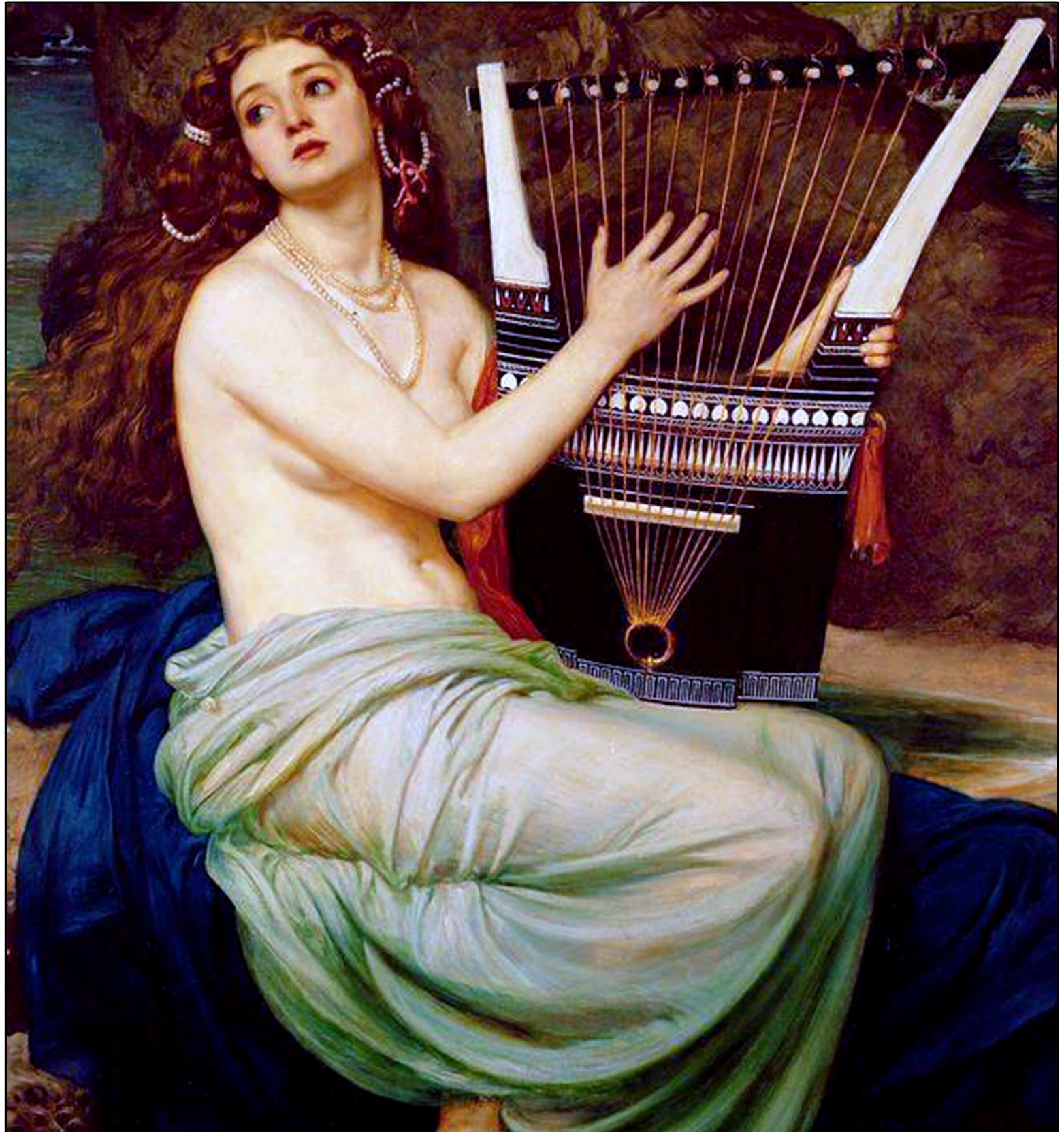


QUEEN'S GRADUATE JOURNAL FOR CLASSICAL STUDIES AND ARCHAEOLOGY

# CERES

VOLUME 4

JUNE 2018



# CERES

Queen's University Graduate Journal for Classical Studies and Archaeology

VOLUME IV

Published by Queen's University Department of Classics  
Kingston, ON  
Canada  
June 2018

Cover Image:  
John Poynter, The Siren (1864)

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# **Patterns in Depositional Votive Offerings from the 5<sup>th</sup> Century BC: *Athenian Acropolis, Athenian Treasury and Temple of Apollo at Delphi, and the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta***

**TARRYN ANDREWS**

The fifth century BC was a period of political and military conflict throughout the region of Ancient Greece due to the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. While these events had a clear impact on the politics of the major power centers and the land on which battles were waged, what is less clear is the religious implications that occurred during this century. Studying patterns in dedications and votive offerings from three major city-states of this period may give an indication of the impact that war had on religion. Those areas include the Acropolis in Athens, the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, and the Athenian treasury and Temple of Apollo at Delphi. By examining the archaeological remains and primary sources I will be looking at depositional patterns to determine if there was a significant increase or decrease in votives from the fifth century. It is the goal of this essay to determine whether or not there is a plausible explanation for these patterns being influenced by the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars.

The Persian Wars began in 499 BC and ended 449 BC while the Peloponnesian War began 431 BC and ended 404 BC and both had a lasting impact on the Athenians politically and economically. The rebuilding of the temples and buildings on the Acropolis, during the so-called Periclean Building Program, occurred as a direct result of the Persian invasion and were undertaken by the general Pericles.<sup>1</sup> The Acropolis housed much of the civic wealth of the city and was housed in several temples including the Erechtheion, Parthenon, Opisthodomos, and Hekatompedon. Dedications, taxes, and payments from the Delian League were all housed here and was used to pay for the Periclean Building Program as well as military expenditure and other civic costs.<sup>2</sup> The Peloponnesian War eventually led to the Athenians being placed under Spartan

control and the city-state suffered a great economic setback as a result of funding two wars and a strong military force, all while running a functional city.<sup>3</sup> It would stand to reason then, with the majority of the city's resources being put toward funding the war(s) and providing for her citizens, that the number of votive offerings would decrease. Citizens would have had less money and resources and would perhaps be less inclined to spend it on expensive dedicatory offerings. This hypothesis may be observed by examining the treasure records from the Proneos, Erechtheion, Parthenon, Opisthodomos, Hekatompedon, and the Brauroneion.

The Proneos, which is the front section of the Parthenon, held objects from 434/3 BC (when inventories of dedications began being recorded in Athens) until 408/7 BC. All of the dedications listed on the inscriptions were either gold or silver vases dedicated as *epeteion* (dedicated by the priests or treasurers of Athens) on behalf of the citizens.<sup>4</sup> The majority of these vases were in the phialai style with one hundred eighteen silver phialai being recorded by 411 BC as well as eleven drinking cups.<sup>5</sup> Toward the end of the Peloponnesian War however, many of these objects (and other metal offerings) were melted down for money or to be reused to forge weapons and armour. This action led to the end of the Proneos' function as a storehouse for treasures and the final, surviving, inventory list is from 408/7 BC and only included one item: a gold wreath.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, the Parthenon also housed dedications and offerings to Athena (as well as other gods) with its inventories recorded on several inscriptions. The vast majority of these items were

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<sup>1</sup> Camp 2001, 72

<sup>2</sup> Camp 2001, 72

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<sup>3</sup> For a more complete overview of the events of the Peloponnesian Wars see Hornblower, Simon. *The Greek World: 479-323 BC*. 4th ed. New York: Routledge, 2011

<sup>4</sup> Harris 1995, 77-80

<sup>5</sup> Harris 1995, 77

<sup>6</sup> Harris 1995, 65



a mix of furniture, weapons, jewelry, wreaths, and vases all dating to the fifth century BC.<sup>7</sup> There are also a number of weapons/war booty mentioned that may have been acquired during the Persian Wars.<sup>8</sup> There are also a handful of objects dating to the early/middle fourth century BC which indicates that the Parthenon, unlike the Proneos, continued to house votive offerings after the Peloponnesian War, although on a significantly smaller scale.<sup>9</sup>

The Hekatompedon became the principal storehouse for Athenian treasures and dedications after the fall of Athens to Sparta at the close of the Peloponnesian War. As a result the bulk of items listed on the surviving inventories are dated to the fourth century BC, however, a small number of inventories exist from the end of the fifth century BC.<sup>10</sup> Among these late fifth century inventories, items include a gold crown and a gold phiale from 414/13 BC.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, the inventories from the Opisthodomos are, in almost all cases, dated to the fourth century BC<sup>12</sup> with a limited number being dated to the late fifth century BC.<sup>13</sup> The Erechtheion is again similar to the Hekatompedon and the Opisthodomos in that the inventories date to the fourth century BC and later. However, there may be a more practical reason for this lack of fifth century dedications; the Erechtheion/Archaioi Neos (as it was later known as by the Athenians) was not completed until circa 407/6 BC.<sup>14</sup> This, however, does not explain why there were no records of dedications prior to the date of completion but one hypothesis that I put forth is that they, the inventories and dedications themselves, may have been destroyed during the Persian invasion of 480 BC.<sup>15</sup> It is also plausible that the dedications may have been stolen by the Persians during the invasion as attested in

Herodotus:<sup>16</sup>

The Persians who had come up first turned to the gates, opened them, and murdered the suppliants. When they had levelled everything, they plundered the sacred precinct and set fire to the entire acropolis. (Hdt. 8.53.2)

The final building that will be examined on the Acropolis is the Brauroneion or Sanctuary to Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis. Here, like the Hekatompedon, Opisthodomos, and Erechtheion, the inscriptions containing the treasure inventories can almost all be dated to the fourth and subsequent centuries BC. There are however two surviving fragments that can be dated to the late fifth century BC and list jewelry and garments as the offerings.<sup>17</sup>

While these inscriptions boast an impressive amount of treasures housed in these temple buildings from the fourth century BC, the number increases exponentially following the Peloponnesian War. The inventories ratios from fifth to fourth century dedications are as follows (as relayed in Harris' book *Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion*): Opisthodomos, 5<sup>th</sup> c. 6 - 4<sup>th</sup> c. 240; Proneos, 5<sup>th</sup> c. 398 - 4<sup>th</sup> c. 0; Parthenon, 5<sup>th</sup> c. 570 - 4<sup>th</sup> c. 104; Hekatompedon 5<sup>th</sup> c. 334 - 4<sup>th</sup> c. 1143, number; Erechtheion, 5<sup>th</sup> c. 0 - 4<sup>th</sup> c. 166. While the number of inventories for the fifth and fourth century are only approximately 300 off (with more inscriptions from the fourth century), these fifth century inscriptions date the majority of offerings to the early part of the century - before the height of wartime in the Mediterranean region. The number of inscriptions of the fifth century, dating from the middle to early part of the century, are almost non-existent which perhaps indicates that war did have an effect on votive offerings on the Acropolis to some extent. It should also be noted that, while these inventories are dated to specific years, it does not necessarily mean that the objects themselves were dedicated in that year. However, it is highly likely that this is the case as it would have been more practical to have kept at least an annual record of offerings.

An ancient treasury can be described as a building meant to house costly dedications and

<sup>7</sup> Harris 1995, 82

<sup>8</sup> Harris 1995, 82

<sup>9</sup> Harris provides an excellent chart of the dates, objects mentioned, and inscription number of the inventory from the Parthenon pages 82-103

<sup>10</sup> Harris 1995, 104

<sup>11</sup> IG I<sup>2</sup> 247

<sup>12</sup> Harris 1995, 41

<sup>13</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1399 lines 4-9 c. 403/3 BC, EM 12392 lines 1-7 c. 402-400 BC

<sup>14</sup> Harris 1995, 206

<sup>15</sup> Kousser 2009, 264-265

<sup>16</sup> This event is also described by Demosthenes in *Against Timocrates* (Dem. 24.129)

<sup>17</sup> Linders 1972, 3-5

offerings.<sup>18</sup> Dougherty argues that this description can be expanded to include treasuries as being meant to nationalize the city-state and their dedications/treasures.<sup>19</sup> The Athenian Treasury at Delphi was constructed after the Athenian victory at the Battle of Marathon in 490 BC and may help illuminate why there was a decrease in dedications on the Acropolis in Athens.<sup>20</sup> This date of construction was attested by Pausanias as he believed the statue base (dating to c. 490 BC) coincided with the founding of the treasury.<sup>21</sup> The statue base in question was dedicated to Apollo as a thank offering as indicated by the inscription:

ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΙ Τ[Ο]Ι ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝ[Ι ΑΠΟ  
ΜΕΔ]ΟΝ ΑΚΡΟΘΙΝΙΑ ΤΕΣ  
ΜΑΡΑΘ[Ο]ΝΙ Μ[ΑΧΕ]Σ

The Athenians to Apollo as Offerings from  
the Battle of Marathon, taken from the  
Mede<sup>22</sup>

The base initially, in the fifth century, supported ten bronze statues, possibly the ten eponymous heroes from the Kleisthenic tribes. The Athenian Treasury was also home to a large quantity of war booty, as thank offerings for victory in battle, after the Persian invasion in 480/479 BC.<sup>23</sup> Alongside the offerings housed in the treasury, the building itself can also be considered a votive offering as it was dedicated to the god Apollo as a victory monument.<sup>24</sup> There is also evidence to suggest that there was a place for larger offerings located before the entranceway as a triangular terrace.<sup>25</sup> If this space was indeed meant for larger votives, then it is plausible to assume that the Athenians may have placed their larger or more valuable dedications at Delphi to keep them safe. This practice may have increased after the sack of 480

BC and could help explain a portion of the decrease in offerings on the Acropolis. However, similarly to the Acropolis, there is little evidence of offerings from the middle of the fifth century onward; indicating that the Peloponnesian War was perhaps impacting at least the major Mediterranean city-states.

The Temple of Apollo at Delphi was one of the most significant religious sites in the ancient Greek world, being the location of one of the most influential oracles.<sup>26</sup> The temple likely remained a consistent site of pilgrimage during the fifth century BC, perhaps with individuals seeking answers to assuage their fears during this war torn period. As payment for consulting with the oracle, tariffs needed to be paid to the Delphians (who provided the animal sacrifice).<sup>27</sup> These payments would likely have been accompanied by an offering of thanks to the god Apollo, as he was said to speak through the oracle. These votives could take many forms such as bronze figurines, pottery, and the most common form of offering to Apollo was the tripod and are well accounted for as early as the eighth century BC.<sup>28</sup> This site may have been one of the few exceptions to the pattern of decrease in votives that was taking place at this time, due to its significant religious status, as there is little evidence that individuals stopped visiting the oracle (which would have resulted in a depletion in offerings). On the contrary, it seems that there was no change in votive affairs at the Temple of Apollo. According to Pausanias, if his story is to be believed as he is writing centuries after these events occurred, gives an account of the Phocian (Third Sacred) War implying that by the beginning of the fourth century BC the temple had accumulated enormous wealth through its votives.

As they were disheartened at the greatness of the fine, Philomelus, son of Theotimus, than whom no Phocian stood higher in rank, his country being Ledon, a city of Phocis, took charge and tried to persuade them to seize the sanctuary at Delphi, pointing out that the amount of the sum to be paid was beyond their resources. He stated, among other plausible arguments, that Athens and Sparta had always been favorable

<sup>18</sup> Neer 2001, 129

<sup>19</sup> Neer 2001, 129

<sup>20</sup> Poulsen 1921, 159

<sup>21</sup> Paus. 10.11.6; this claim was later supported by French archaeologists in 1998 – Neer, Richard. "The Athenian Treasury at Delphi and the Material of Politics." *Classical Antiquity* 23, no. 1 (April 2004): 63-93. 67

<sup>22</sup> Neer 2004, 66

<sup>23</sup> Poulsen 1920, 159

<sup>24</sup> Neer 2001, 284

<sup>25</sup> Neer 2004, 65

<sup>26</sup> Middleton 1888, 282

<sup>27</sup> Kurke 2003, 80

<sup>28</sup> Archibald 2009, 298



to them, and that if Thebes or any other state made war against them, they would have the better owing to their courage and resources. (Paus. 10.2.2)<sup>29</sup>

The final region being examined is the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta. This sanctuary and cult may have its founding as early as the tenth century BC with the first significant temple being built, most likely, at some time in the eighth/seventh century BC.<sup>30</sup> This cult held a pivotal role in the Spartan culture, being the location of a ritual for the young men of Sparta to prove their skills that is recounted by Xenophon (though this ritual is apparent as early as the Archaic Period<sup>31</sup>):

He made it a point of honour to steal as many cheeses as possible [from the altar of Artemis Orthia], but appointed others to scourge the thieves, meaning to show thereby that by enduring pain for a short time one may win lasting fame and felicity. It is shown herein that where there is need of swiftness, the slothful, as usual, gets little profit and many troubles. (Xen. Const. Lac. 2.8-10)

Instances such as these emphasize the importance this cult held to the Spartans and as a result was the location for numerous offerings and dedications. It is here that the most extreme decline in the number of votive offerings is observed. While there are several explanations, apart from wartime, as to why these numbers depleted - such as the disintegration/corrosion of metal in the damp climate, the records being incomplete, or the metal objects being melted down for money or better objects<sup>32</sup> - they do not account, in my opinion, for the extreme difference in number from the Archaic Period to the Classical Period. One final caveat before the analysis of the objects themselves is that the items from the Archaic Period tend to be preserved better as these deposits were covered with a layer of sand in the early sixth century to raise the level of the land, as

a way to protect against flooding.<sup>33</sup>

Stephen Hodkinson's chapter, in his book *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta*, on bronze (and lead) dedications from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia is of particular interest as he meticulously examined the published finds from the site and the material record. The conclusions cannot be one hundred percent confirmed as, mentioned above, there are several reasons for a lack of information of finds from this site, including the corrosion of metal objects and that the original publications carried a bias toward finds from earlier periods.<sup>34</sup> However, these caveats still may not be enough to account for the extreme difference in number of votive offerings from the earlier centuries when compared to the Classical Period and later. As seen in figure 1, the (published) bronze finds move from more than forty known objects, in the seventh century BC, to almost none in the fifth and fourth centuries.<sup>35</sup> The published finds should likely be multiplied several times over in order to have a proper indication of original dedications, however, there is still an apparent pattern of decrease in the fifth century BC. To demonstrate this further, Hodkinson's charts compare the finds from Artemis Orthia to the Menelaion, Amyklaion, and the Acropolis in Sparta.<sup>36</sup> In each of these sites there is a marked decrease in the number of, uncovered/published, metal votive offerings.

The sanctuary was excavated in the early 1900s, under the supervision of Richard Dawkins who published a detailed book on the findings. In this book, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, Dawkins discusses in great detail the many votive offerings that were rediscovered during the excavation.<sup>37</sup> In the chapter pertaining to terracotta dedications (including figurines and masks) Dawkins provides a chart and a brief discussion of these votives, including the dates and physical

<sup>29</sup> Here, the Phocians used the great wealth housed in the temple to fund their mercenaries and war; It is also worth noting that this trend continues in Pausanias with the Gaul Brennus attempting to seize the temple for its wealth and the emperor Nero whom stole 500 bronzes from the sanctuary. (Paus. 10)

<sup>30</sup> Dawkins 1929, 1

<sup>31</sup> Fisher 2009, 532

<sup>32</sup> Hodkinson 2000, 273

<sup>33</sup> Pinney 2017, 157

<sup>34</sup> Hodkinson 2000, 275

<sup>35</sup> Similar patterns can be seen in figures 2-4 with fig. 4 being of interest as there is a noticeable spike in lead findings in the sixth century with an almost 90% decrease at the beginning of the fifth century and an approximate 95% decrease in finds from the fourth century onward

<sup>36</sup> Hodkinson 2000, 276

<sup>37</sup> Dawkins examines finds including pottery, terracotta, limestone, bronze, ivory, bone, and lead

description of them.<sup>38</sup> Dawkins also provides a chart with the classification of the terracotta figurines and the dates in which each style was created and (likely) dedicated [Fig. 5]. In this chart, and the ensuing pages, it is clear that the vast majority of terracotta figurines were uncovered in the layers before the fifth century with the most popular dates being of the eighth and seventh centuries BC.<sup>39</sup> Briefly, with regard to votive terracotta masks, Dawkins (and his team) concluded that the bulk of rediscovered masks belong to the sixth century.<sup>40</sup> Turning now to ivory and bone votive offerings, the majority of which can be dated to the late eighth and seventh centuries.<sup>41</sup> One exact number from this type of votive, to demonstrate the decrease, is from bone figurines of a seated Orthia. In this case, of the forty known/identified figurines of this style, only eight can be dated to the fifth century BC with the majority dating to the late seventh/early sixth century BC.<sup>42</sup> The chapters in this book that discuss the bronze and lead votives were one of the primary source materials used in Hodkinson's study and as a result the finds are similar, if not identical, to one another (indeed Hodkinson reproduces Wace's chart on statistics of lead figurines in his book). Due to this similarity these chapters will not be discussed in detail here, apart from mentioning that there is again a notable decrease in offerings of the fifth century.<sup>43</sup>

In a thesis published by Elinor Bevan, *Representations of Animals in Sanctuaries of Artemis and of Other Olympian Deities*, she examined animal depictions in several sanctuaries including the Athenian Acropolis, Delphi, and the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. In this investigation, Bevan published a large number of these representations (though likely not all known representations) and there is a notable difference in the number of this type of dedication, of all

mediums, in the fifth century.<sup>44</sup> This was not only apparent at these three sites, but throughout all of the locations examined by Bevan in this study. As a result, it appears that this century marked a period of considerable decline in votive offerings of all types throughout the ancient Greek world. This evidence can certainly imply that the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars impacted the religion of the Classical Greeks. Unfortunately, records of the individuals who dedicated these fifth century votives are scarce<sup>45</sup> and, when there are records, it is difficult to ascertain their social status. With an exception arising from the Parthenon inventories where an inscription containing a small number of named dedicants survives to us.<sup>46</sup> It is plausible to assume that these votive offerings would have been a combination of individual and state dedications. Knowing the status of these dedicants would enhance the understanding of how war affected the general population. However, perhaps the omission of these names implies that these dedications were (for the most part) offered on behalf of the entire city-state and that there was an emphasis at this time on the polis rather than the individual.

It would appear that while religion was an integral facet of daily life in the ancient world, there was still an inherent practicality to their worship. Certainly, at Athens and Sparta there is evidence for metal dedications being melted down for money or better objects and weapons.<sup>47</sup> It may be the case that this was done as a way for these city-states to pay for and equip their armies and navies as well as all the personnel required for these institutions to function properly. This may explain a portion of the decline in votives of the fifth century and may also indicate that, during wartime, the importance of dedications was lessened in favour of resources being used in the war effort. On the Acropolis in particular, a great amount of money and manpower was put towards rebuilding this sacred space to commemorate the Athenian victory over the Persians and to

<sup>38</sup> Dawkins 1929, 145-146

<sup>39</sup> Dawkins 1929, 146-162

<sup>40</sup> Dickins 1929, 165

<sup>41</sup> Dawkins 1929, 203

<sup>42</sup> Dawkins 1929, 217-219

<sup>43</sup> Worth noting here, regarding lead votives, is that the sharp decrease does not begin until the middle of the fifth century, mirroring the decrease that occurred on the Acropolis in Athens. Perhaps here, the Spartans chose to conserve their metals in order to create weapons for the ensuing war.

<sup>44</sup> Bevan 1986, 361-480; In Bevan's study there is a great deal more dedications from the seventh and sixth centuries BC with very few belonging to the later centuries

<sup>45</sup> Harris 1995, 223

<sup>46</sup> Harris 1995, 224

<sup>47</sup> Hodkinson 2000, 273

demonstrate their dominion in the Mediterranean.<sup>48</sup> While much of the money for this endeavor came from tithes out of the Delian League, it is probable to suggest that votive offerings may also have been used to pay for the building program.

Overall, there is a clear pattern of decrease in votive offerings from the fifth century BC when compared to the centuries prior and succeeding it, from these three regions. Initially I believed that this pattern would demonstrate an increase suggesting that the Greeks were offering more objects as sacrifice instead of alimentary. The reasoning for this was that, should the city be placed under siege, or an attack of any kind, it would be necessary to have stores of food prepared. However, upon closer investigation the results were entirely opposite to my original hypothesis. It appears as though votive offerings decreased, specifically in the time between the end of Persian Wars and the end of the Peloponnesian Wars. While in Athens and Delphi, in the areas studied, votive offerings greatly increased in the fourth century BC this does not occur at the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. While the temple itself retained its importance, the decrease in material offerings may perhaps reflect the decline of the Spartan/Lacedaemonian civilization that transpired in the late fourth/early third century and onward until the Roman conquest.<sup>49</sup> Indeed it is apparent that the increase of votives at Athens and Delphi reflects their economic and societal prestige that transpired while Sparta was in decline.<sup>50</sup> For a more concrete conclusion to be drawn however, more city-states of this period will need to be examined. At this time, and from the evidence at these three locations, the results of this investigation allude to the fact that the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars did have an impact on votive offerings. The evidence also suggests that there was a practicality to votive offerings and that the ancient Greeks placed the needs of their city-states' political and military needs over their religious prerogative. In this instance, of the fifth century BC, the Greeks would have been more in need of building (and rebuilding after the Persian

Wars) their military power in defence of their poleis than spending their money on ornate offerings for the gods.

Figure 1<sup>51</sup>

Published Bronze Finds from Spartan Sanctuaries, c. 650-c. 350 BC					
	Orthia	Acropolis	Menelaion	Amyklaion	Total
c.650-600	40+	3	24+	5+	72+
c.600-550	22	7/8	21+	4+	54+
c.550-500	6	15-18	6+	8/9	35+
c.500-450	2	10-14	1+	½	14+
c.450-400	1	5-7	Ind	0/1	7+
c.400-350	-	1	-	-	1
Early Archaic	1	-	-	-	1
Archaic	13	-	Ind	5	19+
Late Archaic	-	-	-	3	3
Lak. III-V and Later	-	-	11+	1	11+
DNG	3	74+	3+	115+	195+
Key: DNG = Date Not Given					
The Signs '+' and 'Ind' signify the existence of an indefinite number of artefacts whose limit is not specified in the relevant excavation reports.					

<sup>48</sup> Kousser 2009, 263

<sup>49</sup> Hornblower, *The Greek World*, 210 & 251

<sup>50</sup> Hornblower, 211

<sup>51</sup> Hodkinson, Stephen. 2000. Table 16. "Material and Religious Investment: Bronze Dedications at Sparta and Abroad". In *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta*. Connecticut: David Brown Book Co.

Figure 2<sup>52</sup>

Categories of Published Bronze Finds: Artemis Orthia				
	Vessels	Jewellery	Statuettes	Other
c.650-600	6+	18	1	15
c.600-550	8	11	2	1
c.550-500	1	1	2	2
c.500-450	-	-	2	-
c.450-400	-	-	1	-
c.400-350	-	-	-	-
DNG or Vague	7	1	-	9
Total	22+	31	8	27

Figure 3<sup>53</sup>

The Character of Bronze Votives at Spartan Sanctuaries				
	Artemis Orthia		Acropolis	
	Raw	Converted	Raw	Converted
c.650-600	24	10	3	0
c.600-550	12	2	0	2-3
c.550-500	2	3	1	9-11
c.500-450	0	2	0-1	7-9
c.450-400	0	1	0-1	3-4
c.400-350	0	0	0	1
DNG	2	0	11+	24+
Total	40	18	15+	46+

Figure 4<sup>54</sup>

Finds of Lead Figurines from Artemis Orthia			
	Period	Number	No. per annum
Lead 0	(?-650)	23	-
Lead I	(650-620)	5719	191
Lead II	(620-580)	9548	239
Lead III-IV	(580-500)	68822	860
Lead V	(500-425)	10617	152
Lead VI	(425-250)	4773	27

Figure 5<sup>55</sup>

		B.C.
I. Orthia standing :		
a. With hair not divided	.	700-600
b. Hair in separate locks; no polos	.	740-600
c. Hair in separate locks; with polos	.	700-500
d. Flat figures with chiton	.	635-550
II. Orthia with animals :		
a. With a standing lion	.	700-500
b. As a pendant between two horses' heads	.	635-500
III. Orthia enthroned; roughly hand-made figures	.	700-600
IV. Miscellaneous throned figures	.	700-635
V. Figures of Orthia on horseback	.	700-550
VI. Sitting figures of Orthia, perhaps equestrian, and heads of such figures	.	700-500
VII. Miscellaneous figures of Orthia	.	All dates.
VIII. Nude female figures	.	All dates.
IX. Nude male figures	.	All dates.
X. Heads broken from figures or from vases :		
a. Heads with two-peaked cap	.	660-500
b. Large male heads from vases	.	Before 675
c. Miscellaneous heads from figurines	.	All dates.
XI. Small masks	.	425-250
XII. Terracotta plaques	.	All dates.
XIII. Handmade figurines :		
a. Human	.	740-500
b. Animals	.	740-500 (?)
XIV. Miscellaneous terracottas.		
XV. Vases in the form of men or animals	.	About 700-500
XVI. Terracottas of the Roman period.	.	After 250 A.D.

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# Hippodamus of Miletus: *The Father of (Western) Urban Planning*

DANIKA BROWN

## City Planning Before Hippodamus: History of Cities

The word ‘urban’ comes from the Latin, *urbanus* meaning ‘refined’ and *urbs* meaning ‘city’, while the word ‘city’ is derived from the Latin, *civitas* meaning ‘citizens’.<sup>56</sup> A city is difficult to define, however, it is generally based on population size of the settlement, density of infrastructure, an urban center, and some level of administrative government.<sup>57</sup> Although human history can be traced to approximately 2.5 million years ago, at the beginning of the Paleolithic period, cities did not appear until later. During the Paleolithic period, hominids were located primarily in Africa and gradually migrated around the Near East. Populations in this period were small hunter-gatherer, nomadic groups, following their food sources.<sup>58</sup> At the end of the Paleolithic Age, humans were able to establish seasonal and semi-permanent villages near water sources, relying on fishing and local trade. It was not until the Neolithic period (c. 10,000 BC) that humans began to domesticate animals and cultivate crops.<sup>59</sup> With the certainty of food, they were able to settle into permanent villages and pursue specialized crafts such as pottery and weaving<sup>60</sup>. Major advancements were made in the Bronze Age (c. 3,000 BC), including the development of writing, the use of metals and the introduction of early urban cities.<sup>61</sup>

### *Early Urban Cities*

Australian Archaeologist V. Gordon Childe discussed the term ‘Urban Revolution’ in 1950, developing a ten-point model for characterizing urban cities. They were identified by: a large population and settlement, full-time division of

labor, production of agricultural surplus, public architecture, a ruling class, writing, exact sciences, sophisticated art, long distance trade and the state.<sup>62</sup> Although settlements and villages have existed for thousands of years in the Neolithic period, the first cities to fit the definition of ‘a city’ and follow Childe’s ten-point model existed in the Bronze Age. Harappa, c. 6,000 BC, was a major urban city in the Indus Valley, along with its sister-city, Mohenjo-Daro, c. 2,600 BC<sup>63</sup>. These two sites, now in ruins, were divided into lower public land and upper acropolis areas. The cities corresponded to Childe’s ten-point model and were arranged in a highly standardized, orthogonal grid plan with a north-south axis<sup>64</sup> (see Harappa plan figure 1). The cities were mainly urban centers sustained by agriculture and commerce, containing administrative, military, and religious areas. Nevertheless, this grid concept was not a common choice for all city development and villages were usually small clusters built on a defensible hill.

### *Archaic Greek Polis*

After the decline of the Mycenaean era in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century BC, the Geometric era rose, characterized by a distinctive political system. Small local communities developed and social units were formed by the family or house, referred to as the *oikos*. This new political formation was called the *polis*<sup>65</sup> and came to mean stronghold in the Classical period. However, the term *polis* was frequently used to describe an ancient city-state and a political community, consisting of three elements: a territory, people, and government.<sup>66</sup> In ancient Greece, cities grew outward from the religious center, the acropolis. Surrounding the area, houses were built haphazardly with

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<sup>56</sup> Mahoney, 2016

<sup>57</sup> Mark, 2014

<sup>58</sup> King et al. 2014

<sup>59</sup> Perles, 2001

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> Harding et al, 2013

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<sup>62</sup> Childe, 1950

<sup>63</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Naveed, 2014

<sup>65</sup> Lang, 1998,

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.*

meandering streets.<sup>67</sup> Firstly, this is because *poleis* were small units that grew from an older, settled village thus the land was not an empty space to design perfect plans<sup>68</sup> and secondly this labyrinthine design offered protection against invasion<sup>69</sup> (see Classical Athens design figure 2).

### Hippodamus of Miletus: Father of Western Urban Planning

What is known of Hippodamus of Miletus comes mainly from Aristotle's record in *Politics*. Aristotle states that Hippodamus was the son of Euryphon, a Milesian, and lived from 498-408 BC.<sup>70</sup> He was an eccentric man who spoke of political theories without being in politics.<sup>71</sup> Aristotle offers a brief summary of Hippodamus' work indirectly, as his primary source no longer exists.

According to Aristotle in *Politics* 2.1267b-2.1269a, Hippodamus spoke of an ideal system for a city with 10,000 free Greek men divided into three classes: artisans, farmers, and warriors. He also spoke of a city divided into three parts with specific societal functions: a sacred space: to supply offerings to the gods, a public space: to give food and land to the warrior class, and a private space: to be owned and used by farmers. Hippodamus theorized on three divisions of the law: outrage, damage, and homicide, in addition to proposing to establish one supreme court of justice, consisting of selected elders. He also suggested that governing officials should be chosen by the assembly, and consist of the three classes of the city. However, it is Hippodamus' orthogonal plan, also known as the Hippodamian Plan, which is the main focus of his theories. He believed that a utopian society could be created by following his political, legal, and class system in combination with his urban design.<sup>72</sup> The Hippodamian plan called for neatly ordered, organized cities with wide parallel streets, and public spaces clustered at the center of the city.

Hippodameian city planning is a unique chapter in the history of urban planning not only for the concept of a master plan to control all further growth and development but also for its rational organic qualities. To recapitulate these are summarized as follows: the street grid is regularly subdivided into wide parallel strips by very few (usually only three or four) major longitudinal arteries. At right angles to these run other streets, a few of which are major communication roads but most of which are narrow alleyways whose only purpose is to create blocks for buildings. The blocks thus formed are usually long and narrow. Buildings and plazas fall within this grid. There is no central intersection of major axes (as distinguished from the Roman axial grid). Throughout the grid is derived from certain fixed dimensions (the short side of the block in particular was often set at 120 feet). Aside from the strictly rational and geometrical form, the grid exemplified certain criteria of absolute equality among residential blocks.<sup>73</sup>

Sites for public and sacred spaces were allotted in advance, which included shrines, theaters, governments, and the agora (which became the central feature of his plan). After placing public and sacred sites first, private houses were then developed. This zoning practice of space became a central characteristic of his grid concept.

### *Conflict with Aristotle's Account in Politics*

According to Aristotle, Hippodamus lived from 498-408 BC and is credited with inventing formal city planning. However, it is known that the grid plan existed as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century and was used in designing cities such as Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro.<sup>74</sup> This is where scholars begin to debate what Aristotle meant when he said Hippodamus invented the orthogonal system, specifically over the phrase: "τὴν τῶν πόλεων

<sup>67</sup> Paden, 2001

<sup>68</sup> Lang, 1998

<sup>69</sup> Vassileva, 2016

<sup>70</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, 2.1267b

<sup>72</sup> Paden, 2001

<sup>73</sup> Castagnoli, 1971

<sup>74</sup> Gorman, 1995

διαίρεσιν εὖρε”.<sup>75</sup> Many scholars suggest that Aristotle was referring to Hippodamus inventing the division of class and land, referring to his unique approach in combination with the grid plan that he popularized throughout Greece.<sup>76</sup> His interpretation of the relationship between people and property in the ideal state was uncommon at this time, and Hippodamus proved to be an influential figure to urban design, earning him the title today as the ‘Father of (Western) Urban Planning’.<sup>77</sup>

When designing and zoning cities, the two models of spatial planning (Hippodamian and Labyrinthine), both involve the inclusion and exclusion of some social group. The distinction between spatial inclusion and exclusion brings out competition in planning, and the design emerges when political decisions to include or exclude groups converge with choices about the division of the land. The orthogonal Hippodamian plan does not produce citizenship but provides order in its design, minimizing exclusion.<sup>78</sup>

The design can be examined indirectly, by investigating archaeological evidence and literary sources, although it is difficult to obtain a complete picture. Based on literary documentation from various sources, Hippodamus is credited with directly designing several Greek cities during his lifetime, including: Miletus, Piraeus, Thurii, and Rhodes.

### Hippodamian Cities

#### *Timeline*

The birth of Hippodamus is truly unknown, however, Aristotle notes that it was in 498 BC. Assuming the literary evidence is correct and he did build Miletus, Piraeus, Thurii, and Rhodes, Hippodamus would have had to been born sometime between 490-480 BC<sup>79</sup>. Theoretically, if he was born in 495 BC, Hippodamus would have been 16 years old during the rebuilding of Miletus c. 479 BC, at which time he could practice his

theories, he would have been 35 years old during Piraeus c. 460 BC, 50 years old during the construction of Thurii c.443 BC, and in his late 80’s in Rhodes c. 408 BC.<sup>80</sup>

### Miletus

“As a young man, we may imagine, [Hippodamus] gained experience and inspiration at the rebirth of his native city of Miletus.”<sup>81</sup> After its destruction by the Persians in 494 BC, the rebuilding of Miletus’ in 479 BC was attributed to Hippodamus.<sup>82</sup> Miletus is where the Greek orthogonal plan was thought to have been developed, however, excavations show that the reconstruction followed the original layout of the destroyed city. Therefore, some scholars believe that the orthogonal plan was the result of gradual development rather than one man’s invention.<sup>83</sup> Nevertheless, this city may have inspired Hippodamus, as Miletus has distinct Hippodamian characteristics, including wide parallel streets and equal lot sizes with each lot containing six buildings. In the north of the city, archaeologists have found many public buildings including the Sanctuary of Apollo, the Prytaneion, and the Agora (see plan of Miletus, figure 3).<sup>84</sup>

Increasingly, evidence has been gathered to support the theory that town-planning had roots in the archaic period, however, Hippodamus seems to have added a “touch of personal genius”<sup>85</sup> and should be credited for the Hippodamian design. After living in Anatolia for several years, Hippodamus travelled to Athens for work and was commissioned by Pericles in 460 BC.

### *Piraeus*

It is said that Pericles commissioned Hippodamus to design the Athenian port town of Piraeus c. 460 BC.<sup>86</sup> Although there is no direct evidence linking Hippodamus and Pericles, it is

<sup>75</sup> Aristotle, *Politics* 2.1267b

<sup>76</sup> Burns, 1976

<sup>77</sup> Gorman, 1995

<sup>78</sup> Mazza, 2009

<sup>79</sup> Burns, 1976

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> Wycherley, 1964

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Burns, 1976

<sup>84</sup> European Regional Development Fund, et al. 2016

<sup>85</sup> Wycherley, 1964

<sup>86</sup> Paden, 2001

possible that Hippodamus was a friend of Pericles' mistress Aspasia, who was also from Miletus.<sup>87</sup>

The Hippodamian design of Piraeus has been built over several times and there is little archaeological evidence remaining, however, Aristotle wrote a great deal about his task in *Politics*. The landscape in Piraeus was difficult to work with as there are many hills and harbors, nevertheless, Hippodamus used straight, parallel, wide streets with an emphasis on the agora to complete this design (see Piraeus plan figure 4). It is possible that, since it was a harbor town and not a traditional city, Piraeus was geared toward more public land.<sup>88</sup> Found around the town are *horoi*, stones which marked land boundaries, dividing areas of public space, private space, the agora, etc. The city was planned using the Hippodamian model following four principles: a) it was in a grid pattern, b) it had a comprehensive and long term design, c) it allowed for future growth to be orderly and d) it de-emphasized the acropolis in favor of the public agora. By favoring the agora, the city was more accessible and visible. Demosthenes wrote: "they arrived at his house in Peiraeus in the Hippodameia when it was already evening. [...] This was an agora built by the architect Hippodamus".<sup>89</sup> The land was divided into areas for different functions allowing for a more livable, and expandable city, demonstrating Greek superiority.<sup>90</sup>

### *Thurii, Magna Graecia*

It is speculated that after finishing his work at Piraeus, Pericles invited Hippodamus to go to Thurii in Magna Graecia and design the layout for the new Greek colony (c. 443 BC<sup>91</sup>). Wanting to create the model *polis*, Pericles commissioned Hippodamus to design the city using his famous orthogonal Hippodamian plan. Although there is no concrete archaeological evidence to show the physical layout of the town, Greek historian Diodorus provides scholars with site information:

believing this to be the place which the god had pointed out, they threw a wall about it, and founding a city there they named it Thurium after the spring. They divided the city lengthwise by four streets, the first of which they named Heracleia, the second Aphrodisia, the third Olympias, and the fourth Dionysias, and breadthwise they divided it by three streets, of which the first was named Heroa, the second Thuria, and the last Thurina. And since the quarters formed by these streets were filled with dwellings, the construction of the city appeared to be good [...] they assigned parts of the city and gave them equal shares of the land.<sup>92</sup>

After describing the site selection, building of walls, division of the city, and apportionment of land into plots, scholars are able to construct a drawing based on his description and gather conclusions from the information provided (see Thurii's plan figure 5).<sup>93</sup> Being seen as a progressive community, scholars believe that the Hippodamian design for the town was an 'expression of democracy', referring to the nature of Hippodamus' theories.<sup>94</sup>

### *Rhodes*

After Thurii's construction, it is said by Strabo that Hippodamus rebuilt Rhodes, in 408 BC, shortly before his death. Strabo described the city as having "broad straight streets, the houses of which rose one above another like the seats of a theater."<sup>95</sup> He also wrote of Hippodamus' contributions to designing Rhodes in his work, explaining that: "The present city was built during the Peloponnesian war, by the same architect, it is said, who built the Piræus."<sup>96</sup> While Hippodamus' role in designing Rhodes is debated by modern scholars, based on his estimated age, his role is also questioned because of his strong Athenian ties

<sup>87</sup> Fleming, 2002

<sup>88</sup> Vassileva, 2016

<sup>89</sup> Demosthenes, *Against Timotheus*, Section 29. 22

<sup>90</sup> Paden, 2001

<sup>91</sup> Wycherley, 1964

<sup>92</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Library*, 12.10

<sup>93</sup> Fleming, 2002

<sup>94</sup> Fleming, 2002

<sup>95</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 9.1

<sup>96</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 14.2

and the fact that Rhodes broke away from Athens at the time of construction.<sup>97</sup>

Although excavation of this site has been sporadic, it is seen that “a single great rectangular grid is applied to the fine “theatre-like” site sloping gently down from the “acropolis” on the west side of the peninsula to the main harbor (and probably the agora) on the east; and into this the elements of the city are skillfully inserted, with an impressive use of terracing in place.”<sup>98</sup> It is possible that the Hippodamian plan influenced the development of Rhodes, or that the Architect himself worked in a supervisory role in 408 BC.

### City Planning After Hippodamus

The Hippodamian Plan was created following a period of the Thirty Tyrants. The grid pattern favors central control and foundation of new colonies, with a special focus on making the city a whole and expressing democracy. Aristotle used Hippodamus’ plan while describing the ideal city-state in *Politics*:

The arrangement of the private dwellings is thought to be more agreeable and more convenient for general purposes if they are laid out in straight streets, after the modern fashion, that is, the one introduced by Hippodamus [...] for in this way it will combine security with beauty.<sup>99</sup>

After the death of Hippodamus in approximately 408 BC, his popularized plan continued to be of importance. During the Alexandrian Age, the Hippodamian plan was spread widely by Alexander the Great and his heirs. Strabo mentions Alexandria, Egypt being constructed by the architect Dinocrates using a quadrilateral grid plan; the Hippodamian (see plan for Alexandria, figure 6).<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, the plan was found after Alexander the Great’s death, at Nicaea, employed by one of his successors.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Wycherley, 1964

<sup>98</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> Aristotle, *Politics* 7.1330b

<sup>100</sup> Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.8-10

<sup>101</sup> Haverfield, 1913

The plan continued to spread through Etruria, influencing the design of Marzabotto (see layout in figure 7), and throughout the Roman Republic<sup>102</sup>. Eventually, it made its way to Spain and England in the Medieval Period (AD) and even to the New World.<sup>103</sup> The ideology was resurrected in the Renaissance period, when it re-emerged from the collapsing feudal system and offered military regulation, shown in France, by the *bastides*, or fortification cities (see *bastides* layout figure 8) of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

With the foundation of the New World, a plan was necessary for development, again, much like in the past, they looked to the Hippodamian plan for influence, transitioning its purpose from an expression of democracy, to military authority, and to an industrialized age (see layout of Toronto, figure 9).



Figure 1: Grid-Layout of Harappa (Naveed, 2014)

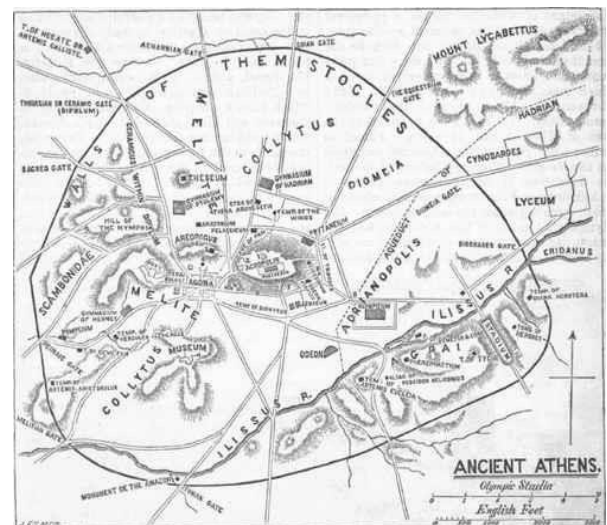


Figure 2: City Plan of Classical Athens (Ripley et al, 2007)

<sup>102</sup> Stanislawski, 1946

<sup>103</sup> Haverfield, 1913



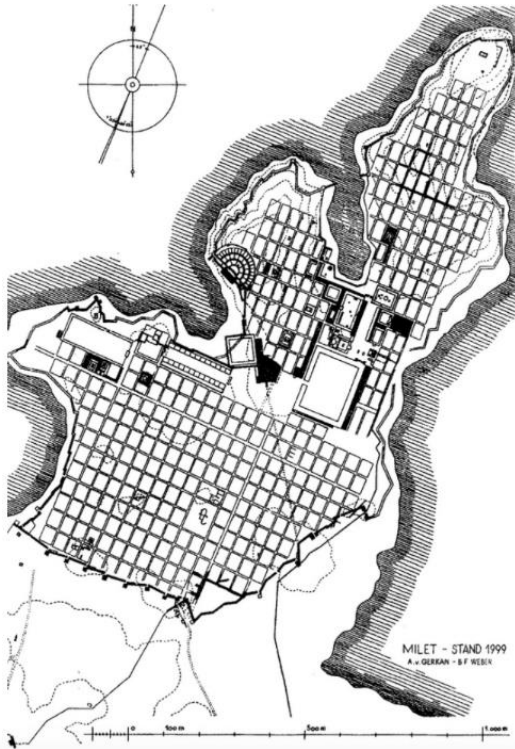


Figure 3: Rebuilding of Miletus Plan (Paden, 2001)



Figure 4: Hippodamian Plan of Piraeus (Gill, 2006)



Figure 5: Hippodamian Plan of Thuril, Magna Graecia (Zaccagnino, 2016)



Figure 6: Plan of Alexandria, Egypt (Sieglin Ex, 1914)

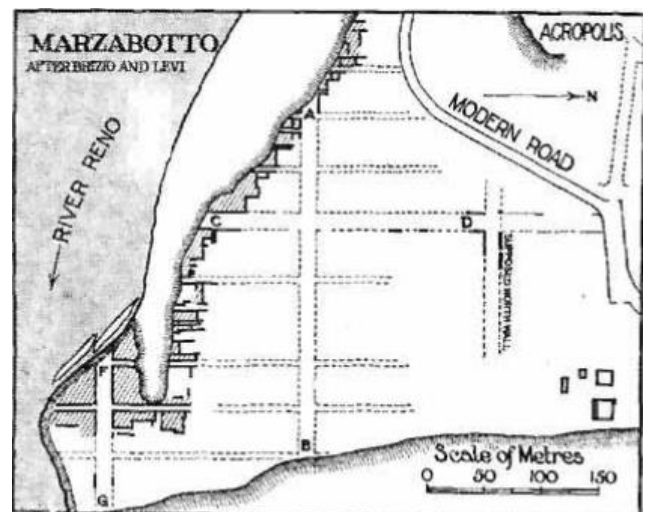


Figure 7: Marzabotto Plan (Haverfield, 1913)



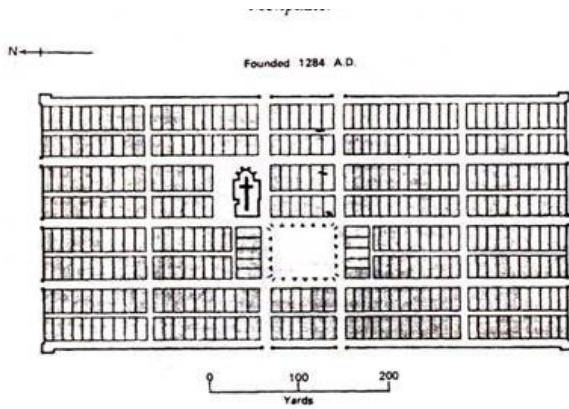


Figure 8: Militarized Control: Town Plan of Manpazier, France (Bastide – Fortification City) (Sharma, 2014)

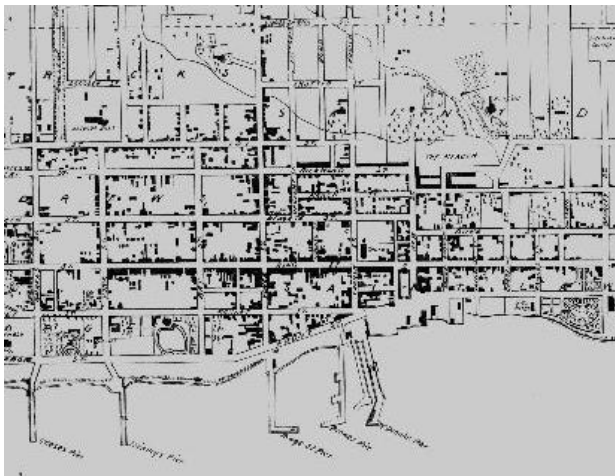


Figure 9: Industrialized Town Plan: 1834 Town of York – Later Became City of Toronto, Canada (Bebout, 2002)

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# A Study of Equality and Traditional Stereotypes within Socrates' Guardian Class

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In Book V of Plato's *Republic*, Socrates argues that women should be guardians of the *Kallipolis* just as men (450c-467). He states that even though women are physically weaker, men and women can have the same nature, and thus can both fulfill the role of guardian in the city (Plato, *Republic*, 456a-b). This passage has incited a great deal of scholarship in which Socrates' ideas are presented within a feminist framework, though scholars continue to debate whether or not the passage truly promotes equality for women within the *Kallipolis*.<sup>104</sup> I argue that although this passage may appear to provide instances of equality between men and women, a further reading of the section would indicate that Socrates does not provide women with much more opportunity than they were already afforded in Athenian society at the time in which it was written. Some ideas in this passage may be presented as non-traditional by the philosopher himself, though they do not fundamentally differ from stereotypical views of women that were held in Athens in the fourth century BCE. It was the removal of women from their traditional sphere of influence, in the family and household, which allowed Socrates to present his argument as controversial. The underlying language that he uses and the roles that the female guardians have in the *Kallipolis* suggest that traditional gender norms would continue to be deeply rooted in the guardian class. This is clear when the passage is examined regarding how women are chosen for the guardian class, their education and responsibilities, how they are viewed within the guardian class itself, and the reason why they are included in the guardian class at all. The

roles and responsibilities of women within Athenian society will also be discussed to establish a framework with which to compare Socrates' ideas. The concept that Socrates presents regarding female guardians is not as innovative as it at first seems, but rather still largely contains cultural norms that were present in Athenian society in the classical period.

## Women in Athenian Society

The rights and responsibilities that women had in ancient Athens is still a heavily-debated subject, though the belief that women were inferior to men is generally accepted as a cultural concept to have existed at the time. Women were not secluded from public life, as is evident in literature such as Plato's *Apology* in which women and children were said to have been brought to trials to garner sympathy from jurors (34c-d). They likely also attended funeral processions (Thucydides, 2.45), and wedding feasts (Hyperides, *Lycophron*, 3-4), in addition to other public events.<sup>105</sup> Poor families especially relied on a woman's ability to work to help support her family.<sup>106</sup> In this way, women were not seen as helpless or weak in Athenian society, but were seen as able to perform tasks similar to men in order to support their family and community. In a passage from Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, the main character states, "I am a woman, but I am not brainless: I have my share of native wit and more. Both from my father and from other elders' instruction I've received."<sup>107</sup> Though it is not a strictly historical text, useful information can be extracted from this play. *Lysistrata* states that she was educated by her

<sup>104</sup> In his article, "The Status of Women among the Guardian Class: Feminism in Relation to Plato's *Republic*," *Atenea* 32 (2012): 19-30, Lewis Caccia Jr. Provides an overview of passages which have been a focus of the ongoing debate on the equality-or lack thereof- between male and female guardians. He lists several scholars who have argued for an interpretation of equality within the *Republic* such as Francis Cornford, W.W. Fortenbaugh, and H.P. Rickman. Those who have suggested that inequality is present within the guardian class include Sarah Pomeroy and Julie Annas.

<sup>105</sup> As cited by David Cohen, "Seclusion, Separation, and the Status of Women in Classical Athens," *Greece & Rome* 36.1 (1989): 8. Other instances where women were likely outside of the home include sacrifices and religious festivals, getting water and washing clothes, and visiting relatives or friends.

<sup>106</sup> Cohen, "Status of Women," 8.

<sup>107</sup> Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1141 as cited by Morag Buchnan, *Women in Plato's Political Theory* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999), 102.

father and “other elders,” which would suggest not only that she received an education, but that she received an education in matters apart from the household and private sphere of her family. She was educated in similar subjects to men, and was able to perform effectively in a public, political role as was the basis for the play. From the evidence presented, it is likely that women were not secluded in Athenian society, but rather were expected to be in the public sphere and were viewed as at least having the ability to participate in it. This will become especially meaningful in the discussion of the role and responsibilities of women in the *Kallipolis*.

Xenophon’s *Economics*, too, would suggest that women were not seen as helpless or incompetent in Athenian society, though the text does contain evidence of the subjugation that they likely faced within their family. In the text, Ischomachus’ wife is expected to assign slaves to certain tasks, decide how money is spent within the household, supervise spinning and cloth-making, look after food intake, and instruct punishment when required (Xenophon, *Economics*, 7.35-6). She is entrusted with all of the tasks which he instructed and taught her to do, which he believes she is able to perform (Xen. 7.35-6). This would suggest that women were expected to perform duties crucial to household management, when their husband was able to oversee their education and instruct them how to do so. Athenian women were even permitted to manage familial finances, as long as they had permission to do so from the head of their family.<sup>108</sup> They could also be appointed as guardian and take on responsibility in business affairs of the household, but again they were under the control of their husband or father.<sup>109</sup> In legal terms, too, women were tried as minors no matter how old they were or what social class they belonged to, whereas men were tried as adults.<sup>110</sup> This evidence suggests that they were seen as inferior in both status and

ability in the household and in public affairs. Women in Athenian society in the fourth century BCE, then, were considered capable of domestic and financial responsibilities, but only if men taught them how to complete certain tasks. Even when their abilities were acknowledged, women continued to be under the authority of their *kyrios*.<sup>111</sup> It is in this framework that I aim to examine the passage in Plato’s *Republic* which references female guardians in the *Kallipolis*. It will become apparent that although female guardians are entrusted to be competent in the role of guardian, they will only do so when properly educated, and will be under male supervision and possession within the guardian class. In this way, Socrates presents a supposedly contentious idea while continuing to adhere to cultural norms that were present within Athenian society in the classical period.

#### Roles and Responsibilities of Women in the Guardian Class

The roles and responsibilities given to female, as opposed to male guardians, demonstrates that inclusion does not mean equality within this class of people. In section 455d-e Socrates states, “Then there is no way of life concerned with the management of the city that belongs to a woman because she’s a woman or to a man because he’s a man, but the various natures are distributed in the same way in both creatures. Women share by nature in every way of life just as men do, but in all of them women are weaker than men.” (Plato, *Rep.*). This confirmation of the similar natures between men and women establishes the fact that women have the ability to be guardians, though they continue to be inferior within the class itself. This inferiority is evident in the roles and responsibilities that women are given within the guardian class. By examining their education and responsibilities once the education process is over, it is clear that men and women are considered wholly separate entities within the guardian class, and are given secondary roles that emphasize their lesser rank. The concept that women were able to perform similar tasks to men was acknowledged in Athenian society, and

<sup>108</sup> David Schaps, *Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1979), 14.

<sup>109</sup> Schaps, *Economic Rights*, 57.

<sup>110</sup> John Gould, “Law, Custom and Myth: Aspects of the Social Position of Women in Classical Athens,” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 100 (1980): 43.

<sup>111</sup> Gould, “Law, Custom and Myth,” 43.

their subjugation even when presented with responsibilities was also an accepted cultural norm.

In 458c-d Socrates states that certain women will be chosen to be part of the guardian class, and will be given to the guardian community for the men to share (Plato, *Rep.*). The mere fact that women are said to be “hand[ed] over to the men,” suggests that they are the property of male guardians rather than independent entities within the guardian class. They are chosen after the men, and thus perform a secondary role that - although crucial to procreation within the guardian class - is not as crucial to the role that they have guarding the city. To add to this construct of a secondary entity, Socrates states that men within the guardian class are the best of the citizens, whereas female guardians are best of the women (456e). Although inclusive to females, this statement still creates a separation between male and female that suggests that women figure secondary to males in the guardian class, just as they did in Athenian society. Men would seem to be the best people, or citizens, whereas women would seem to be the best of the women, or non-citizens. In this instance, then, women are seen as inferior to men and are in a separate class of people because of this. Just as Athenian women were secondary to their *kyrios*, so too female guardians are secondary to male guardians. Their status as property and the subordinate role that they seem to play within the guardian class would suggest that the passage includes women, but does not view them as equals. This is similar to the status of women in Athens, who were given responsibility in and outside of the home, but were still seen as subservient to their husband or father.

In his discussion on education within the guardian class, Socrates states that male and female guardians should “share their entire way of life,” including subjects such as warfare, poetry, and physical training (Plato, *Rep.*, 451e-452a; 457a-b). Although women’s participation in warfare is unheard of in places other than myth, the discussion of physical training in the gymnasium is one passage in which Socrates clearly states the controversial nature of his argument. It would seem ridiculous to Athenians for women to exercise naked in the gymnasium, though as he points out, Spartans and Cretans complete their physical training in the nude and only outside of their culture

is it viewed as controversial or barbaric (Plato, *Rep.*, 452c-d). For women to do so in the *Kallipolis* may be shocking at first, but would eventually be accepted as a formal part of their education. Although this description of education would suggest that men and women are being taught the same things at the same level, the inferior abilities of women continue to be accounted for in this discussion. In section 451e, Glaucon states that everything among guardians should be kept in common, “except that the females are weaker and the males stronger.” In 455c-e, it is stated that, “Women share by nature in every way of life just as men do, but in all of them women are weaker than men.” In 457b, too, women are said to share in guardian duties and education, though they are to be given less work because of the “weakness of their sex” (Plato, *Rep.*). It is clear from these statements that females are able to share in physical education and poetry, but they are still inferior when doing so. This creates a separation between male and female guardians with regards to their innate abilities, even though Socrates would argue that their natures are the same. They must, therefore, both have the ability to learn, but not the ability to apply learned skills in the same way. He could be referring to their physical strength, in which case Socrates and Glaucon would indeed need to give female guardians tasks in which less strength is needed. However, the statement that women are weaker in “all ways of life” implies that they are less capable than men both physically and mentally (Plato, *Rep.*, 455c-e). The main idea that he presents is that women should be taught the same subjects as men, but in a lesser capacity. This is certainly not evidence of equality within the guardian class, as although men and women can learn the same things, they are still expected to use this education in different ways.

Socrates does not discuss the poetry that would be taught to female guardians with a great deal of hesitance or detail, because women in Athenian society could be educated in poetry already. As previously stated, they could be taught to take care of family finances, as long as they adhered to the *kyrios*.<sup>112</sup> Women - high-class women at least - were likely also taught to read and write by their

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<sup>112</sup> Schaps, *Economic Rights*, 14.

mothers,<sup>113</sup> and as is evident in the *Lysistrata*, could be taught about political affairs and public discourse by their fathers and other members of their family.<sup>114</sup> In this sense, Socrates' argument that women have similar natures to men and are able to perform the same tasks in education is a concept with which Athenians would be familiar. The suggestion that they should learn subjects such as poetry, then, would presumably be accepted by Socrates' audience. Female guardians would thus gain an education similar to that of high-class Athenian women.

The most controversial or progressive suggestions made by Socrates in this section are that female guardians would be trained in warfare and would exercise naked in the gymnasium with men (Plato, *Rep.*, 457a-b; 466c-d). These two ideas are the only ones in his argument on education of the guardian class that do not adhere to Athenian social practice. In this way, Socrates may be right in his assertion that these ideas would incite resistance (Plato, *Rep.*, 457a-e). Even so, the statements regarding female inferiority and the need to give them lesser tasks because of this inadequacy emphasizes the already present stereotype in Athenian society, that women would not be able to perform as well as men. Even though the idea that women would exercise naked with men is a non-traditional one, the assertion by Socrates and Glaucon that women need to be given lighter work continues to enforce cultural typecasts that the Athenian audience would likely agree with. The idea is new, but the fundamental message behind it is not. Women will exercise naked with men, but they will still be inferior to them. Thus, Socrates presents a new idea in this section, though he presents it in a way that would resonate with his audience and thus be more likely to be accepted as a plausible concept. This strategy is also evident in Socrates' presentation of women's role in warfare, in which they are given new responsibilities, but are not provided with true equality.

Although the ideas that Socrates presents regarding warfare in the guardian class focus on the education of children, they also provide insight into

the political and practical roles that guardians will have within the *Kallipolis*. After he states that it is right for male and female guardians to learn together, hunt together, procreate together, and guard citizens of the *Kallipolis* together, Socrates begins to detail how they will educate their children in warfare (Plato, *Rep.*, 466c-d). The children will be expected to go on campaigns with men and women of the guardian class, to learn through observation but also to help when their parents need it (Plato, *Rep.*, 466e-467a). Socrates and Glaucon then discuss how the children's safety will be ensured during a military campaign:

(Socrates) Well, then, in the first place, their fathers won't be ignorant, will they, about which campaigns are dangerous and which are not, but rather as knowledgeable about this as any human beings can be?

Probably so.

Then they'll put officers in charge of them whose age and experience qualifies them to be leaders and tutors?

Appropriately so. (Plato, *Rep.*, 467c-d).

Although this passage is short and void of much detail, it provides valuable insight into the responsibilities of men within the guardian class. It is clear that fathers are to judge which campaigns are safe for children to attend and which are not. They are also expected to judge which officers are best to take care of the children, and thus are entrusted with the majority of the responsibility in a child's education on warfare. This would seem to suggest that even though women and men are given the same education, it is men who are better able to judge the battlefield and determine which soldiers or generals are best in which situation. In fact, female guardians are not included in this discussion apart from the statement that they will campaign with men (Plato, *Rep.*, 466e). Again, it would appear as though Socrates creates a separation between male and female guardians in which females are given equal responsibility, but are not expected to have equal roles in such responsibilities. They are to fight with male

<sup>113</sup> Buchanan, *Political Theory*, 100.

<sup>114</sup> Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1141 as cited by Buchanan, *Political Theory*, 102.



guardians, but they are not to make decisions regarding battle. In this way, female guardians are again portrayed as inferior to their male counterparts. This conforms to classical Athenian stereotypes, which held war and politics as an area reserved for men.<sup>115</sup> Women participating in warfare was a concept unfamiliar to Athenians outside of mythology, and in this idea Socrates does present a new social role for women to fulfill in his *Kallipolis*. Their exclusion from decisions regarding campaigns, however, continues to reinforce the idea that they should not truly be given responsibility in warring matters. It again expresses the idea that women are unable to complete tasks as well as men, by suggesting that even though they receive the same education, they are unable to make the same decisions. The inferior-superior complex that Socrates presents in this short passage again conforms to stereotypes that were present in fourth century Athens, in which men were meant to make political decisions and women were not.

#### The View of Women within the Guardian Class

The main passages in Plato's *Republic* that provide insight into how women are viewed in the guardian class itself are sections 454e and 456a-b, 458c-d, and 468d. When examined, it will become clear that although they live in a community in which a traditional family unit does not exist (Plato, *Rep.*, 423e-424a),<sup>116</sup> female guardians were still meant to be the possession of males of the same class. Socrates introduces a new concept in this section in which men and women do not live together, but uses Athenian cultural norms which suggest that the lives of female guardians would not be fundamentally different than the lives of women in Athenian society. This reinforces the idea that equality does not exist between men and women in

the guardian class, and that women were expected to play a secondary role to men even though they were afforded similar opportunities in education as well as in hunting and warfare.

In section 454d-e of Plato's *Republic*, Socrates states,

Therefore, if the male sex is seen to be different from the female with regard to a particular craft or way of life, we'll say that the relevant one must be assigned to it. But if it's apparent that they differ only in this respect, that the females bear children while the males beget them, we'll say that there has been no kind of proof that women are different from men with respect to what we're talking about, and we'll continue to believe that our guardians and their wives must have the same way of life.

The assertion that women are only different from men because they carry children is a statement which allows Socrates to come to the conclusion that men and women possess the same nature, and can thus be educated in the same subjects and perform the same tasks within the guardian class. Even so, the language that he uses to refer to guardian women stands out as a way to ensure that female guardians would be subject to their male counterparts. The language, "guardians and their wives," suggests that men are to be guardians, and women-although no different than men in nature-are still defined by their relationship to men. They are not simply "guardians," but rather, "wives" of guardians. Socrates uses this language again in 456b when he states, "We've come round, then, to what we said before and have agreed that it isn't against nature to assign an education in music, poetry, and physical training to the wives of guardians" (Plato, *Rep.*). This initial designation of women as "wives" is a clear indication of the status that they have when being chosen to belong to the group. Just as before when women were seen as secondary to men, the designation of them as wives sets them apart in a way that suggests that they are different and inferior to men, even though the only difference between them is that one sex carries children while the other simply helps produce them. This is not an isolated use of language, as other

<sup>115</sup> Catherine McKeen, "Why Women Must Guard and Rule in Plato's *Kallipolis*," *Pacific Philosophical Quarterly* 87 (2006): 527.

<sup>116</sup> By "Traditional family unit," I am referring to a husband and wife sharing a home with their children. In the referenced passage, Socrates states that he is getting rid of traditional marriage and procreation by ensuring that the guardians all share the same wives and children. Previous reference to the lifestyle of the guardian class can be found in section 416c-417b.

instances within Book V also refer to female guardians in a way which would suggest that they were simply the property of men within the same class.

In the discussion of how the guardian class will be arranged and how it will function, Socrates tells Glaucon that “you, as their lawgiver, will select women just as you did men, with natures as similar to theirs as possible, and hand them over to the men” (Plato, *Rep.*, 458c). Once again he refers to women in a secondary role, as they are only chosen after the group of male guardians has already been established. By stating that women would be given to men, Socrates not only lessens the value of the female guardians who are seen as superior to other women, but again asserts that they would be inferior to male guardians and would essentially belong to them. This is not unlike women in the Athenian family who were under the authority of their *kyrios*. In fact, the mere process of a lawgiver handing women over to men in the guardian class is reminiscent of an Athenian marriage ritual. In fifth and fourth century BCE Athens, a father would hand his daughter over to her new husband in marriage to ensure that she married someone with a good reputation and a status congruent with her own (Isaeus, *Speeches*, 7.11-12). When examined in the frame of Athenian marriage, the lawgiver can be seen as the women’s father figure, and the male guardians as their new husband(s). Socrates, then, uses Athenian social regulations to ensure that the proper women are chosen to, in a sense, “marry” into the guardian class. Once those with a golden soul are chosen, they are allowed to join men with the same soul to guard the city. This marriage does not suggest that female guardians are equal to their male counterparts, but instead that they are their property, and as such are subject to them. Once again, Socrates has failed to express a way of life in the *Kallipolis* that is fundamentally different for women than it would have been in Athenian society.

There is one passage in the *Republic* which at first seems to promote the idea that male guardians will perform most of the duties in warfare itself, but on closer inspection it seems to account for the valour of both men and women on the battlefield. In section 468a-e, Socrates details how acts of bravery or cowardice should be rewarded. If a guardian fails in battle or surrenders, they will become craftsmen

or farmers, and if they show their bravery, they will be rewarded with trophies and marriages to encourage them and others to follow their example (468a; 468b-d). The language that Socrates uses in the first half of this section is entirely androcentric. He states, “And that’s an appropriate honour for a courageous young man, since it will both honour him and increase his strength” (468d). His use of the term, “young man,” suggests that only males would distinguish themselves on the battlefield, though directly after this, Socrates provides a more inclusive conception of warfare in the *Kallipolis*:

And insofar as good people have shown themselves to be good, we’ll honour them at sacrifices and all such occasions with hymns, “seats of honour, meats, and well-filled cups of wine,” and in all the other ways mentioned, so that, in addition to honouring good men and women, we’ll continue to train them (Plato, *Rep.*, 468d-e).

His inclusion of women in this passage and his reference to “people” rather than simply “men” is one instance in which he adheres to the concept of women performing typically manly duties within the guardian class. It is clear that women are thought to be capable of performing bravely in battle, and Socrates provides both men and women with the same rewards for this bravery. I cannot positively determine why Socrates finally includes women in this passage, though their initial absence may have something to do with Athenian cultural constructs that pervaded the Greek mind, in which women were not soldiers. It is difficult to determine how much validity this argument has, however, as the work was written down and thus there was opportunity for revision to ensure inclusion of both men and women in the dialogue. The mere fact that he uses words like “people” or “women” within the discussion rather than simply referring to them as “wives” or foregoing them altogether, however, would suggest that he was able to involve female guardians when needed. A closer reading of the passage is required to attempt to determine why this may be, though their absence in section 468a-c is peculiar when there was opportunity to incorporate female guardians in the dialogue.

### Why Women are Needed in the Guardian Class

The production and upbringing of children in the guardian class is perhaps the most non-traditional idea that Socrates presents in this work. Women are taken out of the sphere of influence that they possessed in classical Athens - that of the home and family - and are expected to produce children but not raise them. The traditional private sphere is eradicated for a communal living situation in which men and women live separately and do not raise their own children (Plato, *Rep.*, 457c-d). It is this concept that leads scholars like Morag Buchnan to suggest that the only way for women to function in the guardian class is to turn them into "surrogate men."<sup>117</sup> In this way, women are able to perform the duties of men, yet are still able to ensure that the prestige of the guardian class will continue for future generations through procreation.<sup>118</sup> They may not be expected to raise their own children or live in a family home, but their reproductive purposes are of crucial importance to the livelihood of the guardian class just as they were to the livelihood of Athenian communities. By subjugating the feminine realm of responsibility, then, Socrates emphasizes the one remaining source of power that women would have-the production of children. Socrates subjugates their feminine roles by removing family-life from the guardian class, though he cannot escape the necessity of the distinctly feminine role of child-bearer and its importance to the sustainability of the *Kallipolis*.

I would suggest that Socrates included women within the guardian class to ensure that the *Kallipolis* could be a functional city for an extended period of time, rather than because he truly saw them as capable guardians. Future generations needed to be produced, and women were the only ones who could carry and bear children. Socrates is thought to have believed that women contributed to a child's character just as men,<sup>119</sup> and because guardians needed to have gold and silver souls, it was required that both mother and father had gold and silver souls as well (Plato, *Rep.*, 416c). If a woman were to have divine gold in her soul, then she would be considered among the best women,

and would need to procreate with men in the guardian class to ensure that future generations of competent defenders would be produced. The inclusion of women for procreative purposes would thus suggest that the concepts he presents are solely for the sustainability of the guardian class, and are not truly concerned with the equal nature of women. One way to ensure that the proper men and women procreated was to include both in the same role within the city, though the question remains as to why Socrates did not simply form marriages between these people instead of creating a social community void of traditional familial life.

Buchnan suggests that, to Socrates, women were more concerned with the success of their private life than that of their community.<sup>120</sup> This is clearly seen in the passage in which Socrates discusses how a democracy can evolve into a timocracy, as he says that the wife of the democratic man complains,

That her husband isn't one of the rulers and that she's at a disadvantage among other women as a result. Then she sees that he's not very concerned about money and that he doesn't fight back when he's insulted, whether in private or in public in the courts, but is indifferent to everything of that sort. ....Angered by all this, she tells her son that his father is unmanly, too easy-going, and all the other things that women repeat over and over again in such cases. (Plato, *Rep.*, 549d-e).

The wife in this passage appears to be concerned with how the behaviour of her husband and son affect her personal status among other women, rather than how they affect the state or community. Because Socrates is concerned about the well-being of the community as a whole in the *Kallipolis* and not simply that of individuals within it, he needs to ensure that females do not concern themselves with the private sphere within the guardian class. If the private sphere of home and family does not exist, then the women can worry about the good of the community rather than that of their family. He cannot simply have them as child-bearers, however, because producing children is not a technical

<sup>117</sup> Buchnan, *Political Theory*, 99.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, 99.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, 98. I tend to agree with Buchnan's assessment.

specialty, and would make women idle in the *Kallipolis*.<sup>121</sup> It is because of this, that he needs to include them in the guardian class, as guardians themselves.

Based on the language used within the *Republic* and the reasoning behind women as guardians, it is clear that Socrates has ulterior motives behind female inclusion in this class. Their main purpose is to serve the city by producing children that will one-day guard the *Kallipolis*, and his non-traditional framework of communal living is formed to achieve this goal. An important function that they have is to produce children to take over future guardianship, just as in Athenian society where women were expected to produce an heir to inherit their father's property after his death.<sup>122</sup> Again, the language the philosopher uses to refer to female guardians as "wives" of the males demonstrates traditional familial values within the guardian class - the only class in Plato's *Republic* that Socrates presents in a non-traditional format. By getting rid of the sphere of influence that women had in their familial life, Socrates subjugates the feminine and creates a group of "surrogate men," which are supposed to be able to perform the tasks of men but to a lesser degree. The need for children to continue the guardian class, however, ensured that Socrates could not eliminate every aspect of a woman's feminine nature. The guardian class could function without a female presence, but it would be unsustainable in doing so. Thus, the importance placed on childbirth among guardians forced Socrates to come up with a framework for the group to be functional, but also benefit the *Kallipolis* as a whole rather than simply provide for one group within it. Unable to disassociate the production of children from women, Socrates presents a structure for the guardian class that is non-traditional in nature, but contains concepts that can be understood in terms of Athenian societal norms and cultural practices. Ultimately, the reason behind their inclusion within the guardian class demonstrates that Socrates' female guardians are not seen as truly equal to men, but instead are essential to the functioning of the

community just as they were to the Athenian *polis*.

### Conclusion

Socrates' account of women in the guardian class provides females with more responsibility than they may have had in ancient Athenian society, though it does not fundamentally oppose cultural norms in relation to women which existed at the time that the *Republic* was written. They are provided with the same education as men, though they are expected to perform less demanding tasks because they are considered weaker. Female guardians are to be handed over to male guardians, which would suggest that they perform secondary roles to men and are inferior to them within the guardian class itself. This concept of superior versus inferior was largely present in Athenian society as men were seen as preferable to women to function in political and public affairs. Education is provided to female guardians, though there are cases in which Athenian women were educated as well. Men are expected to play a larger role in warfare in the *Kallipolis*, as they are given the responsibility to appoint commanders and judge which battles children should attend. Again, this is similar to Athenian society in which war and politics were viewed as a strictly male occupation. Female guardians are also labelled as "wives," which suggests that they belong to the male guardians, and play a secondary role to them just as women were expected to do with their husbands in Athens. The androcentric language which is used to describe guardians on the battlefield reinforces the concept that male guardians would hold the majority of responsibility in warfare just as they did in Plato and Socrates' society. It would appear as though the main reason for a female presence was to ensure the production of children worthy of the guardian class, and the formulation of a communal society ensured that women did not gain the same amount of power that they had in the private realm in Athenian society. This takes away their main sphere of influence, but places the same amount of importance on a woman's ability to bear children as was present in Athens, in which wives were expected to produce heirs to inherit from their father.

The fact that aspects of Athenian societal norms

<sup>121</sup> McKeen, "Why Women Must Guard," 539.

<sup>122</sup> W. K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1984), 110; 125.

continue to be present in an idea that has been viewed as wholly different from the society that Socrates was familiar with is a significant one. Certainly, some aspects of female guardianship provide women with opportunities that they may not have had in Athens, but their role as the weaker sex continues to prevail in Socrates' *Kallipolis*. This not only emphasizes the fact that the passage does not truly promote equality between the sexes, but also that the ideas Socrates presents are not as unique as they at first seem. Cultural norms pervade this section of work and ensure that women are not treated wholly differently than they were in Athenian society in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. Women in the guardian class may appear to gain certain opportunities like education in physical training and warfare, though stereotypes regarding their worth and abilities continue to effect how they are treated within the guardian class itself. This lends itself to the argument that women were included solely for reproductive purposes. Athenian stereotypes that pervade the guardian class, then, may demonstrate the fact that Socrates did not truly believe that women were meant to guard alongside men in the *Kallipolis*.

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# Womb-Woman: An Exploration of the Cult of Artemis and Bears of Brauron as a Coming of Age Ritual

KACEY DOOL

*Follow me, come follow me,  
and sing of heavenly Artemis,  
great Zeus' child and our protector!*

...

*O sovereign goddess, to you I bring  
this garland made of woven flowers  
gathered in unspoiled meadowlands,*

...

*These flowers the virtuous may pick,  
the ones who keep a constant rein*

...

*But those who are not pure may not do  
so.<sup>123</sup>*

## Introduction

Looking at historical sources and mythological tales, the frequency with which the position of women in Greek society is addressed, or female-only festivals are examined, is limited in quantity and quality. According to Helen King's article, "Bound to Bleed: Artemis and Greek Women," the problematic position of women in traditional scholarly discourse and dialogue of Greek society is two-fold: a 'technical' problem of sources primarily recorded and presented through the viewpoint of male authors, historians and poets, and an 'analytic' problem of a desire for orderly arguments by male informants.<sup>124</sup> For this reason, the perspectives and practices pertaining to the role of women in society has been largely formulated in order to fulfill the needs and requirements of a male-run state: namely the need for women's reproductive capacities. In the case of the festival of the Bears of Brauron, girls can be seen to progress through a liminal state of metamorphosis,

transitioning from the 'wildness' of childhood into the traditional role and status of women, wives and mothers. While not only marking the physical and emotional transition of girl to woman, the Brauronian festival also functions as an exploration of the theme of bleeding associated with women, through its association with the goddess Artemis. Although contended by certain scholars as sacrificial as opposed to initiatory in structure, the festival of the Bears of Brauron retains initiatory significance, and demonstrates the ability for cultic festival activity to incorporate both public (by means of sacrifice and protection of the greater community through continued reproduction) and private (the entrance into a new group; childhood to womanhood) systems of meaning. Following a survey of the multi-regional prevalence and the mythological relevance of Artemis to the Bears of Brauron, as well as archaeological evidence in the form of sanctuary and artistic remains, an exploration of the connections to female sexual and biological development will be provided. This will demonstrate how the Brauronian festival represents an initiatory process through which both public and private sectors of Greek society are affected and implicated.

## The Role of Woman in Ancient Greece

Initially, it is beneficial to assess the position of the 'woman' in an ancient Greek societal context, as the expectations of gender-based behaviours and role-fulfillment have serious implications and effects on the nature of ritualized activity, both for the individual female and for the broader community context. King proposes that the female—even beyond a Greek context—poses a categorical threat, as her position can be presented in opposition: 'man' versus 'woman', or as generalized in 'man-kind' versus the 'gods' or nature.<sup>125</sup> This means that engagement with women, particularly in traditional ancient contexts,

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<sup>123</sup> Euripides, Hippolytus, trans. Ian Johnston (Nanaimo, BC: Vancouver Island University through Perseus Digital Library), 79-104, accessed November 25, 2017.

<https://records.viu.ca/~johnstoi/euripides/hippolytusrtf.rtf>.

<sup>124</sup> Helen King, "Chapter 3: Bound to Bleed: Artemis and Greek Women", *Sexuality and Gender in the Classical World: Readings and Sources*, ed. Laurak McGuire (Malden: Blackwell, 2002), 77.

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid, 78.



is complicated by the attempts of men to qualify the position of women in accordance with the values and needs of the society and epoch. However, as reflected by the ancient Greek term *kalon kakon*, roughly translated as “the beautiful evil,”<sup>126</sup> women were seen as a threat to male-ordered society, but also necessary for the reproduction of such a society for generations to come. For this reason, women were positioned in the private domain of the home and family life as opposed to public and political life, in accordance with the structural needs of men (i.e. cooking, weaving, as wife and mother).<sup>127</sup>

Such a point is exemplified in both terminology and inscriptional evidence. Following King’s argument, the term for “woman” in ancient Greek is *gyne*, translatable most closely to modern English by means of the term ‘wife,’ which represents the idea that a woman’s role in society focused on her reproductive capacity.<sup>128</sup> Likewise, one can examine the inscriptions left to women from their husbands:

*Amydone, housewife. Rome, 1st century BCE (ILS 8402.L):*

Here lies Amydone wife of Marcus best and most beautiful, worker in wool, pious, chaste, thrifty, faithful, a stay-at-home.<sup>129</sup>

*Athenodora. Athens, Christian period (Kaibel 176.G):*

Good Athendora of Attica, wife of Thaumasius, filled with God’s influence. She bore children and nursed them when they were infants. Earth took this young mother and keeps her, though her children need her milk.<sup>130</sup>

In both inscriptions, evidence is shown for the prioritization of women whom fulfill the duties of wifehood and motherhood with quiet grace and

dignity. In such a way, the value of females for the support of their family is highlighted and emphasized. While contemporary Western dialogue may not fully endorse the association of women’s purpose to motherhood, Rajeswari Sunder Rajan points out the importance of “scholarly reflexivity,”<sup>131</sup> the practice of acknowledging personal cultural lenses in order to avoid appropriating a position of inferiority or subjugation onto the practices and social patterns of different cultures or social periods. The role of the care-giver is often disregarded in the modern Western world as something worthy of laudation, with many women quietly providing for their family without external accolade, all the while ensuring the health, safety and well-being of their loved ones. For this reason, while it is important during an analysis of the role of women illustrated through the initiatory Brauronian festival to consider the male-centered structure of ancient Greek society and thus subsequent surviving sources, it is dually necessary to engage with the material in a manner that respects and attempts to recognize the significance of the transition from girlhood to womanhood in such a context.

### Literary Evidence: Mythology

Turning now to the mythological basis for the worship of Artemis and the establishment of the *Arkteia* or Brauronian festival, the pan-Greek character and practice becomes manifest in the literary evidence, even though the sanctuaries of Brauron remain the primary source of archaeological evidence. The term *Arkteia* comes from the word *arktos*, translating to ‘bear,’ the animal’s association made manifest through the mythological development of the cult to Artemis.<sup>132</sup>

The *Hippolytus*, as quoted at the beginning of this paper, tells the tale of King Theseus’ illegitimate son Hippolytus, born of the Amazon Hippolytus, and the unrequited love of Phaedra. Swearing an oath of chastity for the goddess of the hunt Artemis, Hippolytus is cursed by Aphrodite,

<sup>126</sup> Ibid, 78.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid, 78.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, 78.

<sup>129</sup> Mary R. Lefkowitz and Maureen B. Fant, *Women’s Life in Greece and Rome: A Source Book in Translation*, 3rd ed., (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2005), 17.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>131</sup> Rajeswari Sunder Rajan, “Is the Hindu Goddess a Feminist?”, *Economic and Political Weekly* 33, no. 44 (1998): 35.

<sup>132</sup> John Papadimitriou, “The Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron”, *Scientific American* (1963): 111.

causing Phaedra to fall madly in love with him, and subsequently kill herself from a broken heart. Hippolytus is then exiled as punishment for her death.<sup>133</sup> This section of Euripides' tragedy demonstrates the far-reaching influence and presence of the goddess Artemis, represented not only in a religious cultic sphere, but also throughout poetry, performance and mythology. Likewise, this section of the play emphasizes the concept of young women and girls being under the care of Artemis, leading them on their way to adulthood and the associated behaviours associated with the controlled, and domesticated, role of the woman in much of ancient Greek culture. If such roles remain unlearned, and their purity is imbued upon, the girls cannot achieve their proper and rightful roles in society. In such a manner, Artemis is both a guide and a threat to the development from girlhood to womanhood, giving girls their blossoming reproductive capacities, but requiring reverence to protect these reproductive capacities.

As depicted by Euripides in his play *Iphigenia in Tauris* (c. 414-412 BCE), Artemis is declared worthy of worship and reverence after Orestes, son of King Agamemnon, steals a wooden statue from a temple in Scythian Tauris. This results in his capture and impending sacrifice at the temple of Artemis by the priestess Iphigenia, who is in fact his sister.<sup>134</sup> Realizing their familial connection, Iphigenia conspires with Orestes to escape together with the statue to Greece, receiving the aid of Athena who declares it necessary for the Athenians to worship both Artemis Tauropolos and Artemis Brauronia.<sup>135</sup> However, it is also understood that the story of Iphigenia retains relevance to the manner by which sacrifice is made to the goddess Artemis. The separation of Orestes and Iphigenia resulted from their father's actions to sacrifice Iphigenia to the gods, but Artemis saves the female child right before her untimely slaughter and replaces her body with a deer, later transformed in Brauron to a bear, due to further translations, re-telling and cultural influences.<sup>136</sup>

Focusing now on the ritual activities of the cult of Artemis, particularly at the sanctuary in Brauron resulting in the quadrennial celebration of the *Arkteia* in the Brauronian festival, further mythological evidence is used to illustrate and validate the need to worship the goddess Artemis. According to the local legend at Brauron, a she-bear wandered into Athens only to be provoked and pestered by an insolent young girl. The bear then attacked her, which led her brothers to slaughter the bear and bring forth the consequence of plague onto the Athenian community.<sup>137</sup> Upon the recommendations and prophesizing of the oracle at Delphi, Apollo orders that all Athenian maidens must play the she-bear in order to please the vengeful animal, associated with the goddess Artemis.<sup>138</sup>

### Literary Evidence: Ritual Activity

Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* is the first example and evidentiary material that describes the ritualized proceedings of the Brauronian festival:

At seven years old I was performing the *arrephoria*, next when I was ten I was a 'flour-grinder' (*alteris*) for the founding goddess and then while wearing the saffron robe (*krokotos*), I was a bear (*arktos*) at the Brauronian festival. And at some point while I was (i.e. still) a beautiful child I carried the basket while wearing a necklace of dried figs.<sup>139</sup>

While this is by no means the exclusive summary or entirety of the proceedings, the notable notions of age progress through different stages of female maturation, as well as the activity of 'playing the bear' or being the *Arkteia*, can be identified as significant components of the festival's central

<sup>133</sup> Euripides, *Hippolytus*, trans. Ian Johnston, 4.

<sup>134</sup> Papadimitriou, *Scientific American*, 111.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid, 111.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid, 118.

<sup>137</sup> Paula Perlman, "Plato Laws 833C-834D and the Bears of Brauron", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, (Duke University Library Database, 1983), 120.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid, 120.

<sup>139</sup> Christopher A. Faroane, "Playing the Bear and Fawn for Artemis: Female Initiation or Substitute Sacrifice?," *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives*, ed. David Dodd (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2003), 45.

structure. The children are selected based on age group, thus beginning before the age of ten and progressing through the stages of the ritualized activity in accordance with their age progression, performing rites to Artemis. Likewise, it can be argued that the inclusion of a 'saffron-coloured' robe is indicative of the transitory nature of the festival ritual activity: the saffron robe was a mark of the matron, signifying the female as of age of sexual maturation and marriageability, emphasized as well by means of Iphigenia donning the colour of fabric in the foundational tale of the cult of Artemis.<sup>140</sup> This use of clothing traditionally associated with marriageability along with the age progression for the performance of the *Arkteia* rituals, shows the Brauronian festival as significant to the development of the role of the female in Greek society as future woman, wife and mother.

When taken into account with the sacrificial nature of the mythological tales of Iphigenia's deer or bear-substituted sacrifice, the children 'acting the bear' could be representative of the nature of the goddess Artemis in her dual function as "protector of wildlife and virginity...the *Arkteia* was a ritualized struggle between opposites: life and death, male and female."<sup>141</sup> Thus, while capable of inflicting significant harm (i.e. through plagues and disease on those who do not show appropriate respect to Artemis herself or fellow community members), Artemis also signifies the life-force by means of the ability of sexually-matured women to bear and birth future generations.

#### Literary Evidence: Reproduction and Artemis

Additional mythological evidence with regards to the worship of the goddess Artemis can also be used to analyze the association between the Brauronian festival and the sexual maturation of females of the community. Looking at the work of Pausanias, the author discusses the concept of *Apankhomene*, the Strangled Lady, as one of the many revered identities of Artemis in the broader

regional areas of Greek antiquity. According to Pausanias, a group of children at Kaphyae in Arkadia were pretending to hang the goddess Artemis, tying ropes around the neck of figurines of her likening, to the displeasure and disgust of the elders who demanded the stoning to death of the children.<sup>142</sup> Infuriated by this displaced anger on the part of the elders, Artemis struck the *gynaikes* (women) of the community with a disease that resulted in a generation of still-born children.<sup>143</sup> In order to avoid the wrath of Artemis on their community, it was established that sacrifices would be made to the dead children in honour of Artemis, by means of festival celebration and animal offerings.<sup>144</sup> By means of such a variation on the foundational tale of the worship of Artemis, connection can be seen not only to the spread of plague or pestilence for the harm for the community, but an interruption in the reproductive life-cycle of the community's women.

#### Archeological Evidence: Sanctuaries

These aforementioned foundational stories can be seen to have set a literary basis to the arrival and incitation of the veneration, sacrifice and worship to Artemis in the Athenian community. However, archaeological discoveries have uncovered further evidence for sanctuaries to Artemis throughout Greece. Among such evidence includes the shrine of Artemis Tauropolos found at the site of Halae Araphinides, 23 miles east of Athens, and the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia just 4 miles south of Halae Araphinides.<sup>145</sup> In addition to these spatial remains, dances and sacrificial rituals to the goddess Artemis were reflected and recorded by means of black-figure vases in Thessaly and the general Peloponnese region.<sup>146</sup>

John Papadimitriou focused his archaeological excavations and research at the temple at Brauron, asserting that the discoveries demonstrate the connection of the Cult of Artemis to the mythology

<sup>140</sup> Perlman, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 125.

<sup>141</sup> Susan Guettel Cole, "The Social Function of Rituals of Maturation: The Koureion and the *Arkteia*", *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 55 (1984), ed. Dr. Rudolph Habelt, 240.

<sup>142</sup> King, *Sexuality and Gender in the Classical World: Readings and Sources*, 86.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid, 86.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid, 86.

<sup>145</sup> Papadimitriou, *Scientific American*, 111.

<sup>146</sup> Cole, *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik*, 242.

associated with Iphigenia.<sup>147</sup> Because the region's original inhabitants were worshippers of the priestess Iphigenia, Papadimitriou suggests that the region of Brauron is referenced in *Iphigenia in Tauris* in a dialogue between Athena and Iphigenia:

Thy, Iphigenia, by the holy stairs  
of Brauron must this Goddess'  
warden be.  
There shalt thou die, and be entombed,  
...  
Which wives who suffer terribly  
in their travail-tide  
Leave in their homes ....<sup>148</sup>

This passage makes a direct reference to 'the holy stairs of Brauron,' those that led up to the sanctuary to Artemis-Iphigenia at Brauron. Likewise, connections can be seen to women and their association and sacrifices performed towards Iphigenia, and later Artemis, in order to alleviate the suffering of women, as well as the necessity to leave their homes and comforts to engage in the ritual events and procedures of the *Arkteia*.

According to Papadimitriou's discoveries, the connections between Artemis-Iphigenia and the archaeological remains at the sanctuary can be further supported through marble-slab inscriptions recording the requests and sacrifices of women and girls to the goddess Artemis.<sup>149</sup> Connections back to Athens, demonstrating Athena's instructions for the worship of Athenian women to Artemis, can also be found in copies of these lists of inscriptions being housed, along with their offerings, at the Athenian Acropolis.<sup>150</sup> Among such offerings were clothing, jewels, rings, mirrors, and weaving or spinning implements- all of which are representative of women's traditionally associated needs, desires, and roles in ancient Greek society.<sup>151</sup><sup>152</sup> As such, both the location of Brauron is confirmed through archaeological remains, and is reinforced through literary references to the

regional associations to the cult of Artemis-Iphigenia.

When considering the ritual activities practiced at the *Arkteia* itself, Papadimitriou suggests that archaeological evidence at the site of Brauron of the '*parthenon*' confirms the festival's inclusion of young girls undergoing transitional ritual activities.<sup>153</sup> Papadimitriou points to a great Doric structure on the Northern side of the sanctuary at Brauron, consisting of a long hallway of shared bedrooms, all of which include statuettes of little girls at the foot of the beds.<sup>154</sup> Further inscriptions indicate that this area of the sanctuary was called the '*parthenon*', which Papadimitriou translates as "house of the virgins."<sup>155</sup> With such a distinct living quarter associated with the process of 'playing the bear' and the presence of offerings and inscriptions which indicate the young, unmarried nature of its inhabitants, the liminal ritual process undertaken by the participants of the *Arkteia* are once again exemplified.

#### Archaeological Evidence: Artistic Representations

Artistic representations of the *Arkteia* also function as archaeological evidence of the Bears of Brauron, the cultic association to Artemis, and the ritual activities that took place during the festival. Cole emphasizes women's traditional roles depicted on clay etchings, pottery decorations, and stone reliefs, showing women with their children, most often weaving or spinning cloth.<sup>156</sup> In particular, a series of vases have been uncovered and analyzed from the Brauron region depicting the roles of women and the rituals of the young girls, assumed to be undergoing the transition of girl (or bear) to woman (and wife).

Lilly Kahil has analyzed three particular shards of vases, asserting that such depictions can be associated to the festival of the Bears of Brauron.<sup>157</sup> Kahil states, « en partant de vases fragmentaires et de fragments patiemment recollés...de faire progresser nos connaissances sur le rituel accompli en l'honneur de la déesse, rituel qui a été

<sup>147</sup> Papadimitriou, 111.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid, 113.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid, 113.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid, 113.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid, 113.

<sup>152</sup> Cole, *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik*, 239.

<sup>153</sup> Papadimitriou, 118.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, 118.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, 118.

<sup>156</sup> Cole, *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik*, 240.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid, 240.

commenté...de nos jours d'après le texte de la *Lysistrata* d'Aristophane », <sup>158</sup> suggesting that the aforementioned archaeological discoveries of John Papadimitriou confirm the association of the Cult of Artemis to Brauron, and that the red-figure images depicted match with existing literary mythological evidence of the *Lysistrata*. Among these red-figure vases, Kahil highlights depictions of bears running beneath nude young women (Figure A), <sup>159</sup> thought to be representative of the final stages of the rite of passage ceremony. Having shed their childhood bodies and clothing (represented by their nudity), the young women were then ready to be clothed in their saffron-coloured matronly dresses and to be presented back into society as marriageable women. <sup>160</sup>

Likewise, the notion of running could be thought to be representative of the process of wildly 'playing the bear,' thought to be a necessary step in learning proper, socially appropriate domestic tasks of the woman. <sup>161</sup> Kahil also suggests that the running girls could be acting as huntresses of the bears, making a symbolic leap to the girls hunting and vanquishing their own childhoods, under the guidance of the Goddess of the Hunt, Artemis. <sup>162</sup> Artistic representations found in the Braurion and Athenian regions suggest an association of the Bears of Brauron to the sanctuary of Brauron, and highlight the persistence of literary and mythological impetus for the festival and its rites of passage.

#### Reproduction and Role-Production: Sexual Development and the Brauronia

After examining the aforementioned variations on the foundational mythology of the cult of Artemis, and thus the subsequent sanctuaries and festivals dedicated and performed in her honour, the goddess Artemis can be seen to be worshipped in multiple forms, for multiple purposes, "as goddess of the hunt, goddess of childbirth and

infancy, and protector of young unmarried women." <sup>163</sup> When all functions of Artemis are taken into account, the Braurion festival demonstrates the particular emphasis that the ancient Greek community placed on the survival and continuation of the community by means of nourishment (the huntress) and nurturance (protector of childbirth, infancy, and unmarried women). Thus, a connection between the sexual and reproductive maturation of the female with the goddess Artemis appears logical for an understanding of personal position as woman, and subsequently mother and wife, as well as the importance of such maturation for the protection of a community's legacy.

It is here that one must begin to investigate the nature by which the Braurion festival, as an example of worship rituals to the goddess Artemis, coincides with the sexual development of the female. According to Susan Guettel Cole, no one particular phase in the life-cycle of women stood out as particularly important, but it was instead viewed as a series of developmental stages that required service and rituals to the goddess Artemis, fulfilling the female's role as protector of childbirth, infancy and unmarried women. <sup>164</sup> As previously discussed, the role of the ancient Greek woman, while varied from region to region, retained a particular interest and importance in reproductive capacities. Thus, the celebration of the girls' transition from childhood to womanhood was monumental, representing her transition into her ascribed new role within the greater community.

As proposed by Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, such preparations began even prior to the arrival of menarche, represented by children as young as 7 performing rites in the festival of Brauronia, making the role of the woman clear from age of birth. An additional facet of the Braurion celebrations, as well as the overall climate of the cult of Artemis, is the potential wrath of Artemis and associated need to placate her. <sup>165</sup> Artemis' ability to take and give life to women by means of

<sup>158</sup> Kahil, "Le sanctuaire de Brauron et la religion grecque", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 132<sup>e</sup> année (1988) : 801.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid, 807.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid, 806.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid, 806.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, 806.

<sup>163</sup> Cole, *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik*, 238.

<sup>164</sup> Susan Guettel Cole and Margaret Williamson, "Chapter 3: Domesticating Artemis", *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*, ed. Sue Blundell (London: Routledge, 1998), 32-33.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, 34.

the proper progress and development of sexual reproductive capacities, namely the onset of menstruation at menarche and later success in childbirth and of infancy, made the goddess a tenuous female companion.

The social roles as prescribed by ancient Greek society were made manifest by means of the transitional, ritualized activities involved in the role of the *Arkteia* and Brauronian festival. According to Vidal-Naquet, due to the fact that Athenian women never truly achieved independent citizenship or rights separate from their father's, brother's or husbands, it is difficult to identify an true initiatory processes through which women entered a new social or personal group.<sup>166</sup> However, this does not mean that women did not in fact engage in transitional events that marked the exit of a previous identity marker (i.e. child) through liminal stages of initiation (i.e. ritualized sexual reproductive stages and celebrations or sacrifices to the goddess Artemis, as with the *Arkteia* of Brauron), resulting in a new personal and social identity (i.e. woman qua wife or mother).<sup>167</sup>

The engagement in 'playing the bear' is significant, therefore, not only for contrition and reflection on the disrespectful actions of the original dismal treatment of Artemis bear by a young Athenian girl of days passed, Iphigenia's protection by Artemis and escape by means of replacing a bear with the young girl's body for sacrifice, or the untimely deaths of the ignorant children in Pausinas' Strangled Lady, but is also representative of an inversion of social roles and a final farewell to childhood. According to Cole, "By imitating the bear, the girls are participating ritually in the wildness of the animal...The ritual therefore condones a type of activity antithetical to that of well-behaved Athenian girls and married women."<sup>168</sup> Thus allowing the girls to understand the difference between the frivolity that was accepted of them as 'wild' young girls and their expected role-recovery and performance as future wives and mothers.

### Menstruation and the Brauronia

Continuing with the notion of the Brauronian festival as a ritualized transition from girlhood to womanhood, the topic of menstruation and its association to Artemis deserves further considerations, as the reproductive role of women is both personally and publicly important in ancient Greek society. Prior to delving into the particularities of bleeding for the female and for Artemis as indications of role-necessary prerequisites for females in Greek society, a brief divergence into the process of release could prove both illustrative and important for understanding the nature by which women's bodies were placed as an object of the male gaze, as well as a tool for reproductive capacities.

At the age of puberty, under the guidance of Artemis, a girdle would be placed on a young woman, which is replaced at time of marriage by a new girdle, untied only by the husband on one's wedding night prior to first intercourse and replaced thereafter; the final removal of a woman's girdle is in the process of labour, during which the release of the child and girdle are dedicated and entrusted to the goddess Artemis.<sup>169</sup> While representative of the nature of bodily control that ancient Greek women were expected to respect, such as preserving one's chastity and virginity until the first untying at time of marriage, the girdle also reflects the importance placed on the onset of puberty, and thus menstruation. Therefore, the successful onset of menarche followed by consistent and regular bleeding during the menstruation cycle reflected the woman's ability to participate fully in the community.<sup>170</sup> However, while Artemis protects and provides for the women of the community, she herself is unable to achieve menses, never bleeding in order to ensure the safe passage of women through their reproductive stages, in particular pregnancy and childbirth, predominantly due to the belief that if she did not bleed she would be immune of the potential menstrual related difficulties and diseases.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>166</sup> Cole, *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik*, 234.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid, 243.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid, 242.

<sup>169</sup> King, *Sexuality and Gender in the Classical World: Readings and Sources*, 89.

<sup>170</sup> Cole and Williamson, *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*, 33.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid, 33.

The Hippocratic canon of medical expertise developed and acknowledged during the time of ancient Greece is representative of the overriding importance placed on 'healthy' or 'normal' female reproductive development. In the *Peri Parthenion* from the Hippocratic Corpus, the entrance and exit orifices of the female body are considered to be mirrored, thus it is understood that menstruation, or difficulties surrounding the process, are relatable and reliant on the mental capacities and states of the woman in question.<sup>172</sup> By this, what is meant, is that an ability to pass the blood of menstruation results in its pooling in the body, resulting in the prevalence of hysteria among young women at the time of menarche, causing them to throw themselves down wells or to hang themselves, committing suicide.<sup>173</sup><sup>174</sup> Essentially, what is being suggested by medical professionals, and thus being accepted by the broader society of ancient Greece, is the concept that those *Arkteia*, or girls transitioning from childhood to womanhood who "despite being 'ripe for marriage', remain unmarried,"<sup>175</sup> result in conditions of mental illness, due to an inability to pass their menstrual blood. With the term 'ripe for marriage' insinuating the arrival of menarche in the young woman, the prescribed treatment to 'cure' or prevent mental health issues from arising was to marry and reproduce as "childbirth widens the veins and so eases menstruation or to the idea that the menstrual flow is blocked by the hymen."<sup>176</sup> Presented in such a way, the process of menstruation is both normalized as an important and natural part of life, but also stigmatized, as those who do not perform it correctly are not in the category of woman, creating what can only postulate as intense pressure on the female to fulfill her 'role' as reproducer. Thus, in worshiping Artemis as the *appankho* or Strangled Woman, reflective of her position in the shedding of blood, the transformative nature of girl (*parthenos* or *arkteia* in the context of the Brauronian festival) to woman (*gyne*) by means of menstruation is reinforced as an important facet of

ancient Greek social structure,<sup>177</sup> and further highlights the worship of Artemis as an emblem of female reproductive protection.

Linking the importance of menstruation back to the ritualized activity in the festival of the Bears of Brauron, the writing of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* can be shown to demonstrate a similar progression of girl to woman. While being introduced to the ideals of womanhood and her future role in Greek society at the age of 7, by age 10 the girl is performing the 'bear' as *Arkteia*, engaging in the final stages of childhood wildness that is a reversal of her future life as woman, wife and mother, with all of its responsibility, propriety and expectations. The donning of the 'saffron robe' (*krokotos*), with its connotations of marriageability, could also be likened to the arrival of menarche, making the young woman 'ripe for the picking.' Additionally, the 'release' of blood by means of menstruation in the girl achieving menarche can be associated not only with her marriageability, and thus subsequent role-performance as woman quo reproducer, but also the release of childhood fantasy. This release is also reinforced by means of the girdle, being placed onto the female at puberty as a signal of menarche, as well as a reminder to protect her purity, and only removed in situations pertaining to her role as reproducer: namely, marriage, intercourse, and labour.

### The Brauronia as Initiation

When investigated and correlated in such a manner, the *Arkteia* and Brauronian festival, as well as the many other Pan-Hellenic cultic worship, celebrations, sacrifices and sanctuaries to Artemis, construct the image of an initiation process that allows for the instruction and placement of women in ancient Greek society. By exploring the wildness of childhood while 'playing the bears,' the girls understand the difference between what is currently expected of them and what will be expected of them as matured women. This marks a step towards understanding their new role, based on personal instruction and supported by the community. Further, the donning of the saffron robe (*krokotos*) as symbolic of marriageability coincides with the

<sup>172</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>174</sup> King, *Sexuality and Gender in the Classical World: Readings and Sources*, 81-82.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid, 82.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid, 83.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid, 33.



arrival of menarche and the ability to reproduce, necessary to have occurred in the girl in order to meet the qualifications for her role as woman. For these reasons, it appears as though the process of sexual reproductive development in the female and its association with the goddess Artemis as provider and protector of womanhood proves the possibility and likelihood of the Bears of Brauron to be an initiatory ritual festival.

A brief return to the nature of initiation further proves the importance of the *Arkteia* and Brauronian festivals in the transitional process of girlhood to womanhood, by means of extending beyond the experience of the individual into the broader community's context. In order to be considered an initiatory experience, "initiates are thought to undergo some important qualitative change both in their public status and in their self-awareness of their own personal growth and individuation."<sup>178</sup> Having already examined the nature by which the girls are instructed and prepared for their adult lives as women, by means of acting as *Arkteia* or 'playing the bear,' wearing the proper garments (*krokotos*, girdle), and achieving their menarche and reproductive capabilities, the individual qualitative changes experienced by the girls participating in the Brauronian festival have been demonstrated.

However, the cultic worship of Artemis as well as the Bears of Brauron also fulfills the assumption of a new public status: the woman. While this is signified most evidently by their ability to be married, and thus participate as contributing members of society through their reproductive capabilities, it is also made evident by the associations of sanctuaries to Artemis, including that of Brauron, as symbolic of the community's resilience and strength through its protection and reproductive abilities of its women. This is shown by means of the location of the sanctuaries at territorial boundaries, as with Brauron which was located just beyond the boundary of the Athenian acropolis. "The females who walk unmolested from Athens to Brauron...tested with their own bodies the security of the community...They also served to identify a community which was secure and

confident it its own future."<sup>179</sup> Through such a testament of their trust in their community and the protection Artemis provided them by means of their steadfast observance of ritual activities and festivals, the greater community was affected by the transitory initiation undergone by the girls through the Brauronia. This demonstrates the required characteristics of an initiation: both the individual and community was changed in the process.

### Conclusion

Through an examination of literary, archaeological and artistic evidence, the prevalence and importance of the Cult of Artemis and the associated festival of the Bears of Brauron or *Arkteia* in ancient Greece becomes manifest. Finding its basis in the foundational myths of Euripides' *Hippolytus*, as well as Iphigenia's sacrifice as depicted by Euripides in *Iphigenia of Tauris*, in conjunction with local Brauronian lore of the attack and revenge of the she-bear, and finally Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, the Bears of Brauron's literary evidence is solidified. Furthermore, through John Papadimitriou's excavation of the sanctuary at Brauron and Lilly Kahil's analysis of Attic red-figure vases, the Cult of Artemis and the Bears of Brauron are given physical and artistic evidentiary merit.

Due to the prevalence of evidence in regard to the Brauronian festival and the influence of Artemis' dual role as both the giver and taker of life by means of female reproductive health, the *Arkteia* at the Athenian festival of Brauronia can be seen to function not only as a means to appease the goddess Artemis through sacrifice, but also as an initiatory event that enables the transition of girl to woman in ancient Greek society. While further investigation into the actual ritualized activity at the Brauronia would be fruitful to understand the structure of the festival, the nature by which the ritualized activity focusses on female sexual maturation with greatest emphasis on menstruation, reflects the entailed role of the woman as reproducer in not only Athens, but throughout

<sup>178</sup> Faraone, *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives*, 44.

<sup>179</sup> Cole and Williamson, *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*, 40.

many areas of Attica, Thessaly and the Peloponnese. While mythological, historical, literary and archaeological evidence is predominantly presented from the male perspective, an exploration of the initiation of the girl to woman as depicted through festivals such as the *Arkteia* or the Brauronia provide a forum for the exploration and assessment of the lived experience of women in antiquity, demonstrating the interconnected nature of individual initiation with the grander effect on the community at large.

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# Ille poeta mi par esse Sapphui videtur: A Literary and Linguistic Analysis of Catullus 51 and Sappho 31

RYLAND PATTERSON

Sappho (c.630-c.570 BCE) and Catullus (84-c.54 BCE) were present at the respective beginnings of Greek and Latin lyric poetry. As in so many other genres of Latin literature, Latin lyric poetry took its inspiration from the Greek tradition, which preceded it by over half a millennium. Catullus was one of many Roman authors who enthusiastically adopted this literary tradition and brought it into Latin during the 1st century BCE.<sup>180</sup> Perhaps the most blatant example of the influence of the Greek lyric poets on the Roman tradition is the relationship between Sappho 31 and Catullus 51, with the latter in large part seeming to be a translation of the former. Both poems, written in the ‘Sapphic strophe’ metre—supposedly invented or perfected by Sappho herself—describe the narrator’s thoughts and feelings upon observing a ‘godlike’ man interact with a woman who is the object of the poet’s desire.<sup>181</sup> The poets then describe the physical breakdown that the mere sight and sound of their beloved causes in them. The theme of these poems may be jealousy, or it may be admiration of the beloved’s charm and the godlike man’s self-possession.<sup>182</sup> In both, there exists the paradox of the poet speaking eloquently about being unable to speak in the presence of their beloved.<sup>183</sup> In this paper, I will explore how closely Catullus followed Sappho in his ‘translation’ of her poem. To modern scholars of the Classical languages—who must necessarily be translators, as Latin and Ancient Greek are now ‘dead’ languages—it is an interesting (and perhaps instructive) exercise to gain an insight into how an

ancient translator chose to render verse from one language into the other while both Latin and Greek were still living vehicles of communication. To this end, a literary and grammatical analysis of Catullus’ rendering of the Greek into Latin will reveal that Catullus is reasonably faithful to Sappho’s meaning in his ‘translation’ of her poem, and often mirrors her vocabulary choice word-for-word. However, Catullus does not always slavishly follow Sappho’s word choice; he is not afraid to take some small liberties and make the poem his own. Indeed, the significant divergence in the two poems, especially after their third stanzas, indicates that this was not primarily an academic exercise for Catullus, but a translation to suit his own personal purposes: to express his love for Lesbia (perhaps with the intent that she herself would read or hear his poem) and to castigate himself for his un-Roman lack of control over his own passions. The translation is therefore of secondary importance to Catullus’ true goal, which was to use the words of Sappho to express his own feelings on matters of personal significance to him.

Before delving into a comparison of these two poems, it is helpful to set the stage with what little historical information is known about these two enigmatic poets. Very little can be said about the life of Sappho (‘Psappho’ in her native Aeolic Greek dialect) other than that she lived on the isle of Lesbos at the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth century BCE, and that she was part of an aristocratic family.<sup>184</sup> It is probable that she took part in rituals dedicated to the cult of Aphrodite with a group of other young girls of good family, as these παρθέναι feature in many of her poems. Of the 213 poem fragments currently known, only one poem (an ode to Aphrodite) has survived complete.<sup>185</sup> Poem 31, transmitted to posterity by Longinus in his treatise *On the Sublime*, is fragmentary after the fourth stanza. In any case,

<sup>180</sup> Ellen Greene, “Catullus and Sappho,” in *A Companion to Catullus*, ed. Marilyn B. Skinner (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 131.

<sup>181</sup> Marguerite Johnson, *Sappho* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2007), 123.

See the Appendix for the text of both poems alongside my own translations. I will describe the woman who is ‘the object of the poet’s desire’ as the poet’s ‘beloved’ throughout the rest of the essay for brevity’s sake.

<sup>182</sup> Julia H. Gaisser, *Catullus* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 141.

<sup>183</sup> Greene, “Catullus and Sappho,” 136.

<sup>184</sup> Reynolds, *The Sappho Companion* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000), 20.

<sup>185</sup> Reynolds, *The Sappho Companion*, 20.

however, Catullus seems not to have translated beyond the third stanza of Sappho 31.

Gaius Valerius Catullus, born at Verona in Cisalpine Gaul, was part of a group of Roman poets whom Cicero disdainfully labelled the 'Neoterics' for their Hellenizing style.<sup>186</sup> It is likely that poem 51 is not the only translation of Sappho by Catullus; poem 61 probably contains many verses translated from works of Sappho that have since been lost. Catullus' poetry is known in large part for the recurring theme of his love for 'Lesbia', whose identity remains controversial in modern scholarship, but whom Apuleius identified as a 'Clodia', perhaps the Clodia Metelli of Ciceronian fame.<sup>187</sup> Poem 51 may have been the first poem that Catullus wrote about Lesbia, who, as an upper-class Roman woman, would probably have been aware that the poem was an imitation of Sappho.<sup>188</sup>

The first three stanzas of Catullus 51 are fairly close translations of those of Sappho 31. Quinn believes that the differences between the two are deliberate, noting that "departures from the Greek text would be noted by anyone attempting to read between the lines."<sup>189</sup> However, in these initial lines Catullus is faithful to Sappho's Greek not only in meaning, but often also in terms of word-for-word equivalency in vocabulary (if not word order). Indeed, it seems to be the differing number of syllables that it takes to express the same idea in both languages that accounts for the larger discrepancies. Catullus' first line covers the first line-and-a-half of Sappho, as the Latin words Catullus chooses to render Sappho's Greek are comprised of fewer syllables overall. The initial word order is slightly different, with Catullus placing the verb *videtur* at the end of the line where Sappho has φαίνεται at the beginning, but this is clearly due rather to the constraints of the metre than any desired shift in emphasis, as it is impossible to begin a stanza of Sapphic strophe with *videtur*—the first syllable being short. The

only other grammatical differences in the main clause are the singularization of θεοῖσιν into *deo* and the failure to directly translate ὄνῃρ into *vir* or *homo*, both of which do not significantly change the meaning of the clause; it is likely that these minor differences also originate from the constraints of the metre. However, the conservation of syllables in Catullus' Latin translation left him with some extra metrical feet to fill out in his second line, and he does so by elaborating on the idea that his subject is godlike, suggesting that he may even surpass the gods. The inclusion of the cautionary phrase *si fas est* is a uniquely Roman addition to the poem, as it was considered improper to surpass the gods by the Romans of this period.<sup>190</sup> This elaboration, combined with the repetition of *ille* in the first two lines, serves to focus more attention on the godlike man as the rival for the beloved's affections in Catullus' poem.<sup>191</sup> Catullus has chosen to shift emphasis from the poet as the perceiver to the perceived, thereby subtly altering Sappho's original while staying more or less faithful to the meaning of the Greek.<sup>192</sup>

In the following section—up to the middle of line 6 in both poems, which is usually punctuated with a colon or semicolon in modern editions—both poets set the scene with a description of the godlike man sitting across from their beloved, engaged in conversation. Catullus chooses to omit any translation of γελαίσας ἡμέροεν (which Sappho uses to describe her beloved), instead adding another verb, *spectat*, to describe the actions of the godlike man. It is possible that the portrayal of lovers gazing longingly at one another was a popular one in 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE Roman poetry, as Quinn points out that this image is paralleled by a passage in Lucretius.<sup>193</sup> This therefore serves as evidence of Catullus' willingness to subtly alter minor details in Sappho's poem, to give it a

<sup>186</sup> Davis, "Catullus" in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*. Vol. III, ed. Roger S. Bagnall et al. (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013). 1381.

<sup>187</sup> Davis, "Catullus," 1381.

<sup>188</sup> Charles Martin, *Catullus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 48-50.

<sup>189</sup> Kenneth Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems* (London: MacMillan, 1970), 241.

<sup>190</sup> Daniel H. Garrison, *The Student's Catullus* (London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 120.

<sup>191</sup> Greene, "Catullus and Sappho," 138.

<sup>192</sup> Dolores O'Higgins, "Sappho's Splintered Tongue: Silence in Sappho 31 and Catullus 51" in *Re-Reading Sappho*, ed. Ellen Greene (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 69.

<sup>193</sup> Quinn, *Catullus*, 243; c.f. Lucretius 4. 1101-2: *sic in amore Venus simulacris ludit amantis / nec satiare queunt spectando corpora coram*.

personal or perhaps ‘Roman’ twist. Catullus’ translation of the rest of the second stanza—which describes the effect of the beloved’s voice—also follows the meaning of Sappho quite closely (though Sappho’s image of a fluttering heart is swapped for one of Catullus’ breath being stolen away), indicating that these minor differences are again born of metrical necessity. For example, he translates the verb ἰσθάνει with the participle *sedens*, as the final syllable of the latter is conveniently long and thus fits with the metre, whereas *sedet* would not.

The third stanza marks the beginning of a divergence that becomes more pronounced as the poems progress. In the initial line of her third stanza, Sappho uses the verb ἔαγε ‘it has broken’ to describe the dumbfounding effect that her beloved’s appearance has on her tongue, whereas Catullus chooses *torpet* ‘it is numb’ instead of translating Sappho more literally with a verb such as *frangit*. Another notable difference is Catullus’ translation of χροῖ ‘skin/flesh/body’ into *artus* ‘joints/limbs’ in the next line. In Greene’s view, Catullus’ description of his breakdown is markedly different than that of Sappho: Sappho describes her emotional and physical breakdown piece by piece, whereas Catullus’ overall briefer description of his symptoms (one stanza as opposed to Sappho’s two) suggests that he is more absorbed in simply creating an image than in cataloguing what effects his beloved has on him.<sup>194</sup> While Sappho’s meaning is thus preserved—Catullus’ poem also presents an image of the poet having a physical and emotional breakdown in the presence of the beloved—Catullus here demonstrates that he is not entirely committed to a pedantic, literal translation of Sappho’s words; this is a creative exercise as much as an academic one, and Catullus is not afraid to take some minor liberties where he pleases. It is possible that Catullus did not wish to focus the reader’s attention on the physical symptoms of his breakdown, so he truncated Sappho’s description in his translation in order to move on to his own unique addition to the poem in his fourth stanza.

It is after their third stanza that the two poems diverge from one another completely. In her fourth

stanza, Sappho continues to describe the effect that her beloved’s appearance has on her, including a cold sweat, shaking, a change in colour, and a deathlike appearance. This is not reflected in Catullus’ translation—nor is the fragmentary fifth stanza of the poem, the general sense of which is unclear. In turn, the fourth and final stanza of Catullus 51 seems not to have existed in Sappho 31; indeed, some modern editors even set it apart from the rest of the poem, numbering it 51b. Garrison describes this self-addressing stanza as “Catullus’ Roman conscience speaking, rebuking him for the idleness...that makes him prey to these feelings.”<sup>195</sup> Catullus, as a male in the upper echelons of Roman society, might sometimes be expected to conduct *negotium* ‘business/affairs of state’ as opposed to idling in *otium* ‘leisure’. Being a woman in the ancient Greek world, Sappho would have had no expectation of a role in public or private business, therefore making it likely that nothing of this nature appeared in her own poem. To give in to emotions and the pleasures of love would have been considered un-Roman and un-masculine according to the Roman values of the time.<sup>196</sup> Greene suggests that in contrasting his own lack of self-control with that of the godlike man, Catullus is exploring his own uncertainties and anxieties about pursuing the erotic life in a culture that values duty over private pleasure.<sup>197</sup> It is therefore apparent that Catullus is stepping outside the role of mere translator with the final stanza of his poem, making it his own with a personal exhortation which would also be understandable to his Roman audience. Whether this exhortation against *otium* is sincere or ironic is unclear, but in either case Catullus casts off both the persona of Sappho and the role of translator, making the poem something that speaks uniquely to his own experience.

Another notable difference between the two poems is the more personal nature of Catullus 51—he names names, both his own as the observer and Lesbia as his beloved. Sappho, on the other hand, does not explicitly name herself or her beloved. Gaiser believes that this is due to a differing intent

<sup>194</sup> Greene, “Catullus and Sappho,” 139–40.

<sup>195</sup> Garrison, *The Student’s Catullus*, 120.

<sup>196</sup> Greene, “Catullus and Sappho,” 132.

<sup>197</sup> Greene, “Catullus and Sappho,” 139.

behind each poem: Catullus' poem is intended for a private reading, whereas that of Sappho is intended for performance at a communal event.<sup>198</sup> Therefore, Catullus need not shrink from personalizing his poem to a greater extent. Indeed, it may have been that the Lesbia named in the poem was present at one of these private readings, and Catullus had a very specific audience in mind when he adapted Sappho's poem for his own ends. The name Lesbia likely has a double meaning; it is metrically identical to Clodia (the probable real identity of Catullus' beloved), but it also means a woman from Lesbos, thus making it a reference to Sappho herself. Gaisser suggests that by calling her Lesbia, Catullus is complimenting the elegance and literary taste of his beloved while at the same time expressing the dazzling effect that Sappho's poetry had on him.<sup>199</sup>

From an analysis of the grammar and vocabulary used in Catullus' translation of Sappho 31, it is clear that Catullus begins with a faithful translation of Sappho's Greek that becomes increasingly divergent as the poem progresses. In the first two stanzas of the poem, divergences from the words of Sappho seem to be more due to metrical necessity than any personalization on Catullus' part, and the scene described by the two poets remains essentially the same. Beginning in the third stanza, however, Catullus begins to make the poem his own by altering his description of the physical effect that his beloved's presence has upon him. He omits part of what Sappho has to say about her symptoms, dedicating only one stanza to that subject as opposed to Sappho's two, and he is looser in his selection of the vocabulary he uses to render the Greek. Catullus departs from the text of Sappho completely in his fourth stanza, criticizing himself in both Roman and masculine terms for his devotion to *otium* and consequent lack of self-control. There is the tantalizing possibility that there is a lacuna in the text of Catullus' poem, and that there should be another 'fourth' stanza which would be a more faithful translation of the fourth stanza of Sappho, and further, that the fragmentary fifth stanza of Sappho 31 was themed along the lines of Catullus' final stanza, with love being the agent of destruction instead of *otium*. This

fascinating possibility would invalidate most of the comparative analysis performed on these poems by centuries of scholarship, and is explored (along with plausible reconstructions of the 'lost' passages for both poems) by British classicist Armand d'Angour.<sup>200</sup> However, in the absence of further evidence it must remain conjectural. We are therefore left with the impression that Catullus the translator is subordinate to Catullus the poet; translating Sappho accurately is less important to Catullus than using her poem as a vehicle to express his own feelings: his love for Lesbia, and his sense of shame at his loss of self-control in her presence.

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<sup>198</sup> Gaisser, *Catullus*, 141.

<sup>199</sup> Gaisser, *Catullus*, 142.

<sup>200</sup> Armand D'Angour, "Conquering Love: Sappho 31 And Catullus 51," *The Classical Quarterly* 56, no. 01 (2006).

## Appendix: Texts and Translations

### Sappho 31

Φαίνεται μοι κήνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν ἔμμεν ὦνηρ, ὅστις ἐναντίος τοι ἰζάνει, καὶ πλυσίον ἄδω φωνεύ- σας ὑπακούει	That man seems to me to be equal to the gods, whoever it is who sits across from you, and listens closely to you speaking sweetly
καὶ γελαίσας ἱμερόεν, τό μοι μάν καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόασεν· ὥς γὰρ εἰσίδω βροχέως σε, φώνας οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἴκει·	and laughing seductively, which sets the heart in my chest fluttering: for whenever I see you for a moment, nothing of voice is any longer possible:
ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲν γλῶσσα ἔαγε, λεπτόν δ' αὖτις χρῶ πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμακεν, ὁππάτεσσι δ' οὐδὲν ὄρημ', ἐπιρρόμ- βεισι δ' ἄκουαι.	but my tongue has broken entirely, and a thin fire has run beneath my skin, and I see nothing with my eyes, and my ears make a buzzing noise.
καδ δέ μ' ἵδρωσ κακχέεται, τρόμος δέ παῖσαν ἄγρει, χλωροτέρα δέ ποίας ἔμμι, τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω 'πιδεύης φαίνομ' [ἐμ' αὖται].	And sweat pours down me, and trembling seizes me whole, and I am greener than grass, and I seem to myself to have died, a little in need [...]
ἀλλὰ πᾶν τόλματον, [ἐπεὶ καὶ πένητα].	But all is to be dared, even a poor person [...]

### Catullus 51

Ille mi par esse deo videtur, ille, si fas est, superare divos, qui sedens adversus identidem te spectat et audit	That man seems to me to be equal to a god, he [seems], if it is proper, to surpass the gods, he who, sitting across from you, looks at you again and again and listens,
dulce ridentem, misero quod omnis eripit sensus mihi: nam simul te, Lesbia, aspexi, nihil est super mi vocis in ore	[to you] sweetly laughing, which snatches all the senses away from wretched me: for as soon as I have caught sight of you, Lesbia, there is nothing left to me of voice in mouth
lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub artus flamma demanat, sonitu suo tintinnant aures gemina, teguntur lumina nocte.	but the tongue grows numb, a slender flame flows down my limbs, my ears ring with their own sound, my [eyes] are covered by a twin night.
Otium, Catulle, tibi molestum est: otio exsultas nimiumque gestis: otium et reges prius et beatas perdidit urbes.	Leisure, Catullus, is a trouble for you: you revel and are excessively joyful in leisure: in the past, leisure has destroyed kings and prosperous cities.



# The Dead Elephant in The Room: The Current State of Latin in the Canadian Classroom

JADE WELLS

In 1924, the American Classical League published a report on the results of a five year investigation into Latin pedagogy, called *The Classical Investigation: The General Report*.<sup>201</sup> The investigation was prompted by the inquiry of certain scholars and university administrators into the relevance of compulsory Latin in the U.S education system.<sup>202</sup> The results of the report revolutionized and unified Latin pedagogy in the early 20th Century.<sup>203</sup> Despite this, compulsory Latin was deemed unnecessary and enrollment in the subject began to decline steadily.<sup>204</sup> In the present day, it is undeniable that the widespread study of Latin in North America has ended. Nowadays, Latin is generally only studied in fields related to cultural heritage. Once again it is necessary to reevaluate Latin pedagogy in the 21st century. Currently there are two major problems in university level Classics in Canada: the first is concerned with the recently removed classical language (Latin and Ancient Greek) requirements for the undergraduate classics degree as a result of low enrollment levels. This in turn has hindered those undergraduate students in Classics who wish to complete a graduate degree but no longer meet admission requirements. The second problem is concerned with instructors teaching using the Grammar-Translation Method (GTM) despite this method was deemed ineffective by most researchers in the field of Second Language

Acquisition (SLA), who favour newer methods.<sup>205</sup> This paper will address the effects of low enrollment levels and apply research in SLA to Latin pedagogy in order to determine a method that is better suited for Latin instruction.

## The State of Latin in the Canadian University System

In Canada, Latin is not a requirement for most undergraduate programs in the field of Classical Studies. Many programs offer two or more degree plans in either a language stream or a civilization stream, allowing students the ability to forgo any language requirements.<sup>206</sup> An even greater number of Classics programs have opted to remove the language requirements altogether.<sup>207</sup> In some cases, some Canadian universities have opted to amalgamate their Classics department into other departments, reducing the number of classics staff and classes. Sometimes, Latin is not even available for students to study.<sup>208</sup> This is the current state of Latin in Canadian universities.

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<sup>201</sup> cf. The Advisory Committee of American Classical League, *The Classical Investigation (Part 1): General Report* (Princeton University Press, 1924).

<sup>202</sup> To see the original debate see Abraham Flexner, "Education as mental discipline." *Atlantic Monthly* 119 (1917): 452-464; and the President of Harvard; Charles Eliot, W. "The Case Against Compulsory Latin." *Atlantic Monthly* 119 (1917): 352-61; Paul Shorey, "The Assault on Humanism." *Atlantic Monthly*, 119 (1917): 80.

<sup>203</sup> W. L. Carr, "The Classical Investigation Forty Years After." *Classical Journal* (1965): 153.

<sup>204</sup> All concepts in this paper may also be applied to the study of ancient Greek since they face the same issues as latin, in not to an ever greater extent.

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<sup>205</sup> Robert J Ball, and J.D Ellsworth, Ball & Ellsworth "Against teaching composition in classical languages," *The Classical Journal* 85, no. 1 (1989):55; Neil Coffee "Active Latin: Quo Tendimus?," *Classical World* 105, no. 2 (2012): 261; Sidney Morris, *Viae Novae: new techniques in Latin teaching*. Hulton, 1966; Stephen D Krashen, *Principles and practice in second language acquisition*. (New York, 1987).

<sup>206</sup> This is currently true according to the 2017 & 2018 academic calendars for the Universities of Victoria, Toronto, York, Windsor, Winnipeg and Trent. Universities that still have language requirements in their classics programs are Acadia, Mount Allison, New Brunswick, Bishop's, Calgary, SFX, Brock, Dalhousie, Guelph and McGill.

<sup>207</sup> Cf. The 2017 & 2018 online academic calendars on each university's website for Nipissing, Ottawa, Prince Edward Island, Carleton, Manitoba, Western and McMaster.

<sup>208</sup> Simon Fraser University has one classicist in the Department of Humanities and only occasionally offers beginners courses in Latin and Greek; Saint Mary's University offers courses on classics in the Department of Modern Languages and Classics, The University of Saskatchewan offers classes in Classics in the Department of History, Lakehead University only offers a minor in Latin

The decision to remove Latin (and Greek) from undergraduate degree is an obvious response to the declining numbers of enrollment. The theory behind the decision was that if the language prerequisites were abolished, then the program enrollment would be higher. Though this may have preserved enrollment numbers in Classics departments across Canada, it became detrimental to students who wished to go to graduate school for Classics. The danger of this is that undergraduates are not aware of admission requirements of Master's programs prior to their graduation. Although most undergraduate Classics degrees will not require you to study Latin and Greek for your degree, almost all Graduate degree programs in Classics require language prerequisites in order to be admitted. Out of the fifteen universities in Canada that offer Master of Arts degrees in Classics, thirteen have advanced language requirements for both Latin and Ancient Greek.<sup>209</sup> Of course there are graduate programs without language requirements, however all PhD programs in any field related to classical history will expect a student to have advanced knowledge of Classical languages for their research.

The remaining two universities, Queen's and McGill, have Classical Studies MA programs that don't require prior knowledge of Latin and Greek in order to be admitted into the program.<sup>210</sup> This at least addresses the crisis with undergraduate degree programs in Classics. However, McGill's Classics program has an option called the "accelerated

track" that admits students without any Classical language experience, yet trains students in Latin and Greek to be competitive candidates for PhD programs within seven terms.<sup>211</sup> Here McGill sets a standard for Classical Studies MA programs that other universities should follow. It correctly responds to the evolution of undergraduate classics programs that have no language requirements, yet still bridges the gap to provide incoming graduate students with the tools they need to be successful in the field. However, few Canadian Classics programs are aiding their students in this way, and therefore recent graduates are left to figure out how they will be able to continue their education in Classics without the language qualifications that they need.

This concludes the disjointed problem that low enrollment has caused between the requirements of undergraduate degree programs and the expectations of graduate level degree programs. Since most Classics programs have opted to remove their language requirements, it has made many undergraduate students ineligible to apply for graduate programs. Because of this change in expectation at the undergraduate level, more graduate programs need to take responsibility to bridge the gap between undergraduate and graduate expectations. While Queen's University has adapted their program to accept these graduate students, McGill university is the only university which has effectively addressed this challenge with the implementation of the accelerated track.<sup>212</sup> With the decline of undergraduate Classics students studying Latin and Greek beyond the introductory level, more graduate-level Classics programs should follow McGill's model.

### Methods in Latin Pedagogy

The goal of studying Latin according to the *Classical Investigation Report* of 1924 is "the

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from the Department of Languages and Laurier offers classics courses in in the Department of Archeology and Heritage Studies.

<sup>209</sup> Usually three years of study in either ancient Greek or Latin and two years in the other are required. In some cases, applicants with fewer language requirements will be given secondary consideration (cf. the admissions pages at Dalhousie, Ottawa University and Western Ontario). While McMaster university only requires 2 full year credits worth of language requirements for admissions.

<sup>210</sup> cf. "Classical Studies Degree Plan," Queen's University, accessed November 19, 2017,

<http://www.queensu.ca/classics/undergraduate/degree-programs-plans>; and

"Programs in Classics," McGill University, accessed November 19, 2017,

<http://www.mcgill.ca/classics/teaching/classics-programs-fall-2017>.

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<sup>211</sup> This includes a Summer Intensive Language Program for Latin and Greek in the summer prior to the official start date of the MA program.

<sup>212</sup> Without the implementation of summer intensive language programs for first year Latin and Greek, graduate students can only hope to get up to an intermediate experience in the classical languages within the span of a two year MA program.

progressive development of ability to read and understand Latin.”<sup>213</sup> Since there has been a reduced interest in Latin since 1924, some scholars suggest that reading proficiency is longer an achievable goal.<sup>214</sup> One such scholar, Daniel Carpenter, a professor of Classical Studies from the University of Rhode Island says:

[T]oday’s undergraduates with no background in Latin, little training in basic grammar and terminology, and small motivation to master language beyond the language requirement, are unlikely to learn enough of the language to read literature with any benefit.<sup>215</sup>

Yet the effectiveness of teaching methods are directly linked to student performance.<sup>216</sup> The most common method of Latin instruction is still GTM, even though it has been proved inadequate.<sup>217</sup> In fact, interactive methods, such as the Oral Method, Total Physical Response Pedagogy (TPRP), and Teaching Proficiency through Reading and Storytelling pedagogy (TPRS) are far more effective than GTM. Studies show that contemporary students who have grown up in the internet age respond best to interactive stimuli and are more likely to stay focused when there is variation in their tasks.<sup>218</sup> Rather than reassessing the goals of learning Latin, an assessment of current pedagogical techniques will be made below.

The most commonly taught method in the first two years of university level Latin is GTM. GTM was designed to teach students to read Latin with

the hopes that they will become familiar with grammatical concepts, ultimately making them better speakers and writers in their native language.<sup>219</sup> GTM is heavily textbook based, requiring the instructor to rely on a GTM designed textbook, such as *Wheelock’s Latin* or *Introduction to Latin* for lesson plans.<sup>220</sup> These textbooks mainly consist of explanations of grammatical concepts, and morphology of forms supplemented by paradigms and isolated vocabulary lists. Instruction is taught entirely in a student’s native language and involves little practice in reading or pronunciation and no practice in speaking.<sup>221</sup> As a result, GTM is not an inclusive learning style. From the seven learning styles GTM only caters to the Logical and Solitary Learner, therefore making it a very ineffective method of learning for most students.<sup>222</sup> Steven D. Krashen, an expert in Second Language Pedagogy, states that a grammar-based second language course such as GTM will only succeed if the course is taught in the second language and if all the students are analytic types.<sup>223</sup>

Other major disadvantages of GTM include low student motivation and participation.<sup>224</sup> During class time the instructor reads a chapter from the textbook accompanied by explanations of the grammatical concepts, presented in a lecture based format. This format does not foster any student participation, and by the very nature of being a lecture-based presentation, it actively discourages it. Often the only in-class participation a student receives is through correcting the weekly exercises from the textbook out loud. These exercises vary

<sup>213</sup> The Advisory Committee of American Classical League, *The Classical Investigation (Part I): General Report*, 32.

<sup>214</sup> This point of view has been made by many scholars who have been studying Latin Pedagogy in the later part of the 20th century and early 2000’s such as Carpenter, “Reassessing the goal of Latin pedagogy,” 391.

<sup>215</sup> Carpenter, “Reassessing the goal of Latin pedagogy,” 391.

<sup>216</sup> Morris, *Viae Novae: New Techniques in Latin Teaching*, 7.

<sup>217</sup> Jacqueline M Carlon, “The Implications of SLA Research for Latin Pedagogy: Modernizing Latin Instruction and Securing its Place in Curricula,” *Teaching Classical Languages* 4, no. 2 (2013): 107.

<sup>218</sup> Jonah, Lehrer, *The Shallows: What the Internet is Doing to our Brains* (New York, 2010), 22.

<sup>219</sup> (Larsen-Freeman, 2000:11)

<sup>220</sup> Wheelock’s Latin in particular is the standard textbook for Latin instruction at the University Level. Cf. Frederic M Wheelock, and Richard A. LaFleur, *Wheelock’s Latin*. Harper Perennial, 1995; and Introduction to Latin is the second most popular, Susan C. Shelmerdine, *Introduction to Latin*. Hackett Publishing, 2013.

<sup>221</sup> Morris, *Viae Novae: New Techniques in Latin Teaching*, 7.

<sup>222</sup> GTM is not an effective method of learning for the Visual, Aural, Verbal, Physical or Social learner.

<sup>223</sup> Krashen, *Principles and practice in second language acquisition*, 81.

<sup>224</sup> Some advantages includes increased understanding of grammatical concepts in Morris, *Viae Novae: New Techniques in Latin Teaching*, 8.

from being able to produce tenses and forms to translation and composition of isolated sentences. This on average only amount to five hours a week of actual practice outside of class, which is not enough to gain proficiency.<sup>225</sup> Even this small amount of practice that student receives in Latin is not the most effective way of practice. Sydney Morris, sums up GTM accurately by saying that the goal of GTM is learning *about* the language; experience of the language is only secondary.<sup>226</sup>

Now that GTM has been summarized along with a survey of its disadvantages, more interactive methods will be examined. The Oral Method, which may also be referred to as Living Latin or Active Latin aims to teach Latin aurally and orally. This method emphasizes comprehension of Latin through speaking, reading, and writing in Latin to ultimately make students proficient in reading Latin (vs. translating Latin).<sup>227</sup> The use of Active Latin in the classroom also addresses two major problems of GTM, class participation and motivation. Similar to instruction in a modern language class, instructors communicate with the students in Latin to aid in SLA. Learning a second language through aural/oral activities come more naturally to students and provides the necessary practice in the target language to become proficient. Krashen was the first to propose the Monitor Hypothesis, which suggests that formal learning is only peripheral to acquisition which is central to gaining fluency in a language.<sup>228</sup> In the

classroom, participation in conversation is responsible for language acquisition where full immersion is not available. Supposing that the Monitor hypothesis is correct, Latin instruction should involve writing and speaking as well to encourage Latin comprehension.

Some will argue that Latin is a dead language and no longer has any active speakers left, but this is not entirely true. Some among the highest echelons of the bureaucracy of the Catholic Church have always maintained the ability to speak Latin, and since the 1970s, there has been an increased interest in the secular Active Latin movement.<sup>229</sup> In fact, there are many Active Latin programs, although they are rare in comparison to GTM based classes. Well known Active Latin teachers such as W.H.D. Rouse from the Perse School in Cambridge (1902-1928) and Father Reginald Foster (mid 80's-early 2000's) taught Latin actively. Reginald Foster, a Vatican Latinist, even began teaching a specialized summer intensive oral Latin course "Aestiva Romae Latinitas", in which he employed a version of active Latin. Since then, other active Latin (and Greek) schools have been founded in the U.S., such as the Paideia Institute and the Septentrionale Americanum Latinitatis Vivae Institutum (SALVI). Some university programs, recognizing the values of oral Latin, have even changed their curricula from GTM to incorporate different levels of active Latin.<sup>230</sup>

Other qualms that some Latinists have with Active Latin is that it requires the use of "Neo-Latin" (newly made up words); grammatical concepts are frequently used incorrectly in communication by the instructor during class; and finally that the vocabulary used in everyday communication is not the same type of vocabulary that a student will encounter in most Classical

<sup>225</sup> The estimated of the amount of class time necessary to achieve a minimal professional proficiency in a modern second language (level FSI 2+) is 720 in-class hours, plus additional self study. If you take the average 24 week term x 4 (assuming four years of study) that is still 7.5 hours of class time each week plus additional self study in order to gain proficiency. However class time usually amounts to 3-4 hours a week, plus only around 5 hours of extra study each week. cf. Krashen, *Principles and practice in second language acquisition*, 81.

<sup>226</sup> Morris, *Viae Novae: New Techniques in Latin Teaching*, 8.

<sup>227</sup> Wilga M Rivers, *Teaching foreign-language skills* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 28-31.

<sup>228</sup> Formal learning i.e. actively attempting to learn a language, aware of grammatical rules vs. acquisition i.e. immersion; learning a language unaware of the grammatical rules. Krashen, *Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition*, 22.

<sup>229</sup> Active Latin or "living latin" is not a new practice. It was originally taught in the mid-twelfth century, lasted through the late Renaissance and lived on in Catholic seminaries until the mid-twentieth century.

<sup>230</sup> Programs that boast active latin courses are: "Masters in Latin and Classical Humanities," University of Massachusetts Boston, accessed November 19, 2017, <https://www.umb.edu/academics/cla/classics/grad.>; "The Graduate Certificate in Latin Studies- Institute for Latin Studies," University of Kentucky, accessed November 19, 2017, <https://mcl.as.uky.edu/latin-institute.>

texts.<sup>231</sup> However these problems do not take into account the main reason that makes Active Latin much more effective than GTM based Latin courses: that it makes students comfortable with Latin grammar and sentence structure through repeated practice in use. Thus, students will stop trying to “decode” the grammar in more complicated texts by relying on finding the subject, then verb, and object in order to *translate* a sentence into good English. Instead, they will gain the skill of being able to read and understand Latin at the same time in Latin, in the original Latin word order. It is in the true comprehension of Latin through the medium of Latin, as opposed to another language, that a student will be able to arrive at proficiency.

While it is obvious that Latin classrooms would benefit from switching from GTM to the active method, it must be recognized that this is an ideal, and probably not realistic. In general, professors are not accustomed to teach using oral Latin. Switching to active method classrooms would necessitate instructors to take some form of instructional active pedagogy course in order to teach in this manner. The reality is that this would take more time and resources than a Latin university instructor has allotted to them. Nevertheless, a few professors might be willing to undertake this task given the benefits. The core of the problem lies in the lack of static introductory and intermediate Latin professors from one year to another. Sometimes a student's language instructor is even subject to change from semester to semester. It could hardly be expected that a whole department would be willing to undertake the training required to teach Latin orally.

The other two methods: the Total Physical Response Pedagogy (TPRP) and Teaching Proficiency through Reading and Storytelling pedagogy (TPRS) can be easily incorporated into any Latin language course with minimal effort on the part of the instructor. Total Physical Response Pedagogy (TPRP) incorporates a reduced level of aural/oral Latin than the active method, but still offers an interactive classroom environment for

students.<sup>232</sup> In TPRP, the instructor will give a series of commands in Latin and the students will have to complete the command. This is an effective method of teaching students who do not have proficiency to respond aurally but have the capacity to listen and comprehend. Therefore, this could easily be adapted for Latin to get students comfortable with aural Latin. When freed from GTM, Latin students and teachers can engage in a variety of tasks such as performing actions, miming, drawing, and speaking. The aim of this is not to speak Latin but to comprehend Latin quickly without reliance on a dictionary, pens, and paper. However, TPRS could still result in a student acquiring the peripheral ability to be able to respond in Latin if they so choose. By listening to increasing amounts of aural Latin, as with active Latin, students will become more comfortable with grammatical concepts in this way, through repeated encounters that originally seemed convoluted to the native English speaker.

The final method, Teaching Proficiency through Reading and Storytelling (TPRS), is the most easily adaptable to Latin course structure. In this method, students are encouraged to read continuous stories in Latin and then to summarize them in their own words in Latin as well. According to Krashen, reading a continuous story in the target language is the best way to introduce and learn new vocabulary.<sup>233</sup> Like in the Oral and TPRP methods, students build up their oral ability in both vocabulary and grammar as the course progresses, thus students should reasonably be able to summarize texts in Latin at their reading level using the same grammar and vocabulary that they have learned within the texts. These summaries may also be supplemented with short oral question and answer drills based on the context of whatever text is being read. As soon as a new text is assigned to students, the instructor reads a section of it out loud. Then the instructor will ask the students short questions about the text to see how much of the information was understood from the initial

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<sup>231</sup> Patrick M Owens, "Barbarisms at the Gate: An Analysis of Some Perils in Active Latin Pedagogy," *Classical World* 109, no. 4 (2016): 513-514.

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<sup>232</sup> Krashen, *Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition*, 65.

<sup>233</sup> Krashen, *Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition*, 72.

reading.<sup>234</sup> Furthermore, this method stresses pronunciation and understanding, not translation.

The natural method textbook *Lingua Latina per se Illustrata* by Hans Øberg is a perfect example of a textbook that can be adapted to TPRS<sup>235</sup>. These textbooks are entirely written in Latin, even explanation of grammar. Through illustrations and modifications, the textbooks use words already learned to explain grammatical concepts. Introductory sentences are simplified and repetitive then become increasingly more complex until the student is reading unadapted Latin texts. These texts therefore, force students to practice reading Latin, using applicable vocabulary to classical texts, while maintaining a non-GTM based structured course. When combined with TPRS, *Lingua Latina* is the answer to every problem with the previous methods and models. It combines a text-based approach with relevant vocabulary that students will encounter in unadulterated Classical texts, with an audio/lingual component, and even includes full Latin immersion where the textbook is concerned. Furthermore, it stresses comprehension and pronunciation of Latin. Finally, by implementing oral and written summaries of passages in Latin and question/answer drills, class time remains interactive.

### Conclusions

Even though SLA pedagogy is constantly changing in order to strive for the best way to teach students new modern languages, Latin instructors have resisted this change in favor of the traditionalism of the Grammar-Translation Method, which has been acceptable until recently. As it was demonstrated in the first half of this paper, student interest in university-level Latin has decreased to the point where it is no longer a requirement at the undergraduate level, yet it is still necessary for almost all graduate level programs, demonstrating that it is still a vital requirement in

the field. At least part of the reason for the lack of interest in Latin is the level of difficulty that students experience at the introductory level. Though Latin is naturally a difficult language to master, it is made unnecessarily more difficult by GTM. The lack of participation opportunities and predominantly the lack of practice *in Latin* is the main cause of such difficulty. Grammar-based language courses have been condemned by experts in SLA due to their lack of inclusivity of different learning styles since there are few opportunities for participation and even fewer opportunities for variation of activities. It is an elitist view that if a student cannot survive Latin in its current state (GTM), then that student is not suited to learn Latin. Instead this is hindering Latin study as a whole, when the field can be made much more accessible at the introductory and intermediate level. These students are the future scholars in the field of Classics, if they do not study Latin, who will? Now it is important for those same instructors to reassess at what cost they are willing to continue using GTM, when better methods are easily available.

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<sup>234</sup> Sample questions given by Morris are "Q: Ubi sunt Romulus et Remus? A: In fluminae sunt Q: Quid est circum Romulum et Remum? A: Aqua" Morris, *Viae Novae: New Techniques in Latin Teaching*, 22.

<sup>235</sup> Hans H. Øberg, Tommaso Francesco Borri, and Luigi Miraglia, *Lingua Latina per se illustrata: latine disco*, Accademia Vivarium novum, 2007.

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