses: Egypt's Greatest Pharaoh*, Penguin Books, p. 77

French Egyptologist Bernadette Menu evaluates the outcome of the peace treaty:

The pharaoh thus magnificently fulfilled his fundamental obligations as son and heir to the gods. An era of peace and prosperity, even of opulence, followed the war, and Egypt experienced decades of wellbeing, until the death of Rameses II.

SOURCE 18.27 Menu, B., 1999, *Ramesses the Great: Warrior and Builder*, trans. Laurel Hirsch, Thames & Hudson, p. 97

ACTIVITY 18.11

Answer the following questions based on your reading of Sources 18.24 to 18.27.

1. How did each side benefit from the peace treaty and alliance? Create a simple T-chart to compare the benefits for each side.



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ACTIVITY 18.11 continued

2. In your opinion, who benefited most from the peace treaty?
3. How successful was the peace treaty in the long-term?
4. Consider the following statement: The peace treaty between Egypt and Hatti should be seen as one of the great successes of Rameses II's reign. Write a paragraph agreeing or disagreeing with the statement. You should aim to include references to examples from at least two sources in your answer.

Marriage alliance with Hittites (Year 34 of reign)

In Year 34 of Rameses reign, nine years after the peace treaty between Egypt and the Hittites was agreed upon, the alliance was strengthened with a diplomatic marriage between Rameses II and Maathorneferure, the eldest daughter of Hattusili III, the Hittite king. Maathorneferure became one of Rameses's eight royal wives (including a second Hittite princess whom he married later), travelling south from the Hittite capital, Hattusa, from late 1246 BCE to February 1245 BCE, to marry Rameses in his capital city, Pi-Rameses. Our knowledge of the marriage ceremony comes mostly from Rameses's commemoration of the event on a stele, known as the Marriage Stele, at his temple in Abu Simbel.

18.6 Was Rameses II really a great builder?

One of Rameses II's most significant achievements was his expansive building program, which began soon after his return from the Battle of Kadesh. Rameses was a prolific builder, constructing more temples and monumental structures than any other pharaoh. Some of Rameses II's most well-known building projects include the construction of Pi-Rameses (the new capital city near Avaris in the eastern Nile Delta), the expansion of the temple complex at Karnak (with the addition of a huge hypostyle hall), the construction of the Ramesseum at Thebes, and temples at Abu Simbel, Luxor and Abydos. Rameses's reign also produced hundreds of statues and stelae to advertise his achievements and promote him to his people. In addition to this religious infrastructure, he built a line of defensive forts to the west of Egypt and sunk a well in Nubia to service gold mining operations there.

Egyptologist Alan Gardiner on Karnak, the Ramesseum, Abydos, Memphis and Abu Simbel:

> If the greatness of an Egyptian Pharaoh be measured by the size and number of the monuments remaining to perpetuate his memory, Seti's son and successor Rameses II would have to be adjudged the equal, or even the superior, of the proudest pyramid-builders. The great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak is in the main his achievement, and on the west bank at Thebes his funerary temple known as the Ramesseum still retains a large part of its original grandeur. At Abydos his temple stands as a not unworthy second side by side with that of his father, which he finished. The edifices at Memphis have been largely demolished by later marauders greedy for suitable building stone, but portions of great statues of Rameses II attest the former presence of a vast temple of his; moreover, this is referred to in a well-known [stele] preserved in the Nubian temple of Abu Simbel, where Rameses acknowledges the blessings conferred upon him by the Memphite god Ptah ... It is in Nubia, however, that his craze for self-advertisement is most conspicuous.

SOURCE 18.28 Gardiner, A., 1972, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford University Press, pp. 255–6

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Egyptologist Jacobus Van Dijk on Pi-Rameses Memphis and building in general:

> Many of Rameses's high officials lived and worked in Pi-Rameses, but most of them appear to have been buried elsewhere, particularly in the necropolis of Memphis. About thirty-five tombs of the Ramesside period have so far been excavated there, some of them very large. These tombs still took the form of an Egyptian temple, but, compared to the tombs of the late 18th dynasty, the workmanship had declined ... In addition, the quality of the limestone itself was often not very good, and, rather than carefully make the blocks fit against each other, a liberal amount of plaster was used to fill the gaps between the blocks. Nor do the reliefs carved on them compare favourably with those in the older tombs in the cemetery. This general decline in the quality of the workmanship can be observed throughout the country, even in the king's own temples; of the two main relief-sculpting techniques, the superior, but more time-consuming and more expensive raised relief all but disappeared after the first years of the reign, in favour of the common sunk relief. Generally speaking, Rameses's monuments impress more by their size and quantity than by their delicacy and perfection.

SOURCE 18.29 Van Dijk, J., 2003, The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom, in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Shaw, I., Oxford University Press, pp. 292–3

Egyptologist Cyril Aldred on Pi-Rameses and other constructions:

> [Rameses] usurped a great deal of the work of earlier kings to adorn the new capital of Pi-Rameses on which he expended so much treasure. These appropriations have won him the reputation in modern times of being the arch-plunderer of others' monuments. This judgement, however, is too harsh. According to Egyptian beliefs a statue that had not received its annual consecration was deprived of its virtue, and belonged to no one. There were still many monuments remaining from the time of Akhenaten that had lain neglected and required reconsecration on new sites during the reign of Rameses II. Much of his work, particularly the latter half of his long reign, is coarse, tasteless and tired, and involved the usurpation of much earlier work, particularly that of Amenhotep III, but he left so universal and impressive a legend of superhuman qualities that his successors could only attempt a pale reflection of it.

SOURCE 18.30 Aldred, C., 1998, *The Egyptians* (3rd ed.), Thames & Hudson, pp. 171–2

ACTIVITY 18.12

1. Complete the table below for Sources 18.28 to 18.30. In the middle column, state whether you believe the author of the source would support or refute the following statement: Rameses II truly deserves his reputation as the greatest builder of ancient Egypt.

Source	View (supports or refutes)	Quotation from the source
18.28 Gardiner		
18.29 Van Dijk		
18.30 Aldred		

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ACTIVITY 18.12 continued

2. Where were some of Rameses's most famous buildings constructed?
3. What criticisms do the authors raise about his legacy as a great builder?
4. Luxor Temple (Source 18.31) is located at the site of the ancient city of Thebes. Research what alterations Rameses made to this temple and suggest whether they support the argument that Rameses was a great builder.



SOURCE 18.31 Luxor Temple of Rameses II

Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about people, power and authority in the Ancient World

18.7 Power and authority in New Kingdom Egypt

In Year 30 of Rameses's reign, he celebrated his first Sed festival (also referred to as a jubilee). The origins of this festival went back to predynastic times, when the early kings of Egypt may have been ritually sacrificed upon reaching an age at which they could no longer adequately perform their duties. From the 1st Dynasty onwards, it was conducted in the 30th year of a pharaoh's reign and then every three years afterwards. By this time, human sacrifice was a distant memory. The festival involved a series of rituals that were intended to symbolically renew the pharaoh's powers to enable them to continue to rule successfully. As the Sed festival could not be conducted until three decades into a pharaoh's reign, celebrating one was a significant achievement, generally indicating that the pharaoh had enjoyed a successful rule, and had overcome any significant challenges and threats that had come their way. Most pharaohs would have been fortunate to celebrate a single Sed festival, but Rameses II remarkably celebrated a total of thirteen or fourteen.

Compared with the first thirty years of Rameses's reign, there is relatively little known about the second half of his rule. However, he evidently continued to construct numerous statues and temples, completing the construction of Abu Simbel in Year 34, the same year that he had his first diplomatic marriage to a Hittite princess. He had many wives and famously fathered at least one hundred children. One of the consequences of having such a long reign was that Rameses outlived a number of his heirs, but he was eventually succeeded upon his death in 1213 BCE, Year 66 of his reign, by his thirteenth son, Merenptah.

Contested views on Rameses II's legacy

James Breasted appraises the state of Egypt's borders left by Rameses II for his successor:

> For this [the invasion of Libyans and Mediterranean peoples], one of the most serious invasions which have ever threatened Egypt ... sources enable us to see the already aged Merenptah facing the evil conditions on his Libyan frontier, inherited from the decades of neglect which concluded his

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great father's reign. The Libyans [had] for years past been pushing into and occupying the western Delta. They pressed in almost to the gates of Memphis, eastward to the district of Heliopolis, and southward to the two oases nearest the Fayum. Worse than this, they had made a coalition with the maritime peoples of the Mediterranean, who now poured into the Delta from Sardinia on the west to Asia Minor on the east ... With the sympathy, if not the direct assistance of the Hittites, the Libyan king, Meryey, put himself at the head of these combined allies and invaded the Delta, bringing his wives and belongings, and apparently intending a permanent occupation.

SOURCE 18.32 Adapted from Breasted, J. H., 1988, *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical documents from the earliest times to the Persian conquest*, Vol. 3, Histories & Mysteries of Man, p. 238

Marc Van de Mieroop assesses the state of Egypt at the end of Rameses II's reign:

When Rameses II died of old age in 1213, the country he left behind seems to have been in good shape. Egypt was secure in its fortified borders, it was at peace with other great states, and economically it was strong. One hundred and forty years later, if not earlier, it was in ruins. Foreign rulers no longer treated it with respect and politically the country was divided.

SOURCE 18.33 Van de Mieroop, M., *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2011, p. 240

Zahi Hawass discusses Rameses II's reputation among later pharaohs:

The Egyptians kept the memory of their great King alive in their hearts, just as the earth preserved his monuments and statues. Rameses II remained a mythical hero to the ancient Egyptians, and was the highest example for all the kings who followed him. Most of the kings after him were named Rameses, from Rameses III through Rameses XI. Rameses III, who founded the Twentieth Dynasty, considered Rameses II to be his sacred hero. He named all of his children after the children of Rameses II, built a new quarter in the capital city of Pi-Rameses in the Delta, and built his own mortuary temple, Medinet Habu, along the lines of the Ramesseum, Rameses II's mortuary temple. In his own temple, he even added a special altar for the worship of Rameses II.

SOURCE 18.34 Hawass, Z., 2000, *The Mysteries of Abu Simbel: Ramesses II and the Temples of the Rising Sun*, The American University in Cairo, p. 61

Bernadette Menu gives an overall assessment of Rameses II:

It may truthfully be said that the reign of Rameses II marked a point of culmination in pharaonic history. Under his administration the imperial power of Egypt grew immensely, and the empire greatly extended its international political authority, and its cultural and religious influence. The efficiency of his government, the splendour of his court, and the number and importance of his monuments remain unequalled. In his time the land enjoyed a long period of general peace and prosperity ... Rameses II remained the exemplar, in deeds and in memory dazzling and incomparable, like the sun at its zenith.

SOURCE 18.35 Menu, B., 1999, *Ramesses the Great: Warrior and Builder*, Thames & Hudson, pp. 126–7

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Nicolas Grimal comments on the consequences of the length of Rameses II's reign:

> Rameses II died after one of the longest reigns ever known in Egypt. He left the country at the peak of its strength and international influence, but his own family was wracked by successional problems, despite the fact that tradition credits him with about a hundred children. By the time he had celebrated fourteen jubilee festivals, he had outlived many of his sons: Sethirkhepeshef, who became crown prince in the nineteenth year of his reign; Rameses, who became heir in the twenty-fifth year; and Khaemwaset, the prince-archaeologist and restorer of the Memphite monuments ... the Nineteenth Dynasty survived for only a generation after Rameses II's death.

SOURCE 18.36 Grimal, N., 1992, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, Blackwell, p. 267

Toby Wilkinson presents his views on the consequences of the length of Rameses II's reign:

> Rameses II's extraordinary reign of sixty-seven years certainly had its positive and negative effects on the government of Egypt. On the plus side, the king's determination and charisma enabled him to restore Egypt's reputation as an imperial power, while the plethora of monuments erected during his reign testified to the country's renewed confidence and prosperity. On the down side, Rameses's longevity combined with his extraordinary fecundity – he fathered at least fifty sons and as many daughters – sowed the seeds for major problems in the royal succession in the following decades.

SOURCE 18.37 Wilkinson, T., 2010, *The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt*, Random House, p. 323

Jacobus Van Dijk appraises the border defences left by Rameses II:

> The major event of Merenptah's reign occurred in his year 5 ... a campaign against the Libyans. They had been a problem even during his father's and grandfather's reigns, but the fortresses Rameses II had built along the western borders of the Delta were obviously unable to prevent the invasion of a massive coalition of Libyan and other tribes led by their king Meryey.

SOURCE 18.38 Van Dijk, J., 2003, The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom, in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Shaw, I., Oxford University Press, p. 294

ACTIVITY 18.13

Answer the following questions based on your reading of Sources 18.32 to 18.38.

1. Many histories of Rameses II begin by emphasising the remarkable length of his reign. To what extent would the historians above agree that the length of his reign was ultimately good for Egypt? Provide some examples from the sources to support your answer.
2. According to Zahi Hawass, how was Rameses II perceived by the later pharaohs of the 19th and 20th Dynasties?
3. What do the experiences of Rameses II's successor Merenptah suggest about the state of Egypt at the time of Rameses II's death?
4. The nature of the legacy Rameses II left for his successors is contested by the historians above. Some argue that he left Egypt in a good position domestically (within Egypt) and internationally, but others argue that he left Egypt in a poor condition for his successors. Summarise the reasoning for their arguments in the table on the next page.

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ACTIVITY 18.13 continued

Source	Summarise each historian's view on Rameses II's legacy for his successors
18.32 Breasted	
18.33 Van de Mieroop	
18.34 Hawass	
18.35 Menu	
18.36 Grimal	
18.37 Wilkinson	
18.38 Van Dijk	

18.8 Evaluating usefulness and reliability of evidence from the reign of Rameses II

What is evaluation?

The skill of evaluating requires you to include assessments of the usefulness and reliability of a range of evidence that you use to support your arguments. As the strength of your arguments may be weakened if your evidence is of poor quality or extremely biased, it is important to critically assess the sources before using them, or at least to acknowledge that you are aware of what the strengths and limitations of your sources of evidence are.

Issues of bias, gaps (also known as lacunae and fragmentation), narrow views, hyperbolic language and inaccuracy are encountered frequently in evidence from the era of Rameses II. It is important that you acknowledge the limitations of the evidence you are using, but equally important is to highlight the strengths of the sources and where they can offer valuable insights into particular aspects of his reign.

Some guidelines for evaluation

- You do not necessarily need to integrate some critical comment each time you refer to a source, but you should at least aim to do so the first time you refer to a particular source.
- While there are many frameworks available for source evaluation, one simple way to evaluate a source is just to consider strengths and limitations.
- Remember that you don't always need to be negative or critical of your evidence – comments about the strengths of a source are valid demonstrations of source criticism.

What are some typical issues with sources relating to Rameses's reign?

- *Accuracy*: sometimes an event may not be presented accurately; also where specific numbers are given, such as the figure of 2500 enemy chariots at the Battle of Kadesh, these are invariably inaccurate and cannot really be proven. The opposite of this is where you can corroborate information to show that a source contains mostly accurate information.

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- *Perspective*: sources from Rameses II's reign offer very narrow perspectives, which really only represent the official view of the royal court or Rameses II himself. We do not get much sense of how others perceived him. However, these sources are useful for showing how Rameses wished to be portrayed and how he used propaganda to spread his desired messages. On rare occasions, we get an alternative perspective, as in the case of the discovery of the Hittite view on the outcome of the Battle of Kadesh.
- *Time of production*: if a source is created a considerable time after an event, there is a good chance that information may have been lost or misinterpreted at some point. This is an issue with sources like Diodorus Siculus or Herodotus, who lived a long time after the New Kingdom and whose information is quite faulty as a result. Conversely, sources created during Rameses II's reign, while they have other faults, can at least be said to give an insight into what Egyptians at the time were exposed to.
- *Representation (idealised or traditional imagery vs reality)*: a common problem with depictions of the pharaoh smiting enemies or defeating opponents in battle is that they generally cannot be taken literally as factual records of specific event. Often these are stylised images, whose purpose is to reinforce the traditional ideals of the office of the pharaoh, rather than providing any particular information about a specific pharaoh. Virtually all pharaohs represented themselves in the same pose, based on the depictions of early kings such as Scorpion or Menes (Narmer) in the predynastic period. An example of this is a representation of Rameses II smiting foreigners (Nubians, Libyans and Asiatics); it is unclear if this represents a specific instance, for example, quashing a rebellion, or if it was just a conventional image unrelated to a specific event. However, in some cases, visual representations clearly do depict specific events, such as with images of the Battle of Kadesh or the siege of Dapur, and can provide us with information about how Rameses II wished to have these events remembered, even if these were deliberate misrepresentations of what actually happened.
- *Physical condition (damaged, fragmented, deteriorated evidence)*: an unfortunate problem with many sources of Rameses II's reign is that once they were rediscovered and excavated, their exposure to the elements resulted in deterioration and weathering. On occasions where an inscription is obscured and difficult to read, interpretations of the evidence may not be accurate and are often based on educated guesswork by Egyptologists. In many cases, images and inscriptions were deliberately defaced in antiquity, meaning it can be hard to accurately attribute the source to the correct pharaoh.

ACTIVITY 18.14

Answer the following questions based on your reading of the evidence in this chapter.

1. Summarise the common issues with evidence from the time of Rameses II. Each summary should be 25 words or less in length. If you can think of any additional issues with the evidence, add them to the list below.

Issue	Summary
Accuracy	
Perspective (point of view)	
Time of production	
Representativeness	
Physical condition	
Other	

2. *Identify strengths and limitations.* Below are some examples of how to incorporate evaluations of usefulness and reliability into your use of evidence. For each example, underline where the strengths

(continued)

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ACTIVITY 18.14 continued

of the source have been commented on. Circle where limitations of the source have been mentioned. In some statements, only one of these may be present.

a. Battle of Kadesh (visual representation): While Rameses's depiction of the Battle of Kadesh on the walls of Luxor temple is clearly historically inaccurate, it provides a useful insight into the nature of Rameses's use of propaganda to maintain power over his subjects.

b. Battle of Kadesh (inscription): Though Rameses's claim in the 'record' that he resisted 2500 Hittite chariots single-handedly is clearly exaggerated, it is clear that he demonstrated great personal heroism.

c. Rameses II holds his enemies captive (visual representation): Good examples of how Rameses emphasised his defence of Egypt's borders can be found in frequent depictions of himself dominating Nubian, Libyan and Asiatic prisoners, though it is unclear if these represent specific events or a general ideal.

d. Hittite diplomatic correspondence (inscription): The discovery of a letter from Hattusili, king of the Hittites, provides a rare insight into the outcome of the Battle of Kadesh from the Hittite perspective.

e. Peace treaty (inscription): A comparison between the respective introductions to the Egyptian and Hittite versions of the peace treaty casts doubt on the accuracy of Rameses's version of events.

f. Marriage Stele (visual representation): By inserting an image of the Hittite king into the scene, Rameses is clearly guilty of a deliberate historical fabrication in his representation of his wedding to the daughter of Hattusili in the Marriage Stele.

g. Abu Simbel (monument): A typical example of how Rameses used monumental structures to remind subject peoples of the might of Egypt can be seen in the colossal statues that guard the entrance to the temple of Abu Simbel in Nubia.

h. Diodorus Sicilus (literary source): Though his writing was riddled with historical inaccuracies, and he never actually saw Rameses II's monuments with his own eyes, the Greek historian Diodorus Sicilus's descriptions of the size and beauty of Rameses's buildings shows us how his legacy was perceived centuries later.

Objective 6: Create responses that communicate meaning to suit a purpose in relation to people, power and authority in the Ancient World

18.9 Creating responses about Rameses II

Based on your knowledge and the evidence in this chapter, complete the following activities.

ACTIVITY 18.15

1. For each of the following statements below, write a well-structured paragraph in response. Your answer should:

- clearly address whether the historical evidence supports or refutes the claims made
- refer to at least three sources used in this chapter
- include some evaluation of the usefulness and reliability of the evidence.

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ACTIVITY 18.15 continued

a. Based on his achievements in the Battle of Kadesh and his subsequent suppression of rebellious subjects, Rameses II deserves to be considered a great warrior and military strategist.

b. Rameses II's excellent diplomatic skills ensured Egypt's supremacy was maintained over its neighbours.

c. The size, quantity and quality of Rameses II's buildings and monuments places him unquestionably at the top of the list of Egypt's great builders.

d. Due to unparalleled length of his reign, one of Rameses II's greatest legacies was to be able to ensure that he left Egypt stable and secure for the long-term benefit of his successors.

e. Rameses II 'the Great' was only really great at propaganda – rather than accurate insights into his reign, his depictions of events from his rule are fabricated and false.

f. Rameses II distinguished himself in the way he overcame the many challenges he encountered throughout his reign, and thus clearly deserves to be called 'the Great'.

Barry Kemp, Professor of Egyptology at the University of Cambridge, compares Rameses II's world with modern times, and reflects on the relationship between the use of power in ancient Egypt and today:

> I live in a paradoxical world. It claims to be an age of reason and progress. Technology streaks ahead. Yet in people's minds there still seem to loom the essence and trappings of antique hierarchical power. Those who actually seek power find aspects of the ancient stage-managed style irresistible. They build monuments, they elevate symbols, they identify enemies to smite. We can argue that early societies, lacking a rational philosophical basis for government, needed, for the maintenance of unity and stability, leaders whose position was defined by theology and whose person was treated with the reverence and ceremonial of a god. The theological underpinning and the presentational devices had a real point. The divine ruler's authority was unique, beyond question, the threat of subdivision or duplication arising only in times of civil war. But humankind has moved on since the last days of the Pharaohs. Between ourselves and ancient Egypt stretches a long and complex history of developing political thought and varieties of forms of government, in part based on philosophies that do not derive from religion. We know what some form of rational harmonious society might look like. Yet as the host society has changed, so the forms and trappings of rule by a divine leader have shown a remarkable capacity to adapt and to live on, often much loved. Rationality lures, atavism rules.

SOURCE 18.39 Kemp, B.J., 2006, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (2nd ed.) , Routledge, p. 247

ACTIVITY 18.16

1. Consider this extract from the above quote from Barry Kemp, comparing power in antiquity to power in the world today.

> Those who actually seek power find aspects of the ancient stage-managed style irresistible. They build monuments, they elevate symbols, they identify enemies to smite ... the forms and trappings of rule by a divine leader have shown a remarkable capacity to adapt and to live on, often much loved.

To what extent do you agree with Kemp's statement, despite the huge amount of progress the world has made since the time of the pharaohs? In other words, what parallels with Rameses II can you see in leaders of the world today?

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

- Rameses II has a reputation as one of the greatest pharaohs in the history of ancient Egypt, but this reputation needs to be carefully examined.
- Rameses II was a master of propaganda, advertising his achievements widely through the construction of more buildings and monuments than any other pharaoh.
- Some areas in which his reign can be evaluated are: overcoming challenge, warfare, diplomacy, buildings, and the legacy he left for his successors.
- The main threat to Egypt in the New Kingdom was the Hittite Empire, which was based in Hatti, now present-day central Turkey.
- The battle over the strategic fortress-city of Kadesh was the most significant event in Rameses II's reign. He presented it as a victory but it was most probably a stalemate at best as Egypt gave up its possessions in Syria. Rameses II claims to have won the battle through personal bravery, but visual representations of the battle suggest that he was saved by the timely arrival of reserve forces.
- Rameses appears to have redeemed himself through a series of victories in Syria-Palestine in response to rebellious princes, though Egypt gave up most of these possessions once Rameses returned to Egypt.
- Rameses's abilities as a diplomat can be assessed through the Egyptian–Hittite peace treaty, for which we have versions from both sides, and from diplomatic weddings to Hittite princesses.
- Rameses was a prolific builder, though historians have criticised the quality of his buildings and point out that his name appears on many of the buildings that were begun by other pharaohs but completed by him. He is also known to have usurped many monuments created by earlier pharaohs.
- Rameses II's reign of 66 years was longer than any other pharaoh, but he left a mixed legacy. His successors were forced to deal with invasions of the Sea Peoples, and it appears that the defences built by Rameses on the western border of Egypt were inadequate.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend

What are some of the key controversies associated with Rameses II's reign?

Analyse

Assess the nature of the evidence for Rameses II's reign; what types of sources and evidence are available?

Synthesise

Assess Rameses II's main achievements in the fields of warfare, diplomacy and building. What criticisms of his achievements in these areas have been raised by historians?

Evaluate

Evaluate the usefulness and reliability of inscriptions and visual representations in making judgements about Rameses II's reign.

Respond

Based on your knowledge from the chapter, to what extent does Rameses II deserve the title 'the Great'?

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Assessment

Examination-style questions

1. Should Rameses II, whose reputation ranks him amongst Egypt's greatest pharaohs, actually be remembered as a fraud and a spin doctor?
2. To what extent did Rameses II successfully overcome the threats and challenges posed during his reign?
3. Evaluate Rameses II's foreign policy, including military and diplomatic activities and construction of infrastructure; what strategies did Rameses use to maintain power over the Egyptian empire in times of struggle?

Investigation tasks

1. Examine the inscriptional and visual evidence for Rameses II. To what extent do these provide us with an accurate window into his reign?
2. Which aspect of Rameses II's reign – for example, his military achievements, diplomatic negotiations, building projects or another area of your choice – should be seen as his greatest achievement?

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CHAPTER 19
Themistokles

ROWAN HOFMEISTER

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this contextual study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - the geographical and historical context of Themistokles.
  - his family background and status.
  - the key events in his rise to prominence.
  - the significant influences on early his development.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the nature and range of sources for the period, and identification of key issues related to the investigation of sources.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the career of Themistokles.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding.
- synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument.
- evaluate evidence from evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - the change of role, position and status over time.
  - the depictions of Themistokles during his lifetime.
  - the possible motivations for actions.
  - the methods used to achieve his aims.
  - his relationships with groups and other individuals.
  - the significant events in the career of Themistokles.
  - the manner and impact of his death.
  - judgements of Themistokles by other individuals in his lifetime and after his death, for example, in writings, images and film.
- create a response that communicates meaning to suit a purpose by completing short responses to historical sources.

KEY DATES

527 BCE	524 BCE	514 BCE	510 BCE	508 BCE
• The death of Pisistratus • Hippias and Hipparchus become tyrants of Athens	Birth of Themistokles	The assassination of Hipparchus	Hippias is exiled from Athens	Cleisthenes implements his democratic reforms

SOURCE 19.1 The Battle of Salamis

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Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the impact and legacy of Themistokles.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - the assessments of Themistokles's life and career.
  - the influence of Themistokles on his time.
  - the long-term impact and legacy of Themistokles.

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SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS & GROUPS

- Athenians
- Aristeides
- Xanthippus
- Cimon
- Miltiades
- Spartans
- Leonidas
- Eurybiades
- Pausanias
- Persians
- Xerxes
- Mardonius.

507 BCE	499 BCE	498 BCE	494 BCE	493 BCE
Exile of Cleisthenes from Athens	Ionian revolt against Persian rule in Asia Mionr. Aristagoras seeks support from Greece for revolt	The Persian city Sardis is razed by Ionians with the aid of Athens	Miletus, a significant Ionian city, is razed by the Persians, ending the Ionian revolt	Themistokles elected as archon in Athens. Phrynichus's *The Capture of Miletus* is performed in Athens causing great distress and banned from future performances

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MAP



SOURCE 19.2 The Greco-Persian Wars 499–479 BCE

490 BCE	483 BCE	482 BCE	August 480 BCE
As punishment for support of the city-states in Asia Minor, Darius leads an invasion of Greece. Athenian hoplite forces defeat the Persian army in an unlikely victory at Marathon	After the discovery of silver at Laurium, Themistokles convinces the Athenian assembly to invest in expanding their fleet of triremes	Themistokles manages the ostracism of adversary Aristides	Battle of Thermopylae, led by King Leonidas of Sparta, 300 elite soldiers die in slowing the advance of the Persians under Xerxes

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

TERM	DEFINITION
archon	in Greek city-states the archon was a leading magistrate; in Athens, a number of archons were elected and shared religious, military and judicial functions; in later years, the archonships of Athens were selected by lot
areopagus	select council of aristocrats who had held the position of archon; it existed in Athens prior to the emergence of democracy and made decisions on important legal matters; the strength of the *areopagus* was limited under the reforms of Ephialtes in 462 BCE
Attica	region surrounding the countryside of Athens which was occupied by many farms and communities; the region of Attica was divided into *demos* under the democratic reforms of Cleisthenes in 507 BCE
boule	council of approximately 500 Athenian citizens drawn by lot from the *demosi* individuals served on this council for a year, and groups of 50 councillors from each of the 10 tribes took it in turns to run the affairs of state for one tenth of year – called a *prytane*
deme	(pl. *demos*) small division or area of the Attica region surrounding Athens which was used for voting and civil purposes in Athenian democracy based on the reforms of Cleisthenes; it was from these *demos* that individuals were selected to serve in the various branches of the Athenian democracy
ecclesia	refers to the prominent assembly of citizens within a city-state; in Athens the ecclesia consisted of male citizens 18 years of age or older; this body regularly met each month to vote on matters including the election of archons and other magistrates, declarations of war and military strategies which were brought to it
Greco-Persian Wars	conflict between Greek city-states and the Persian empire which took part over the course of the first half of the fifth century BCE; this conflict is most notable for the first invasion in 490 BCE under Darius which resulted in an Athenian victory at the Battle of Marathon; in 480 BCE a second invasion was led by Xerxes, son of Darius, which included the notable battles of Thermopylae, Artemisium, Salamis and Plataea; despite the numerical advantage of the Persians and divisions amongst the Greek city-states, the Greeks were able to claim victory and rout the Persian forces; the cause of this war is attributed to the Ionian revolt against Persian rule which began approximately in 499 BCE and included the support of an Athenian naval fleet

August 480 BCE	September 480 BCE	480 BCE	479 BCE
Battle of Artemisum between Greek and Persian navies (no decisive victor)	Athenians, under the leadership of Themistokles choose to evacuate Athens. Athens is occupied by the Persians. Battle of Salamis sees a combined Greek fleet led by Themistokles defeat Xerxes's Persian fleet	Themistokles's plans for the expansion of the Piraeus is completed	Final defeat of Xerxes's forces at Plataea leading to the retreat of the Persian forces from Greece

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TERM	DEFINITION
Hellenes	term used to refer to the ancient Greek population; Hellas referred to the region of ancient Greece
isthmus	narrow land bridge separating mainland Greece with the Peloponnese; this narrow pass was initially identified as a fall back position for the Greeks as the Persian forces moved south at the time of the Battle of Salamis
medism	a charge that was brought against Greeks who were sympathetic with or supported the Persians during the Greco-Persian wars; within Athens it was associated with treason; the term originates from *mede* which refers to people who lived within the region of Media, modern-day Iran
novus homo	Latin for new man; applied to men who were the first in their family to serve as consul
ostracism	a political feature of Athenian democracy in the fifth century BCE which allowed the ecclesia to exile a citizen for ten years based on a popular vote; this process took place once a year where the name of an individual was scribed onto shards of pottery known as *ostraka*; in order to be valid an ostracism required that 6000 votes were cast
Peloponnese	geographic region of southern Greece that is separated from mainland Greece by the Isthmus of Corinth; this region contained the city-state of Sparta
Periclean Age	the second half of the fifth century BCE Athens was dominated by the political influence of Pericles; it was during this time that Athens, following significant victories in the Greco-Persian Wars, obtained leadership in the fight against Persia, demonstrated imperialistic actions and undertook large building projects to beautify Athens; many historians see the emergence of this era as a result of Themistokles's naval policies

476 BCE	472 BCE	471 BCE	459 BCE
Themistokles is *Choregos* (sponsor) for Phrynicus's *The Phoenican Women* which focused on the Battle of Salamis	Aeschylus stages *The Persians*	Themistokles is exiled from Athens through a vote of ostracism	Death of Themistokles in Magnesia due to sickness; reports conflict between poison or suicide

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TERM	DEFINITION
polis	<pl. *poleis*> term referring to the individual cities which existed within ancient Greece; these cities had their own distinct identity with regards to political, legal and religious practices, but shared broader cultural customs with other *poleis*; a *polis* is commonly translated as a city-state; it was common for a *polis* to engage in warfare with neighbouring *poleis*
populism	form of politics that is based on progressing the needs of commoners as opposed to those of the elite; populism is criticised for broad agendas which only appeal to the needs of the masses in order to attain political support; in these contexts an individual is often characterised as obtaining personal power for their own interests
strategos	a significant position within Athens where ten men were elected annually to make decisions on military matters; these individuals would often take on the function of a general for military campaigns
trireme	ancient naval vessel that was operated by up to 30 oarsmen and equipped with a ram on the prow. Athenian triremes were noted for their maneuverability and speed
tyranny	in ancient Greece a tyrant was identified as a ruler who suppressed the rights of the population; tyrants were often aristocratic and claimed to represent the needs of the wider population in contrast to that of a monarchy; it was against the rule of tyranny that the Athenian democratic revolution emerged

Introduction

Themistokles (c. 524–459 BCE) was an Athenian general and politician with a great deal of popular support. He was a key figure in the defeat of Persian invading forces at the Battle of Salamis, but eventually fell out of favour and went into exile.

Within the traditions of history, Themistokles is often depicted as the saviour of Western democracy against the seemingly tyrannical threat of Persian imperialism under King Xerxes the Great. While Athens, during the time of Themistokles, was still a fledgling democracy, his career reveals much greater complexity than the traditionally held picture of him as democracy's defender. In all stages of Themistokles's career, valuable insight can be gleaned concerning the nature and usage of power in Athens. Of particular importance is the evaluation of how power could be achieved and used through populist agendas within Athens, and the extent to which the greater good justified such actions. Examining Themistokles encourages the consideration of the strengths and weaknesses of fifth century Athenian democracy, and its application in the twenty-first century. This understanding, however, is often clouded through a variety of historical traditions that have been passed down since the earliest recorders of Themistokles's career. Against the backdrop of the Greco-Persian wars and the imperialistic growth of Athens, it will be evident that in significant times of uncertainty, the attainment and usage of power is not an easily identifiable dichotomy of good and evil.

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SOURCE 19.3 *The Burial of Themistokles's Ashes*. What does this painting by Giuseppe Bossi from the early nineteenth century suggest about how Themistokles's life and death were remembered in the early modern era?

Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to people, power and authority in the Ancient World

19.1 The career of Themistokles

The power of Themistokles as an individual is firmly placed within the context of democratic Athens growing in influence as a *polis*, and the ongoing threat posed by the Persian Empire. As such, it is necessary to assess the political features of Athens as a newly-founded democracy within the broader geo-political relationship between Greece and Persia in the late sixth and early fifth century BCE. The power acquired by Themistokles is unlikely to have been possible in previous forms of government in Athens. So, it was due to internal and external influences that Themistokles was able to emerge as a defining figure of the period.

Historian Paul Cartledge, in an article for *The Guardian*, has the following to say about Greek democracy.

> The mighty Persian empire, the fastest growing and largest oriental empire yet, had threatened to swallow up mainland Greece as well as those Greeks who lived within the bounds of what the Persians considered their own sphere – Asia. But on the battlefields of Marathon, Salamis, Plataea and Mycale, a relative handful of Greek communities managed to unite long enough to repulse that threat – for ever, as it turned out.
>
> However, united though they were by religion and common social customs, and by at least partly fictional self-images, these Greeks were very much not united by one of their major contributions to the sum of human achievement – politics.
>
> Much of our everyday political language is of ancient Greek derivation: monarchy, tyranny, oligarchy, aristocracy, plutocracy, democracy – not to mention the word 'politics' itself. Much of the rest is Latin-derived: constitution, republic, empire, among others. But the Latin for 'democracy'

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was *democratia*, a loan-word, because actually the Romans didn't do democracy – at least not in the original ancient Greek sense of the term; and they recognised, as we all do or should, that in this sphere the Greeks had been the original pioneers. However, the ancient Greeks' *demokratia* was hugely different not just in scale but in kind from any modern political system that claims the title of 'democracy'. That was partly because the fundamental ancient Greek political unit, the *polis*, was a strong community in a very exclusive sense: only adult male citizens could consider themselves politically entitled. Even then, the ancient Greeks typically ruled themselves directly, in that they did not select rulers to rule over and for them. Theirs were direct, participatory self-governments, whereas ours are notionally 'representative'.

Demokratia was a compound of *demos* and *kratos*. But whereas *kratos* unambiguously meant 'grip' or 'power', *demos* could be interpreted to mean either 'people' (in a vague sense, as in Abraham Lincoln's famous words at Gettysburg: 'government of the people, by the people, for the people') or very specifically 'the masses': the poor majority of the enfranchised citizen body (which might range in size from as few as 500, as on the island-state of Melos in the Cyclades, to as many as the 50 000 citizens of democratic Athens).

So if you liked *demokratia*, it could mean People Power, but if you hated it – if, say, you were a member of the wealthy elite – then it could stand for the ancient Greek equivalent of Lenin's dictatorship of the proletariat. By and large the Romans took the second view, which is why they went to great lengths to stamp it out within their empire – the eastern half of which was basically Greek – in the end with total success. It therefore took a great deal of effort and ingenuity in the 19th century to rehabilitate 'democracy' as a viably positive term of political discourse – and even then only at the cost of draining it of the active, participatory, class-conscious dimension the Athenians had given it.

SOURCE 19.4 Cartledge, P., 'Greece: Birthplace of the modern world?', *The Guardian*, 7 November 2010

Ancient Greek historians Xenophon and Herodotus also expressed their views on democracy.

Now, in discussing the Athenian constitution, I cannot commend their present method of running the state, because in choosing it they preferred that the masses should do better than the respectable citizens; this, then, is my reason for not commending it. Since, however, they have made this choice, I will demonstrate how well they preserve their constitution and handle the other affairs for which the rest of the Greeks criticize them.

My first point is that it is right that the poor and the ordinary people there should have more power than the noble and the rich, because it is the ordinary people who man the fleet and bring the city her power; they provide the helmsmen, the boatswains, the junior officers, the look-outs and the shipwrights; it is these people who make the city powerful much more than the hoplites and the noble and respectable citizens. This being so, it seems just that all should share in public office by lot and by election, and that any citizen who wishes should be able to speak in the Assembly.

SOURCE 19.5 Xenophon, *Constitution of the Athenians*, 1.1-2

Thus Athens went from strength to strength and proved, if proof were needed, how noble a thing freedom is, not in one respect only, but in all; for while they were oppressed under a despotic government, they had no better success in war than any of their neighbours, yet once the yoke was flung off, they proved the finest fighters in the world.

SOURCE 19.6 Herodotus, *Histories*, 5.78

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ACTIVITY 19.1

Complete the tables below to create a brief summary of each of these sources.

Source 19.4		
Paragraph	**Key terms, issue and concepts**	**Key quotation or further comments and elaboration**
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

Source 19.5		
Paragraph	**Key terms, issue and concepts**	**Key quotation or further comments and elaboration**
1		
2		

Source 19.6		
Paragraph	**Key terms, issue and concepts**	**Key quotation or further comments and elaboration**
1		

ACTIVITY 19.2

Refer to Source 19.4 to complete the following questions:

1. According to the article in Source 19.4, how would the ancient Greeks define democracy?
2. Why was the development of democracy within ancient Greece a significant development concerning the distribution of power within a society?
3. What fears did the Romans have of Greek democracy? Why would such fears be justified?
4. According to Cartledge, why were the Greco-Persian Wars an important time period in the history of Athenian democracy?
5. Why would it be inappropriate to refer to the Greeks as a unified political and social entity during the fifth century BCE?
6. How does the view of democracy in ancient Greece compare with and contrast to Western understandings of democracy in the twenty-first century?
7. To what extent has democracy within the twenty-first century created an imbalance of power within society? Where and how is this imbalance apparent?

Answer the following question by referring to Sources 19.5 and 19.6.

8. What do Herodotus and Xenophon imply about the benefits of the Athenian form of government in Sources 19.5 and 19.6?

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The early CE Greek biographer Plutarch wrote the following about Themistokles's childhood:

In the case of Themistokles, his family was too obscure to further his reputation. His father was Neocles, no very conspicuous man at Athens, a Phrearrhian by *deme*, of the tribe Leontis; and on his mother's side he was an alien.

It was for the reason given, and because the aliens were wont to frequent Cynosarges, this is a place outside the gates, a gymnasium of Heracles; for he too was not a legitimate god, but had something alien about him, from the fact that his mother was a mortal, that Themistokles sought to induce certain well-born youths to go out to Cynosarges and exercise with him; and by his success in this bit of cunning he is thought to have removed the distinction between aliens and legitimates.

However lowly his birth, it is agreed on all hands that while yet a boy he was impetuous, by nature sagacious, and by election enterprising and prone to public life. In times of relaxation and leisure, when absolved from his lessons, he would not play or indulge his ease, as the rest of the boys did, but would be found composing and rehearsing to himself mock speeches. These speeches would be in accusation or defence of some boy or other. Wherefore his teacher was wont to say to him: 'My boy, thou wilt be nothing insignificant, but something great, of a surety, either for good or evil.'

SOURCE 19.7 Plutarch, *Life of Themistokles*, 1–2

ACTIVITY 19.3

Refer to Source 19.7 to answer the following questions:

1. What does Plutarch emphasise about the heritage of Themistokles's parents?
2. What notable characteristics does Plutarch highlight from the youth of Themistokles which may have influenced his later career? How do such stories assist in understanding the likely motives of Themistokles later in his career? Complete the table below to assist your response.

Anecdote	Notable characteristics	Connection to power

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SOURCE 19.8 An artist's impression of fifth-century BCE Acropolis in Athens, Leo von Klenze, 1846. To what extent does this painting provide a romanticised view of Athenian democracy when compared against the ancient evidence contained within this chapter?



SOURCE 19.9 An artist's interpretation of the Athenian Agora

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Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the nature of power and how it was exercised in the Ancient World

A notable aspect of Themistokles's career was his rise to prominence in Athens in the first half of the fifth century BCE, and the changes that he implemented during that time. Themistokles is notable due to the seeming lack of nobility within his family background. Despite these apparent limitations, Themistokles is regularly portrayed as the 'new man' (*novus homo*) who was able to overcome the stigma of his humble roots, and seek fame and influence through his noted wit and skill within the new Athenian democracy. In achieving such a position, it is the supposed wisdom and foresight of Themistokles which is credited in some cases with saving Western civilisation.

19.2 Major ancient sources

Herodotus

Herodotus, writing in the mid-fifth century BCE, provides valuable evidence for understanding the career of Themistokles. Herodotus is often polarised as being pro-Athenian and anti-Persian in his writings, but despite this, Herodotus's home city of Halicarnussus in Asia Minor would have been familiar with the Persian form of rule, including systems of tyranny, which should be acknowledged. Some have suggested that Herodotus may have been a trader; this would explain the length of his travels. At the time of writing his *Histories*, Herodotus would thus have also experienced first hand the growing influence of Athens within the Aegean region in a post-Persian imperialistic world. Such influence reveals an understandably pro-Athenian agenda for his writings, especially given the belief or implied criticism from fellow Greek Thucydides, that such works were done to be heard. Politically, it has been suggested that Herodotus saw democracy more as freedom from the tyrant than power to the many. Throughout the narrative of Athenian supremacy in the face of the Persian threat, Themistokles is portrayed as a complex individual in guiding the defence of the Greeks. It has been alleged that Herodotus portrays Themistokles as the unifier of Greece, but not an inspiring military hero to represent the freedom of democracy.

Thucydides

Thucydides, a contemporary of Herodotus, presents an important accompanying understanding of Themistokles's role in Greek history. Whilst Thucydides's primary focus is to present an understanding of the Peloponnesian War, he takes time to address the growth of Athenian power in the fifth century and acknowledges the role that the Greco-Persian Wars played in this. As a victim of the machinations of Athenian democracy, and an elite himself, it would be justifiable to assume that Thucydides would portray the career of Themistokles as a populist. Yet this is not the purpose of Themistokles's inclusion in his *Histories*. Thucydides presents Themistokles as having great attributes including the foundations for the greatness of Athens through the strengthening of the Athenian navy that led to the Periclean Age. Of particular note is the omission by Thucydides of the anecdotal accounts that feature within Herodotus's account which implicitly condemned the character and morals of Themistokles.

Plutarch

Plutarch was a moralist and a philosopher, and his *Parallel Lives* are known for their emphasis on character evaluation and morality, particularly through a comparison between Roman and Greek figures of the distant past. Although writing in the late first and early second century CE, Plutarch's surviving works provide invaluable detail on notable figures from the Ancient World. With wealthy heritage, Plutarch was afforded the best education at Athens and held notable roles within the Roman imperial system of government. In a world dominated by the ever-present achievements of Roman conquest, scholars have suggested the

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Lives of Plutarch presented an opportunity to highlight the former greatness of Greek statesmen, generals and philosophers. Given Plutarch's time of writing, it is undoubtable that the influences of Herodotus and Thucydides underlie his own personal assessments of Themistokles. Most notable is the assertion that the character of Themistokles was driven by a desire for greatness and power, which was attained through 'practical intelligence'.

The question against Plutarch is the extent to which his overarching assessment of Themistokles's character inhibits his ability to appropriately assess individual decisions.

Diodorus Siculus

Diodorus of Sicily was a Greek historian, and author of the *Library of World History*. His activities can be dated between 60 and 30 BCE. He was born in Agyrium on Sicily – a poor town. He understood some Latin, although his limited understanding of the language caused him to make mistakes. He visited Egypt and Rome, and claims to have travelled extensively, but nowhere does he show an acquaintance with important cities like Athens, Miletus, Ephesus, or Antioch. Diodorus must have been a wealthy man because he mentions no literary patron, and could afford to spend thirty years reading and writing. He makes no reference to any occupation of public offices, so he seems to have also been a bookish man; he appears to be a historian who carefully studied, excerpted and reworked the works of earlier scholars. This method is not unlike that of his younger Roman contemporary Livy, who started to write more or less at the moment when Diodorus published the *Library of World History*.

Diodorus's *World History* was, in his own words, 'an immense work' that consisted of forty books, of which 1–5 and 11–20 survive completely. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars, such as Mommsen and Schwartz, have criticised Diodorus of being an uncritical maker of excerpts and a poor historian. Indeed, he does make strange mistakes. Yet, this criticism is ill-judged and the latest research offers something of a rehabilitation of his reputation, stressing that the Sicilian author did what he set out to do – write an easily accessible world history. The title itself proves that Diodorus did not pretend to offer more than a collection of summaries and as a historian, he is simply as good as his sources. He knows how to tell a story, although he lacks the speeches that make other ancient historians so entertaining and, he writes in a clear and unaffected style that is usually easy to understand.

ACTIVITY 19.4

1. By referring to the background information provided and completing further research where necessary, complete the table below for the key ancient sources used in this chapter.

	Origin	Motive (purpose)	Audience	Perspective (point of view)
Herodotus				
Thucydides				
Plutarch				
Diodorus				

In the next two sources, Plutarch writes about Themistokles's ambition.

> Speedily, however, as it seems, and while he was still in all the ardour of youth, public affairs laid their grasp upon Themistokles, and his impulse to win reputation got strong mastery over him. Wherefore, from the very beginning, in his desire to be first, he boldly encountered the enmity

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of men who had power and were already first in the city, especially that of Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who was always his opponent.

It is said, indeed, that Themistokles was so carried away by his desire for reputation, and such an ambitious lover of great deeds, that though he was still a young man when the battle with the Barbarians at Marathon was fought and the generalship of Miltiades was in everybody's mouth, he was seen thereafter to be wrapped in his own thoughts for the most part, and was sleepless o' nights, and refused invitations to his customary drinking parties, and said to those who put wondering questions to him concerning his change of life that the trophy of Miltiades would not let him sleep.

And so, in the first place, whereas the Athenians were wont to divide up among themselves the revenue coming from the silver mines at Laureium, he, and he alone, dared to come before the people with a motion that this division be given up, and that with these moneys triremes be constructed for the war against Aegina. This was the fiercest war then troubling Hellas, and the islanders controlled the sea, owing to the number of their ships. Wherefore all the more easily did Themistokles carry his point, not by trying to terrify the citizens with dreadful pictures of Darius or the Persians – these were too far away and inspired no very serious fear of their coming, but by making opportune use of the bitter jealousy which they cherished toward Aegina in order to secure the armament he desired. The result was that with those moneys they built a hundred triremes, with which they actually fought at Salamis against Xerxes.

In his ambition he surpassed all men. For instance, while he was still young and obscure, he prevailed upon Epicles of Hermione, a harpist who was eagerly sought after by the Athenians, to practise at his house, because he was ambitious that many should seek out his dwelling and come often to see him. And still again, as *choregus*, or theatrical manager, he won a victory with tragedies, although even at that early time this contest was conducted with great eagerness and ambition, and set up a tablet commemorating his victory with the following inscription: 'Themistokles the Phrearrhian was *Choregus*; Phrynichus was Poet; Adeimantus was Archon.'

SOURCE 19.10 Plutarch, *Life of Themistokles*, 3–5

Now, to resume, it befell Aristides to be loved at first because of this surname, but afterwards to be jealously hated, especially when Themistokles set the story going among the multitude that Aristides had done away with the public courts of justice by his determining and judging everything in private, and that, without any one perceiving it, he had established for himself a monarchy, saving only the armed body-guard. And besides, the people too must by this time have become greatly elated over their victory; they thought nothing too good for themselves, and were therefore vexed with those who towered above the multitude in name and reputation. So they assembled in the city from all the country round, and ostracised Aristides, giving to their envious dislike of his reputation the name of fear of tyranny.

SOURCE 19.11 Plutarch, *Life of Aristides*, 7



SOURCE 19.12 Ostrakon bearing the name of Aristides, 483–482 BCE

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Herodotus writes about the early days of Themistokles's prominence.

Now there was at Athens a man who had lately made his way into the first rank of citizens: his true name was Themistokles; but he was known more generally as the son of Neocles. This man came forward and said that the interpreters had not explained the oracle altogether aright – 'for if,' he argued, 'the clause in question had really respected the Athenians, it would not have been expressed so mildly; the phrase used would have been "Luckless Salamis," rather than "Holy Salamis," had those to whom the island belonged been about to perish in its neighbourhood. Rightly taken, the response of the god threatened the enemy, much more than the Athenians.' He therefore counselled his countrymen to make ready to fight on board their ships, since they were the wooden wall in which the god told them to trust. When Themistokles had thus cleared the matter, the Athenians embraced his view, preferring it to that of the interpreters. The advice of these last had been against engaging in a sea-fight; 'all the Athenians could do,' they said, 'was, without lifting a hand in their defence, to quit Attica, and make a settlement in some other country.'

Themistokles had before this given a counsel which prevailed very seasonably. The Athenians, having a large sum of money in their treasury, the produce of the mines at Laureium, were about to share it among the full-grown citizens, who would have received ten drachmas apiece, when Themistokles persuaded them to forbear the distribution, and build with the money two hundred ships, to help them in their war against the Eginetans.

SOURCE 19.13 Herodotus, *Histories,* 7.143–145

Diodorus Siculus also writes of Themistokles's ambition and intelligence.

At the close of the year the archon in Athens was Adeimantus, and in Rome the consuls elected were Marcus Fabius Vibulanus and Lucius Valerius Publius. At this time Themistokles, because of his skill as a general and his sagacity, was held in esteem not only by his fellow citizens but by all Greeks. He was, therefore, elated over his fame and had recourse to many other far more ambitious undertakings which would serve to increase the dominant position of his native state. Thus the Piraeus, as it is called, was not at that time a harbour, but the Athenians were using as their ship-yard the bay called Phaleric, which was quite small; and so Themistokles conceived the plan of making the Piraeus into a harbour, since it would require only a small amount of construction and could be made into a harbour, the best and largest in Greece. He also hoped that when this improvement had been added to what the Athenians possessed, the city would be able to compete for the hegemony at sea; for the Athenians possessed at that time the largest number of triremes and through an unbroken succession of battles at sea which the city had waged had gained experience and renown in naval conflicts.

Yet he was simultaneously, in his intelligence, the very opposite of muscle-bound: the workings of his mind, infinitely mobile and serpentine, would ultimately become a thing of wonder to his fellow citizens – and of alarm. Not a dark art required of the politician under the Athenians' new form of government but Themistokles showed himself its master: he could infight, he could network, he could spin. Above all, and most crucially, he knew how to make himself visible. Rather than live out on the family estates, for instance, he chose to settle instead downwind of the Ceramicus, near the 'Hangman's Gate,' where the bodies of executed criminals and suicides were dumped: an insalubrious address, to be sure, but also – and here was the attraction for Themistokles – within walking distance of the Agora. Concerned not to have the great and the good put off visiting this ill-omened spot, he began inviting celebrated musicians to rehearse inside his home; keen to make friends and influence people, he set up as an attorney, the first candidate ever in a democracy to rehearse for public life by practicing the law. Above all, naturally affable and gregarious as he was, he wooed the poor; and

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they, not used to being courted, duly loved him back. Touring the taverns, the markets, the docks, canvassing where no politician had ever thought to canvass before, making sure never to forget a single voter's name, Themistokles had set his eyes on a radically new constituency. Not that ambition was his only motivation. While nothing that Themistokles did was ever entirely divorced from self-interest, he had seen in the poor not merely voters but the future saving of his city.

SOURCE 19.14 Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 11.41–43

ACTIVITY 19.5

For each of the literary sources listed in the table below, select a quote and explain what the evidence reveals about Themistokles's attainment of power within Athens.

Source	Quotes	Explicit and implicit meanings about Themistokles's attainment of power
19.10		
19.11		
19.13		
19.14		

ACTIVITY 19.6

Refer to Sources 19.10 and 19.11 to answer the following questions:

1. According to Plutarch, what skills does Themistokles use to attain influence and power in Athens?
2. To what extent would the actions of Themistokles be deemed appropriate in Athens at the time?
3. How does Plutarch portray the motives of Themistokles in his rise to power?
4. Considering the background and nature of Plutarch's writings, why is the ostrakon in Source 19.12, featuring the name of Aristides, a significant source of evidence?
5. What do the language choices of Plutarch suggest about his reliability as a historical source? Consider the usage of positive or negative descriptions associated with Themistokles.

Refer to Sources 19.10 to 19.14 to answer the following questions:

6. Why would the decision to invest revenue from the mine at Laurium be considered controversial in Athens at the time?
7. How was Themistokles able to overcome objections to his proposed naval policy?
8. By comparing the accounts of the ancient authors provided, to what extent do they agree or disagree in their portrayal of Themistokles's role in preparing Athens for future conflict? Use the table below to record notable actions, decisions and assessments of Themistokles.

Herodotus	Plutarch	Diodorus Siculus

(continued)

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ACTIVITY 19.6 continued

9. To what extent do the ancient authors depict the changes of Themistokles in a positive or negative light? How might the background of the authors explain such views?
10. Based on your own assessment of the sources used in the above questions, to what extent does Themistokles's rise to influence and the policies he enacted reflect that of a *populares*? Refer to specific evidence from the sources to support your position.

Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument about a powerful individual, group or society in the Ancient World

19.3 The Battle of Salamis

The Battle of Salamis, where a combined Greek fleet led by Themistokles defeated Xerxes's Persian fleet, can be identified as the high point of Themistokles's career. It was at this point, during the second Persian invasion of Greece under Xerxes, that Themistokles's naval foresight was justified with an unlikely victory which was pivotal in turning the course of the war. Subsequently, the fame of Themistokles was known throughout all of Greece. In 479 BCE there are no records of his involvement in the ongoing fight against the Persians, yet it is likely that he participated. Throughout the remainder of the 470s Themistokles continued to hold influence within Athens's post-war program, however, contradictory motives of the general become more evident.

ACTIVITY 19.7

Read the source sections carefully and answer the questions at the end of each section.

1. This first source was written by Herodotus.

> When the Athenians saw that they [the Persians] had ascended to the Acropolis, some of them cast themselves down from the wall and so perished, and others fled into the inner chamber. Those Persians who had come up first betook themselves to the gates, which they opened, and slew the suppliants; and when they had laid all the Athenians low, they plundered the temple and burnt the whole of the Acropolis ... When it was told to the Greeks at Salamis what had befallen the Athenian Acropolis, they were so panic-struck that some of their captains would not wait till the matter whereon they debated should be resolved, but threw themselves aboard their ships and hoisted their sails for flight. Those that were left behind resolved that the fleet should fight to guard the Isthmus; and at nightfall they broke up from the assembly and embarked. Themistokles then being returned to his ship, Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, asked him what was the issue of their counsels. Learning from him that their plan was to sail to the Isthmus and fight in defence of the Peloponnese, 'Then,' said Mnesiphilus, 'if they put out to sea from Salamis, your ships will have no country left wherefor to fight; for everyone will betake himself to his own city, and neither Eurybiades, nor any other man, will be able to hold them, but the armament will be scattered abroad; and Hellas will perish, by unwisdom. Nay, if there be any means thereto, go now and strive to undo this plan, if haply you may be able to persuade Eurybiades to change his purpose and so abide here.' This advice pleased Themistokles well; making no answer to Mnesiphilus, he went to Eurybiades's ship, and said that he would confer

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with him on a matter of their common interest. Eurybiades bidding him come aboard and say what he would, Themistokles sat by him and told him all that he had heard from Mnesiphilus, as it were of his own devising, and added much thereto, till he prevailed with the Spartan by entreaty to come out of his ship and assemble the admirals in their place of meeting.

SOURCE 19.15 Herodotus, *HIstories*, 8

According to Herodotus, whose idea was it to keep the entire Greek navy at Salamis to fight?

2. Herodotus continues:

They being assembled (so it is said), before Eurybiades had laid before them the matter wherefor the generals were brought together, Themistokles spoke long and vehemently in the earnestness of his entreaty; and while he yet spoke, Adimantus son of Ocytus, the Corinthian admiral, said, 'At the games, Themistokles, they that come forward before their time are beaten with rods'. 'Ay,' said Themistokles, justifying himself, 'but they that wait too long win no crown'. Thus ... he made the Corinthian a soft answer; then turning to Eurybiades, he said now nought of what he had said before, how that if they set sail from Salamis they would scatter and flee; for it would have ill become him to bring railing accusations against the allies in their presence; he trusted to another plea instead. 'It lies in your hand', said he, 'to save Hellas, if you will be guided by me and fight here at sea, and not be won by the words of these others to remove your ships over to the Isthmus. Hear me now, and judge between two plans. If you engage off the Isthmus you will fight in open waters, where it is least for our advantage, our ships being the heavier and the fewer in number; and moreover you will lose Salamis and Megara and Aegina, even if victory attend us otherwise; and their land army will follow with their fleet, and so you will lead them to the Peloponnese, and imperil all Hellas. But if you do as I counsel you, you will thereby profit as I shall show: firstly, by engaging their many ships with our few in narrow seas, we shall win a great victory, if the war have its rightful issue; for it is for our advantage to fight in a strait as it is theirs to have wide sea-room. Secondly, we save Salamis, whither we have conveyed away our children and our women. Moreover, there is this, too, in my plan, and it is your chiefest desire: you will be defending the Peloponnese as well by abiding here as you would by fighting off the Isthmus, and you will not lead our enemies (if you be wise) to the Isthmus. And if that happen which I expect, you will never have the foreigners upon you at the Isthmus; they will advance no further than Attica, but depart in disorderly fashion; and we shall gain by the saving of Megara and Aegina and Salamis, where it is told us by an oracle that we shall have the upper hand of our enemies. Success comes oftenest to men when they make reasonable designs; but if they do not so, neither will heaven for its part side with human devices'. Thus said Themistokles.

SOURCE 19.16 Herodotus, *HIstories*, 8

a. How did Themistokles convince the admirals of the Greek allies to stay and fight the Persians at Salamis (to make the best use of the navy)?

b. What evidence is there of tension between the Corinthian and the Athenians (Themistokles)?

c. Why would such tension exist between these two cities?

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3. Herodotus continues:

> For a while there was but murmuring between man and man, and wonder at Eurybiades's unwisdom, but at the last came an open outbreak; and an assembly was held, where there was much speaking of the same matters as before, some saying that they must sail away to the Peloponnese and face danger for that country, rather than abide and fight for a land won from them by the spear; but the Athenians and Aeginetans and Megarians pleading that they should remain and defend themselves where they were. Then Themistokles, when the Peloponnesians were outvoting him, went privily out of the assembly, and sent to the Median fleet a man in a boat, charged with a message that he must deliver. 'I am sent by the admiral of the Athenians without the knowledge of the other Greeks (he being a friend to the king's cause and desiring that you rather than the Greeks should have the mastery) to tell you that the Greeks have lost heart and are planning flight, and that now is the hour for you to achieve an incomparable feat of arms, if you suffer them not to escape. For there is no union in their counsels, nor will they withstand you any more, and you will see them battling against each other, your friends against your foes.' With that declaration he departed away. The Persians put faith in the message; and first they landed many of their men on the islet Psyttalea, which lies between Salamis and the mainland; then, at midnight, they advanced their western wing towards Salamis for encirclement, and they too put out to sea that were stationed off Ceos and Cynosura; and they held all the passage with their ships as far as Munychia.

SOURCE 19.17 Herodotus, *Histories*, 8

a. What were the Peloponnesians intending to do?
b. What did Themistokles do to prevent this?
c. Do you think Herodotus is praising Themistokles or damning him with faint praise? (To 'damn with faint praise' is to provide praise that is minimal or inconsequential, implying that such praise is the best that could be said.)

4. Herodotus continues:

> In the midst of their contention, Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, who had crossed from Egina, arrived in Salamis. He was an Athenian, and had been ostracised by the commonalty; yet I believe, from what I have heard concerning his character, that there was not in all Athens a man so worthy or so just as he. He now came to the council, and, standing outside, called for Themistokles. Now Themistokles was not his friend, but his most determined enemy. However, under the pressure of the great dangers impending, Aristides forgot their feud, and called Themistokles out of the council, since he wished to confer with him. He had heard before his arrival of the impatience of the Peloponnesians to withdraw the fleet to the Isthmus. As soon therefore as Themistokles came forth, Aristides addressed him in these words: 'Our rivalry at all times, and especially at the present season, ought to be a struggle, which of us shall most advantage our country. Let me then say to thee, that so far as regards the departure of the Peloponnesians from this place, much talk and little will be found precisely alike. I have seen with my own eyes that which I now report: that, however much the Corinthians or Eurybiades himself may wish it, they cannot now retreat; for we are enclosed on every side by the enemy. Go in to them, and make this known.'
>
> Aristides then came forward and told them; he was come, he said, from Aegina, and had been hard put to it to slip unseen through the blockade; for all the Greek fleet was compassed round by Xerxes's ships, and they had best (he said) prepare to defend themselves. Thus he

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spoke, and took his departure. They fell a-wrangling again; for the more part of the admirals would not believe that the news was true ... It was now earliest dawn, and they called the fighting men to an assembly, wherein Themistokles made an harangue in which he excelled all others; the tenor of his words was to array all the good in man's nature and estate against the evil; and having exhorted them to choose the better, he made an end of speaking and bade them embark. Even as they so did, came the trireme from Aegina which had been sent away for the Sons of Aeacus ... but the great multitude of the ships were shattered at Salamis, some destroyed by the Athenians and some by the Aeginetans.

SOURCE 19.18 Herodotus, *Histories,* 8

a. Themistokles was responsible for the ostracism of Aristides (see earlier in chapter, Activity 19.5 and Source 19.11). Yet Aristides returned to help Athens in the crisis after the sack of Athens and before the Battle of Salamis. Between Themistokles and Aristides, what evidence is there to suggest that Herodotus has a bias towards one and is against the other?

b. Overall, do you think Herodotus is a good, balanced and objective historian, or one who is prone to subtle bias? What is the overall impression he gives about Themistokles – favourable or unfavourable? Give reasons and evidence as part of your answer. (Some additional research on this may be required.)

5. Aeschylus's play *The Persians* is set in Susa at the time of the defeat as Salamis, beginning just before the ruling family is told of the defeat. Modern commentators are divided as to whether the play should be viewed as commemorating victory or as mediating loss.

Messenger: My Queen, some destructive power or evil spirit, appearing from somewhere or other, caused the beginning of our utter rout. A Hellene, from the Athenian host, came to your son Xerxes and told this tale: that, when the gloom of black night should set in, the Hellenes would not remain in place, but, springing upon the rowing benches of their ships, would seek, some here, some there, to preserve their lives by stealthy flight. But Xerxes, when he heard this, comprehending neither the cleverness of the Greek nor that the gods grudged him success, straightway gave all his captains orders to this effect – that, when the sun had ceased to illumine the earth with his beams, and darkness had covered the region of the sky, they should bring up in a tight group the main body of the fleet, disposed in triple line, to bar the exits and the sounding straits, and station other ships in a circle around the island of Ajax. Night began to wane, yet the fleet of the Hellenes in no way attempted to put forth by stealth. When, however, radiant Day with her white horses shone over all the land, a loud cheer like a song of triumph first rang out from the Hellenes, and, at the same instant, clear from the island crags, an echo returned an answering cry. Terror fell on all the barbarians, balked of their purpose; for then the Hellenes chanted their solemn paean, not as in flight, but as men rushing to the onset with the courage of gallant hearts.

Atossa: O hateful divinity, how have you foiled the purpose of the Persians! Cruel was the vengeance which my son brought upon himself for his designs against illustrious Athens; the barbarians whom Marathon destroyed were not enough. It was in an effort to exact retribution for them that my son has drawn upon himself so great a multitude of woes. But the ships that escaped destruction – tell me about them. Where did you leave them? Can you give a clear report?

SOURCE 19.19 Aeschylus, *The Persians,* 353–394

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ACTIVITY 19.7 continued

Aeschylus staged the play in 472 BCE. One year later, Themistokles was exiled from Athens through a vote of ostracism.

a. Themistokles is not specifically mentioned in the drama. Why is this?

b. Even though unmentioned, the audience would have known what he was responsible for in the story. Make three points in the table below concerning this issue, supporting each with an appropriate quotation from the text (one has been completed for you as an example).

	Point	Quotes
	Themistokles's use of deception to make Xerxes think the Greeks were trying to escape	'A Hellene, from the Athenian host, came to your son Xerxes and told this tale … [they] would seek … to preserve their lives by stealthy flight.'
1		
2		
3		

6. An extract from Plutarch's *Life of Themistokles*

> Then indeed it was that Themistokles, despairing of bringing the multitude over to his views by any human reasonings, set up machinery, as it were, to introduce the gods to them, as a theatrical manager would for a tragedy, and brought to bear upon them signs from heaven and oracles. As a sign from heaven he took the behaviour of the serpent, which is held to have disappeared about that time from the sacred enclosure on the Acropolis. When the priests found that the daily offerings made to it were left whole and untouched, they proclaimed to the multitude – Themistokles putting the story into their mouths – that the goddess had abandoned her city and was showing them their way to the sea.

SOURCE 19.20 Plutarch, *Life of Themistokles*, 10

How did Themistokles motivate the Greeks, and how does Plutarch view his use of religion in this?

7. Historian Barry Strauss writes about the Themistokles Decree.

> As the assembly took the heavy step of voting for mass departure, the rarest of things may have descended on that rowdiest of parliaments: silence. The Athenian people had voted for their own exile. But behind the strategy was one man. Themistokles was the leader whose name was recorded on the official record and the politician who would be blamed if everything failed in the end. A document inscribed on stone, known as the Themistokles Decree for the name of the man who moved its passage, confirms Herodotus's report while adding several important details. Dating from c. 300 BCE, the inscription may indeed be based on the original document passed by the Athenian assembly. The Themistokles



SOURCE 19.21 Bust of Themistokles. What features and implied characteristics does this bust reveal regarding the life and achievements of Themistokles?

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ACTIVITY 19.7 continued

Decree shows that the evacuation of Athens began well before the battle of Artemisium, in August 480 BCE. It also demonstrates how carefully the people of Athens were thinking ahead.

SOURCE 19.22 Strauss, B., 2004, 'Flames over Athens', *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics*, Trustees of Boston University, vol. 12, no.1, p. 104

Select one quote from Source 19.20 and one from Source 19.22 to demonstrate Themistokles's leadership and stratagem for forcing the battle that led to victory.



SOURCE 19.23 Modern recreation of a Greek trireme. How might the design of Greek triremes affected the nature of naval warfare in the fifth century BCE?

ACTIVITY 19.8

1. Create a flow chart based on the sources outlining the important events which occurred in the lead up to the Battle of Salamis.
2. What do such actions reveal about the nature and purposes of Themistokles's power at this time? Provide, with evaluation, specific examples to support your decisions.

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ACTIVITY 19.8 continued

3. Given the importance of Herodotus's account in providing details of Salamis, how does he portray the contributions of Themistokles in the ultimate victory?
4. To what extent is Herodotus's assessment of Themistokles corroborated by other ancient authors?
5. Conduct background research for the author Aeschylus and his work *The Persians.* Why would such a source be important for understanding Athenian views of Themistokles's contribution to the defeat of the Persians?

19.4 Themistokles after Salamis

ACTIVITY 19.9

Consider the following questions when reading Sources 19.24 to 19.28. These can be answered as an extension or revision exercise.

1. Evaluate the following statement: The full extent of Themistokles's leadership of Athens and greatness to Greece after Salamis has rarely been acknowledged and recognised, overshadowed so much as it is by the great naval victory of 480 BCE.
2. To what extent did Themistokles's actions post-Salamis provide increased unity amongst the Greek city-states?
3. How do Herodotus, Thucydides and Plutarch view Themistokles's post-Salamis activities? Are their views and attitudes towards Themistokles essentially similar or dissimilar?
4. To what extent was Themistokles unfairly treated by the democracy that he served, and was his exile fair and just? Depending on your opinion, what does this say about Themistokles's character? (Revisit the opening page of this chapter.)

Herodotus writes about events following the departure of Xerxes's fleet.

> When it was day, the Greeks saw the [Persian] land army abiding where it had been and supposed the ships also to be at Phalerum; and thinking that there would be a sea-fight they prepared to defend themselves. But when they learnt that the ships were gone, they straightway resolved on pursuit; so they pursued Xerxes's fleet as far as Andros, but had no sight of it; and when they came to Andros they held a council there. Themistokles declared his opinion that they should hold their course through the islands, and having pursued after the ships should sail forthwith to the Hellespont to break the bridges; but Eurybiades offered a contrary opinion, saying that to break the bridges would be the greatest harm that they could do to Hellas. With that opinion the rest of the Peloponnesian admirals also agreed. When Themistokles perceived that he could not persuade the greater part of them to sail to the Hellespont, he turned to the Athenians (for they were the angriest at the Persians' escape, and they were minded to sail to the Hellespont even by themselves, if the rest would not) and thus addressed them: 'This I have often seen with my eyes, and much oftener heard, that beaten men when they be driven to bay will rally and retrieve their former mishap. But as it is well with us

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for [now], let us abide now in Hellas and take thought for ourselves and our households; let us build our houses again and be diligent in sowing, when we have driven the foreigner wholly away; and when the next spring comes let us set sail for the Hellespont and Ionia.' This he said with intent to put somewhat to his credit with the Persian, so that he might have a place of refuge if ever (as might chance) he should suffer aught at the hands of the Athenians; and indeed it did so happen. Thus spoke Themistokles with intent to deceive, and the Athenians obeyed him; for since he had ever been esteemed wise and now had shown himself to be both wise and prudent, they were ready to obey whatsoever he said. But the Greeks, now that they were no longer minded to pursue the foreigners' ships farther or sail to the Hellespont and break the way of passage, beleaguered Andros that they might take it. For the men of that place, the first islanders of whom Themistokles demanded money, would not give it; but when Themistokles gave them to understand that the Athenians had come with two great gods to aid them, even Persuasion and Necessity, and that therefore the Andrians must assuredly give money, they answered and said, 'It is then but reasonable that Athens is great and prosperous, being blest with serviceable gods; as for us Andrians, we are but blest with a plentiful lack of land, and we have two unserviceable gods who never quit our island but are ever fain to dwell there, even Poverty and Impotence; being possessed of these gods, we of Andros will give no money; for the power of Athens can never be stronger than our inability'.

So for thus answering and refusing to give they were besieged. There was no end to Themistokles's avarice; using the same agents whom he had used with the king, he sent threatening messages to the other islands, demanding money, and saying that if they would not give what he asked he would bring the Greek armada upon them and besiege and take their islands. After the division of the spoil, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, there to award the prize of excellence to him who had shown himself most worthy of it in that war. But when the admirals came and gave their divers votes at the altar of Poseidon, to judge who was first and who second among them, each of them there voted for himself, supposing himself to have done the best service, but the greater part of them united in giving the second place to Themistokles. So they each gained but one vote, but Themistokles far outstripped them in votes for the second place.

SOURCE 19.24 Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, 8.108–112

Plutarch describes events leading up to Themistokles's ostracism.

After the great achievements now described, he straightway undertook to rebuild and fortify the city, as Theopompus relates, by bribing the Spartan Ephors not to oppose the project; but as the majority say, by hoodwinking them.

After this he equipped the Piraeus, because he had noticed the favourable shape of its harbours, and wished to attach the whole city to the sea; thus in a certain manner counteracting the policies of the ancient Athenian kings. And so it was that he increased the privileges of the common people as against the nobles, and filled them with boldness, since the controlling power came now into the hands of skippers and boatswains and pilots.

And at last, when even his fellow-citizens were led by the jealousy of his greatness to welcome such slanders against him, he was forced to allude to his own achievements when he addressed the Assembly, till he became tiresome thereby, and he once said to the malcontents: 'Why are ye vexed that the same men should often benefit you?' He offended the multitude also by building the temple of Artemis, whom he surnamed Aristoboulé, or Best Counsellor, intimating thus that it was he who had given the best counsel to the city and to the Hellenes. A portrait-statue of Themistokles stood in this temple of Aristoboulé down to my time, from which he appears to have been a man not only of heroic spirit, but also of heroic presence.

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Well then, they visited him with ostracism, curtailing his dignity and pre-eminence, as they were wont to do in the case of all whom they thought to have oppressive power, and to be incommensurate with true democratic equality. For ostracism was not a penalty, but a way of pacifying and alleviating that jealousy which delights to humble the eminent, breathing out its malice into this disfranchisement.

SOURCE 19.25 Plutarch, *Life of Themistokles*, 19–22

Thucydides recounts Themistokles's ostracism and approach to King Artaxerxes of Persia.

To return to the *medism* of Pausanias. Matter was found in the course of the inquiry to implicate Themistokles; and the Lacedaemonians accordingly sent envoys to the Athenians and required them to punish him as they had punished Pausanias. The Athenians consented to do so. But he had, as it happened, been ostracised, and, with a residence at Argos, was in the habit of visiting other parts of Peloponnese. So they sent with the Lacedaemonians, who were ready to join in the pursuit, persons with instructions to take him wherever they found him ...

After having rewarded him with a present of money, as soon as he received some from his friends at Athens and from his secret hoards at Argos, Themistokles started inland with one of the coast Persians, and sent a letter to King Artaxerxes, Xerxes's son, who had just come to the throne. Its contents were as follows: 'I, Themistokles, am come to you, who did your house more harm than any of the Hellenes, when I was compelled to defend myself against your father's invasion – harm, however, far surpassed by the good that I did him during his retreat, which brought no danger for me but much for him. For the past, you are a good turn in my debt' – here he mentioned the warning sent to Xerxes from Salamis to retreat, as well as his finding the bridges unbroken, which, as he falsely pretended, was due to him – 'for the present, able to do you great service, I am here, pursued by the Hellenes for my friendship for you. However, I desire a year's grace, when I shall be able to declare in person the objects of my coming.'

It is said that the King approved his intention, and told him to do as he said. He employed the interval in making what progress he could in the study of the Persian tongue, and of the customs of the country. Arrived at court at the end of the year, he attained to very high consideration there, such as no Hellene has ever possessed before or since; partly from his splendid antecedents, partly from the hopes which he held out of effecting for him the subjugation of Hellas, but principally by the proof which experience daily gave of his capacity.

SOURCE 19.26 Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, 1.135–138

Historian Mary Beard writes about ostracism and democracy.



SOURCE 19.27 Ostraka bearing the name of Themistokles

Modern historians have found in ostracism one of the most appealing inventions of fifth-century BCE politics. It involved the Athenian citizens getting together and deciding which politician they wanted to get rid of from their city, into honourable exile, for ten years. Each man wrote the name of his chosen victim on a little piece of broken pottery (an *ostrakon,* hence *ostracism*), chucked it into a voting urn – and, with a few safeguards such as a quorum of 6000, whoever got the most votes was sent away. It is not surprising that ostracism has become such a modern favourite.

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One of the most curious archaeological finds of the last century was a cache of 190 *ostraka*, with the name of Themistokles (who was ostracised in 472 BCE) scratched on each one, in just fourteen different hands. Some of Themistokles's powerful enemies presumably prepared a huge pile of ready-inscribed *ostraka* (the 190 are only the left-overs) and handed them out to the mostly illiterate voters, maybe even disguising whose name was actually on the *ostraka*. You can get away with a lot if the electorate can't read: it was more popular manipulation than popular power.

Fifth-century Athens was ostensibly committed to direct democratic power, from top to bottom: all decisions of state – on everything from going to war to the administration of temple estates – were taken in mass meetings, by every citizen who was entitled to vote and bothered to turn out. Did it really deliver direct people power, and to what effect? That is not as easy to decide as we might imagine, and the whole issue is clouded by the almost universal hostility to democracy of surviving ancient commentators and the almost universal admiration of modern historians. Plato was not the only writer to see the Athenian electorate as an undisciplined, uneducated and fickle mob, swayed by unscrupulous demagogues; and he was not quite as wrong as one might hope. On one notorious occasion, the people assembled on one day and voted to put to death the entire male population of the town of Mytilene on the island of Lesbos, as punishment for their revolt against Athenian imperial control. On the next day, they decided to have a second vote – the ancient equivalent of a second referendum – and opted instead for leniency. A desperate race ensued, as the ship taking news of the change of heart rowed furiously to catch up with the first one already dispatched. It just made it, and the victims were spared.

Since the early nineteenth century, modern judgements have generally been very different. For many Western political pundits, the Athenian system not only represents a shining example of how the people could really take charge of a city (right down to the use of random selection by lot for most political offices); it has also been a useful stick with which to beat our own representative versions of democracy, which have always marginalised the ordinary citizen.

As the stories of ostracism hint, it was not in practice quite so egalitarian as that rosy modern image suggests.

SOURCE 19.28 Beard, M., 29 June 2016, 'Power to the People?', *The Times Literary Supplement*

ACTIVITY 19.10

1. According to the accounts above, what significant actions did Themistokles undertake in the aftermath of the Greek victory at Salamis? Why do you think each of these actions was significant? Complete the table below to support your response.

Action taken by Themistokles	Significance of action

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ACTIVITY 19.10 continued

2. What do the actions of Themistokles following the victory at Salamis reveal about his motives and power as an individual?
3. How did such actions contribute to the change in Themistokles's status in Athens and Greece?
4. How does the nature of Athenian democracy account for the eventual ostracism of Themistokles?
5. To what extent was the exiling of Themistokles an appropriate course of action for Athens?
6. Why is the *ostraka* featuring the name of Themistokles a significant and useful archaeological source in understanding the downfall of Themistokles?
7. By referring to a variety of evidence to support your position, what does the exile of Themistokles reveal about the strengths and weaknesses of Athenian democracy at the peak of its power? Record notes in the table below and identify relevant quotes from the sources above to support your response.

	Strengths of Athenian democracy	Weaknesses of Athenian democracy
Source 19.24		
Source 19.25		
Source 19.26		
Source 19.28		

Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about people, power and authority in the Ancient World

As seen throughout this chapter so far, significant variety exists within the historical sources when accounting for Themistokles's contribution to the defence of Greece during the time of the Greco-Persian Wars. Yet more than this, the accounts of Themistokles are important given what they do and do not reveal about the nature of political power in Athens at the time. The later part of Themistokles's career is exceptional due to his fall from influence, most notably the way he became the victim of ostracism and sought exile at the court of the Persian king. At this point it is therefore essential to closely evaluate the authors who have shaped the short- and long-term legacies of Themistokles.

19.5 Shaping the legacies of Themistokles

Ancient writers

Thucydides's thoughts on Themistokles.

> For Themistokles was a man who exhibited the most indubitable signs of genius; indeed, in this particular he has a claim on our admiration quite extraordinary and unparalleled. By his own native capacity, alike unformed and unsupplemented by study, he was at once the best judge in those sudden crises which admit of little or of no deliberation, and the best prophet of the future, even to its most distant possibilities. An able theoretical expositor of all that came within the sphere of his practice, he was not without the power of passing an adequate judgement in matters in which he had

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no experience. He could also excellently divine the good and evil which lay hid in the unseen future. In fine, whether we consider the extent of his natural powers, or the slightness of his application, this extraordinary man must be allowed to have surpassed all others in the faculty of intuitively meeting an emergency. Disease was the real cause of his death; though there is a story of his having ended his life by poison, on finding himself unable to fulfil his promises to the king. However this may be, there is a monument to him in the marketplace of Asiatic Magnesia. He was governor of the district, the King having given him Magnesia, which brought in fifty talents a year, for bread, Lampsacus, which was considered to be the richest wine country, for wine, and Myos for other provisions. His bones, it is said, were conveyed home by his relatives in accordance with his wishes, and interred in Attic ground. This was done without the knowledge of the Athenians; as it is against the law to bury in Attica an outlaw for treason. So ends the history of Pausanias and Themistokles, the Lacedaemonian and the Athenian, the most famous men of their time in Hellas.

SOURCE 19.29 Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 1.139

Aristotle on political change:

and also revolutions to oligarchy and democracy and constitutional government arise from the growth in reputation or in power of some magistracy or some section of the state; as for example the Council on the *Areopagus* having risen in reputation during the Persian wars was believed to have made the constitution more rigid, and then again the naval multitude, having been the cause of the victory off Salamis and thereby of the leadership of Athens due to her power at sea, made the democracy stronger

SOURCE 19.30 Aristotle, *Politics*, 5.5

Plutarch describes the death of Themistokles:

But when Egypt revolted with Athenian aid, and Hellenic triremes sailed up as far as Cyprus and Cilicia, and Cimon's mastery of the sea forced the King to resist the efforts of the Hellenes and to hinder their hostile growth; and when at last forces began to be moved, and generals were despatched hither and thither, and messages came down to Themistokles saying that the King commanded him to make good his promises by applying himself to the Hellenic problem, then, neither embittered by anything like anger against his former fellow-citizens, nor lifted up by the great honour and power he was to have in the war, but possibly thinking his task not even approachable, both because Hellas had other great generals at the time, and especially because Cimon was so marvellously successful in his campaigns; yet most of all out of regard for the reputation of his own achievements and the trophies of those early days; having decided that his best course was to put a fitting end to his life, he made a sacrifice to the gods, then called his friends together, gave them a farewell clasp of his hand, and, as the current story goes, drank bull's blood, or as some say, took a quick poison, and so died in Magnesia, in the sixty-fifth year of his life, most of which had been spent in political leadership. They say that the King, on learning the cause and the manner of his death, admired the man yet more, and continued to treat his friends and kindred with kindness.

SOURCE 19.31 Plutarch, *Life of Themistokles*, 31

Didorus Siculus expresses his views on Themistokles:

But if any man, putting envy aside, will estimate closely not only the man's natural gifts but also his achievements, he will find that on both counts Themistokles holds first place among all of whom we

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have record. Therefore one may well be amazed that the Athenians were willing to rid themselves of a man of such genius. What other man, while Sparta still had the superior strength and the Spartan Eurybiades held the supreme command of the fleet, could by his single-handed efforts have deprived Sparta of that glory? Of what other man have we learned from history that by a single act he caused himself to surpass all the commanders, his city all other Greek states, and the Greeks the barbarians? In whose term as general have the resources been more inferior and the dangers they faced greater?

Consequently, when we survey the magnitude of his deeds and, examining them one by one, find that such a man suffered disgrace at the hands of his city, whereas it was by his deeds that the city rose to greatness, we have good reason to conclude that the city which is reputed to rank highest among all cities in wisdom and fair-dealing acted towards him with great cruelty.

SOURCE 19.32 Didorus Siculus, *Library of World History*, 58–59

ACTIVITY 19.11

1. Complete the table below to summarise the accounts given in Sources 19.29 to 19.32. To what extent can each account be corroborated by the other accounts in their assessment of Themistokles's life?

Thucydides	Plutarch	Diodorus

2. Consider Sources 19.29 and 19.31. Why might there be differences between Thucydides and Plutarch regarding Themistokles's death? To what extent do such differences effect how Themistokles is remembered in Athenian history?
3. How might the backgrounds and motives of these authors have influenced their writings?
4. What does the evaluation of Athenian government by Aristotle in Source 19.30 imply about the changes brought about by Themistokles and the relationship of these changes to political power?
5. Of the ancient sources provided within this chapter, which author do you believe provides the most accurate portrayal of Themistokles's life? Support your decision with evaluation of appropriate evidence.

Modern historians

Historian and archaeologist Frank Frost outlines views of Themistokles.

The search for the political Themistokles has not been rewarding. The nature of the testimony makes it too easy to accept one or another of a set of cliches, which have the advantage of being immediately understood. Thus, Themistokles is seen as a *novus homo*, or a 'democrat' or as 'the great radical'. The trouble with all these labels is that they give the picture of politics in the Marathon generation a vividness, a sharpness of focus that no one has a right to expect, considering the state of our evidence ...

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But the most detailed portrait of Themistokles that has survived is that drawn by Plutarch, and his impression of the general is that of a radical democrat who looked to the mob for support of his innovations. Plutarch's portraits are seductive and deceptively compelling.

It is not until the year of Salamis that Themistokles emerges as a living personality. His accomplishments during this year were so impressive that both ancient and modern writers have frequently made deductions about both earlier and later activities from what they know of this period. Themistokles's boule and dynamis during this crucial year made his reputation for all time. First, he successfully challenged the vested interests of the Delphic interpreters by persuading the Athenians to accept his reading of the Wooden Wall response. Second, he masterminded the Artemisium and Salamis campaigns despite his subordinate position in the councils of war. Finally, he acted on behalf of unity and sound strategy throughout in the face of the defeatism, stupidity and shortsightedness of those in command. The most convincing proof of his genius is that we are compelled to these judgements by the narrative of a historian who disliked him and made every attempt to belittle his accomplishments.

SOURCE 19.33 Frost, F., 1968, 'Themistocles' Place in Athenian Politics', *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*, vol. 1, pp. 105–10

Clacssicist and military historian Victor Hanson considers the importance of the Battle of Salamis.

Before Salamis, Athens was a rather eccentric city-state whose experiment with radical democracy was in its infancy and the verdict on its success still pending. After the battle, an imperial democratic culture arose that ruled the Aegean and gave us Aeschylus, Sophocles, the Parthenon, Pericles, and Thucydides.

Salamis, then, takes on enormous importance as a critical counterfactual example. First, the battle very easily could have been lost had not the efforts of a single man at a precise moment resulted in a Greek decision to fight off Salamis. Second, Themistokles seems to have been an extraordinary individual: of all the Greek leaders, he alone possessed the vision to commit to a sea battle, the rhetorical and political acumen to win adherents, and the guile and intelligence to force the Persians to commit their fleet to battle in an unfavorable strait. Had the battle of Salamis been the result of a collective decision or the efforts of a typical Greek conservative, rather than a half-Greek, radically democratic, and brilliant iconoclast, it would be logical to imagine a predetermined Greek victory.

Third, Persian and Greece represented antithetical social and political systems; thus, a pivotal victory by either in a war of annihilation presaged a radically different course of history for the entire Mediterranean.

SOURCE 19.34 Hanson, V.D., 2006, 'A Stillborn West?' in *Unmaking the West: 'What-if' Scenarios that Rewrite World History*, University of Michigan Press, pp. 82–3

ACTIVITY 19.12

1. Regarding the modern accounts provided above, how do they portray Themistokles's role in Athenian politics and the Greco-Persian wars? To what extent do you believe they corroborate or contradict one another in their assessments?
2. Why might modern accounts differ in their presentation of Themistokles? How would different interpretations of his life potentially support personal motives or agendas?

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ACTIVITY 19.12 continued

3. Based on your analysis of the evidence in this chapter, which ancient author is likely to provide the most accurate depiction of Themistokles's role in Athenian history? Refer to specific examples from the sources provided in this chapter to support your position. Complete the table below to assist and inform your response.

	Main characteristics associated with Themistokles	Notable quotes	What groups are represented?	How is this perspective different from other authors?	Is this source reliable?	Is this source useful for understanding power in fifth century Athens?
Herodotus						
Thucydides						
Diodorus						
Plutarch						

Objective 6: Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose in relation to people, power and authority in the Ancient World

19.6 Creating responses about Themistokles's character and significance

Drawing upon the sources of evidence provided within this chapter, respond to the questions below.

ACTIVITY 19.13

1. To what extent was Themistokles able to achieve unity within Greece during the course of his career?
2. Provide an evaluation of the following statement by drawing upon relevant historical evidence: The significance of Themistokles's career should be attributed to the naval policies before the second Persian invasion, rather than the Battle of Salamis.
3. What can be implied about the effectiveness of the Athenian democratic system in balancing power in Athens with particular reference to the rise and fall of Themistokles?
4. To what extent do you believe that Themistokles's character has been fairly depicted in the surviving ancient sources?
5. Why should the life and career of Themistokles still be considered relevant for understanding political power in the twenty-first century?
6. Was Themistokles essentially a selfish rather than a principled character? If no, then how do you account for Herodotus's less-praiseworthy opinion of Themistokles? If yes, then should Themistokles be remembered more for his selfishness, rather than his protection of Athenian interests?

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

- The Athenian democratic government was at a pivotal point during the life of Themistokles having survived the first Persian invasion of Darius the Great.
- Themistokles's rise to influence in fifth century BCE Athens was notable due to his lack of family nobility and apparent desire to achieve fame and influence.
- Themistokles's prominence was achieved by aligning with the needs of common Athenians which appears to have challenged traditional aristocratic strongholds within the political system.
- Throughout Themistokles's career he was able to attain power and fame through his wisdom, acumen and, at times, manipulation of political developments.
- The decision by Athens to invest recent silver findings into the development of the navy under the guidance of Themistokles was notable for its foresight in preparation for a second Persian invasion. This motive was not immediately made known to the Athenian population, but rather focused on the short-term conflict with Aegina.
- The choice to evacuate Athenians to Salamis was controversial as the city was sacked by the Persians in 480 BCE. Themistokles was able to persuade the Greeks to remain and fight at Salamis. Themistokles was able to deceive Xerxes by convincing him to attack the Greek navy in the straights of Salamis which nullified the numerical advantage held by the Persian navy. The defeat of the Persian navy led to the retreat of Xerxes.
- Themistokles's fame became renowned throughout Greece, however, he was eventually ostracised from Athens.
- Themistokles ultimately sought refuge at the court of the Persian king where he eventually died.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend

Why was Themistokles able to rise to become a prominent individual within Athens during the early part of the fifth century BCE?

Devise

To understand the power of Themistokles further, create and investigate three research questions which focus on his attainment, maintenance and fall from power.

Analyse

How did the naval policies implemented by Themistokles contribute to Athens's rise in power during the fifth century BCE?

Synthesise

To what extent does historical evidence support the following statement? Themistokles's career should be characterised as that of a self-serving individual who was able to use Athenian democracy to achieve power and fame within the context of the Greco-Persian wars.

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Evaluate

Provide a justification for or against the following statement through an analysis and evaluation of relevant sources: It is impossible to create an accurate assessment of Themistokles's motives in attaining power within Athens and his usage of it due to the large disagreements within the ancient sources.

Respond

Why is the career of Themistokles valuable for understanding democratic power in the twenty-first century?

Assessment

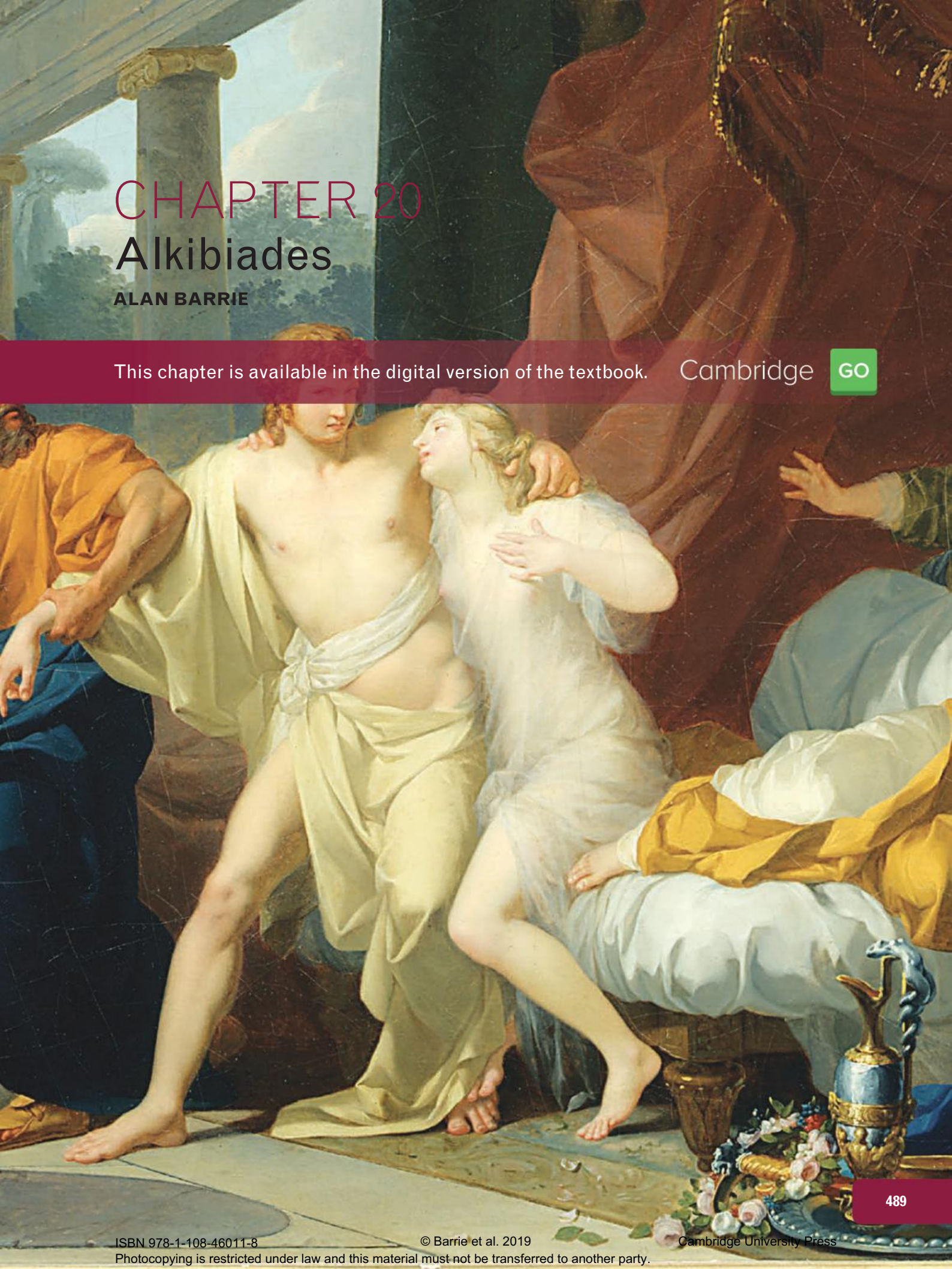
Examination-style questions

1. Why is the career of Themistokles important for understanding the growth of democracy in Athens during the fifth century BCE?
2. To what extent were the policies and strategies of Themistokles controversial during his rise to power?
3. To what extent do modern interpretations of Themistokles's career align with ancient understandings?
4. Evaluate the role of Themistokles's relationship with other Greek city-states during his career.

Investigation tasks

1. Evaluate the extent to which Themistokles's role at the Battle of Salamis supports the great man theory of history.
2. How did the democratic beliefs of fifth-century Athens allow for Themistokles's rise to power, and subsequent downfall?

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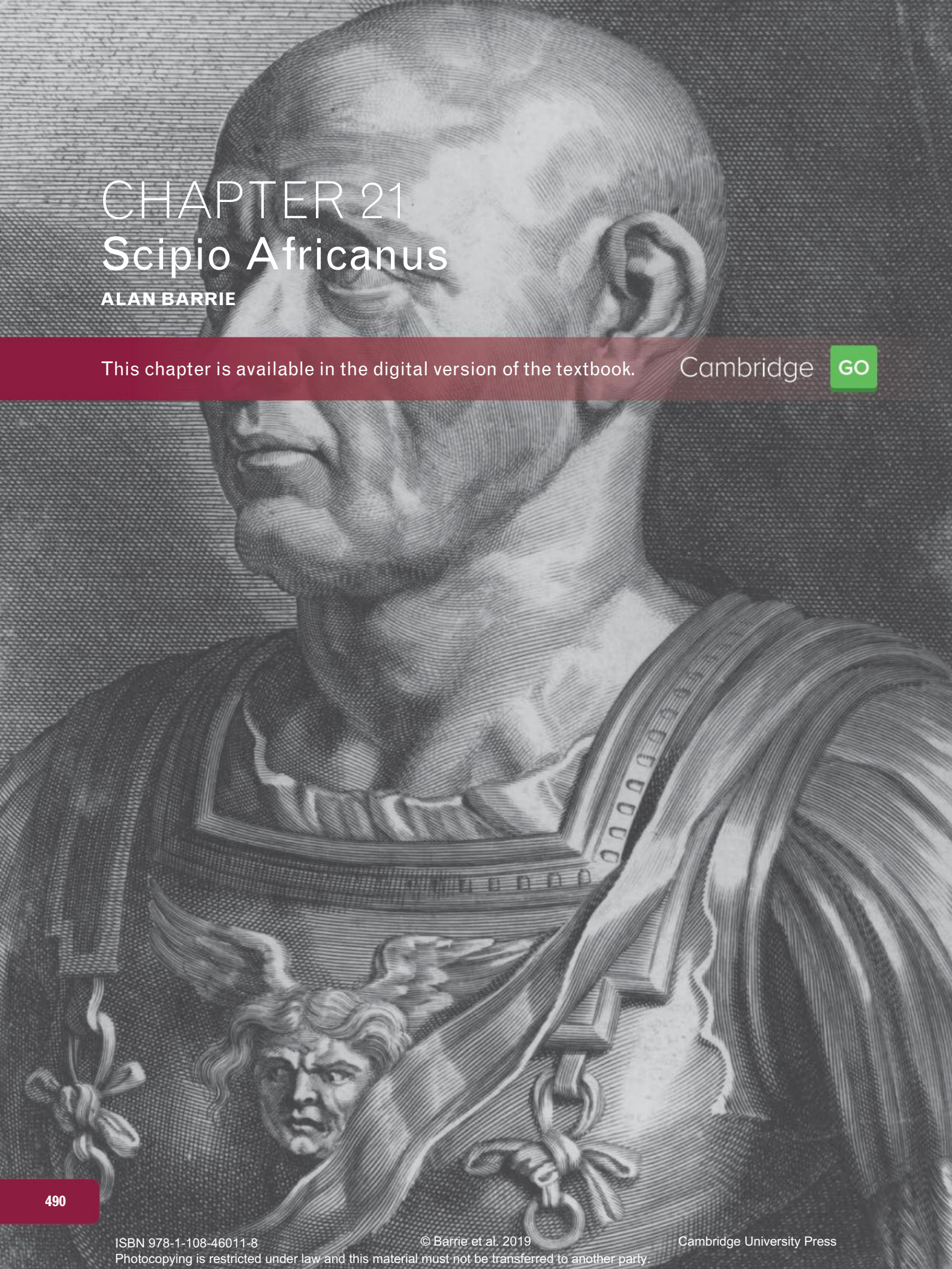


CHAPTER 20
Alkibiades

ALAN BARRIE

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CHAPTER 21
Scipio Africanus

ALAN BARRIE

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CHAPTER 22
Julius Caesar

SARAH COLEMAN

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CHAPTER 23
Augustus

SARAH COLEMAN

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this contextual study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
  - the geographical and historical context of Augustus
  - his family background and status.
  - the key events in his rise to prominence.
  - the significant influences on his early development.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the nature and range of sources for the period, and identification of key issues related to the investigation of sources.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the career of Augustus.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding.
- synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - the change of role, position, status over time.
  - the depictions of Augustus during his lifetime.
  - the possible motivations for his actions.
  - the methods used to achieve his aims.
  - his relationships with groups and other individuals.
  - the significant events in the career of Augustus.
  - the manner and impact of his death.
  - the judgements of Augustus by other individuals in his lifetime and after his death; for example, in writings, images and film.
- create a response that communicates meaning to suit purpose by completing short responses to historical sources.

KEY DATES

63 BCE	59 BCE	51 BCE	48 BCE	46 BCE	45 BCE
Birth of Augustus as Gaius Octavius (23 September), son of Gaius Octavius (praetor 61) and Atia of the Julii, Caesar's niece	Death of Gaius Octavius senior	Death of Julia (minor), Caesar's sister and Octavian's grandmother, at whose funeral Octavius delivers the eulogy, his first public appearance	Octavius elected to the pontifical college	Octavius is included in Caesar's triumphal celebrations, but is too ill to accompany him on his Spanish campaign	Octavius arrives in Spain on his own initiative in May, too late to take part in the Battle of Munda, but not too late to make himself useful. He is promoted to patrician rank

SOURCE 23.1 Bronze statue of Emperor Augustus on Via dei Fori Imperiali, Rome, Italy

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Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to the impact and legacy of Augustus.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
  - the assessments of Augustus's life and career.
  - the influence of Augustus on his time.
  - the long-term impact and legacy of Augustus.

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SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

- Julius Caesar
- Mark Antony
- Lepidus
- Cleopatra
- Marcus Agrippa
- Octavia
- Tiberius
- Marcus Junius Brutus
- Cato the Younger
- Livia
- Marcus Agrippa
- Marcus Tullius Cicero
- Marcellus
- Gaius and Lucius Caesar
- Germanicus
- Julia
- Vergil
- Horace
- Ovid.

44 BCE

- Octavius is appointed to replace Lepidus as *magister equitum* when the Parthian expedition leaves
- Caesar is assassinated on the Ides of March and Octavian arrives in Rome to claim his inheritance

43 BCE

- Mark Antony is joined in Gaul by the consuls of 43 BCE, Hirtius and Pansa
- Octavian is granted *imperium* and sent against Mark Antony, who is defeated at Mutina, and the consuls Hirtius and Pansa are killed in battle; Octavian marches on Rome and is named sole consul
- Formation of the Second Triumvirate and proscriptions

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MAPS



SOURCE 23.2 Growth of the Roman Empire 27 BCE–180 CE.

42 BCE	41 BCE	40 BCE
• Julius Caesar officially deified (as *Divus Julius*) after which Octavian takes to calling himself *divi filius* (son of a god) • Proscriptions continue, taxes imposed in Rome and the East • 'Liberators' successful at sea • Campaigns in Macedonia (October)	• Resettlement of Octavian's veteran soldiers causes unrest in Italy; he confiscates and then redistributes land • Mark Antony, now the leading figure, stays in the East, in order to prepare for the invasion of Parthia that had been planned by Caesar	• Differences between Octavian and Mark Antony nominally resolved at the so-called Pact of Brundisium which was signed in November and the Triumvirate renewed • Rome divided between the *triumvirs*: Mark Antony took the East, Octavian took the West, and Lepidus took Africa. Sextus Pompey went back to Sicily.

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SOURCE 23.3 Map of Augustan Rome, c. 14 CE

39 BCE	38 BCE	37 BCE
• Treaty of Misenum between Octavian, Mark Antony, and Sextus Pompeius • Octavian divorces Scribonia after the birth of his only child, Julia	• Octavian marries Livia Drusilla, mother of Tiberius and of Nero Claudius Drusus, with whom she was pregnant when divorced by Tiberius Claudius Nero • Sextus Pompeius blockades Italy and defeats Octavian at sea	Treaty of Tarentum

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

TERM	DEFINITION
Ara Pacis	Altar of Peace, commissioned by Augustus in 9 BCE which stood on the Campus Martius
Augustus	official title bestowed upon Octavian; Loosely translates as 'revered one'
Battle of Actium	the decisive confrontation of the Final War of the Roman Republic; a naval engagement between Octavian and the combined forces of Mark Antony and Cleopatra on 2 September 31 BCE
Caesarian	those who sided with Caesar in the struggle between the *optimates*, and Caesar and his supporters
divi filius	son of god; a term used by Octavian to strengthen his divine connection to Julius Caesar
First Settlement	the first series of political arrangements giving Augustus significant powers that took place in 27 BCE
imperator	Latin term meaning commander or general; the modern terms imperial and emperor are derived from this word
imperium maius	loosely translates as greater total command; provides the holder with total military control over land and sea
Lex Papia Poppaea	one of the moral laws enacted by Augustus; the *Lex Papia Poppaea* was introduced in 9 CE to encourage and strengthen marriage; it included provisions against adultery and celibacy
magister equitum	Master of the Horse; the dictator's lieutenant
mos maiorum	unwritten code from which the ancient Romans derived their social norms; the core concept of Roman traditionalism
pater patriae	Latin honorary title meaning father of the country or father of the fatherland
pontifex maximus	high priest of the College of Pontifs
princeps	first man among equals; the Roman emperor

36 BCE	35 BCE	34 BCE	33 BCE
• Agrippa is responsible for leading a victorious offensive against Sextus Pompeius, who is defeated off Naulochus (3 September) • Sextus Pompey flees eastwards to Mark Antony but is murdered before he reaches his destination • Lepidus unwisely tries to assert himself by invading Sicily from Africa • Mark Antony's Parthian campaign • Octavian is granted tribunician power	Octavian campaigns in Illyricum	Mark Antony invades Armenia, celebrates a triumph at Alexandria	Octavian serves as consul for the second time (*Consul Secundum* or Consul for the second time, known as COS II)

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TERM	DEFINITION
princeps civitatus	first citizen; an official title of a Roman Emperor
princeps senatus	senator whose name was entered first on the Senate list compiled by the censors; once selected, he held his position for life; the senator then had the honour of speaking first on all matters raised in the Senate
principate	rule by a single emperor (*princeps*)
republican	those who sided with the political view of the *optimates* who believed that their actions were in the best interests of the Republic
Res Gestae	*Res Gestae Divi Augustus*, or the Deeds of the Divine Augustus, was a monument depicting the achievements of the *princeps*, as penned by himself
res publica	the public thing and the root of the word republic
Second Triumvirate	the official political alliance of Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus (Caesar Augustus), Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony), and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, formed on 27 November 43 BCE with the enactment of the *Lex Titia*
Senate	advisory body to Rome's magistrates; composed of the city's most experienced public servants and society's elite; its decisions carried great weight, even if they were not always converted into laws in practice
Sentas consultum ultimum	by ultimate decree of the Senate — more properly *Senatus consultum de re publica defendenda* (decree of the Senate about defending the Republic); it means the final resolution of the Senate; declared only in times of emergency, it effectively gave the consul the right to do whatever was felt best to preserve the Republic
tribunicia potestas	power of the tribune, the holder could veto or forbid any law or act of which he disapproved; he could convene both the Senate and the tribal assembly, and put measures before them; he could also intercede to protect any plebeian who was being threatened
Triumvirate	joint rule between three individuals, termed *triumvirs*

32 BCE

- Octavian sits between the consuls and takes upon himself the leadership of the Roman people, denouncing Mark Antony in the Senate
- Mark Antony divorces his loyal Roman wife, Octavia
- The oath of allegiance

31 BCE

- Octavian's third consulship, an office he now holds every successive year until 23 BCE
- Battle of Actium (2 September)
- Mark Antony and Cleopatra cross into Greece, summer of 31 BCE

30 BCE

- Octavian in Egypt
- Suicides of Mark Antony and Cleopatra (9 August)
- Egypt made a province under an equestrian prefect directly responsible to Octavian. It was, for all intents and purposes, his private property

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Introduction

When Julius Caesar was murdered in 44 BCE, his will named his grand-nephew, Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus, as his adopted son and heir. The 18-year-old Octavius was thrust into the political and military upheaval that followed. He avenged his father's death at Philippi in 42 BCE and in the same year, together with Mark Antony and Lepidus, became part of the Second Triumvirate by which they divided the Roman world. Tensions within the Triumvirate eventually led to civil war between Octavian and Mark Antony for control. Octavian's victory against Mark Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31 BCE, and their deaths the following year left him in sole command. He returned to Rome in 29 BCE; his immediate task was to restore order and confidence, and to normalise his own position within the state. In 27 BCE he was granted the name 'Augustus' by the Senate and it is from that date that the new political order known as the principate came into being. Augustus as commander of the imperial army with *maius imperium* (supreme power) was the master of the State, but with *tribunicia potestas*, and the use of compromise and constructive statesmanship from 27 BCE to 14 CE, he brought relative peace (*pax Romana*) to the empire, as well as law, order and good government. He made use of all forms of propaganda (literature, buildings and the introduction of an imperial cult) to promote his rule, which after a hundred years of political violence, bloodshed and various civil wars was described as a Golden Age. Although the principate was not hereditary, he hoped that a Julian (direct descendant of himself as the son of Julius Caesar) would succeed him, but it was eventually his adopted son, Tiberius (a Claudian), who became *princeps* when Augustus died in 14 CE.

The Augustan Age is often considered the turning point of Roman history. The last century of the millennia had witnessed the dominance of military dictatorships, civil war and political violence, which continuously undermined, thereby weakening, the traditional republican constitution. By the time of Julius Caesar, the republican government had outgrown itself; the extensive expansion of its borders, coupled with changes in number to the lower magistracies and the increased involvement of the equestrian class in the Senate, changed the fabric of Rome's political and administrative machinery. The rewards of power were far greater than they had ever been, and as such, so were its defects. Competition intensified, and in turn, violence and bribery prevailed; senators were intimidated, elections were rigged and violence became a standard political tool. It was this world that Octavian (later Augustus) was born into; a year marked by senatorial conspiracy and execution without trial. He inherited a Rome scarred by a century of civil war, a discredited political system and a demoralised and embittered Senate. It was clear that reform, or at the very least adaptation, was required to return Rome to its former glory. Octavian's dilemma, however, was how to go about implementing such change without alienating sections of the populace, and in doing so, meeting the same fate as his father. To preserve himself and the State, Octavian avoided extremes because, according to Dio Cassius, 'he knew that he would fail if he tried to change ... too rapidly' (*Roman History*: 52.41) Octavian looked to the traditions of Republican Rome instead. Velleius Paterculus, a younger contemporary of Augustus, asserts, 'the Senate had dignity, and the power of the magistrates was again as before ... agriculture returned to the fields, piety to religion, and humanity freed from fear. The property of each citizen was protected by law, the old laws were adapted and new

29 BCE	28 BCE	27 BCE
• Octavian returns to Italy, and on entering the capitol, celebrated a triple triumph and closed the doors of the Temple of Janus – an explicit and public indication of the peace he had brought to Rome. He had the treasure of Egypt to pay his debts, and he had all the prestige of the conqueror. • Dedication of the temple of Divus Julius ('the Deified Julius Caesar') in Rome	• Sixth consulship of Octavian, with Agrippa • Census held by Octavian and Agrippa • Dedication of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine • Messalla in Spain	• First Settlement • Octavian, now Augustus, receives *imperium* for 10 years • Augustus tours Gaul and Spain until 25 BCE • Agrippa builds the first Pantheon

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ones passed for the general good' (*Roman History*: 2.89). This attitude of restoration and renewal, rather than revolutionary change, ensured that stability could return to Rome, and a period of security, peace and prosperity could ensue.

Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to people, power and authority in the Ancient World

The Augustan Age is a period that has garnered extensive study, criticism and emulation since the death of Augustus in 14 CE. As a political figure, both he and his methods have been closely examined, and most often are considered through the historical lens of the time during which he is being studied. For example, the debate of the benefits or drawbacks of autocracy, revolution, military dictatorships and imperialism, are very much shaped by its recent historical events. The historians writing in the early twenty-first century, writing in a post-imperial context, provide a different view from those writing in the era of Trump. Additionally, the views held by ancient historians are shaped by their own context. As a consequence, examining the concepts associated with Augustus can be very complex. You will need to understand, evaluate and apply the implications and use of terms and concepts such as restoration, revolution, intent, nostalgia and tradition, image and propaganda, and imperialism. It is also important to consider our own times, and examine the extent to which such terms and concepts have been replicated throughout history.

23.1 Restoration and renewal

The theme of restoration is greatly emphasised by Augustus and subsequently questioned by later historians. The *Res Gestae* is crucial in considering the attitude of Augustus or indeed the attitude that Augustus displayed to the world. This list of 35 deeds, or non-deeds as they are sometimes referred to, demonstrates the official line of non-radical reform Augustus took throughout his career. The world according to Augustus interpretation as many ancient and modern historians have pointed out. A key point of contention is Augustus's claim that, 'at a time when, with universal consent, I was in complete control of affairs, I transferred the republic from my power to the dominion of the Senate and people of Rome thereby restoring the *res publica*.' Velleius Paterculus enthusiastically accepts this:

> There is nothing that man can desire from the gods, nothing that the gods can grant to a man, nothing that wish can conceive or good fortune bring to pass, which Augustus on his return to the city did not bestow upon the Republic, the Roman people, and the world. The civil wars were ended after twenty years ... [and] the old traditional form of the republic was restored.

SOURCE 23.4 Velleius Paterculus, *Roman History,* Book 2, Chapter 89

As a contemporary of Augustus, however, Paterculus may have been swayed by elements of Augustan propaganda. Tacitus, writing in the first century CE, takes a far more contemptuous approach to this

26 BCE	25 BCE	24 BCE	23 BCE	22 BCE
• Disgrace of Cornelius Gallus • Arabian expedition of Aelius Gallus	• Augustus Consul IX • Arabian expedition of Aelius Gallus • The annexation of Galatia (25–23 BCE) • Marriage of Julia with M. Claudius Marcellus, son of Octavia	• Augustus Consul X • Annexation of Galatia	Augustus Consul XI	• Food shortages hit the city in 23–22 BCE and riots result • Augustus refuses the dictatorship Augustus goes to Greece and Asia for three years

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supposed restoration, suggesting that Augustus 'absorbed the functions of the Senate, the officials and even the law' (*Annals* 1.9–10). Dio Cassius similarly claims that Augustus had the power of the people and the Senate, and thus it was not a principate but a monarchy (*Roman History* 53.2). The key difficulty here is that both Tacitus and Dio Cassius were writing at a time when the empire had been well established as a dynastic succession and thus was monarchical in nature. Additionally, both were senators, and harboured a deep nostalgia for a time when the senatorial class held real power, and was not merely a governmental ornament. Ironically, it was this same nostalgia that Augustus appealed to, not only to garner public support in cementing his power, but throughout his principate.

The contemporaries of Augustus, such as Paterculus, Livy, and the poets Horace and Virgil were, if not directly commissioned by Augustus (as was the case with the latter), certainly influenced by the propaganda in circulation. For these men the contrast between the civil war years and the *pax Romana* of Augustus would have been heavily influential, and they no doubt 'preferred the safety of the present to the dangers of the past' (Tacitus, *Annals*: 1).

Tacitus and Dio Cassius, however, are in some respects correct in their claims that Augustus had the control of the Senate, and thus cannot be considered to be either traditional or restorative. This is supported by Scullard, a British historian of the mid-twentieth century, who suggests that although the Senate maintained their traditional power, Augustus had the military force and therefore control over the Senate.

While some historians, namely nineteenth-century German scholar Theodor Mommsen, have suggested the *principate* was a diarchy, whereby *princeps* and Senate shared power equally, Augustus's control of the military makes this possibility unlikely. The *proconsular imperium maius*, which gave Augustus control of the armies and the provinces, is not emphasised in the *Res Gestae* and is indicative of the *principate* that Augustus sought to be published, rather than the reality of the military dictatorship he had created.

The relationship between Augustus and the Senate was complex. However, Augustus's understanding of the political nuances of the 'conscript fathers' was such that explicit change was unwise. Therefore, Augustus's restoration to the traditions of the *res publica* backed by military force was a shrewd political move.

ACTIVITY 23.1

Having read the text, answer the following questions:

1. Explain what is meant by the terms restoration, renewal and revolution.
2. Explain what the term monarchy means and how it can be applied to your study of Augustus.
3. Who held power in the Roman Republic? Why is understanding this important in examining Augustus?
4. Identify the ancient historians referred to in the text. What are their points of view on the Augustan government?
5. Identify the modern historians referred to in this text. What are their views on the government of Augustus?

21 BCE	20 BCE	19 BCE	18 BCE
Agrippa marries Julia	• Augustus in Asia Minor, where he makes many administrative changes in the provinces there • The Parthians return Roman standards captured from Crassus in 53 BCE and Mark Antony in 36 BCE	Augustus returns to Rome (October); he is considered an equal of the consuls	• Augustus's *imperium* is renewed for five years • Agrippa receives *imperium maius* (greater *imperium*) and *tribunicia potestas* (tribunician power) for five years • Passing of the *leges Juliae* (Julian laws); laws on marriage, divorce, extravagance

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ACTIVITY 23.1 continued

6. The text says that Augustus appealed to nostalgia. What is meant by this term, and how can it be applied to our study of Augustus?
7. According to the text, in what ways can the regime of Augustus be considered a military dictatorship?
8. What are the different forms of government that the historians suggest Augustus led?

Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the nature of power and how it was exercised in the Ancient World

A historiographical understanding and critical analysis of the ancient historians is crucial in building our understanding of Augustus and his *principate*. The Roman literary record for the rise of Augustus and the creation of the *principate* is extensive: it encompasses everyone from contemporaries of Octavian as a young man or as Augustus *princeps* to historians writing centuries after his death. Accounts of Augustus as *princeps* is obviously problematic. The literary record includes letters, poetry, biographies and annalistic histories, not only about Augustus, but his opponents also.



SOURCE 23.5 Genres of literary evidence and key historians

The early years and even the months following Octavian's acceptance of his inheritance are significant in understanding his rise to power. According to Cicero, who openly lamented the liberator's failure to leave Mark Antony alive as a grave mistake, wrote that Mark Antony said of the young Octavian, '*O puer, qui omnia nomini debes*' (you, boy, who owe everything to a name). Refer to the Interactive Textbook for a detailed timeline of Octavian's life.

GO

17 BCE	16 BCE	14 BCE	13 BCE
Augustus adopts Agrippa's and Julia's two sons, Gaius and Lucius, as his own sons	• Augustus in Gaul (to 13 BCE) • Agrippa in the East • Noricum incorporated as a province	• Augustus in Gaul • Polemo is made king of the Bosporan kingdom • Return of Augustus to Rome • Death of Lepidus	• Augustus returns to Rome from Gaul; renewal of his *imperium* for five years • Return of Agrippa to Rome from the East

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Below are two sources that should be read critically against the events of his life. The first is from Nicolaus of Damascus, who was a Greek philosopher and historian, who lived at the same time as Octavian. Here he considers reasons for Antony's dislike of Octavian:

This was the beginning of good both for himself and all mankind, but especially for the State and the entire Roman people. He sent immediately to Asia for the money and means that Caesar had previously dispatched for the Parthian War, and when he received it along with a year's tribute from the people of Asia, contenting himself with the portion that had belonged to Caesar he turned the public property over to the state treasury. At that time, too, some of his friends urged him as they had at Apollonia to go to Caesar's colonies and to levy an army, inducing the men to join an expedition on his behalf by employing the prestige of the great name of Caesar. They declared that the soldiers would gladly follow the leadership of Caesar's son and would do everything for him; for there persisted among them a wonderful loyalty and good will toward Caesar and a memory of what they had accomplished with him in his lifetime, and they desired under the auspices of Caesar's name to win the power which they had formerly bestowed upon Caesar. However, the opportunity for this did not seem to be at hand. He therefore turned his attention toward seeking legally, through a senatorial decree, the dignity his father had held; and he was careful not to acquire the reputation of being one who was ambitious and not a law abiding man. Accordingly, he listened especially to the eldest of his friends and those of the greatest experience, and set out from Brundisium for Rome.

After the great Caesar's death and burial, his friends counselled Octavian to cultivate Antonius's friendship, and put him in charge of his interests .... [long lacuna, some months]. And though there were many other contributory causes toward disagreement between them, he seemed the more to incite enmity between them,for he was at odds with Octavian, and a partisan of Antonius. Octavian, however, in no wise frightened, because of his high spirit, gave some exhibitions on the occasion of the festival of Venus Genetrix which his father had established. He again approached Antonius with a number of his friends, requesting that permission be given for the throne and wreath to be set up in his father's honor. Antonius made the same threat as before, if he did not drop that proposal and keep quiet. Octavian withdrew and made no opposition to the veto of the consul. When he entered the theater, however, the people applauded him loudly, and his father's soldiers, angered because he had been prevented from paying tribute to the honored memory of his father, gave him, as a mark of their approval, one round of applause after another all through the performance. Then he counted out for the people their allotted money, and that secured him their especial good will.

The first move in the city came from his father's soldiers, who resented Antonius's contempt for them. At first they discussed their own forgetfulness of Caesar in allowing his son to be thus insulted, that son for whom they all ought to act as guardians if they were to take any account of what was just and righteous. Then gathering in a great company and reproaching themselves still more bitterly they set out for Antonius's house (for he also was relying on them) and made some plain statements to him: that he ought to treat Octavian more fairly and keep in mind his father's instructions; that it was their sacred duty not to overlook these, but to carry out even the details of

12 BCE	11 BCE	10 BCE	9 BCE
• Augustus is elected *pontifex maximus* • Death of Agrippa	Tiberius is compelled to divorce Vipsania Agrippina (daughter of Agrippa and Attica) and marry Julia (Augustus's daughter)	Herod names his new city Caesarea in honour of Augustus	• Dedication of Augustus's *Ara Pacis* in Rome • Death of Drusus, Tiberius's younger brother

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his memoranda, not to mention supporting the man he had named as his son and successor; that they saw that to Antonius and Octavian a reconciliation would be most advantageous at the present time because of the multitude of foes pressing on from every side. After this speech Antonius, in order not to seem to be opposing their endeavour, for he happened to be really in need of their services, said that he approved of and desired that very course, if only Octavian would also act with moderation and render him the honour which was his due; that he was ready to have a conference with him in their presence and within their hearing. They were satisfied with this and agreed to conduct him into the Capitol and act as mediators in the reconciliation if he should so desire. He then assented and immediately went up into the Temple of Jupiter, and sent them after Octavian.

SOURCE 23.6 Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*

Seutonius was a Roman historian who lived about 100 years after Augustus. In this extract he considers the consquences of the Battle of Actium:

... The underlying motive of every campaign was that Augustus felt it his duty, above all, to avenge Caesar and keep his decrees in force.

... Because Hirtius fell in battle, and Pansa later succumbed to a wound, a rumour went about that Augustus had engineered both deaths with the object of gaining sole control over their victorious armies after [Mark] Antony's defeat. Pansa certainly died in such suspicious circumstances that Glyco, his physician, was arrested on a charge of poisoning the wound; and Aquilius Niger goes so far as to assert that in the confusion of battle Augustus despatched Hirtius with his own hand.

... At last he broke off his alliance with Marcus Antonius, which was always doubtful and uncertain, and with difficulty kept alive by various reconciliations; and the better to show that his rival had fallen away from conduct becoming a citizen, he had the will which Antonius had left in Rome, naming his children by Cleopatra among his heirs, opened and read before the people. But when Antonius was declared a public enemy, he sent back to him all his kinsfolk and friends, among others Gaius Sosius and Titus Domitius, who were still consuls at the time. He also excused the community of Bononia from joining in the rally of all Italy to his standards, since they had been from ancient days dependents of the Antonii. Not long afterwards [31 B.C.] he won the sea-fight at Actium, where the contest continued to so late an hour that the victor passed the night on board. Having gone into winter quarters at Samos after Actium, he was disturbed by the news of a mutiny of the troops that he had selected from every division of his army and sent on to Brundisium after the victory, who demanded their rewards and discharge; and on his way back to Italy he twice encountered storms at sea, first between the headlands of the Peloponnesus and Aetolia, and again off the Ceraunian mountains. In both places a part of his galleys were sunk, while the rigging of the ship in which he was sailing was carried away and its rudder broken. He delayed at Brundisium only twenty-seven days – just long enough to satisfy all the demands of the soldiers---and then went to Egypt by a roundabout way through Asia and Syria, laid siege to Alexandria, where Antonius had

(continued)

8 BCE	7 BCE	6 BCE
• The month Sextilis is renamed Augustus • Augustus's *imperium* is renewed for 10 years • A census is held • Deaths of Maecenas and the poet Horace • Tiberius campaigns in Germany	• Tiberius celebrates triumph for victories in Germany • Rome divided into 14 *regiones* (regions)	• Tiberius received *tribunicia potestas* (tribunician power) for five years, withdraws into voluntary exile on Rhodes • Paphlagonia is added to the province of Galatia • Alpine peoples finally subjugated

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taken refuge with Cleopatra, and soon took the city. Although Antonius tried to make terms at the eleventh hour, Augustus forced him to commit suicide, and viewed his corpse. He greatly desired to save Cleopatra alive for his triumph, and even had Psylli brought to her, to suck the poison from her wound, since it was thought that she died from the bite of an asp. He allowed them both the honour of burial, and in the same tomb, giving orders that the mausoleum which they had begun should be finished. The young Antonius, the elder of Fulvia's two sons, he dragged from the image of the Deified Julius, to which he had fled after many vain entreaties, and slew him. Caesarion, too, whom Cleopatra fathered on Caesar, he overtook in his flight, brought back, and put to death. But he spared the rest of the offspring of Antonius and Cleopatra, and afterwards maintained and reared them according to their several positions, as carefully as if they were his own kin.

SOURCE 23.7 Suetonius, *Life of Augustus*

GO

The literary evidence for the Augustan period is extensive and varied and requires close analysis of author, context, purpose and audience to be truly useful to the historian. It is important to note that not all literary or written evidence is the same and needs to be examined with genre in mind, as this can affect its reliability. The Interactive Textbook contains further sources that detail Augustus's rise to power, and an activity to help you analyse them.

ACTIVITY 23.2

1. Create a profile of ancient historians on Augustus. Be sure to include the following:

- full name
- picture (if possible)
- years when writing
- names of all works
- genre
- audience
- completeness (e.g. extant or fragmentary)
- achievements/public career/notable experiences
- nationality and class (if relevant)
- strengths
- limitations
- usefulness.

The list of ancient historians, poets and speech writers to write profiles on are as follows:

a. Suetonius
b. Tacitus
c. Plutarch
d. Nicholas of Damascus
e. Dio Cassius
f. Cicero
g. Velleius Paterculus
h. Horace
i. Appian
j. Virgil.

5 BCE	4 BCE	2 BCE	1 BCE
• Twelfth consulship of Augustus • Gaius Caesar introduced to public life	Death of Herod the Great, whose will, dividing his territories between his three sons, is confirmed by Augustus	• Augustus consul XIII. He receives the title *pater patriae* • Julia is banished for adultery to Pandateria, from which she is allowed in 4 CE to move to Rhegium	Publication of first two books of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*

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23.2 Contemporary historians

Augustus has been the focus of study and research for centuries. The historiographical development of studying the Augustan Age and the *princeps* himself has developed over the last 250 years; it is fundamentally shaped by the context of the historian, not only historically but geographically and educationally as well. For example, Ronald Syme – whose work *The Roman Revolution* has underpinned much of the scholarship on this subject for the latter part of the twentieth century – was a New Zealander and student of the eminent German scholar, Theodor Mommsen. Syme's book was released one week after the outbreak of World War II, which meant that serious discussion of his research was impossible until the end of the war and much of his implicit warnings about the dangers of continental dictators was missed. For Syme, the Spanish Civil War, which raged during his time at Oxford, and the rise of men such as Hitler and Mussolini, fundamentally influenced the way he interpreted the deeds of Augustus. Dr Penny Goodman from the University of Leeds, highlights the crux of this problem:

> At present, attitudes towards Augustus tend to be critical, and his public profile is low by comparison with other emperors. For example, he appears relatively little in films and on TV, and when he does it is usually as the ruthless overthrower of the Republic – not the widely-acclaimed mature emperor. This perspective may well be fitting for the early 21st century, but it is shaped by the critical view of Augustus expressed in Syme's influential book *The Roman Revolution* (1939) and by Mussolini's attempts to associate himself with Augustus in the 1930s. We can only be sure whether or not it is really our perspective if we first understand how it has been influenced by previous assessments.

SOURCE 23.8 Goodman, P., 2014, 'Augustus and His Legacy', *The Commemorating Augustus Project*

This example shows that modern historians, like ancient historians, implicate their prejudices and biases within their historical research and work.

ACTIVITY 23.3

Keeping in mind the context and purpose of the historians of the Augustan Age, read Sources 23.6 and 23.7, and the additional sources in the Interactive Textbook, answer the questions below.

1. Has your understanding of the evidence changed in light of your understanding of the authors, their purpose and context? Answer for each source and be specific in your detail.
2. To what extent has the public career and achievements of the historians influenced their works for better or worse?
3. Organise the sources chronologically. How has the passage of time influenced the representation of Augustus in the Ancient World? How might one account for this?

(continued)

1 CE	2 CE	3 CE
Gaius Caesar Consul I; campaigns in Syria	• Tiberius returns to Rome from Rhodes • Death of Lucius Caesar at Massilia • Gaius Caesar settles Armenia	Augustus's *imperium* is renewed for 10 years

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ACTIVITY 23.3 continued

4. Based on your understanding of the historians, whose account do you deem to be the most reliable in comprehending the early years of Augustus? Explain your answer in detail.
5. Which account do you believe to be the most useful? Explain your answer in detail.
6. Which account do you believe to be the most significant? Explain your answer in detail.
7. How do you account for the representation of the role of Cleopatra in these excerpts? Research this online and then respond to the extent of these sources' reliability and accuracy. Use specific evidence in your response.
8. Select one or more of the sources and write a detailed historical analysis or gobbet. This requires you to examine the author, context, content and historical significance of the excerpt. Use the outline below to structure your analysis:
    - Title and author
        - What is the title of the work, and who wrote it?
        - Consider the author's biases, their skills, their sources and the genre of the work
        - When was it written?
    - Purpose
        - Who is the intended audience?
        - Was it written to inform, to entertain or to argue a case?
        - Consider the propaganda value of the source
    - Context
        - What are the incidents or series of incidents to which the text relates?
    - Historical significance
        - This should be the main part of your answer and should address why this particular text is an important piece of historical evidence. Be sure to read the passage closely and focus on the text at hand.
9. Based on the evidence provided and your own research, answer the following questions in extended format.
    a. What were the actions taken by Octavian and Mark Antony to justify their claims to power immediately following the death of Caesar?
    b. How did Mark Antony's behaviour undermine his position in Rome and how was Octavian able to use this to his advantage?
    c. Assess the role of Cleopatra VII in the period 44–29 BCE.
    d. Discuss, with a partner, the limitations of the evidence for Mark Antony and Cleopatra in this period.
    e. What evidence is there to support the claim that Octavian was severely underestimated by his peers?

4 CE	5 CE	6 CE
• Death of Gaius Caesar in Lycia • Augustus adopts Tiberius, who receives *tribunicia potestas* (tribunician power) for 10 years Augustus adopts Agrippa Postumus • Tiberius adopts Germanicus and invades Germany • Fourth purge of the Senate	Tiberius advances to the Elbe River in the north	• Augustus creates the *aerarium militare* (military treasury) and the *praefectus vigilum* (prefect of the watchmen) • Revolt of Pannonia and Illyricum

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SOURCE 23.9 Fresco paintings inside the House of Augustus, his residence during his reign as emperor

Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about people, power and authority in the Ancient World

Following Octavian's victory at Actium in 32 BCE, he emerged as the sole leader of the Roman world. The evidence for the remainder of his life is arguably less clear than his early years, primarily because it is either directly influenced by his regime (for better or worse) or commissioned by him. There are no one like the ancient historian Cicero in the post-Augustan Age, so truly objective primary evidence is a thing of the past; all sources are influenced by the reputation of Augustus and his successors to various degrees. The actions taken by Augustus in terms of art and literature, but also his social and moral reforms, are often referred to as the Augustan Program; some examples are explored in this section.

A key source for any study of the Augustan Age is the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, a list of achievements written by Augustus for a public audience. This is a source that you will need to refer to throughout this chapter.

23.3 *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*

The original *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (the deeds of the divine Augustus) is engraved on two bronze pillars set up at Rome. Its content is introduced in the following way: 'by which he brought the world under the empire of the Roman people, and of the expenses which he bore for the state and people of Rome'. An abbreviated version is set out in Source 23.11; the full text is included in the Interactive Textbook.

GO

7 CE	8 CE	9 CE	12 CE	14 CE
Victories of Germanicus in Dalmatia and Tiberius in Pannonia	*Lex Papia Poppaea* and subsequent banishment of Julia, daughter of Agrippa and Augustus's daughter Julia	Varus is defeated in Germany by Arminius with the loss of three legions	• First consulship of Germanicus • Birth of Caligula	• Death of Augustus Nola (19 August) at the age of 76 • Accession of Tiberius

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1) At the age of nineteen [44 BCE] on my own responsibility and at my own expense I raised an army, with which I successfully championed the liberty of the Republic when it was oppressed by the tyranny of a faction.
2) I drove into exile the murderers of my father, avenging their crime through tribunals established by law [43 BCE]; and afterwards, when they made war on the Republic, I twice defeated them in battle [42 BCE].
3) I undertook many civil and foreign wars by land and sea throughout the world, and as victor I spared the lives of all citizens who asked for mercy.
4) I celebrated two ovations and three curule triumphs and I was twenty-one times saluted as *imperator*. On fifty-five occasions the Senate decreed that thanksgivings should be offered to the immortal gods on account of the successes on land and sea gained by me or by my legates acting under my auspices.
5) The dictatorship was offered to me by both Senate and people ... but I refused it ... At that time the consulship was also offered to me, to be held each year for the rest of my life, and I refused it.
6) In the consulship of Marcus Vinicius and Quintus Lucretius [19 BCE] and afterwards in that of Publius and Gnaeus Lentulus [18 BCE], and thirdly in that of Paullus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Tubero [11 BCE], the Senate and people of Rome agreed that I should be appointed supervisor of laws and morals without a colleague and with supreme power, but I would not accept any office inconsistent with the custom of our ancestors. The measures that the Senate then desired me to take I carried out in virtue of my tribunician power. On five occasions, of my own initiative, I asked for and received from the Senate a colleague in that power.
7) I was triumvir for the organisation of the Republic for ten consecutive years. Up to the day of writing I have been *princeps senatus* for forty years. I am *pontifex maximus, augur, quindecimvir sacrisfaciundis, septemvir epulonum, frater arvalis, sodalis Titius, fetialis*.
8) In my fifth consulship [29 BCE] I increased the number of patricians on the instructions of the people and the Senate. I revised the roll of the Senate three times ... By new laws passed on my proposal I brought back into use many exemplary practices of our ancestors which were disappearing in our time, and in many ways I myself transmitted exemplary practices to posterity for their imitation.
9) The Senate decreed that vows should be undertaken every fifth year by the consuls and priests for my health.
10) My name was inserted in the hymn of the Salii by a decree of the Senate, and it was enacted by law that my person should be inviolable for ever and that I should hold the tribunician power for the duration of my life. I declined to be made *pontifex maximus* in the place of my colleague who was still alive, when the people offered me this priesthood which my father had held.
13) It was the will of our ancestors that the gateway of Janus Quirinus should be shut when victories had secured peace by land and sea throughout the whole empire of the Roman people; from the foundation of the city down to my birth, tradition records that it was shut only twice, but while I was the leading citizen the Senate resolved that it should be shut on three occasions.
15) To each member of the Roman plebs I paid under my father's will 300 sesterces ... I paid out 400 sesterces as a largesse to each man from my own patrimony, and in my eleventh consulship [23 BCE] I bought grain with my own money and distributed twelve rations apiece, and in the twelfth year of my tribunician power [11 BCE] I gave every man 400 sesterces for the third time.
17) Four times I assisted the treasury with my own money, so that I transferred to the administrators of the treasury 150 000 000 sesterces. In the consulship of Marcus Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius [6 CE], when the military treasury was founded by my advice for the purpose of

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paying rewards to soldiers who had served for twenty years or more, I transferred to it from my own patrimony 170 000 000 sesterces.

19) I built the Senate House, and the Chalcidicum adjacent to it, the temple of Apollo on the Palatine with its porticoes, the temple of the divine Julius, the Lupercal, the portico at the Flaminian circus, which I permitted to bear the name of the portico of Octavius after the man who erected the previous portico on the same site, a pulvinar at the Circus Maximus, the temples on the Capitol of Jupiter Feretrius and Jupiter the Thunderer, the temple of Quirinus, the temples of Minerva and Queen Juno and Jupiter Libertas on the Aventine, the temple of the Lares at the top of the Sacred Way, the temple of the Di Penates in the Velia, the temple of Youth, and the temple of the Great Mother on the Palatine.

20) I restored the Capitol and the theatre of Pompey, both works at great expense without inscribing my own name on either. I restored the channels of the aqueducts, which in several places were falling into disrepair through age, and I brought water from a new spring into the aqueduct called Marcia, doubling the supply. I completed the Forum Julium and the basilica between the temples of Castor and Saturn, works begun and almost finished by my father, and when that same basilica was destroyed by fire [12 CE], I began to rebuild it on an enlarged site, to be dedicated in the name of my sons, and in case I do not complete it in my life time, I have given orders that it should be completed by my heirs. In my sixth consulship [28 BCE] I restored eighty-two temples of the gods in the city on the authority of the Senate, neglecting none that required restoration at that time. In my seventh consulship [27 BCE] I restored the Via Flaminia from the city as far as Rimini, together with all bridges except the Mulvian and the Minucian.

21) I built the temple of Mars the Avenger and the Forum Augustum on private ground from the proceeds of booty. I built the theatre adjacent to the temple of Apollo on ground in large part bought from private owners, and provided that it should be called after Marcus Marcellus, my son-in-law. From the proceeds of booty I dedicated gifts in the Capitol and in the temples of the divine Julius, of Apollo, of Vesta and of Mars the Avenger.

25) I made the sea peaceful and freed it of pirates. In that war I captured about 30 000 slaves who had escaped from their masters and taken up arms against the Republic, and I handed them over to their masters for punishment. The whole of Italy of its own free will swore allegiance to me and demanded me as the leader in the war in which I was victorious at Actium. The Gallic and Spanish provinces, Africa, Sicily and Sardinia swore the same oath of allegiance. More than seven hundred senators served under my standards at that time, including eighty-three who previously or subsequently (down to the time of writing) were appointed consuls, and about one hundred and seventy who were appointed priests.

26) I extended the territory of all those provinces of the Roman people on whose borders lay peoples not subject to our government. I founded colonies of soldiers in Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, both Spanish provinces, Achaea, Asia, Syria, Gallia Narbonensis and Pisidia. Italy too has twenty-eight colonies founded by my authority, which were densely populated in my lifetime.

29) By victories over enemies I recovered in Spain and in Gaul, and from the Dalmatians several standards lost by other commanders. I compelled the Parthians to restore to me the spoils and standards of three Roman armies and to ask as suppliants for the friendship of the Roman people. Those standards I deposited in the innermost shrine of the temple of Mars the Avenger.

34) In my sixth and seventh consulships [28–27 BCE], after I had extinguished civil wars, and at a time when with universal consent I was in complete control of affairs, I transferred the Republic from my power to the dominion of the Senate and people of Rome. For this service of mine I was named Augustus by decree of the Senate, and the door-posts of my house were publicly wreathed with bay leaves and a civic crown was fixed over my door and a golden shield was set in the Curia

(continued)

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Julia, which, as attested by the inscription thereon, was given me by the Senate and people of Rome on account of my courage, clemency, justice and piety. After this time, I excelled all in influence [*auctoritas*], although I possessed no more official power [*potestas*] than others who were my colleagues in the several magistracies.

35) In my thirteenth consulship [2 BCE] the Senate, the equestrian order and the whole people of Rome gave me the title of Father of my Country, and resolved that this should be inscribed in the porch of my house and in the Curia Julia and in the Forum Augustum below the chariot which had been set there in my honour by decree of the Senate. At the time of writing I am in my seventy-sixth year.

SOURCE 23.10 *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*

ACTIVITY 23.4

Having examined the *Res Gestae* answer the following questions.

1. Identify the intended audience of the *Res Gestae*.
2. How might a Roman citizen in Rome have reacted to the text differently from a non-citizen in the provinces?
3. Even though it was written toward the end of Augustus's lifetime, how does the *Res Gestae* attempt to claim a certain legitimacy for Augustus's position within the Republic?
4. Suggest reasons for Augustus's repeated claims that his power was granted to him by the Senate. What purpose would this have in the public perception of Augustus's power base?
5. This work is not an exhaustive list of what Augustus did in his lifetime.
   a. What are the main themes and how are they arranged?
   b. What is included or highlighted in this text?
   c. What is omitted or played down? Why?
6. What image do you think Augustus was attempting to put forth with the *Res Gestae*?
7. How might you account for Augustus's omission of his military titles?
8. To what extent could the *Res Gestae* be considered propagandic in nature?
9. Create a mind map of the key themes emerging from the *Res Gestae*.
10. What is the significance of section 35 in understanding the powers of Augustus in 27 BCE?

A particular interest of the Augustan Age is what is referred to in the modern era as propaganda. There are significant issues in the application of this term because in ancient times it did not exist. There is no doubt that Augustus used art, inscriptions and coinage in a manner that promoted a specific image of the *princeps* and his government. However, we cannot consider it propaganda in the same way we might consider the 'spin' of the likes of Goebbels in the Third Reich.

23.4 The imagery of Augustus

The statue *Augustus of Prima Porta*, so called because of its location in Livia's villa at Prima Porta, is arguably one of the finest examples of the Augustan ideology realised in sculpture. From head to toe, this portrait sums up the view that Augustus wanted to convey of himself to the world. Laden with references to mythology and history and appealing to the Rome of days gone by, it conveys a very clear fusion of tradition and military might – the two legs upon which the newly formed principate stood.

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SOURCE 23.11 *Augustus of Prima Porta*



SOURCE 23.12 Details of *Augustus of Prima Porta*

Gemma Augustea

This cameo is an example of small private works of art commissioned by the *princeps*. Unlike art in the public sphere, private art would not have been seen by a large audience, however the messages contained therein are largely the same. Motifs that include mythological, imperial, and religious symbolism largely reflected across all Augustan imagery were a reminder of the *princeps's* restoration of the Republic and the security of the *pax Romana,* facilitated by military strength. The Gemma Augustea is divided into two registers: the upper register contains three historical figures and a host of deities and personifications, while the lower register depicts captive barbarians and victorious Romans.



SOURCE 23.13 The Gemma Augustea

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Ara Pacis



SOURCE 23.14 *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Altar of Augustan Peace), 9 BCE, Ara Pacis Museum, Rome



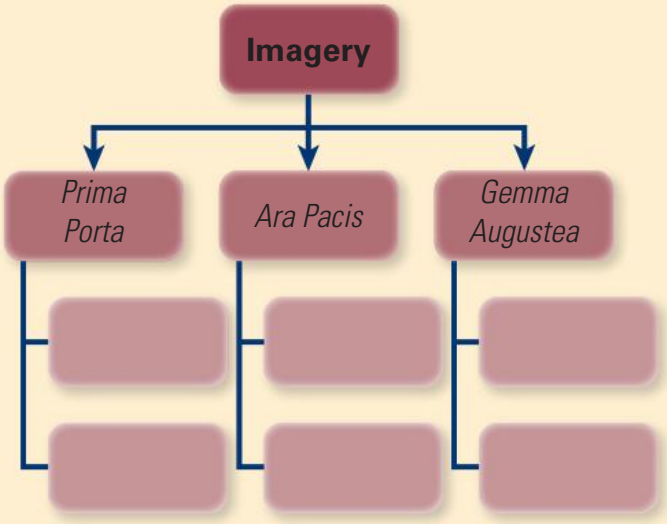
SOURCE 23.15 Processional scene (south side), *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Altar of Augustan Peace), 9 BCE (Ara Pacis Museum, Rome)

ACTIVITY 23.5

Examine the images of these sources found in Sources 23.11 to 23.15 (you can find excellent close-up and detailed panels online as well) and identify the key features of Augustan iconography. This includes, but is not limited to:

- the cornucopia
- she-wolf
- eagle
- imperial household
- barbarians
- soldiers
- Rome
- dolphin and cupid
- deities (Apollo, Diana, Tellus, Sol, Jupiter).

1. document your findings in a flow chart, like the one below.



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ACTIVITY 23.5 continued

2. What does the imagery in these works suggest about the way Augustus portrayed himself?
3. How does the prevalence of religious imagery support the views examined in this chapter's earlier section 23.1 around restoration and tradition?
4. How do you interpret the role of the military and the imperial family in these works? What conclusions could you draw at this point about Augustus's intent?
5. Explain how Augustus used artwork and religious imagery to cement his position as *princeps*.
6. How useful are these sources for making judgements about Augustus's power base?

Modern perspectives of Augustan art

Historian Paul Zanker describes a portrait created in around 19 BCE.

> A new portrait of Caesar Augustus (as he was now commonly known) must have been created about this time (19 BCE) ... The face is now characterised by a calm, elevated expression and the spontaneous turn of the head in the youthful portrait has given way to a timeless and remote dignity. Instead of the tousled hair over the forehead, each lock has been carefully arranged according to classical principles of symmetry ... It was reproduced in every part of the empire and fixed the visual image of Augustus for all time, although it had little to do with his actual appearance ... The new portrait type is indeed the visual equivalent of the title 'Augustus' and exploits all the best possible associations of the name. Augustus's extraordinary position in the Roman State is here defined in art. Rarely has art been pressed into the service of political power so directly as in the age of Augustus. Poetry and art are filled with the imagery of a blessed world, an empire at peace, under the sway of a great ruler.

SOURCE 23.16 Zanker P., 1990, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, University of Michigan Press, pp. 98–9

Historian Werner Eck comments on Augustus's desire to have his name connected with military valour.

> Augustus made it emphatically clear that he wanted his name to be associated with victory. Military valour was one of his four virtues recognised by official decree of the Senate in 27 BCE ... His very name implied triumph after he adopted *Imperateur* (meaning victorious commander) as a permanent praenomen (first name). His list of titles (on coins for example) listed how many times he had been acclaimed *imperateur* on the battlefield. By 13 CE it had reached 21 ... All of this goes hand in hand with his claim to have brought peace to Rome. ... The altar of Augustan peace which the Senate voted to build in 13 BCE on his return from Spain and Gaul, represents one public demonstration of his intention; another is the three times he closed the doors of the temple of Janus. Augustus was in charge of most of the large provinces and commanded the legions stationed in them. This gave him an obvious position of dominance which could not help but influence the Senate's daily deliberations, as all of them were aware. Another factor which contributed even more to his dominance was the new composition of the Senate. Many of the old senatorial families had died out during the civil wars; others had become so impoverished that they could survive only with support from Augustus.

SOURCE 23.17 Eck, W., 2007, *Age of Augustus,* Wiley-Blackwell, p. 112

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ACTIVITY 23.6

The role of images in the Augustan era has been of significant focus among modern historians. Examine the extracts above from contemporary Augustan scholars, and complete the questions that follow.

1. According to these modern sources, how did Augustus use art and image to strengthen his position in Rome?
2. Identify the views conveyed by the historians regarding the Augustan image.
3. Do these views support the judgements based on the ancient sources? Why or why not?

Augustan literature

Augustus did not only convey his image through art, but also through literature. The *princeps* sponsored poets, who in turn, wrote favourably of him. The following extracts are from three poets who lived at the same time as Augustus: Ovid, Vergil and Horace.

Ovid's *Fasti* is a six-book poem about Roman holidays and customs. Here he is talking about the Altar of Peace, which was built in13 BCE to honour Augustus's return to Rome.

> My song has led to the Altar of Peace one day from the month's end Peace, be present with the wreath of Actium on your head and stay in kindness through the world. Let there be no reason for a triumph – and no enemies: you will bring more glory than war! Let the soldier carry arms only to repress arms. Let the trumpet sound only for ceremony. Let the ends of the earth stand in awe of the men of Rome: if not fear, let there be love. Priests, add incense to the flames of Peace, strike down the white victim. May the house which guarantees peace, in peace last forever – be that your prayer to the gods who love piety.

SOURCE 23.18 Ovid, *Fasti*, Book 1, Section 709

The *Ecologues* is the first major work by the poet Virgil. It is a dramatic and mythic presentation of the turmoils in Rome. Eclogue 4 envisages a golden age brought about by the birth of a boy descended from Jove.

> Unbidden, the goats will bring home their udders swollen with milk, and the cattle will not fear huge lions. The serpent, too, will perish, and perish will the plant that hides its poison; Assyrian spice will spring up on every soil ... Next, when now the strength of years has made you a man, even the trader will quit the sea, nor will the ship of pine exchange wares; every land will bear all fruits. Earth will not suffer the harrow, nor the vine the pruning hook; the sturdy ploughman, too, will now loose his oxen from the yoke. No more will wool be taught to put on varied hues, but of himself the ram in the meadows will change his fleece, now to sweetly blushing purple, now to a saffron yellow; and scarlet shall clothe the grazing lambs at will.

SOURCE 23.19 Virgil, *Ecologues*, Section 18–37

Virgil's *Aeneid* tells the story of Aeneas, the prince who escaped the destruction of Troy and became the ancestor of the Romans. In Book 6 he receives a vision of the future of Rome.

> Yes, and a child of Mars will join his grandfather to accompany him,
> Romulus, whom his mother Ilia will bear, of Assaracus's line.
> See how Mars's twin plumes stand on his crest, and his father

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Marks him out for the world above with his own emblems?
Behold, my son, under his command glorious Rome
Will match Earth's power and heaven's will, and encircle
Seven hills with a single wall, happy in her race of men:
As Cybele, the Berecynthian 'Great Mother', crowned
With turrets, rides through the Phrygian cities, delighting
In her divine children, clasping a hundred descendants,
All gods, all dwelling in the heights above.
Now direct your eyes here, gaze at this people,
Your own Romans. Here is Caesar, and all the offspring
Of Iulus destined to live under the pole of heaven.
This is the man, this is him, whom you so often hear
Promised you, Augustus Caesar, son of the Deified,
Who will make a Golden Age again in the fields
Where Saturn once reigned, and extend the empire beyond
The Libyans and the Indians (to a land that lies outside the zodiac's belt,
Beyond the sun's ecliptic and the year's, where sky-carrying Atlas
Turns the sphere, inset with gleaming stars, on his shoulders):
Even now the Caspian realms, and Maeotian Earth,
Tremble at divine prophecies of his coming, and
The restless mouths of the seven-branched Nile are troubled.
Truly, Hercules never crossed so much of the earth,
Though he shot the bronze-footed Arcadian deer, brought peace
To the woods of Erymanthus, made Lerna tremble at his bow:
Nor did Bacchus, who steers his chariot, in triumph, with reins
Made of vines, guiding his tigers down from Nysa's high peak.
Do we really hesitate still to extend our power by our actions,
And does fear prevent us settling the Italian lands?

SOURCE 23.20 Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book VI, Lines 777–807

Horace's *Odes* was a collection of lyric poems, focussing on emotions and feelings. The final poem in the collection is in praise of Augustus.

Thine age, O Caesar, has brought back fertile crops to the fields and has restored to our own Jupiter the military standards stripped from the proud columns of the Parthians; has closed Janus's temple freed of wars; has put reins on licence overstepping righteous bounds; has wiped away our sins and revived the ancient virtues through which the Latin name and the might of Italy waxed great, and the fame and majesty of our empire were spread from the sun's bed in the west to the east. As long as Caesar is the guardian of the state, neither civil dissension nor violence shall banish peace, nor wrath that forges swords and brings discord and misery to cities. Not those who drink the deep Danube shall violate the orders of Caesar, nor the Getae, nor the Seres, nor the perfidious Parthians, nor those born by the Don River.

SOURCE 23.21 Horace, *Odes*, Book IV, Section XV

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ACTIVITY 23.7

Ensure you have read the excerpts above before answering the questions that follow.

1. To what extent does the literature of Virgil, Ovid and Horace support the imagery in Sources 23.11 to 23.15?
2. Identify the key themes in the poetry. Can these be connected to key concepts such as tradition and restoration? Be specific in your explanation.
3. Evaluate the usefulness of poetry as a historical source.
4. Explain the value these sources have when examining the methods used by Augustus to maintain power.
5. To what extent was the literature of the principate able to shape public perception?

Economic and public works

Augustan propaganda was not limited to the creative arts, but economics and public works also. It became clear that coinage could be used to spread information about the achievements of the emperor, the strength of the government and the reaffirmation that the state was, and would remain, in safe hands. Augustus recognised this by creating a system of coinage that remained the basis of the coinage systems for the Roman Empire for the next two and a half centuries. The coinage of the Augustan era provides an invaluable source for the Roman historian. The dissemination of Augustan propaganda through coins highlights three dominant themes throughout the period: the *princeps* and his founding honours, the imperial house and the steps taken towards dynastic continuity, and military success and the vindication of past defeats. This would form the basis of knowledge, official in character and creating a foundation on which opinions could be formed throughout the Empire.



SOURCE 23.22 Silver denarius from Ephesus commemorating the Roman Peace. OBV: Bust of Augustus wearing *corona civica*; Imp (*imperator*) Caesar Augustus Divi F Consul VI REV: Liberty / Pax (peace) / Olive branches

ACTIVITY 23.8

1. Identify the key images in the coins that support Augustus's power base.
2. Describe how the audience of the coins differs from the intended audience of the literature and art.
3. Assess the value of the numismatic record in the study of Augustus.
4. To what extent was coinage an effective means of disseminating information? Explain your answer.

Public works were also a means of reflecting key messages of the Augustan program to a broader audience.



SOURCE 23.23 Silver denarius from the Lugdugnum mint (Gaul). OBV: Head of Augustus crowned with *corona civica* REV: *silus iulium*, Divus Iulii

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Seutonius was a Roman historian who lived about 100 years after Augustus. Here he describes Augustus's building programs.

The city, which was not built in a manner suitable to the grandeur of the empire, and was liable to inundation of the Tiber, as well as to fires, was so much improved under his administration, that he boasted, not without reason, that he found it of brick, but left it of marble. He also rendered it secure for the time to come against such disasters, as far as could be effected by human foresight.

A great number of public buildings were erected by him, the most considerable of which were a forum, containing the Temple of Mars the Avenger, the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill, and the temple of Jupiter Tonans in the Capitol ... The Temple of Mars was built in fulfilment of a vow made during the war of Philippi, undertaken by him to avenge his father's murder ... He erected the Temple of Apollo in that part of his house on the Palatine Hill which had been struck with lightning, and which, on that account, the soothsayers declared the God to have chosen. He added porticos to it, with a library of Latin and Greek authors; and when advanced in years, used frequently there to hold Senate, and examine the rolls of the judges.

He dedicated the temple to Jupiter the Thunderer, in acknowledgment of his escape from a great danger in his Cantabrian expedition ... He likewise constructed some public buildings in the name of others; for instance, his grandsons, his wife, and sister. Thus he built the portico and basilica of Lucius and Gaius, and the porticos of Livia and Octavia, and the theatre of Marcellus. He also often exhorted other persons of rank to embellish the city by new buildings, or repairing and improving the old, according to their means. In consequence of this recommendation, many were raised; such as the Temple of Hercules and the Muses, by Marcius Philippus; a Temple of Diana by Lucius Cornificius; the Court of Freedom by Asinius Pollio; a Temple of Saturn by Munatius Plancus; a theatre by Cornelius Balbus; an amphitheatre by Statilius Taurus; and several other noble edifices by Marcus Agrippa.

SOURCE 23.24 Suetonius, *Divi Iulius*, 28-30

Professor David Shotter reflects on the sources of Augustus's complete control.

Augustus's domination then derived from two sources. A framework for government existed in the powers with which he had been invested, and for which he was accountable; the means to make himself the centre of an administrative system had its roots in a concept hallowed by Republican tradition – *autocras*. The existence of this provided him with the means to exercise an all-embracing patronage. Despite the public emphasis put on the *tribunicia potestas*, there is little doubt that the ultimate sanction of the *princeps* lay in the *proconsular imperium*. The legions were not on public display in Rome, but the 9 000-strong praetorian cohorts, though dispersed into small towns in Rome's vicinity, were a closer reminder of where the real strength of the *princeps* lay.

SOURCE 23.25 Shotter, S., 2005, *Augustus Caesar* (2nd ed.), Routledge, p. 97



SOURCE 23.26 Augustan Forum, Temple of Mars Ultor

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The Roman historian Dio Cassius on governance of the provinces.

> Augustus declared that he would not personally govern all the provinces, and that in the case of such provinces as he should govern he would not do so indefinitely. And he did, in fact, restore to the Senate the weaker provinces, on the ground that they were peaceful and free from war, while he retained the more powerful ones, alleging that they were insecure and precarious and either had enemies on their borders or were able on their own account to begin a serious revolt. His professed motive in this was that the Senate might enjoy without fears the finest portion of the empire, while he himself had the hardships and the dangers; but his real purpose was that by this arrangement the senators should be unarmed and peaceful, while he alone had arms and maintained soldiers.

SOURCE 23.27 Dio Cassius, *Historia Romanae*, Book 53, Chapter 13

The Dictionary of Art talks about the artistic patronage of Augustus.

> Octavian's most important program of artistic patronage, however, followed his assumption in 27 BCE of the title 'Augustus; (Lat.: 'venerable') and with it effective monarchic power. Artistic patronage was a vehicle by which Augustus sought to legitimate his new position in terms of traditional Roman values. He rebuilt 82 temples in order to demonstrate his piety and to restore the *pax deorum* ('peace of the gods') disrupted by the civil wars of the late Republic. New building in the Forum Romanum allowed him to redefine civic space in order to display his exceptional power. A temple of his deified father, Julius Caesar, dominated the eastern end of the forum. Two triumphal arches celebrating Augustus's victories at Actium and against the Parthians flanked the temple and formed the entrance to the forum. Such buildings provided the setting for an extensive programme of sculpture commissioned by Augustus. A series of some 70 portrait statues in the porticos of the Forum Augustum presented Augustus as the inevitable conclusion of two lines of succession: the first, *summi viri* ('great men') from Roman history stretching back to the founder of Rome, Romulus; the second, *summi viri* of the Julian family stretching back to Aeneas. Framed by these porticos was the Temple of Mars Ultor ('Mars the Avenger'), with cult statues of Mars, the father of Romulus, and Venus the mother of Aeneas, thus tying Augustus's succession to sole power into the divine order of things.

SOURCE 23.28 *The Dictionary of Art,* vol. 26, (ed. Jane Turner), 1996, Oxford University Press, p. 726

ACTIVITY 23.9

Re-examine paragraphs 19–21 in the *Res Gestae* in addition to the evidence above, before completing the questions below.

1. Assess the significance of the Augustan building program.
2. Beyond the power of image, what value does an ambitious building program have for a city or society?
3. Identify the key elements of the image Augustus wanted to convey that is apparent in the evidence.
4. Evaluate the interpretations of the modern historians. How useful are they in establishing an understanding of the significance of Augustus's building program?
5. To what extent do these sources reflect the concepts of restoration and tradition?

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ACTIVITY 23.10

1. To what extent do these sources reflect the concepts of restoration and tradition?
2. Review all the evidence and assess the validity of this statement: Augustus was the master of image, and recognised the use of its power.

Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument about a powerful individual, group or society in the Ancient World

23.5 Augustus and the Senate

At the conclusion of the civil wars Augustus sought a political settlement that would provide some stability. This would be difficult; he had to safeguard himself while at the same time be considerate of key figures in the State. He could not make himself king or dictator, for these offices were an affront to all citizens who were drawn to republican ideals of liberty and power-sharing. The actions of Sulla and Caesar in the years of the later Republic had undermined its legitimacy. He also could not restore the Republic to its traditional form, or emulate Sulla by passing reforms designed to entrench the power of his friends in the Senate. Many among the Roman people were opposed to government by the nobles because the past corrupt, inept and violent behaviour had caused the civil wars in the first place.

By 27 BCE, there was the first of a range of so-called settlements, that reorganised the power of the state. In this reorganisation, Octavian was granted the position of consul from 31-23 BCE; he reduced the number of legions under arms from 70 to 28, the wealth of Egypt was used to purchase (rather than confiscate) land for the veterans, he removed from the Senate 200 members of whose loyalty he was doubtful, and the magistracies were accorded honour.

The intent of Augustus, and the powers he gained following the settlement of 27 BCE, have been the focus of much conjecture by ancient and modern historians. During the *principate* there was significant reform in the Senate. It was necessary for Augustus to develop an administration capable of running the empire, a significant problem in the late republican era. In doing this, Augustus carefully preserved what he could from the deteriorating Republic and relied heavily on the Senate's support. Augustus made sure he gave more attention to this austere body than Julius Caesar did. According to Dio Cassius and Suetonius, as a result of the bribery and corruption that coloured the civil wars, the number of senators was swollen by a large number of equestrian and low-born men Augustus, however, 'revised the roll of the Senate three times' (*Res Gestae* 8) and thus restored it to its 'former limits and distinction' (Suetonius, *Augustus*: 35). The Senate's reputation was redeemed and once again was proclaimed to be a position of considerable prestige and influence.

In keeping with this tradition, Augustus took great pains to emphasise the republican nature of the *principate*, emphasising in the *Res Gestae* accolades given to him by the Senate, yet possessing 'no more *potestas* than others who were my colleagues in the several magistracies' (*Res Gestae* 34). The term *princeps* never appeared on coinage, but Augustus, a formal title with religious roots was used regularly; there is minimal reference to *auctoritas* and *dignitas* which formed the basis of his power, but rather, emphasised the *tribunicia potestas*, *pontifex maximus* and *pater patriae*, which gave him the authority to work through the Senate. The art and coinage of the time did not want to admit that Augustus controlled the army because that would mean he was an autocrat. Instead, by using the aforementioned titles, Augustus worked on the sentimental, traditional and antiquarian feelings of his people. The evidence in the next section pertains to Augustus's reform and intentions.

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Seutonius considers Augustus's administration of the provinces.

Augustus kept for himself all the more vigorous provinces – those that could not be safely administered by an annual governor; the remainder went to proconsuls chosen by lot. Yet, as occasion arose, he would change the status of provinces from imperial to senatorial, or contrariwise, and paid frequent visits to either sort. Finding that certain city-states which had treaties of alliance with Rome were ruining themselves through political irresponsibility, he took away their independence; but also granted subsidies to others crippled by public debts, rebuilt some cities which had been devastated by earthquakes, and even awarded Latin rights or full citizenship to states that could show a record of faithful service in the Roman cause. So far as I know, Augustus inspected every province of the Empire.

SOURCE 23.29 Suetonius, *Divi Augustus*, 47

Roman historian Tacitus introduces Augustus in his *Annals*, a history of the Roman empire.

Rome at the beginning was ruled by kings. Freedom and the consulship were established by Lucius Brutus. Dictatorships were held for a temporary crisis. The power of the *decemvirs* did not last beyond two years, nor was the consular jurisdiction of the military tribunes of long duration. The despotisms of Cinna and Sulla were brief; the rule of Pompey and of Crassus soon yielded before Caesar; the arms of Lepidus and (Mark) Antony before Augustus; who, when the world was wearied by civil strife, subjected it to empire under the title of 'Prince'. But the successes and reverses of the old Roman people have been recorded by famous historians; and fine intellects were not wanting to describe the times of Augustus, till growing sycophancy scared them away. The histories of Tiberius, Caius (Caligula), Claudius, and Nero, while they were in power, were falsified through terror, and after their death were written under the irritation of a recent hatred. Hence my purpose is to relate a few facts about Augustus – more particularly his last acts, then the reign of Tiberius, and all which follows, without either bitterness or partiality, from any motives to which I am far removed.

When after the destruction of Brutus and Cassius there was no longer any army of the Republic, when Pompey was crushed in Sicily, and when, with Lepidus pushed aside and (Mark) Antony slain, even the Julian faction had only Caesar left to lead it, then, dropping the title of triumvir, and giving out that he was a Consul, and was satisfied with a tribune's authority for the protection of the people, Augustus won over the soldiers with gifts, the populace with cheap corn, and all men with the sweets of repose, and so grew greater by degrees, while he concentrated in himself the functions of the Senate, the magistrates, and the laws. He was wholly unopposed, for the boldest spirits had fallen in battle, or in the proscription, while the remaining nobles, the readier they were to be slaves, were raised the higher by wealth and promotion, so that, aggrandised by revolution, they preferred the safety of the present to the dangerous past. Nor did the provinces dislike that condition of affairs, for they distrusted the government of the Senate and the people, because of the rivalries between the leading men and the rapacity of the officials, while the protection of the laws was unavailing, as they were continually deranged by violence, intrigue, and finally by corruption.

SOURCE 23.30 Tacitus, *Annals*, Book 1

Shotter disagrees with Tacitus.

Tacitus characterised the historiography of the principate as being vitiated [corrupted, impaired or devalued] by two considerations. First, as government became progressively the business of one

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man, general knowledge of events and the thinking that lay behind them deteriorated. Second, the dominance of the *princeps* and in many cases his capricious character made it increasingly inevitable that writers would flatter the *princeps* whilst he was alive and vilify him once dead. In both these ways, the interests of posterity were compromised, and the truth was therefore hard to discover. It is likely, however, that the history of Augustus's reign was to a degree less affected by these considerations than was the case with the reigns of his successors.

SOURCE 23.31 Shotter, D., 2005, *Augustus Caesar* (2nd ed), Routledge, p. 86

The following comes from an overview on Augustus, written for undergraduate humanities students at Reed College.

On July 1 of that year he resigned the consulship. Thereafter he would hold it again only for ceremonial purposes, as in 5 and 3 BCE to honour the entry of his grandsons Gaius and Lucius into public life. The centrepiece of the settlement of 23 was the adoption by Augustus of the office of tribune of the people, the *tribunicia potestas*, which he held thereafter continuously until his death in 14 CE. This is a bit tricky in so far as we hear on two previous occasions of Augustus taking the tribunician power, first in 36 BCE (Appian, BCE 5.132; Orosius, 6.18.34), and then again in 30 (Dio Cassius 51.19.6). However, Augustus clearly states in the *Res Gestae* (4.4) that his tribunician power began in 23. The likeliest explanation is that on the previous occasions he had been interested only in acquiring the tribunician inviolability (*sacrosanctitas*). In practical terms the tribunician power did not amount to much, except insofar as it allowed him to veto any public act and to propose measures directly to the popular assembly. But in symbolic terms its importance cannot be overstated. The tribunician power came to be identified completely with the office of the *princeps*, and Augustus and his successors, on their coins and public documents, date the years of their reigns by it. When Augustus sought to identify someone as his designated successor (a delicate business inasmuch as he had to avoid the appearance of creating a dynasty) he did so by taking that person as a colleague in the tribunician power. Tribunes of the people do not command armies. Augustus's command of the armies was not, however, jeopardised by the settlement of 23. He was granted *proconsular imperium* (extended in 19 BCE to a life term), and this was to be *imperium maius quam proconsulare*, which meant that he could overrule the authority of other provincial governors in their own provinces (Dio Cassius 53.32). Although there were (dubious) Republican precedents for the holding of *maius imperium* (Pompey had had it in the 60s), Augustus's was unique in that it did not stop at the *pomerium*, the sacred boundary of the city.

SOURCE 23.32 Silverman, D.L., 1996, *Augustus: Nature of the sources*, Reed College website

Classics professor Matthew McGowan discusses Roman names.

Notably, he never took to the name Octavianus, as would have been customary among the Romans after such an adoption, but immediately began calling himself 'Julius Caesar, the son of Julius Caesar'. Roman nomenclature is notoriously vexing, and the confusion we may have today about the many names of Rome's first emperor-ultimately called Imperator Caesar *divi filius* Augustus, 'Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of the deified (Caesar)' – may also have been at play in antiquity. At the very least, the newly adopted 'Caesar' knew the power of that name to compel and to revile. Thus, in a letter composed less than a month after the assassination, Cicero writes: 'his followers call him Caesar, but Philippus does not, so neither do I.' In the same letter, Cicero expresses doubts about the youth – 'I'm sure he's not a good citizen' – and refers to him dismissively as 'boy' (*puer*), a

(continued)

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term famously deployed by [Mark] Antony to insult Octavian: 'And you, boy, who owe everything to a name.' Of course, [Mark] Antony was only partly right: a keen intellect and ruthlessness of purpose played a part in everything, too, and rivals underestimated him at their peril.

SOURCE 23.33 McGowan, M.M., 2014, *Caesar, princeps, Augustus, god*, The University Bookman website

The following is an oath of loyalty sworn to Augustus.

In the third year from the twelfth consulship of the Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of a god, March 6, at Gangra, the following oath was taken by the inhabitants of Paphlagonia and the Roman businessmen dwelling among them:

'I swear by Jupiter, Earth, Sun, by all the gods and goddesses, and by Augustus himself, that I will be loyal to Caesar Augustus and to his children and descendants all my life in word, in deed, and in thought, regarding as friends whomever they so regard, and considering as enemies whomever they so adjudge; that in defence of their interests I will spare neither body, soul, life, nor children, but will in every way undergo every danger in defence of their interests; that whenever I perceive or hear anything being said or planned of done against them I will lodge information about this and will be an enemy to whoever says or plans or does any such thing; and that whomever they adjudge to be enemies I will by land and sea, with weapons and sword, pursue and punish.'

SOURCE 23.34 'Oath of Allegiance', cited in Lewis, N. & Reinhold, M., 1990, *Roman Civilization: Selected Readings, Volume 2*, Columbia University Press, p. 589

ACTIVITY 23.11

In addition to the *Res Gestae*, examine the sources above before answering the questions that follow.

1. Summarise the political reforms and changes made by Augustus as identified in the sources.
2. What was the legal basis of Augustus's power as emperor (*princeps*), and how did it differ from the basis of political power during the Republic?
3. How did Augustus avoid the fate of Caesar – that is, conspiracy and assassination?
4. Examine the significance of Augustus's titles and the extent to which these underpinned his power base.
5. Compare the *Res Gestae* with the sources above. How does their perception of Augustus's power differ? How might you account for this?
6. Based on your understanding of the evidence, assess whether or not the relationship between *princeps* and Senate can be considered diarchic in nature.

The ancient sources also document extensively the various views that existed around the intent of Augustus. Some suggest monarchy was his sole aim, others that he restored the *res publica*. Read through the below extracts from Roman historians, and identify the perspective provided.
From Dio Cassius:

And inasmuch as he had put into effect very many illegal and unjust regulations during the factional strife and the wars, especially in the period of his joint rule with [Mark] Antony and Lepidus, he abolished them all by a single decree, setting the end of his sixth consulship as the time for their expiration.

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When, now, he obtained approbation and praise for this act, he desired to exhibit another instance of magnanimity, that by such a policy he might be honoured all the more and might have his sovereignty voluntarily confirmed by the people, so as to avoid the appearance of having forced them against their will. Therefore, having first primed his most intimate friends among the senators, he entered the Senate in his seventh consulship and read the following address:

I am sure that I shall seem to some of you, Conscript Fathers, to have made an incredible choice. For what each one of my hearers would not wish to do himself, he does not like to believe, either, when another claims to have done it, especially as everyone is jealous of anybody who is superior to him and so is more prone to disbelieve any utterance that is above his own standard. Besides, I know this, that those who say what appears to be incredible not only fail to persuade others but also appear to be impostors. And indeed, if it were a question of my promising something that I was not intending to put into effect immediately, I should have been exceedingly loath to proclaim it, for fear of gaining, instead of gratitude, some grievous imputation … You see for yourselves, of course, that it is in my power to rule over you for life; for every factious element has either been put down through the application of justice or brought to its sense by receiving mercy, while those who were on my side have been made devoted by my reciprocating their friendly services and bound fast by having a share in the government. Therefore none of them desires a revolution, and if anything of the sort should take place, at least the party which will stand by me is even more ready than it was before. My military is in the finest condition as regards both loyalty and strength; there is money and there are allies; and, most important of all, you and the people are so disposed toward me that you would distinctly wish to have me at your head. However, I shall lead you no longer, and no one will be able to say that it was to win absolute power that I did whatever has hitherto been done. Nay, I give up my office completely, and restore to you absolutely everything – the army, the laws, and the provinces – not only those which you committed to me, but also those which I myself later acquired for you. Thus my very deeds also will prove to you that even at the outset I desired no position of power, but in very truth wished to avenge my father, cruelly murdered, and to extricate the city from great evils that came on unceasingly. Indeed, I would that I had not gone so far as to assume charge of affairs as I did; that is, I would that the city had not required me for any such task, but that we of this generation also might have lived from the beginning in peace and harmony, as our fathers lived of yore. But since some destiny, as it appears, brought you to a position where you had need even of me, young as I still was at the time, and put me to the test, I did everything with a zeal even beyond my years and accomplished everything with a good fortune even beyond my powers, so long as the situation demanded my help. And nothing in the world could deter me from aiding you when you were in danger, neither toil, nor fear, nor threats of foes, nor prayers of friends, nor the multitude of the conspirators, nor the desperation of our adversaries; nay, I gave myself to you unstintingly for any and all the exigencies which have arisen, and what I did and suffered, you know. From all this I have derived no gain for myself except that I have kept my country from perishing; but as for you, you are enjoying both safety and tranquillity. Since, then, Fortune, by using me, has graciously restored to you peace without treachery and harmony without faction, receive back also your liberty and the republic; take over the army and the subject provinces, and govern yourselves as has been your wont.

I myself have undergone both labours and hardships and am no longer able to stand the strain, either in mind or in body. Furthermore, I foresee the jealousy and hatred which are engendered in certain persons against even the best men and the plots which arise therefrom. It is for these reasons that I choose the life of a private citizen and fair fame rather than that of a sovereign and constant peril. And as for the business of the commonwealth, it would be carried on far better by all in common, inasmuch as it would be transacted by many men together instead of being dependent upon some one man.

SOURCE 23.35 Dio Cassius, *Historia Romanae*, Book 51, Chapters 2–3

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From Tacitus:

Meanwhile, to consolidate his power, Augustus raised Claudius Marcellus, his sister's son and a mere stripling, to the pontificate and curule aedileship: Marcus Agrippa, no aristocrat, but a good soldier and his partner in victory, he honoured with two successive consulates, and a little later, on the death of Marcellus, selected him as a son-in-law. Each of his step-children, Tiberius Nero and Claudius Drusus, was given the title of Imperator, though his family proper was still intact: for he had admitted Agrippa's children, Gaius and Lucius, to the Caesarian hearth, and even during their minority had shown, under a veil of reluctance, a consuming desire to see them consuls designate with the title Princes of the Youth. At home all was calm. The officials carried the old names; the younger men had been born after the victory of Actium; most even of the elder generation, during the civil wars; few indeed were left who had seen the Republic. It was thus an altered world, and of the old, unspoilt Roman character not a trace lingered. Equality was an outworn creed, and all eyes looked to the mandate of the sovereign – with no immediate misgivings, so long as Augustus in the full vigour of his prime upheld himself, his house, and peace.

SOURCE 23.36 Tacitus, *Annals*, 1, 2–4

From Vellius Paterculus:

As for Caesar's return to Italy and to Rome – the procession which met him, the enthusiasm of his reception by men of all classes, ages, and ranks, and the magnificence of his triumphs and of the spectacles which he gave – all this it would be impossible adequately to describe even within the compass of a formal history, to say nothing of a work so circumscribed as this. There is nothing that man can desire from the gods, nothing that the gods can grant to a man, nothing that wish can conceive or good fortune bring to pass, which Augustus on his return to the city did not bestow upon the republic, the Roman people, and the world. The civil wars were ended after twenty years, foreign wars suppressed, peace restored, the frenzy of arms everywhere lulled to rest; validity was restored to the laws, authority to the courts, and dignity to the Senate; the power of the magistrates was reduced to its former limits, with the sole exception that two were added to the eight existing praetors. The old traditional form of the republic was restored. Agriculture returned to the fields, respect to religion, to mankind freedom from anxiety, and to each citizen his property rights were now assured; old laws were usefully emended, and new laws passed for the general good; the revision of the Senate, while not too drastic, was not lacking in severity. The chief men of the state who had won triumphs and had held high office were at the invitation of Augustus induced to adorn the city. In the case of the consulship only, Caesar was not able to have his way, but was obliged to hold that office consecutively until the eleventh time in spite of his frequent efforts to prevent it; but the dictatorship which the people persistently offered him, he as stubbornly refused. To tell of the wars waged under his command, of the pacification of the world by his victories, of his many works at home and outside of Italy would weary a writer intending to devote his whole life to this one task.

SOURCE 23.37 Velleius Paterculus, *Roman History*, Book 2, Chapters 89

From Seutonius:

He received the tribunician power for life, and once or twice chose a colleague in the office for periods of five years each. He was also given the supervision of morals and of the laws for all time, and by the virtue of this position, although without the title of censor, he nevertheless took the census thrice, the first and last time with a colleague, the second time alone.

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He twice thought of restoring the republic; first immediately after the overthrow of [Mark] Antony, remembering that his rival had often made the charge that it was his fault that it was not restored; and again in the weariness of a lingering illness, when he went so far as to summon the magistrates and the Senate to his house, and submit an account of the general condition of the empire. Reflecting, however, that as he himself would not be free from danger if he should retire, so too it would be hazardous to trust the State to the control of more than one, he continued to keep it in his hands; and it is not easy to say whether his intentions or their results were the better. His good intentions he not only expressed from time to time, but put them on record as well in an edict in the following words: 'May it be my privilege to establish the State in a firm and secure position, and reap from that act the fruit that I desire; but only if I may be called the author of the best possible government, and bear with me the hope when I die that the foundations which I have laid for the State will remain unshaken.' And he realised his hope by making every effort to prevent any dissatisfaction with the new régime.

SOURCE 23.38 Suetonius, *Divi Augustus*, 27–28

ACTIVITY 23.12

1. Consider the judgements of the ancient historians in the sources as well as the *Res Gestae* with regards to the intentions of Augustus and complete the table below (the first one has been done for you). It would be useful to review the definition of *res publica*.

Historian	Perspective	Evidence	Comments
Augustus, *Res Gestae*	A melding of the past and present, Augustus places significant emphasis on his role in restoring the *res publica* and ensuring that his deeds are portrayed as republican or at the very least popular in nature.	The dictatorship offered me by the people and the Roman Senate, in my absence and later when present, in the consulship of Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius I did not accept.	Emphasis on the denial of the dictatorship – this was an office that was unpalatable to many Romans as a consequence of its use by Caesar and Sulla in the later years of the republic.
		The Senate and the Roman people unanimously agreed that I should be elected overseer of laws and morals.	Laws and morals puts him in charge of the way people act – consequently, he is able to influence the way people conduct themselves, which he ultimately does by harking back to the pre-civil war era.

(continued)

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ACTIVITY 23.12 continued

Historian	Perspective	Evidence	Comments
	Referral to honours that were bestowed by the Senate and the People of Rome, and his refusal to accept anything that was out of keeping with Roman traditions reflects the way Augustus wanted to be remembered. As a result many aspects of his reign are omitted or glossed over.	I refused to accept any power offered me which was contrary to the traditions of our ancestors.	Augustus places the emphasis on the powers given to him that were not uncommon so as to demonstrate that he was adhering to the republican mores and not assuming significant power as Caesar had.
		I carried out by virtue of my tribunician power.	Focus is placed on his *tribunicia protestas*, not *imperium maius* etc., which has a strong military focus and can be considered uncommon and exceptional.
Tacitus			
Velleius Paterculus			
Suetonius			
Dio Cassius			

2. What claims can be made about the authenticity of Augustus?
3. Consider the other evidence provided in this chapter. What judgements can be made about Augustus's intent in establishing a monarchy?
4. Describe the foundation or the principate according to the evidence.
5. To what extent has your understanding of Augustus's acquisition of power changed after reading these sources?

Objective 6: Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose in relation to people, power and authority in the Ancient World

23.6 Creating responses about Augustus

Based on your knowledge and the evidence in this chapter, complete the following activities.

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ACTIVITY 23.13

1. The imperial system was born of revolution and civil war and was the result of the victory of one military leader from the governing class over his rivals. The system never lost the military-revolutionary aspect of its origin, no matter how much Augustus and his successors tried to conceal it. Their power always relied ultimately on the power of the army. Assess the extent to which the power of the emperor and the stability of the principate, in the period 27 BCE to 54 CE, relied on the army.
2. Individual senators could be replaced or killed, but senators in general were vital to Roman society. What the Senate failed to realise until Gaius Caligula's death was that the same was now true of Roman emperors. Examine the changing nature of the relationship between the Senate and the *princeps* in the period 27 BCE to 54 CE.
3. Ronald Syme in his seminal work *The Roman Revolution* (1939), made many assertions about Augustus and his power base. He argued, that 'the *Princeps*, now a monopolist of the means of influencing opinion, used all his arts to persuade men to accept the Principate and its programme' (p. 458). Assess the validity of Syme's assertion that Augustus utilised propaganda in order to cement his position of power in Rome.
4. In recent years, historians have reassessed the main features of the Augustan Age. Karl Galinsky is one such historian who has concluded that the success of Augustus is related to his identification with Roman culture and values, and his suggestion that he and his family embodied traditional values. He claimed that 'the poets in particular contributed significantly to the creation of the Augustan ethos'. To what extent is the suggestion valid that the poets of the Augustan era were the most important factor in the creation and validation of the Augustan ethos?
5. The role of the military in Augustus's rise to power cannot be denied. Contemporary historian Philip Matyszak, however, suggests that the influence of the military did not end with Augustus's victory at Actium, but rather, that 'despite the republican façade, the principate was essentially a military dictatorship'. To what extent does the evidence support Matyszak's claim, that the principate was a military dictatorship?

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

- The Augustan Principate is one of the most divisive periods in Roman history.
- Octavian, later Augustus, was vastly underestimated by Mark Antony, and the young boy used his skills and the name of Caesar to establish a power base.
- Augustus sought to convey an image of tradition and restoration to avoid the fate of Julius Caesar.
- He implemented significant reform in order to renew Roman tradition which had been so desperately damaged by the civil wars of the first century BCE.
- His building program was one of the most successful seen by Rome at the time.
- The power of the name Caesar, in addition to a series of constitutional appointments, gave his power a legal basis.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend

Based on the evidence, what key themes did Augustus seek to convey to the Roman people?

Analyse

Assess the nature of the evidence for the Augustan period, including its strengths and limitations.

Evaluate

Assess the usefulness of art and literature in making judgements about the Augustan era.

Synthesise

How did Augustus convey a theme of restoration and tradition in his lifetime?

Respond

To what extent is the statement 'Augustus restored the *res publica*' valid?

Assessment

Examination-style questions

1. 'I excelled all in influence, although I possessed no more official power than others who were my colleagues in the several magistracies.' How does this claim accurately reflect the basis of Augustus's power?
2. 'He seduced the army with bonuses, absorbed the functions of the Senate, the officials and even the law'. To what extent do these reasons explain Augustus's success?
3. '*Sic semper tyrannis*' [thus always to tyrants]. How was Augustus able to avoid the fate of Julius Caesar?

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Investigation tasks

1. Examine the changes to the name of Octavius to Augustus, and assess how important the changes are in his exercise of power and rule:
   - 63 BCE: born Gaius Octavius
   - 44 BCE: upon adoption, became Gaius Julius Caesar (contemporaries referred to him as 'Caesar'; he dropped the name 'Octavius')
   - 42 BCE: Octavian added *divi filius* (son of the divine), becoming Gaius Julius Caesar Divi Filius
   - 38 BCE: Octavian replaced 'Gaius' and 'Julius' with 'Imperator', officially becoming Imperator Caesar Divi Filius
   - 27 BCE: the Roman Senate voted new titles for him, officially becoming Imperator Caesar Divi Filius Augustus.

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