Anemoi

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Editors' Note

We are extremely proud to present the second volume of *Anemoi*, New College of Florida's journal for undergraduate research in pre-modern studies. We began this year with an entirely new editorial team and began the experiment that is *Anemoi* afresh. We welcomed this challenge and, through the dedication of our editors, the acumen of our reviewers, and the perseverance of our authors, *Anemoi* has not simply survived, it has thrived.

This journal was born from a hunger, an insatiable intellectual curiosity from undergraduates not just at New College but, as our submissions demonstrate, from across the United States. The eight essays in this volume reflect some of the best work by undergraduates and are proof of the wonderful passion of a new generation of pre-modern scholars.

Each paper was reviewed by at least two readers from our review panel, which is made up of a large number of New College students and alumni, but also, and quite promisingly, includes a number of returning reviewers. *Anemoi* is fortunate enough to have a growing base of qualified, cooperative, and committed supporters. We cannot thank you enough for your time and patience in this process. We would especially like to thank our faculty sponsor, Dr. David Rohrbacher, for his encouragement and confidence. *Anemoi* is a thoroughly collaborative effort that depends on the sincere and sustained interest of each participant.

The second volume also inaugurates a new tradition. In addition to calling for papers, we also called for student-made cover art. The new initial is the work of Victoria Donelan, an undergraduate at the University of North Florida. The cover contest is a natural extension of our ultimate objective to keep undergraduates curious and impassioned. We look forward to watching the growth of this aspect as the entire journal continues to develop.

Anemoi is made for, by, and because of undergraduates. Fostering intellectual curiosity and academic rigor in developing scholars are at the heart of our mission. We are pleased to offer undergraduates an avenue through which to experiment, to share, and to mature as scholars. We hope you find the second volume of *Anemoi* as rewarding as its process.

Holly McArthur
Sarah Tew
Tyler Kirby

Editors

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

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Naomi, Progenitor of a Monarch:
An Analysis of Radical Identity in the First Chapter of the Book of Ruth

Abstract
The importance of Naomi to the story in The Book of Ruth has long been a topic of rabbinic debate. Through her actions, Naomi is able to bring about the marriage between Ruth the Moabite and Boaz of Judea. This union begins the lineage which eventually begets King David, the first biblical king. It has been attested that, as she is responsible for their nuptial, Naomi is the true progenitor of King David. Through the usage of close textual analysis and structural theory, this paper discusses the concept of identity and how it is understood in regards to Naomi in The Book of Ruth. The elements identified in comprising identity include: homeland, livelihood, family, religious/ethnic group, sexuality/gender, and presentation of the individual within their society. It becomes clear that in order for Naomi to take on such an important role, she must first shed elements of her identity which would prevent this, namely her femininity. By shedding her identity, Naomi is able to be the progenitor of King David and, arguable, become a central figure in the world of Jewish scripture.

   Paradoxically, identity, the way in which people understand themselves, is something which is external to the individual person. From a psycholinguistic perspective, the word identity and the word identical can often become conflated; their similar sounds being merged together in the English speaking mind. To identify is thus to become identical with another person, the Other; to take on another's characteristics as one's own. Thus in an unfortunate twist, "your identity" is never, in fact, your own. It always, by its very nature, makes reference to the Other. In addition, identity is performative and contains a certain amount of choice. There is nothing inherent about a person's identity; there is no identity gene. Thus, identity is also plastic and changes over time.

   While the specific nature of how and why identity change occurs is up for debate, there is one element which I think is agreeable to most people. Changes in how an individual perceives themselves leads to a feeling of emptiness or void. The cause of this change can be external or internal, the individual might be forced to change because of elements outside of their control or they might choose to change themselves. This emptiness is anxiety producing for the individual, it is uncomfortable and disagreeable. In addition, society tends to pressure people toward a stable sense of self and thus the emptiness or void is often disagreeable. For these two reasons, people often seek to refill the void by changing their identity. If one shoe no longer fits, people will often try on other pairs of shoes. Identities can work in similar ways, with people changing how they view themselves based on a discomfort with a previous way.

   Living in a society means living with an ideology of some kind. When identity changes, it can either change to be more in line with ideology or to be out of line with it. While the majority of identities are in line with their specific cultural ideology, there are a few which are not. These few are often termed "radical" and tend to be demonized by those people whose identity is in line with their cultural ideology. Yet, these radical folks are able to see past the smoke and mirrors of ideology and view society in a way drastically different that those people who cannot. This gives them a unique perspective and considerable ability to exercise change over their society.

The Book of Ruth provides an example of a biblical text where identity is discussed in detail. Brian Weinstein suggests that Naomi, Ruth's mother-in-law, has a specific mission in the story, "to lead Ruth to the land of Judah and to have her marry Boaz. The union of Ruth and Boaz begins a process that culminates in the birth of David. As monarch, David will change Israel from its decentralized, weak and sometimes chaotic rule under the judges to centralized, powerful and orderly rule under the monarchy."[1] Weinstein, however, does not examine how Naomi is able to take on such a responsibility. I propose that Naomi is able to achieve this momentous task by first being alienated from her ideology though a drastic change in her identity, and then becoming the cause of the major ideological change that was the transition from rule under judges to the monarchy of King David.

Over the course of the first chapter of Ruth, Naomi undergoes a series of identity changes, some of which are out of her control. Before undertaking the exploration of how Naomi's identity gets disrupted, we should first look at who Naomi is before. In the text, Naomi is described through six fairly simple elements: she is described as being from Beit Lechem (1.1)[2], being married to Elimelech (1.2), having two sons (1.2), being Jewish, or Judean specifically (1.1), being a women (1.1), and of course, having the name Naomi (1.2). For the sake of clarity in this argument, I will consider that Naomi's identity, and to a certain extent all identity, is made up of these six major elements. They are: the homeland (or area a person was originally from), the livelihood (or the way a person provides for themselves), the family, the religious or ethnic group, the sexuality and/or gender of the person, and the way the person presents themselves in society. While these six areas are nowhere near an extensive list of the vast multitude of elements which make up an identity, they should suffice as a representative, especially for the character of Naomi. At the beginning of the text, Naomi is under the sway of all of these ideological elements, yet by the end of chapter one, they have all been changed or undone in some way.

The Book of Ruth begins its narrative with the identification of a place and an initial concern: "there was a famine in the land. And a man went away from Bethlehem in Judah to sojourn in the fields of Moab, he, his wife, and his two sons" (1.1). The first thing we notice about this verse is that the impetus for the departure of the man, named Elimelech, is the famine. Faced with this lack of food, Elimelech has no choice but to flee from his homeland to the strange land to the east called Moab with Naomi his wife, and their two sons. The famine, or רעב (ra'av) in Hebrew, can be thought of in terms of an emptiness, or roominess from its Arabic roots[3]. Elimelech, Naomi and their family come from Bethlehem, בית לחם (Beit Lechem) in Hebrew. Beit Lechem, if translated literally, means House of Bread.

The linguistic association with bread should lead to the conclusion that this area was either known for its bread production, or at least an area which was not normally lacking in food. If we take the first association, the land of Beit Lechem is, therefore, a land of production and producers and can lead to an assumption as to the livelihood of Naomi's family. Bread is not a natural food source, that is to say, it does not come from nature in its current form, so it must be made. The process of bread production is multifaceted and involves many people. Wheat must be grown; grain must be separated form chaff and then

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[1] Brian Weinstein, "Naomi's Mission: A Commentary on the Book of Ruth," *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 32.1 (January 2004): 46-50.

[2] Jewish Publication Society, *JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh : The Traditional Hebrew Text and the New JPS Translation-- Second Edition.* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1999).

[3] F. Brown, S. Driver and C. Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Boston: Houghton, Miffin and Company, 1906).

ground into flour. That flour must be sold to the baker, who must buy the other ingredients. Then these ingredients must be combined in a very specific way and baked at a very specific temperature to produce good bread. It is this process which defines this area of Judea. With the famine, this process cannot continue and many of the inhabitants would find themselves out of a livelihood, including Elimelech, Naomi and their family as described in Ruth 1.1.

Karl Marx famously linked production and identity, saying that "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness."[4] In this synoptic quote, we can see Marx's association between a person's mental life, their consciousness, and the external world from which they arise, including that person's occupation; Marx thought that a person's identity was very closely linked to their economic situation. Indeed, Marx's link between employment and identity became one of the key points of his system. In the economy of Beit Lechem, we can see that the association of the man, his family, and his livelihood come together to contribute to both his identity and to the identity of those who depend on him, his family. To have the livelihood stripped away, such as by the famine, is to also strip away a major portion of identity.

Naomi, as a woman in biblical times, would have been completely under the sway of her husband. The husband's occupation provided resources to the wife and children, if there were any. It is clear from the text that Elimelech is the lord and master of his family. Naomi and the children are very much subordinate to him. Naomi is described as being "*his* wife" (1.2) and the children are described as "*his* two sons (1.2). In both of these statements, Elimelech is the active subject and his wife and children are the objects. Even the name of the father is indicative of his role as master. In Hebrew, Elimelech is written אלימלך. The first part of the name, אל (El), is the word for god with a lower case 'g.'[5] The second part of the name, מלך (melech) is the word for king.[6] In a sense, Elimelech's name can be translated as 'God-King' and you can't get more patriarchal than 'God-King.' Assuming that the name of the place, Beit Lechem, is indicative of Elimelech's occupation then the famine there would leave him unemployed and thus without power, in addition to starving. Naomi, as subordinate to Elimelech, would thus be stripped of her livelihood and power as well.

If we were to look at the second association, we would see that the emptiness associated with the Arabic root for lechem would lead to a further loss of identity. To have a famine there would not only render the name of the place ironic, but would constitute a stripping away of the key marker of the place, its inherent fullness and its association with the production of bread. The House of Bread with no bread is nothing more than an empty cupboard. With its main namesake removed, the area known as Beit Lechem becomes a misnomer, and such a contradiction should be seen as a thorough removal of identity.

Though it may first appear that the family chooses to leave Beit Lechem, their departure has the air of a false choice. For the family to remain in the land of Beit Lechem, and to thus retain some semblance of their identity, would be to face certain death. The family, thus, leaves their homeland and they leave their livelihood, and two elements of their identity are changed. In addition, an alternative meaning of the Hebrew word לחם (lechem), usually translated as bread, is to do battle or to fight[7]. If the area of Beit Lechem is not to be

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[4] Robert C. Tucker, ed., *Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd ed. (New York: New York, 1978).
[5] Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon* , 42.
[6] Ibid., 572.
[7] Ibid., 535.

thought of as the House of Bread, but rather the House of Battle, the notions of identity which we draw from this become even more compelling.

To do battle is to make warfare and to make warfare is to address identity in two very opposing ways. War is fought to either retain your identity against the impelling identity of your attacker or to destroy the identity of your enemy, and thus compel them to adopt your identity or to die. Such is similar to the dilemma of Elimelech, Naomi and their family, who must choose to both lose their identity and flee their land or to die. In the comparison, the famine becomes the enemy which the people of Beit Lechem must battle and to which they fall. This famine, the death of the crops and the emptiness associated thereto, is the cause of the families fleeing Judea to Moab in the east, and thus their subsequent loss of their identity.

Following this initial conflict with famine, Elimelech dies, leaving Naomi and her two sons alone in the fields of Moab, and the two sons are caused to take wives. I say that they are caused because the verse which describes their marriage, (1.4), is juxtaposed with the death of the father, (1.3). This would seem to imply a cause and effect relationship between the two events. The lack of a father in the family creates a vacuum, an empty space which needs to be filled. Following the death of their father, the two sons marry with the implied expectation that they will soon become fathers themselves. This becomes the first marriage, or marriages, for which the impetus was identity. Struggling with the notions of identity following their exit from Judea, the entire family has been marked by the famine which was the cause of their departure. They no longer can identify with their homeland, or their previous livelihood. The union of the family is the only remaining element of their previous identity, yet this is subsequently destroyed by the death of Elimelech, the strong, patriarchal father figure. Faced with this change of Identity, the two sons must take wives in order to regain some notion of family and thus of their previous identity.

The two Moabite women, named Ruth and Orpah, become the wives of the two sons of Elimelech and Naomi. Yet this marriage is problematic at best, especially from the perspective of identity. The two sons, who come from Judea, represent a distinct ethnic group. This fact can be seen latter in the text when Naomi urges Ruth and Orpah to refrain from following her back to Beit Lechem, and they respond by saying "we [will] go back with you to *your* people" (1.10). This verse clearly shows that Naomi, and thus her entire family, are part of a distinct ethnic group. This ethnic group is distinct, however, from their individual identity, which is formed from more specific material such as their homeland, livelihood, and family. Ruth and Orpah also belong to a distinct ethnic group, evidenced by their continued reference to such throughout the text. Therefore, the marriages between the two sons and the Moabite women constitute a mixing together of the two ethnic groups. The mixing together does its part to blur the lines between the two ethnic groups and can be seen as a change with regard to the ethnic group element of identity and thus constitutes a further identity change for the family.

Following these two marriages, the new family is able to live for ten years without another incident. However, following the tenth year both sons die, leaving Naomi to take care of Ruth and Orpah by herself. The text says "the woman was left without her two boys and her husband. And she stood up, she and her daughter-in-laws, and she went back from the fields of Moab, because she had heard in the fields of Moab, that the Lord had visited his people to give them bread" (1.5-6). Covered in these two verses are the death of sons, a reminder of the death of the husband, and then the description of and reasoning for her return to the land where she originated. First, we can see the linking together of the death of the sons and the death of Elimelech. For Naomi, both sets of deaths leave her without the

members of her family. Without these figures, the union of the family is lost and Naomi is left, more or less, alone.

At this point in the text, Naomi experiences an identity crisis of sorts. Faced with her solitude, she attempts to separate herself from the only people she has left, Ruth and Orpah. Her reasoning is that Ruth and Orpah are from a separate ethnic group and that they should return to their own people while Naomi returns to hers, thus attempting to retain her original identity. When the two women refuse, she goes on to question them: "do I still have sons in my womb, that they might be husbands for you?" (1.11). This would seem to imply that, at least for Naomi, the only reason for the two women to remain with her is if they were to marry the sons which she would have had if she were to remarry and have children. She then goes on to explain that this is not possible.

The only reason for Ruth and Orpah to stay with Naomi would be to remain tied to her through a marriage of some sort, and thus there is no reason for them to stay with her. This reasoning is good enough for Orpah, but not for Ruth who "clung to [Naomi]" (1.14). At this point, Naomi "stopped arguing with [Ruth]" (1.18) and the two of them return to Beit Lechem. This union between the two women has been seen as a pseudo-marriage, even something of a lesbian relationship by many scholars.[8] Where before, the identity of the family unit hinged upon a heterosexual marriage, now it hinges upon a union between Naomi and Ruth. There is a loss of identity following the death of Elimelech which causes a void or emptiness which needed to be filled with another marriage. It only follows that upon the death of the two sons, the emptiness return and can only be filled with yet another marriage. Without the ability to have a traditional marriage to retain her identity, Naomi takes on Ruth as a partner. This then fills the void for a second time before Naomi returns to Beit Lechem, but also reorders part of Naomi's identity. The pseudo-marriage of Naomi and Ruth can be viewed as redefining both characters sexuality. Naomi takes on the role of the husband while Ruth retains the role of wife, at least for the time being. This pseudo-romantic relationship further alters Naomi's identity, recreating her in a husbandly or even fatherly role.

When Naomi final arrives in Beit Lechem after her time in Moab, she is questioned by the members of the community, they say "'is that Naomi?" (1.19). She eventually answers with something startling: "'do not call me Naomi! Call me Mara" (1.20). By changing her name, Naomi is utterly and irreversibly changed. The meaning of her original name, נעמי, invokes a pleasantness or a sweetness.[9] When she changes her name to Mara, מרה, her name takes on a meaning of bitterness.[10] In addition to her changing her way of presenting herself, her new way of presenting herself in diametrically opposed to her original name. Despite the fact that she is granted back a crucial element of her identity, her homeland, she refutes it by changing her name and further changing her identity. In the next verse, Naomi says "full I went away, but empty made the Lord me come back" (1.21). She may have been full when she left Beit Lechem, she had an identity which was full and in line with the ideology of her homeland, but the events of the first chapter left her utterly different. Naomi acknowledges her emptiness and exacerbates her new found radical nature by changing her name.

There is present in the early verses of The Book of Ruth a deep structure of identity loss. The Famine, associated with emptiness from the Arabic etymology, causes the family to

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[8] Jennifer L. Koosed, *Gleaning Ruth : A Biblical Heroine and Her Afterlives* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2011).

[9] Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 654.

[10] Ibid., 600.

flee Beit Lechem and their identity changes. The Death of Elimelech creates a void in the family, much like the famine created a void in the livelihood, and causes the two sons to marry women from a different ethnic group and further change their identity. The death of the sons creates another void which can only be filled with a pseudo-marriage which constitutes yet another identity change. Finally, Naomi chooses to adopt another name for herself, further changing her identity.

As we have seen, left in the place of an identity is a void, an emptiness which causes anxiety. Through the changing or reordering of the six major elements of identity there is left an empty space where those six original elements should be, but are not. The characters in the first chapter of The Book of Ruth do their best to circumvent these voids, to attempt to fill them when they arise and maintain their original identity. Yet, for a character like Naomi, these voids become overwhelming and cannot be filled adequately without major identity change. Ironically, it is in this particularly anxious space that a radical character can, and does, form with regard to Naomi.

At the end of The Book of Ruth, the motivation for the entire story is given: that the union of Ruth and Boaz eventually leads to the birth of David, who will eventually become Judea's first king. It is Naomi who is responsible for the marriage between Ruth and Boaz and thus responsible for the birth of David. Thus she plays an extremely central role, not only in The Book of Ruth, but in the history of the Jewish people in general. Her role in The Book of Ruth can be seen as analogous to the roles of the patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as she is directly responsible for the lineage of a major figure in Jewish history. As the progenitor of King David, Naomi has moved beyond her original identity as understood in the first section of chapter one. Her position was directly related to her identity, as a Jew, as a resident of Beit Lechem, a woman, a wife, and a mother. Once her identity changed she is able to move beyond her original social position to achieve a greater place within the lore of the Jewish people. Yet it is only through her becoming a radical in the ideology of her homeland that she becomes the cause of a major ideological change in their history.

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A Comparative Analysis of Bonaventure's and Aquinas' Epistemologies

Abstract

Bonaventure's and Aquinas' theories of knowledge are often seen as contradictory. however, I argue that Bonaventure's third-term illumination theory is comparable to Aquinas' theory of knowledge, as the third-term in Bonaventure's illumination model is substituted with the agent intellect in Aquinas' model. I will evaluate this validity of substitution to show that the removal of an explicit third-term is not an effective alternative, for this "substitution" diminishes a direct reliance on the illuminating Logos for knowledge and thereby makes humans unnaturally intellectually autonomous. This paper will progress first from an explanation of both Bonaventure's and Aquinas' theories of knowledge, of the similarities between the third-term model Bonaventure proposes and the autonomous agent intellect in Aquinas', of the problems encountered in Aquinas' model, and how Bonaventure's theory of knowledge overcomes these problems.

Examining the historical context in which Bonaventure developed his illumination theory reveals an important piece of information that is useful in interpreting his philosophy: that he developed his theory at the emergence of the translation of Aristotle into Latin. Aristotle's texts and commentaries had a certain influence on Bonaventure and the development of his philosophy. While Bonaventure hesitated to embrace Aristotle's philosophy, Bonaventure's contemporary, Thomas Aquinas, wholeheartedly adopted Aristotle's wisdom and methodology.

Because of these two different approaches to the work of Aristotle, these two philosophers, Bonaventure and Aquinas, are often viewed as having developed opposing philosophies—in particular opposing epistemologies. Bonaventure's epistemology is grounded in his illumination theory; Aquinas' is established in his theory of knowledge involving the agent intellect. However, by taking the three-term model for Bonaventure's illumination theory as explained by John White in his article "Divine Light and Human Wisdom: Transcendental Elements in Bonaventure's Illumination Theory," I propose that the two theories aren't at odds with the other, but that the Thomistic notion of the agent intellect accounts for the third-term Logos in Bonaventure's illumination theory.

I will first delineate Bonaventure's illumination theory, drawing from the work of John White, to construct a three-term theory that accurately portrays the illumination theory. I will then focus on Aquinas' notion of the agent intellect and how this autonomous agent parallels Bonaventure's model of knowledge. Finally, I will evaluate the validity of this substitution to show that the task at hand is an immensely complex one that requires an all-encompassing understanding of the implications each position makes.

Bonaventure's Illumination Theory

Bonaventure's epistemology is founded upon God, who is the First Truth (*The Mind's Road to God* 3.4) and the "adequate and actual Cause" (*On the Eternity of the World* 5). The divine, acting as a first cause, conditions certainty in knowledge. Bonaventure asserts a reliance upon the divine in philosophizing primarily because He (Who is Truth Itself) encompasses all truth. In his *Disputed Questions on the Knowledge of Christ*, Bonaventure delineates two positions of obtaining knowledge.[1] One view is that the uncreated wisdom

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[1] Andreas Speer, "Illumination and Certitude: The Foundation Of Knowledge In Bonaventure," *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly: Journal Of The American Catholic Philosophical Association* 85.1 (2011): 131.

manifested in the eternal forms is so sublime that it "can never be attained"; the other extreme is that human knowledge is unchangeable and eternal reason only has a mere "influence".[2] The former relies too heavily on the objective transcendence such that knowledge can never be arrived at through the human intellect; the latter asserts the sublimity of the human person, not taking complete account of ignorance or the limitations of the human perspective. One absolutely transcends human capabilities; the other doesn't allow for much transcendence.

Bonaventure rejects both of these positions and proposes his own between the two extremes—one that realizes the capacity of the human intellect to reflect on the world's intelligibility while respecting that absolute and eternal truth cannot be compressed into a finite understanding. Drawn out to the proposition's logical conclusion, certainty is a "function of both intentional and participatory relationships."[3]

Bonaventure develops his middle course in reaction against the limitations imposed by the two extremes. The first position in which knowledge is conditioned by eternal reason to the human mind produces a skepticism of the changing material world. Bonaventure rejects this outlook because of its intellectual absurdity in dismissing the corporeality and the temporal order, which is innately intelligible. The other extreme is that the divine intelligence only shines forth in the "essences of things" and not in the act of obtaining knowledge about these things.[4] Bonaventure rejects this viewpoint because of the fluctuating relationship between objects and subjects. Material objects are known in instances, because not only do the objects themselves change, but the subject observing the changing objects is also changes. The varying relationship between objects and subjects cannot produce certainty (constancy of knowledge) merely in this manner, but can only produce instance of knowledge, i.e., a certain object known by a certain subject at a certain point in time.

Bonaventure, deeming the two extremes epistemologically unsatisfying, proposes his *via media*, steering between the two erroneous extremes. His middle course, known as his illumination theory, engages not merely two terms (the divine and the subject or the subject and object in the two extreme positions) in developing knowledge but includes the third term necessary to produce certainty.[5] Wisdom attained by a human knower is a participation in the light of the eternal wisdom—which both illuminates the human intellect and the essence of the object of knowledge. The eternal wisdom is nominally the Logos, the second Person of the Trinity, through Whom, in Whom, and for Whom, all creation was made. The Logos contains the unchanging essences of all of creation. The relationship between the eternal Logos and the temporal created world is predominantly two-fold. In relation with the object (indeed all objects) of knowledge, the Logos shines down the divine ideas upon all of creation, and the object of knowledge receives its essence insofar as it participates in its divine idea. The Logos also illuminates the subject, so that the subject can see the essence of the object in the elucidating hierarchy of being. The subject can clearly perceive the essence intimated in the object in the invisible light of the Logos.

The knowledge acquired in divine illumination participates in the Logos, as the objects of knowledge participate in the divine ideas. Because of the eternal character of knowledge obtained in the divine light, opposed to the mere instances of truth grasped

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[2] Speer "Illumination and Certitude," 131.

[3] John R. White, "Divine Light and Human Wisdom: Transcendental Elements In Bonaventure's Illumination Theory," *International Philosophical Quarterly* 48.2 (2008): 175.

[4] White, "Divine Light and Human Wisdom," 175.

[5] Ibid.

through the relationship between solely an object and subject, the illumination theory produces a certainty known as "created wisdom".[6] The created wisdom, although certain, is limited by the finitude of the human knower, but is nonetheless a participation in the unconditional, unlimited eternal wisdom associated with the Logos.

It's important to realize that Bonaventure did not see the Logos as completely separate from the temporality, merely shedding light upon the subject-object relationship, but as the necessary bond for knowledge, imparting intelligibility upon all of creation and illuminating the subject to understand not merely a particular object, but a particular object in the whole hierarchy of being. The relationship between the human subject (whose soul by nature is connected with the divine) and the Logos is not characterized by a distant, indirect illumination, but a connection which cannot be dismissed, just like the relationship between the object and the Logos, who imbues intelligibility into the dust of creation.

Aquinas' Theory of Knowledge

Accepting the three-term model for Bonaventure's illumination theory makes evident the similarities in Aquinas' theory of knowledge. Aquinas' theory of knowledge is a linear process in which a further step follows the completion of its previous step; with one of the steps missing, the process for knowledge about the particular object of knowledge cannot be completed.

Aquinas reasons that all knowledge begins in the senses. The sense faculties, powers of the soul, are the channel through which the objective, outside world enters the subject in order to be known. Although the process for knowledge begins with the sense experience, not all knowledge is sensory knowledge (as will be shown later in the process). After the outside world becomes available to the intellect through the senses, the object is converted to a phantasm. The phantasm represents the object by an image in the mind. The characteristics of the specific object picked up through the senses are imprinted in this image of the mind. From this step, the agent intellect illuminates the phantasm, extracting the general essence from the specific image. The agent intellect, Aquinas reasons, is a power of the intellect itself. Each human person has his or her own agent intellect, which, insofar as each intellect functions, is a participation in the divine Intellect. In this sense, the power of the agent intellect, to come to knowledge, resides inside each individual knower.

The essence extracted from the phantasm is impressed upon the possible intellect. The possible intellect's reception of the essence is a reception of the essence of the object. The possible intellect cognizes the essence and understands the nature of the object illuminated. The final step involves a *verbum mentis*, a "word of the mind," to express the cognition. The concept formed is useful in expressing the idea of the object as well as recalling it.

In the process of knowledge, the active intellect takes "information that is material and particular" and converts it "into something immaterial and universal."[7] The whole process is instantaneous and not deliberate; Aquinas' theory of knowledge is an expression of the automatic epistemological process of the human mind.

Applying the tripartite model of knowledge deduced from Bonaventure's illumination theory to Aquinas' theory of knowledge makes evident the substitution I want to highlight of Aquinas' agent intellect for Bonaventure's Logos. It is important to note that the following substitution I delineate is a fundamental and simple one; the specific details

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[6]Speer, "Illumination and Certitude," 134.
[7] Kirk Templeton, "Avicenna, Aquinas, and the Active Intellect," *Journal of Islamic Philosophy* 3 (2008): 44.

involved as a consequence of making such a switch will be explicitly articulated in the next section of this paper in order to first emphasize the general principle of the substitution, not whether the substitution is an absolutely effective one.

The primary difference between both theories of knowledge is the role the divine takes in the philosophical model, which is made comparable in both cases in the "substitution" I will delineate. In Bonaventure's illumination theory, the divine light allows for a clear and illuminating ground for realization. Without the powerful luminosity of the divine, the intellect, dark and ignorant, would not come to the illuminated and certain conclusion attributed with knowledge. However, the luminosity of the divine is comparable to the power of the intellect planted in the human person and the possession of intellectual forms that the material world contains in Aquinas' theory.[8] The human person is implanted with the divine gift of an autonomous intellect.[9] The human intellect, supplied entirely by the divine, relies on the divine for its contingent existence and continuity; however, the divinely endowed capacity does not rely on the divine in the process of coming to an understanding. In this sense, then, the radiating light of the Logos of Bonaventure's theory is replaced with the innate power of the Logos endowed in the human intellect of Aquinas' theory. The illumination factor of the external, third-term Logos is poured into the human intellect in an essentially two-term model.

In Bonaventure's theory, the Logos, the subject, and the object are necessary in the process of philosophizing; neglecting one of the terms results in uncertainty, and thence knowledge is not possible. The Logos provides the light and truth overshadowing both the subject and object—without the overshadowing light of the Logos, the subject cannot "see" the object.[10] The lack of the subject or object clearly cannot allow for knowledge, as the subject is the one to whom knowledge is attributed and the object is the aim of knowledge.

The three terms collectively allow for the attainment of knowledge. Although Aquinas' model of knowledge is essentially a two-term theory (although the object partakes in the divine ideas), Aquinas' theory is nonetheless able to attain knowledge like Bonaventure's. The stability and coherence of Aquinas' predominantly two-term theory (in contrast to the frequent unreliability and flux of the relationship of other two-term models) is made possible by the indirect combination of the Logos (which sheds light upon the intellect in Bonaventure's theory), and the human intellect, thereby producing the same power and ability as is in Bonaventure's model.

In this way, the substitution of the Logos in Bonaventure's three-term theory is in essence a sort of combination of the Logos and the subject to produce a cognitively self-sufficient human intellect in Aquinas' theory of knowledge.

Evaluating the "Substitution"

After spelling out the substitution and consequently unifying the two comparable epistemologies, the implications of making evident the comparison between the two epistemologies must be effectively evaluated. However, there is a particular difficulty in evaluating the effectiveness of one epistemology over another because, many times, a combination of positives and negatives characterize each philosophy, making it difficult to compare two entirely different entities under one objective rubric. In attempting to conclude

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[8] Gregory T. Doolan, "The Causality Of The Divine Ideas In Relation To Natural Agents In Thomas Aquinas," *International Philosophical Quarterly* 44.3 (2004): 394.
[9] "The seeds of forms are implanted in created things." ST I, q. 65, a. 4, ad 2.
[10] White, "Divine Light and Human Wisdom," 175.

which philosophy surpasses the other, I will spell out both the gains and setbacks of both Bonaventure's and Aquinas' theories and will make a final conclusion based on the totalities of both.

Bonaventure's illumination theory asserts the necessity of a transcending beyond relationship between a knower and an object. The mutability of the knower can't be trusted, and neither can the inconsistencies of the object. The emanation of the unchanging, eternal Logos allows for the knower to "see" and attain certain knowledge, contextualizing the object in the stable order of being.

Aquinas' theory aims at the imminence of the divine in the natural world. From the divine intellect "forms flow forth into all creatures," allowing for the sovereignty of the human person in cognizing the natural world.[11] However, from a Bonaventurian perspective, neglecting the direct radiance of the Logos wouldn't guarantee the certainty at which knowledge aims. Without the illumination attributed to the divine, knowledge is a mere science of the natural world at best.

While this last point is seen through the lens of a Bonaventurian philosophy, it is a crucial one to realize. Although the stability associated with the Logos is somewhat accounted for in the firm human intellect of Aquinas' theory, the independence of the human knower is primarily asserted over the continual dependence on the divine light. Certainly the divine gifted the human person with the intellect, but the stress on the continual recollection of the divine is an important one. In Aquinas' model, the cognitively independent agent intellect doesn't necessarily recall the divine in the act of knowledge, and in turn, neglects to contextualize objects in the broader and no less important reality.

Bonaventure's illumination theory surpasses Aquinas' theory of knowledge on this essential point: that the illumination theory brings about not only the certainty attributed to the unchanging, eternal, transcendent reality, but the contextualization of the knowledge. This contextualization may appear as a minor addition to knowledge of an object, but it, in principle, is a vital element that must not be separated from knowledge of an object; the contextualization of the knowledge intimates an ethical framework of valuing goods in their proper order.

Aquinas' theory implies neglecting the immaterial Light that allows for knowledge in the first place, while grasping onto the object in the natural world in order to know. Knowledge treated as a natural science lacks its inherent companion, the science of ethics. Because of the separation of natural science and ethics implicitly embraced in the philosophy of an intellectually self-sufficient person, the Bonaventure's illumination theory exceeds Aquinas' theory of knowledge with respect to the moral implication behind a cognitively sufficient individual.

However, this remark must be further qualified. Aquinas' implicit expression of the autonomy of the human intellectual to know an intelligible world doesn't straightforwardly "neglect" the divine; it relies on the divine for the complete gift of the intellect and continues to rely on the enduring of the intellect.

Another necessary qualification to make is that the sovereignty of the cognitive element of the human knower does not imply the exclusion of the ethical element of the human person. Nor does it imply that the intellectualizing cannot be done in an ethical manner or setting. Aquinas' philosophy must not be unnecessarily deemed unethical because it does not explicitly and continually rely on the light of the divine (but upon the gift of the divine).

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[11] Doolan, "The Causality of the Divine Ideas," 394.

The issue at hand, asserting the "better" of the two theories of knowledge after being unified under a common term, viz. the "substitution" of the Logos for the autonomous human intellect, is an immensely complex one. One must first realize that one epistemology is not absolutely superior to the other, but that each theory has its strengths and weaknesses that must be accounted for in comparing both epistemologies. Depending on what relative aspect of their epistemologies is the focal point, the strength of one over the other will exceed. Therefore, the position of an absolute superiority of either Bonaventure's illumination theory or Aquinas' theory of knowledge to the other cannot be held.

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Mary of Chartres: Images of Women in the Middle Ages

Abstract

Images of women have the power to moralize and set a "good" example or a "bad" example. A tension exists between Mary and Eve: while Eve was Adam's partner in committing the original sin and thus responsible for the Fall of mankind, Mary was conceived of as the new Eve; she was Christ's partner in redemption. Unblemished and pure from her oxymoronic virgin birth of Christ, Mary was an exemplar of virtue and maternity. This miraculous virgin birth set Mary apart from Eve, who symbolized sexuality and sin. Though Mary was the vessel through which Christ assumed human form, I will argue that she is deprived of the same quality; subjectivity and agency are largely denied to her in the way that she is portrayed as an intercessory figure. Both the Virgin Mary and Eve factored notably in the programming of medieval monuments. Theological conceptions of Mary were reflected in the sculptural programming of Chartres; Marian imagery was omnipresent at Chartres. Whether worshipers entered from the north, west or south side of the cathedral, the Mary's image was always there. This paper will examine depictions of the Virgin Mary at Chartres Cathedral —specifically depictions of their bodies, or lack thereof—and the type of message her likeness conveys. Images of Eve at Autun Cathedral will provide stark contrast to the way Mary is portrayed at Chartres.

Images of women have the power to moralize and set a "good" example or a "bad" example. A tension exists between Mary and Eve: while Eve was Adam's partner in committing the original sin and thus responsible for the Fall of mankind, Mary was conceived of as the new Eve; she was Christ's partner in redemption.[1] Unblemished and pure by her oxymoronic virgin birth of Christ, Mary was an exemplar of virtue and maternity. This miraculous virgin birth set Mary apart from Eve, who symbolized sexuality and sin. Though Mary was the vessel through which Christ assumed human form, I will argue that she is deprived of the same quality. Subjectivity and agency are largely denied to her in the way through her portrayal as an intercessory figure.

Both the Virgin Mary and Eve factored notably in the programming of medieval monuments. Theological conceptions of Mary were reflected in the sculptural programming of Chartres; Marian imagery was omnipresent at Chartres. Whether worshipers entered from the north, west or south side of the cathedral, the Mary's image was always there. Mary's image appears in four of the nine tympana decorating the west façade and the transept wings.[2] This paper will examine depictions of the Virgin Mary at Chartres Cathedral in the Middle Ages, specifically depictions of their bodies, or lack thereof, and the type of message her likeness conveys. Images of Eve at Autun Cathedral will provide stark contrast to the way Mary is portrayed at Chartres.

As Madeline Caviness notes, though Mary figured prominently in the narratives of Gothic monuments, she was "immobilized as icon… [while] ideology was at work denying

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[1] Clarissa W. Atkinson, *The Oldest Vocation: Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 109.

[2] Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (New York: Norton, 1964), vii.

her agency."[3] A feminist reading of medieval art informs my appraisal of the Marian imagery at Chartres. Images such as Eve in the lintel fragment of St.-Lazare at Autun stand in stark contrast to Mary at Chartres; Eve at Autun is shown to have corporeality with recognizably human qualities. How then might we account for these two very different representations of medieval women? One might be inclined to believe that images of Mary and Eve were constantly conflicting with one another, with Mary setting a "good" example and Eve, a "bad" example. However, I propose that each served a dogmatic purpose—Mary at Chartres as a model of virtue, and Eve at Autun, stressing the divinely granted free will of mankind, or as representing lust and greed (depending on how we choose to read her image, which I will explicate later). Images of Mary and Eve in the Middle Ages were ultimately controlled by the clergy and denied agency of their own. Their images functioned as vehicles for doctrine and liturgy, without any subjectivity.

As Caviness states, "Christian culture reiterated many warnings against the dangers of looking up at voluptuous women and letting them gaze upon men."[4] In considering Augustinian understandings of sight, this notion of gaze becomes clearer as it equates the seen object to that which is dangerous or "unsightly." Augustine's theory of vision involved "a fire within the body" that was "collected with unique intensity behind the eyes; for an object to be seen by a viewer, this fire must be projected in the form of a ray that is focused on the object," creating a two-way street along which "energy of the viewer passes to touch its object."[5] The expected corollary of gazing at a "negative" image—perhaps a voluptuous woman— would then be, according to Caviness, "benefits received by gazing at the Virgin Mary."[6] Such benefits might include a miraculous cure for one's disease or protection offered in times of adversity. Mary became herself an "object of glorification and praise to whom the faithful might turn to" in times of need.[7] Augustine's writings also influenced the formulation of the story of Adam and Eve as one of sexual sin. For the first three hundred years of the Christian era, the story was not one of sin, rather one emphasizing the free will of man. It was only under the influence of St. Augustine that the story was sexualized and the notion of bondage to original sin was introduced.[8]

At the core of Christian theology is Christ himself—God in human form—who receives this humanity from his virgin mother, Mary. Christ's humanity allows him to save his fellow human beings through sacrifice. Dogmatic theological assertions about Mary derived from the implications of assertions pertaining to Christ.[9] Therefore, it was not Mary herself who works in miracles, but rather they are achieved through her Son's power. Thus, "images of Mary reflect the lordship of her divine son" as Clarissa Atkinson notes.[10] The sculpture of Chartres Cathedral, though dedicated to the Virgin, largely reflects the power of her son, Christ.

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[3] Madeline Harrison Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 1.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Margaret R. Miles, *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), 7.

[6] Caviness, *Visualizing Women,* 1.

[7] Rachel Fulton, *Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 283.

[8] Areli Marina, "Gislebertus's Eve: An Alternative Interpretation of the Eve Lintel Relief from the Church of Saint-Lazare, Autun," *Athanor* 13 (1995): 7–13.

[9] Atkinson, *The Oldest Vocation,* 108.

[10] Ibid., 15.

Fig. 1 Chartres Cathedral, Incarnation Portal

Before examining in depth the Marian sculptural programming at Chartres, some background will be useful. Notably, the most venerated relic at Chartres was that of the Virgin's tunic, the *sancta camisa*, which she was said to have worn when she gave birth to Christ. The tunic was allegedly a gift to the church from Emperor Charles the Bald.[11] In September 1194, a fire destroyed much of the cathedral with the exception of the West Façade. Miraculously, the relic of the tunic of the Virgin survived the fire. In the wake of the fire, a stronger desire to identify the Cathedral of Chartres with her patron saint, the Virgin Mary, emerged and was subsequently reflected in the liturgy.[12] In light of this desire, images of the Virgin were largely metaphors for conveying theological doctrine.

Bodily relics of the Virgin, such as her milk and menstrual blood, were extant and venerated by cults in the Middle Ages.[13] It is telling, however, that bodily relics were suppressed in favor of her tunic, which was not *of* the Virgin, but rather worn by her while she gave birth to Christ. The emphasis on relics that were outside of the Virgin's corporeal body speaks to the lack of representations that Mary was permitted. The sculptural programming at Chartres demonstrates Mary's freedom from a "real" body. In examining the west façade, or Royal Portal, this notion becomes clearer.

The west façade of Chartres is notable for the clear dogmatic messages it conveys. The south portal tympanum (Fig. 1) features the Incarnation. The sculpture of the south portal is impressive for its "strict frontality and immobility," as Katzenellenbogen describes

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[11] Katzenellenbogen, *Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral,* vi.
[12] Ibid*.,* 60.
[13] Caviness, *Visualizing Women,* 3.

it.[14] Here, Mary sits with Christ on her lap; she is the *Sedes Sapientiae*, the Throne of Wisdom. Angels accompany the Virgin and Child on each side, emphasizing the pair's divine nature. Christ represents wisdom in the tympanum, a reading which is further supported by the presence of the
seven Liberal Arts in the archivolts.[15] Katzenellenbogen cites Boethius as the primary literary source for the representation of Liberal Arts in the West Façade.[16] Boethius wrote that the "search for Wisdom is the search for the Divine and the love for that pure Mind."[17] In the West Façade Divine Wisdom is defined as the "illuminating source and the goal of human wisdom."[18] Thus, Christ's image in the tympanum serves to further theological doctrine regarding both wisdom and piety.

While Christ represents wisdom, Mary is reduced to a mere piece of furniture for her son. Her lap offers not "maternal comfort and intimacy" but rather a throne for the God-child.[19] Mary's image in the South Portal Tympanum ultimately reflects the divine nature of her son, not her own power.[20] The folded drapery of her clothing obscures any sense of a corporal body a viewer might have from looking at this image. Christ sits on Mary's lap, between her knees, calling attention to the source of his incarnation. Just as Mary carried Christ in her womb, she now carries him on her lap.

However, even in Mary's instrumental role as mother of God, the virgin birth deprives her of normal reproductive body. Marina Warner notes that this phenomenon of Virgin birth, the very condition that made the Virgin sublime, was "beyond the powers of women to fulfill unless they den[ied] their sex."[21] Accepting Mary as the ideal of purity "implicitly demands rejecting the ordinary female condition as impure."[22] Mary's role in the Incarnation as both virgin and mother renders her inaccessible ordinary women, who were not able to conceive without original sin. The Virgin's likeness in the south portal tympanum was clothed in "metaphor and 'higher' meaning to displace the chasm between her legs."[23] Mary's image in the south portal tympanum serves to complement Christ's essence, not to assert her own. Just below the tympanum, the lower lintel depicts the Nativity of Christ. Christ is shown here as an infant, heavily swaddled in a blanket. He lies atop an altar-shaped manger.

Katzenellenbogen cites this representation of Christ as emphasizing the Eucharistic function of Christ.[24] As Christ states in the Gospels of John, "I am the living bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever: and the bread that I will give for the life of the world is my flesh." (John 6:51) Though Christ's body is not elaborately depicted here, the Eucharistic reference of his placement atop the manger emphasizes his physicality and body. Below Christ Mary reclines on a bed. One hand rests on her abdomen while the other supports her head. She hardly resembles a woman who has

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14 Katzenellenbogen, *Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral,* 9.

15 Ibid*.,* 15.

16 Ibid., 16.

17 Boethius in Katzenellenbogen, *Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral,* 17.

18 Katzenellenbogen, *Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral,* 17.

19 Atkinson, *The Oldest Vocation,* 115.

20 Ibid.

21 Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: the Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Knopf, 1976), 77.

22 Ibid., 77.

23 Madeline Harrison Caviness, "Obscenity and Alterity" in *Art in the Medieval West and Its Audience* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 6.

24 Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral,* 13.

just given birth. Again, her clothing is heavily draped, obscuring any sense of a physical body that a viewer might find in this image.
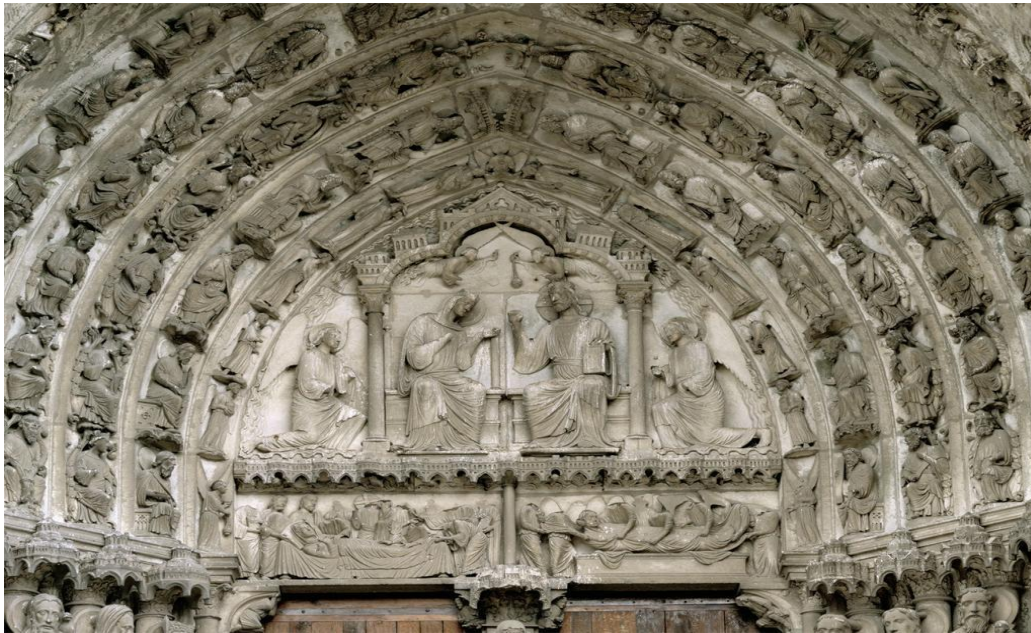

Fig. 2 Chartres Cathedral, Coronation Portal, c. 1193

Architectural details above the Virgin and Christ recall Mary's role as both the Church and the Bride of the Church. The decoration functions not just as a compositional device uniting the two figures of Mary and Christ, but also as a symbol. In the twelfth century, the bride in the Song of Songs was interpreted more broadly as both the Church and the Bride of Christ—the Virgin Mary.[25] Liturgy also reflected this interpretation of Mary as the embodiment of the Church. In 1160, John Beleth wrote of the feast of the Virgin: "the Church is the mother of all saints and has the name of virginity, that is to say of mind and faith, which is better than that of the body, so she is called the bride of Christ."[26] Mary typified the Church, who was the Bride of Christ. The Lord chose Mary as a vehicle for Christ's Incarnation so she was considered to be the Bride of God.

Mary' Dormition and Assumption are portrayed immediately below the tympanum in the lintel. The feast day of the Virgin's Dormition was introduced to the west by Pope Sergius (687-701).[27] Katzenellenbogen points to a shift in emphasis that occurred following the papacy of Sergius, under whom the name was changed to the Assumption: instead of emphasizing the Virgin's departure from earthly life, her "glorious entry into heaven for eternal life is stressed as the object of celebration."[28] In her "death," she is denied a corporeal body, just as in maternity she had been deprived of a normal reproductive body. Instead of "dying" she is in a state of Dormition, subjected to the gaze of numerous disciples.[29] She ascends into heaven with the assistance of angels, once again denying her agency. Even in the tympanum supposedly devoted to the triumph of the Virgin in heaven, Mary ultimately functions as a vehicle to convey doctrine: she is both the mother of God

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[25] Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral,* 60.

[26] Beleth in Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral,* 60.

[27] Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral,* 57.

[28] Ibid., 57.

[29] Caviness, *Visualizing Women*, 3.

and Virgin, both Bride of Christ and the Church itself. Mary's image in the coronation tympanum (Fig. 2) thus serves to establish the role as embodiment of the Church.

The Last Judgment on the central portal tympanum of the south transept porch (Fig. 3) is where, I propose, Mary receives the most subjectivity. Mary is portrayed as an intercessory figure between Christ the Judge and the sinner. Christ occupies a central

Fig. 3. Chartres, Last Judgment Portal

position in the tympanum. Two angels above Christ call attention to both his divinity and draw the viewer's eye to his prominent position in the tympanum. He gazes outward, maintaining "subjectivity (and establishing masculinity) by gazing out at the viewer."[30] Allusions to Christ's suffering are visible, though subtle. Wounds on his hands and feet show where nails once held him on the cross during his crucifixion.[31] Within the context of the Last Judgment shown in the tympanum, it became clear to all who enter the cathedral that the "Son of God had also become the son of man when He assumed human nature in addition to His divine nature so as to redeem mankind by His death."[32] Indeed, it is Christ who is the redeemer, though Mary factors in the tympanum as well with her ability to intercede and plea for mercy for sinners.

Bishop Fulbert of Chartres championed the veneration of the Virgin in the early eleventh century.[33] He made a point of noting that the Virgin and John the Evangelist are equally glorified in heaven: "Therefore Christian piety believes that Christ, God and Son of God, resurrected His Mother in glory and exalted her above the heavens, and that the blessed John, the virgin and Evangelist, who served her on earth, was deemed worthy to share her glory in heaven."[34] Though she was "worthy" of sharing Christ's glory in heaven, she is subservient to Christ and has a lesser role in the Last Judgment tympanum. Appearing to the left of Christ, the Virgin's body faces him. Mary's gaze is directed downwards, while

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[30] Caviness, *Visualizing Womens*, 3.

[31] Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral,* 83.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., 85.

[34] Fulbert in Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral,* 85.

Christ looks straight out at the viewer. The drapery of Mary's clothing envelopes her, denying her aspects of her sex that would have resounded with the medieval female viewer. Even her posture is deferential to Christ's authority.

In her role as mother, both forgiving and loving, Mary had the power to intercede on behalf of sinners on their Day of Judgment. Medieval audiences   might have looked to Mary in pleading for mercy when their Judgment Day arrived. However, Mary's ability to plea for mercy on behalf of sinners is contingent upon her Son's approval. Here, Mary is a "'motherly' intercessor rather than an embodiment of the sacramental church."[35] It is telling that even here, in Mary's most instrumental role as mother, she remains subservient to Christ's authority. Additionally, the tympanum features what Katzenellenbogen describes as "restraint in emotional factors."[36] Mary has a stoic facial expression rather than a tender, loving motherly expression that one might expect of the Virgin. Mary's lack of emotive facial expression renders her seemingly inaccessible. How might Mary intercede for sinners if she appears both subservient to Christ and without any readable facial expressions? Despite her function, Mary is immobilized in stone in the Last Judgment tympanum. Her "image" is manipulated to fulfill doctrine. It is ultimately Christ, the central and most prominent figure in the tympanum, who is responsible for Judgment. Mary's depiction in the Last Judgment tympanum intensifies Christ's role as redeemer of mankind rather than clearly establishing her instrumental role as merciful mother.

Fig. 4. St. Nicholas Window

Mary's image in the sculptural programming of Chartres was abundant, as the two previously discussed tympana have demonstrated. The Virgin's image could be found in each of the entrances to the cathedral. In all of these images of the Virgin, however, she was denied a corporeal body in her representations. Mary's Ascension to heaven, assisted by angels, denied her subjectivity of her own. Her Enthronement in heaven left her without physical body. The physical relics of the Virgin's body, such as her blood and breast milk, were suppressed in favor of material relics like her tunic. The tunic was not *of* the virgin's body, but rather *on* her body, which speaks to the disconnect between the corporeal, physical body and its representation in images. Depictions of the Virgin's body in sculpture were largely masked by the presence of her clothing, which obscured any sense of physicality that a viewer— whether medieval or modern— may have had.

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[35] Caviness, *Visualizing Women*, 3.

[36] Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral,* 86.

Inside of Chartres Cathedral, however, we find a woman with a "real" body, partially exposed. The St. Nicholas nave window (c. 1215-1225) features the saint as an infant, sitting upon his mother's lap. (Fig. 4) She places her hand on her breast, offering nourishment in earnest. The precocious St. Nicholas refuses her breast in a premature form of holy fasting. According to legend, when the newborn Nicholas was first bathed, he declared that he would only nurse once on Wednesdays and once on Fridays.[37] He turns his head from his mother's breast and averts his eyes. One of St. Nicholas' hands is raised in protest to his mother's offer. It is likely that this window indicates St. Nicholas' recognition of the temptations of flesh. A man to Nicholas' right (thought to be his father) looks on in astonishment. St. Nicholas' mother might be considered setting a "bad" example with her exposed breast. Her breast is more orb-like than one might expect a real breast to appear, but in any case, the message is clear: flesh is dangerous for the temptations that it poses.

In examining an earlier Romanesque sculpture of Eve, a contrast between the Marian sculptural programming at Chartres arises. The Eve lintel fragment from Autun (Fig. 5) appears to be antithetical to the Marian sculptural programming at Chartres in the way that Eve is shown to have a realistic figure. Some scholars have read this remarkable depiction of Eve as one of the most "erotically charged" images of Romanesque art.[38] It has been described as embodying "greed and lust."[39] Upon first glance, this reading of Eve is understandable. Eve's long, wavy hair cascades across

Fig. 5. Gislebertus, *Eve*, 1119-1132

her shoulders and echoes the way that her arm is bent. Her body is nude and voluptuous. Gislebertus, who sculpted Eve, treated her body with great realism in the way that he rendered her breasts and abdomen to be curvaceous. Though Eve is sculpted in stone, her body appears to be life-like and tangible in the softness of her feminine curves. Her posture is unusual—she appears to be on the kneeling or crawling on the ground. Andreas Petzold has read Eve's posture to be an allusion to God's punishment for Eve's succumbing to temptation; Eve was "compelled to crawl on her belly like the serpent by whom she was tempted."[40]

I propose, however, that it is possible to find a different and perhaps more convincing meaning in the Eve lintel fragment: one of a moment of decision before the Fall, where Eve's humble posture emphasizes "man's moral freedom and its potential rewards."[41]

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[37] "The St. Nicolas Window—Pedagogical" from < http://images.library.pitt.edu/>.

[38] Andreas Petzold, *Romanesque Art* (New York: Abrams, 1995), 125.

[39] Snyder, James in Areli Marina, "Gislebertus's Eve: An Alternative Interpretation of the Eve Lintel Relief from the Church of Saint-Lazare, Autun," *Athanor* 13 (1995): 7.

[40] Petzold, *Romanesque Art,* 125.

[41] Areli Marina, "Gislebertus's Eve: An Alternative Interpretation of the Eve Lintel Relief from the Church of Saint-Lazare, Autun," *Athanor* 13 (1995): 8.

Eve's hand reaches for the apple, though it is notably still attached to the tree branch, which allows for the possibility that this sculpture is a depiction of Eve prior to the Fall. Her other hand is raised to her face, where her expression is not one of shame or grief, but rather "calm thoughtfulness."[42]

This interpretation of Eve is reinforced by a sculpture of St. Anne, also from Autun (Fig. 6). In the nave capital, St. Anne has a similar gesture to Eve; her hand is raised to her face in an Annunciation scene as she learns of Mary's imminent birth, perhaps an indicator that she is listening.[43] This gesture made by both Mary and Eve might then be one of contemplation and thoughtfulness. This reading of Eve as prior to the Fall is supported by the liturgical function of the north transept portal. According to Marina, the portal's function was to "remind the local population of the liturgy of the sacrament penance."[44] Bishop Étienne de Bagé of Autun was said to have deliberately selected the iconography in the sculptural programming in order to reinforce the power of his office as the "agent for absolution and intercession" between the sinner and Christ.[45] The ritual involved public confession by the penitents, who were subsequently thrown out of the church. Upon completion of their penance, they were absolved of sin by the bishop and welcomed back into the church by the community of the virtuous.[46] Eve, too, enjoyed freedom of choice both before

Fig. 6. Gislebertus, *Annunciation to Saint Anne*, nave capital, 1119-1132

and after the decision to disobey God.[47] In considering the parable of Lazarus, the patron saint of Autun, the penitent function of the north transept portal becomes clearer. The parable of Jesus' Raising of Lazarus is conflated with the Dives of Lazarus, representing the resurrection of the righteous in Paradise.[48]

Though Eve at Autun, according to Marina, exercises her "divinely granted free will" in her contemplation of sin, her image was ultimately regulated by the clergy.[49] When one considers that her depiction resoundingly conveyed the importance of the ritual of penance, any sense of agency that she might have here is then lost. Whether we read Eve at Autun as a sensuous being, emphasizing the female as temptress, or as exercising her free will, her image was reduced to a vehicle for clerical doctrine.

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[42] Marina, "Gislebertus's Eve," 9.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid., 8.

[47] Ibid., 11.

[48] Ibid., 9.

[49] Ibid.

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In reading Eve at Autun as depicting a moment before the Fall, a clearer contrast between Mary at Chartres becomes apparent: both women were subject to the doctrine that the clergy sought to convey. Despite of the numerous depictions of women in the Middle Ages, their images were not empowering, rather they served to communicate dogmatic ideas of womanhood and the church. Whether a woman's image was setting a "bad" example, like St. Nicholas' mother with her exposed breast in the window from Chartres, or Eve at Autun (should one choose to interpret her as post-Fall) or a moralistic depiction like the Virgin Mary at Chartres and Eve at Autun (should one choose to interpret her image as prior to the Fall), these images of women were constantly subject to dogmatic teachings about piety and sin. These images of medieval women were not really *of* women per say, rather they were vehicles for conveying dogmatic messages. It seems that images of medieval women were manipulated to fulfill the needs of the church. Eve at Autun, for all of her serene beauty, represents a theological message of the free will of mankind. Mary at Chartres, in her sublime condition of being both virgin and mother, served as an unattainable standard for medieval women.

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Robert Grosseteste and the History of the Actual Infinite

Abstract

The problems with the notion of infinity that plagued pre-modern philosophers and mathematicians ever since the introduction of Zeno's paradoxes are thought to see their first solution in the original and singular accomplishments of the late nineteenth-century German mathematician Georg Cantor. In this paper I argue that, in fact, several medieval philosophers of the scholastic era proposed competing conceptions of an actual infinite, in some cases prefiguring insights made by Cantor, and in others challenging what would become the mainstream Cantorian theory. I focus on the contributions of the thirteenth century scholastic philosopher Robert Grosseteste, whose metaphysical treatise On Light entails a theory of infinity that countenances that continua are made up of actual infinitesimal entities that are also parts of larger magnitudes, and that actual infinite magnitudes of different sizes may exist, standing in different proportions to each other according to the ratios of their parts. I conclude by summarizing the significance of Grosseteste's theory for current debates regarding infinity in the philosophy of mathematics, and the importance of Grosseteste and his fellow medieval theorists within the historical narrative of infinity's conceptual development.

Introduction: Infinity in Modernity

For the purposes of modern mathematics, the conceptual history of infinity might be thought to begin and end with the story of Georg Cantor. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Cantor, a German mathematician and philosopher, invented set theory and used it to formalize a notion of the actual infinite for the first time in consistent and rigorous mathematical terms. He proved that there exist infinite sets of different sizes: sets with *uncountably* infinite numbers of members (like the completely dense continuum of real numbers) and *trans*finite sets with *countably* infinite numbers of members (like the set of natural or "counting" numbers). The critical insight that allowed Cantor this result was his recognition that the set-theoretic notion of a one-to-one correspondence could be used to identify when infinite sets were equinumerous and distinguish when infinite sets were of different sizes. Any two sets are said to be equinumerous when the members of one can be put into a one-to-one correspondence with the members of the other. When I consider the two sets made up the fingers of my left hand and the fingers of my right, I do not need to count either to be sure that the number of left-hand fingers is equal to the number of right-hand fingers—I can show it simply by pairing up each left-hand finger with a finger from the right. Though infinite sets cannot be counted completely, most of the infinite sets that we deal with (like the set of integers, the set of even numbers, or the set of rational numbers) can be put into a one-to-one correspondence with the set of natural numbers. By his famous diagonal argument, Cantor showed that the continuum of real numbers cannot be made to correspond one-to-one with the naturals, thus indicating that the infinity of the reals must be greater than the infinity of the natural numbers—and therefore that there are at least two actual infinite magnitudes.

These insights were originally controversial, but their influence over modern mathematics came to be revolutionary. In 1903, Bertrand Russell rhapsodized:

> The mathematical theory of infinity may almost be said to begin with Cantor. The
> infinitesimal Calculus, though it cannot wholly dispense with infinity, has as few

dealings with it as possible, and contrives to hide it away before facing the world. Cantor has abandoned this cowardly policy, and has brought the skeleton out of its cupboard.[1]

In reference to the difficulty that plagued earlier philosophers' attempts to solve Zeno's paradoxes of the continuous and infinitesimal, Russell claimed that, until Cantor's time, "intervening attempts to deal with the problem are futile and negligible."[2] Russell's narrative of the conceptual history of infinity is accurate insofar as, before Newton and Leibniz, most thinkers were opposed to positing the existence of actual infinite or infinitesimal quantities. Their response to Zeno's paradox was in general just a version of Aristotle's: that the infinite exists in potentiality but never in actuality; thus, that the mathematical use of infinite sets and the concept of an infinitesimal and indivisible entity serve only as heuristics without objective reality.

In this paper I intend to dispute the popular narrative conveyed by Russell of Cantor's exceptional role in the conceptual history of infinity by presenting some views of philosophers from the early scholastic era who evinced understandings of infinity that eluded inconsistency while either anticipating aspects of Cantor's thought or challenging the now-mainstream theory of Cantor. I emphasize among these views the thought of Robert Grosseteste, the thirteenth century English scholastic, whose metaphysical treatise *On Light* contain an analysis of the continuum that admits of the actuality of infinitesimals while avoiding the snares set by Zeno's paradox. In these same writings Grosseteste articulates a conception of the actuality of infinite magnitudes of different sizes according to a principle of proportion that recalls Cantor's theory of transfinite numbers while challenging its chosen emphasis of the one-to-one correspondence. Besides outlining Grosseteste's conception of infinity, I draw attention to the work of other authors on William of Ockham's, Gregory of Rimini's, and Gersonides' conceptions of infinity. I conclude by summarizing the relevance of Grosseteste's theory to current debates over the nature of infinity in the philosophy of mathematics, and the importance of Grosseteste's contributions within the historical narrative of infinity's conceptual development.

The Ancients: Aristotle and Zeno

For a vast majority of ancient and medieval thinkers the concept of infinity was troubled by paradox and inconsistency. Both the infinitely large and the infinitely small, when analyzed with any rigor, were found to engender contradictions that, for centuries, seemed all but impenetrable. The inscrutability of the infinitely small was famously illustrated by Zeno in his series of paradoxes, allegedly conceived in defense of Parmenides' doctrine that all is One—which is to say that the real world is a unity, and any change or differentiation that we perceive in it is an illusion of our perspective. In the best-known of Zeno's paradoxes, the fleet-footed Achilles is chasing the notoriously slow Tortoise. To make matters fair Achilles allows the Tortoise a head start, and in order for Achilles to overtake the Tortoise it is clear that he must first reach the point where the Tortoise was when Achilles began his chase. In the time it takes Achilles to get there however, the Tortoise will have advanced a certain distance x_0. To reach the Tortoise now Achilles must first traverse that distance x_0, during which time the Tortoise will have advanced some more—say, a distance of x_1. Now in the time it takes Achilles to travel the distance x_1 the

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[1] Bertrand Russell, *The Principles of Mathematics*, 1903. Reprint (London: Routledge, 1992), 304.
[2] Bertrand Russell, *Our Knowledge of the External World*, 1914. Reprint (New York: Routledge, 2009), 133.

Tortoise will have traveled even farther, x_2, and while Achilles travels *this* distance the Tortoise will have advanced by x_3, and Achilles must travel x_3, but meanwhile the Tortoise has advanced—and so on *ad infinitum*. Achilles will have to traverse an infinite number of non-zero distances x_n, and since such a task can clearly never be completed, Achilles will never reach the tortoise! Along with another of Zeno's paradoxes—the "Dichotomy"—the story of the Tortoise and Achilles exploits the fact that any continuous and finite length, be it mathematical or physical, can apparently be divided up *infinitely many* times. And if the length is comprised of infinitely many intervals whose lengths, we must assume, are greater than 0, how can the larger length still be finite, or traversable in a finite amount of time? Zeno offers that we can sidestep such puzzles if we grant, after Parmenides, that neither plurality, motion, nor change are real. But as few are truly convinced by this prospect, an explanation of how the paradoxes can be solved or dissolved is desired to avoid the problem.

Aristotle, whose writings are the source of our knowledge of Zeno's paradoxes, advances an analysis of infinity aimed at dissolving the problems Zeno presents. This conception of infinity provides the template for approximately 1500 years of philosophical approaches to the subject. In the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics* Aristotle asserts that infinity cannot exist in actuality, but only in potentiality. We can continually divide the parts of a finite magnitude, and can potentially do so infinitely many times, but the *infinitely* small will never be actualized, since the smallest part we encounter can always be divided once more.[3] A similar principle precludes the actualization of the infinitely large. We may add finite quantity to finite quantity potentially infinitely many times, but there will never be a point when we cannot add something to the quantity, and if the magnitude can yet be increased it must therefore be finite. An actually infinitely large magnitude will never be reached, nor will an indivisibly small—and thus actually infinitely small—magnitude ever be obtained. Such a notion of infinity Aristotle holds to be sufficient, as he submits that the physical universe is finite, and that the mathematician has no need for infinities except in potentiality.

Infinity in the Middle Ages

As is true of many difficult philosophical questions, in their approaches to the issue of infinity most medieval thinkers follow the Philosopher, Aristotle. The character of philosophy during the middle ages is with good reason often portrayed as a synthesis of Aristotelianism and Christianity. But on the subject of infinity one may suppose that the tenets of Christianity could have been seen to conflict with Aristotle's analysis, as the thesis that actual infinities are impossible might have been thought to suggest some limit to the omnipotence of the Christian Creator. Most thinkers, however, were compelled by Aristotle's argument to affirm that the existence of an actual infinite magnitude entailed contradiction, and therefore, because God would not mar the world with a paradox, an actual infinity could never have been created.

Christian cosmologies often followed from Aristotle's and so were finite in extension, with the outermost sphere (what was the unmoved mover of Aristotle's theory) becoming the domain of heaven. Walter Burley, the English scholastic of the fourteenth century, summarizes the view common to his predecessors: "Certain theologians allow that

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[3] From the *Metaphysics*, 1048b: "But the infinite does not exist potentially in the sense that it will ever actually have separate existence; it exists potentially only for knowledge. For the fact that the process of dividing never comes to an end ensures that this activity exists potentially, but not that the infinite exists separately." Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, trans. W. D. Ross (Oxford: Clarendon, 1924).

God can increase the volume of heaven, that He can, for example, make heaven be twice as large, three times as large, and so forth, indefinitely […] These theologians however would deny that God can create an actual infinite magnitude, for this latter proposition may hold a contradiction."[4] Aquinas, Averroes, and many more of the most influential medieval thinkers gave analyses in line with Aristotle's, claiming that because an actual infinite entailed contradiction, even an all-powerful God could not create one.[5] Along these lines it was generally accepted that God could have infinite *capabilities* in keeping with His omnipotence, but this would amount to no more than admitting that God's ability is potentially infinite.

We might ask whether God Himself could have been conceived of as an example of an actual infinite. This inference, however, would have been problematic due to the association of endlessness with the concept of infinity (Aristotle's *apeiron*, like the Latin *infinitas*, means literally "without end"). For the medieval philosophers God, as a perfect being, could not have been unfinished in any sense, since to be perfect is to be *complete*. Interestingly, Augustine, in his Manichean period, had conceived of God as corporeal and surrounding the finite world, "infinite in all directions."[6] But as a Christian he came to adopt a more Platonic conception which eschewed the corporeality of God for a conception of God as analogous to Truth, immaterial and, if infinite, only so potentially.

Acceptance, then, of the existence of actual infinities was untenable to the many medieval philosophers who subscribed to the authority of Aristotle and to his interpretation of Zeno's paradoxes. That the concept of infinitude was traditionally identified with endlessness was equally discouraging to positive analysis of the actual infinite. The eventual development of scholasticism, however, would see the tradition of philosophical discourse being brought into an increasingly pluralistic environment. In this comparatively open intellectual milieu it became feasible that scholars could openly critique the venerable figures and received ideas of the past. The twelfth century scholastic philosopher and theologian Robert Grosseteste was one notably vocal critic of the natural science of Aristotle. In *De finitate motus et temporis* Grosseteste explicitly critiques the Philosopher's conception of eternity.[7] In his metaphysical treatise *On Light*, Grosseteste demonstrates a conception of infinity that amounts to the rejection of Aristotle's established view.

The succinct *On Light* is Grosseteste's articulation of a cosmogony inspired by the book of Genesis. In this work, Grosseteste theorizes that light was the first corporeal form created by God, and that its properties instilled the universe with its material form. Originating from God as a single simple being—or as an indivisible, infinitesimally small entity—light "multiplied itself by its very nature an infinite number of times on all sides and spread itself out uniformly in every direction. In this way it proceeded in the beginning of time to extend matter which it could not leave behind, by drawing it out along with itself

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[4] Gualterus Burlaeus, *Super octo libros Physicorum*, (Venetia: Torresanus De Ascula, 1501), Lib. II, tract. II, cap. V, fol. 75, cols. b, c.

[5] Aquinas: "[T]he infinite of quantity is the infinite of matter; such a kind of infinite cannot be attributed to God." Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica,* trans. Laurence Shapcote, Kevin Knight and Richard Cheung (Denver, CO: New Advent, 1995), I, Q. 7 A. 1. Averroes: "[T]he impossibility of an actual infinity is a recognized principle of the philosophers, whether the objects in question are bodies or not."Averroes, "*Destructio destructionem philosophiae* Algazelis," *in the Latin version of Calo Calonymous*, ed. B. H. Zeller (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1961).

[6] Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Henry Chadwick (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), (v) 7.

[7] See Richard C. Dales, "Robert Grosseteste's Treatise 'De finitate motus et temporis,'" *Traditio* 1*9* (1963), 245-266.

into a mass the size of the material universe."[8] Instantaneously, then, light, as an infinitely small particle, multiplied itself infinitely many times to fill the three dimensions of the finite universe. He continues: "This extension of matter could not be brought about through a finite multiplication of light, because the multiplication of a simple being a finite number of times does not produce a quantity, as Aristotle shows in *De Caelo et Mundo*. However, the multiplication of a simple being an infinite number of times must produce a finite quantity."[9] Grosseteste here traverses the same territory as Zeno does in his paradoxes of the continuum, but on Grosseteste's account the infinitely small presents none of the problems that Zeno supposes. Infinitesimal quantities, says Grosseteste, when added together an *infinite number of times*, can produce a quantity that is finite. One can make the analogy that while the distances that Achilles must traverse are infinite in number, because they are becoming infinitely small their addition sums to a finite distance, and a distance that Achilles can and will travel. In crude mathematical terms, one may divide an apparently infinite quantity by another infinite quantity—an operation that would be unthinkable until the development of Calculus—and come up with a result that is finite.

Although Grosseteste does not, of course, foresee the methodological developments that would lead to the calculus, he proves to have an apparently self-consistent understanding of continua where each physical finite magnitude is composed of an actual infinite number of simple beings, and each simple being, although infinitesimal, comprises a *part*, defined by a part-whole relation, of the finite magnitude it is in. That the infinity of simple beings in Grosseteste's continuum is an actual infinity rather than merely potential is confirmed when we consider how Grosseteste's conception of matter is distinct from Aristotle's. Clare Riedl summarizes: "The chief point of divergence is that for Grosseteste matter is not pure potency, as it was for Aristotle, but possesses in its own right a certain minimal reality. Thus Grosseteste speaks of matter as a substance."[10] In *On Light* he says: "Both corporeity and matter are themselves simple substances."[11]

Grosseteste's understanding of the continuum is thus distinctive, as it allows that an actual infinitude of simple beings can occupy precisely the space of a finite magnitude. Grosseteste's analysis is extended along these lines to the claim that there exist unequal infinities in fixed proportions to one another, what scholar Neil Lewis indicates as the first such view seen in the Latin West.[12] Grosseteste continues, in *On Light*, to say: "Now one simple being cannot exceed another simple being infinitely, but only a finite quantity infinitely exceeds a simple being. For an infinite quantity exceeds a simple being by infinity times infinity."[13] This distinction between magnitudes of infinity recalls Cantor's result, which posits two transfinite numbers: $\aleph_1$ ("Aleph-one"), the cardinality or numerosity of the set of real numbers, or the set of all points on the real number line, and $\aleph_0$ ("Aleph-zero" or "Aleph-naught"), the cardinality or numerosity of the set of the infinitely extended positive integers. But Grosseteste's analysis opposes Cantor's privileging of the one-to-one correspondence, opting instead for a conception of distinct infinities on the grounds of part-whole relations between lesser and greater infinite sets. This intuition of the proportionality

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[8] Robert Grosseteste, *On Light*. trans. Clare Riedl (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1942), 11.

[9] Grosseteste, *On Light,* 11

[10] Ibid., 3.

[11] Ibid., 10.

[12] Neil Lewis. "Robert Grosseteste," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2013 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2013/entries/grosseteste/>.

[13] Grosseteste, *On Light*, 11.

of infinite sets (which readers unfamiliar with Cantor's work are perhaps more prone to agree with than the surprising inferences Cantor makes from his use of the one-to-one correspondence) grounds Grosseteste's claim that the set of natural numbers may be twice as large as the set of even numbers: that "an infinite sum of number is related to an infinite sum in every proportion, numerical and non-numerical. And some infinities are larger than other infinites and some are smaller."[14] Grosseteste's *On Light* thus entails an explicit theory of unequal and proportional infinites, and an analysis of the continuum as divided into an actual infinity of simple beings that stand in part-whole relations to magnitudes both infinite and finite.

Beside Grosseteste's conception of the actual infinite, there are several other thinkers from the scholastic era who put forth compelling and creative theories of the infinite. With regards to the continuum, William of Ockham furnished a similar conviction in the actual infinitude of its simple parts, writing: "every continuum is actually existent. Therefore any of its parts is really existent in nature. But the parts of the continuum are infinite because there are not so many that there are not more, and therefore the infinite parts are actually existent."[15]

Ockham's views are discussed at greater length in John Murdoch's essay, "William of Ockham and the logic of infinity and continuity." Gregory of Rimini, the fourteenth-century scholastic, agreed nearly to the letter with Ockham on the infinity of the continuum, but was careful to distinguish between finite and infinite or infinitesimal quantities as exemplifying different classes of objects which ought not be compared. His views are discussed at length in a volume of Pierre Duhem's extensive survey of the history of science, *Le système du monde*.[16] And lastly, the fourteenth-century French-born Jewish philosopher Gersonides demonstrated an awareness of the possibility of employing the notion of a one-to-one correspondence, as Cantor did, to the comparison of magnitudes of distinct infinite sets. Addressing the question of how the number of revolutions of the sun (in a geocentric cosmology) will, given eternal time, compare to the number of revolutions of the moon, Gersonides argued that, in spite of the fixed ratio between the two quantities, the number of revolutions would be equivalent because each number can be brought into a one-to-one correspondence with the natural numbers. George Kohler's 2006 article "Medieval Infinites in Mathematics and the Contributions of Gersonides," describes in greater detail the contours of Gersonides' thought.

Conclusion: Cantor Reconsidered

Considerations of these thinkers mentioned above should leave no doubt that the scholastic period was the setting of original and creative thought on the topic of conceptions of infinity. I have mentioned only a few philosophers who, preceding Cantor, developed theories of infinity that departed from the Aristotelian understanding that had held such sway over the discourse of the early middle-ages. It is only a partial picture, and one can confirm that the topic of infinity was widely discussed, questioned, and theorized about during the late middle ages by consulting the work of other scholars, such as the encyclopedic *Medieval Cosmology* of Pierre Duhem. I chose here to emphasize the seemingly

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[14] Grosseteste, *On Light,* 11.

[15] William, *Opera Philosophica et Theologica*, trans. Richard Arthur (New York: St. Bonaventure, 1967-1986)*,* Vol. IV, 521, 13, §9.

[16] See, in particular, Pierre Duhem, *Medieval Cosmology: Theories of Infinity, Place, Time Void, and the Plurality of Worlds,* 1985. Reprint, trans. Roger Ariew (University of Chicago Press, 1987), 89 and 109-119.

underrepresented thought of Robert Grosseteste, who receives scant mention in Duhem's study. In James McEvoy's book-length overview of Robert Grosseteste's philosophical career, Grosseteste's conception of infinity is hardly discussed at all.

Yet, after many years of Cantor's transfinite theory being taken as given throughout the mathematical world, recent philosophical debates have begun to reexamine competing conceptualizations of the infinite next to Cantor's theory next to competing conceptualizations of the infinite. A 2009 paper by Paolo Mancosu asks whether Cantor's theory of infinite number was, logically speaking, inevitable, and cites Robert Grosseteste as an early exemplar of the analysis of infinities according to the part-whole principle—an interpretation that some mathematicians are lately attempting to formalize in the manner that Cantor did his logic of transfinite sets in the early twentieth century. More recent debates have even been stirred by a March 2014 conference at the University of Groningen on the subject of theories of the infinite, at which Mancosu presented.

With this apparent reevaluation of Cantor's transfinite theory in the wider worlds of philosophy and mathematics, it seems fitting that there should be an analogous reevaluation of the history of conceptualizations of infinity, which in many circles is nothing more than a story of Cantor. The concept of infinity, and the question of its actuality, were animated areas of discourse during the early scholastic period, and great thinkers from that era proposed a plurality of ways of conceiving of the actuality of the infinite that still have currency today.

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Eyes in Ptolemaic Portraiture:
Windows to the Expression of and Association with Divinity in the Ptolemaic dynasty

Abstract

Large, expressive eyes characterize the portraiture of the Ptolemaic dynasty, a Greco-Macedonian dynasty in Egypt. The depiction of wide, bulging eyes in Ptolemaic portraiture is a clear divergence from the idealism of early Hellenistic art. There are numerous explanations that aim to explain the presence of large eyes in Ptolemaic portraiture. Some explanations claim that this feature is a historically accurate and realistic depiction of a genetic trait that ran in the Ptolemaic family, perhaps caused by an exophthalmic goitre carried through the family by the dynasty's rampant incestuous marriages. Yet it is more likely that this trait is a stylized feature, imbued with symbolic meaning referencing descent and expressing the divine, which thereby justifies Ptolemaic rule in Egypt. The large eyes of Ptolemaic portraits clearly reference Alexander the Great, who was portrayed with a 'melting gaze.' As successors of Alexander the Great, connections to him through portraiture would establish a connection to him, legitimizing Ptolemaic rule in Egypt. Furthermore, Ptolemaic eyes can be interpreted as a sign of divine inspiration, which would further assert the right of the Ptolemaic dynasty to rule.

Introduction

It is often remarked that eyes are the windows to the soul. This adage is appropriate in the interpretation of Ptolemaic portraiture, a set of Hellenistic portraits in which eyes are a striking characteristic for the viewer, even upon first glance. If eyes are indeed windows to the soul, then the large, expressive eyes present in Ptolemaic portraiture can be interpreted as windows to the political and religious ideas of the Ptolemaic dynasty. There are numerous explanations that attempt to interpret the large eyes of the Ptolemies in portraiture. It is evident in these explanations that eyes in Ptolemaic portraiture are a complex iconographical feature which can symbolize divinity or associate the subject with divinity. As an expression of and association with divinity, eyes in Ptolemaic portraiture convey a dynastic assertion of power and the right to rule.

**The Ptolemaic dynasty: Foundation and Portraiture**

To begin, the Ptolemaic dynasty was a Greco-Macedonian dynasty in Egypt, named after Ptolemy I.[1] Ptolemy I was a general and childhood friend of Alexander the Great. Following the death of Alexander, Ptolemy claimed the province of Egypt as his kingdom and established a dynasty that would rule Egypt from 323 BCE until the suicide of Kleopatra VII in 30 BCE. An investigation of the art, especially the portraiture, of the Ptolemaic dynasty serves to reveal some of the implicit attitudes of the Ptolemies.

While the art of Alexandria, the capital of the Ptolemaic kingdom, is not unique in its artistic language when compared to other Hellenistic centers, the royal portraiture of the Ptolemies has some distinct qualities.[2] Plump, fleshy faces, soft *sfumato* modeling,

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[1] See Figure 1 for a Ptolemaic family tree.
[2] R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture: A Handbook* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1991), 205-206.

Fig. 1: Ptolemaic Family Tree

FIG. 1. Ptolemaic genealogy (conventional)
(not all members of the family are included here)
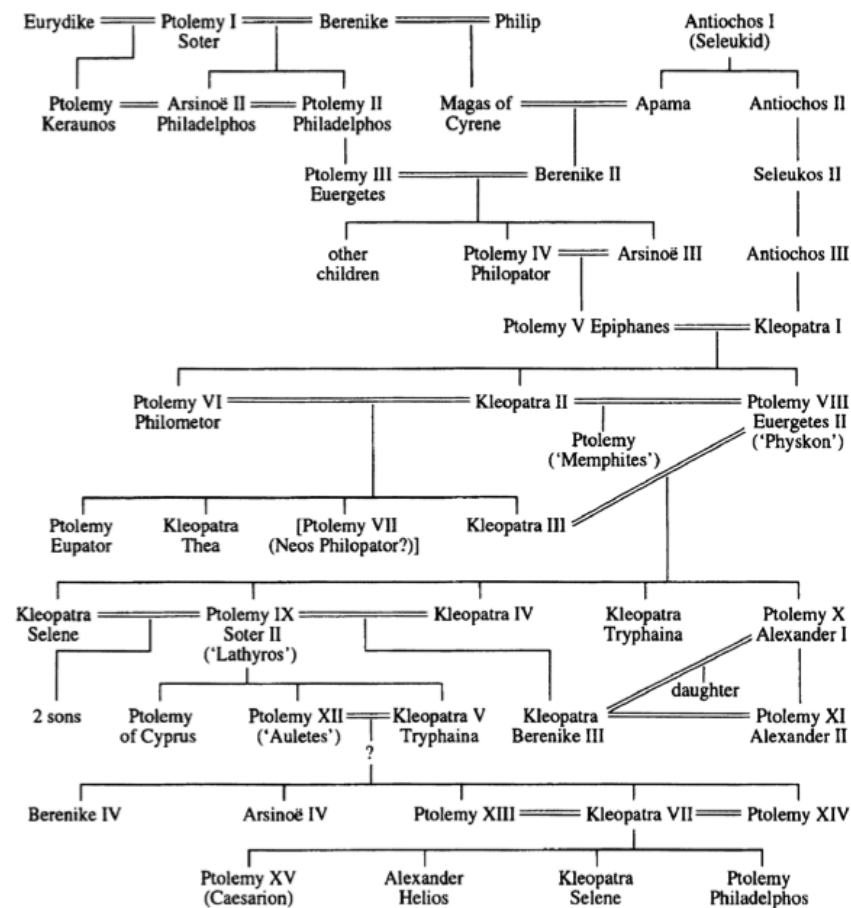
From Ager, Sheila L. "Familiarity Breeds: Incest and the *Ptolemaic* Dynasty", *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 125 (2005), 4, Fig. 1.

and large eyes characterize Ptolemaic portraiture.[3] These aspects are clearly depicted on coins issued by Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II (Figs. 2 and 3). These coins depict Ptolemy I and his wife, Berenike I, and Ptolemy II and his sister-wife Arsinoe II. The two royal pairs are represented with the quintessential fleshy faces, small lips, prominent chins, stylized hair, and large eyes. This characterization continues throughout the dynasty in portraiture. This is shown in portraits of later Ptolemies as well, such as portraits of Ptolemy VI (Fig. 4) and Kleopatra VII (Fig. 5), which continue to adhere to the Ptolemaic canon of large eyes.[4] This demonstrates how the Ptolemies are depicted in a simultaneously realistic and stylistic manner in which their large eyes are a central theme.

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[3] J.J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 250-251.
[4] It must be noted that portraits of Ptolemaic kings between Physkon (Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II) and Ptolemy XII Auletes are uncertain because they are not portrayed in their coinage. Dimitris Plantzos, *Hellenistic Engraved Gems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 45.

Fig. 2: Gold sater issued by Ptolemy I at Alexandria

Head of Ptolemy I / youth (Alexander the Great?) on a chariot drawn by elephants. In New York, ANS. Photographs courtesy the ANS. Pl. XVI.

Photo from: Blanche R. Brown, *Royal Portraits in Sculpture and Coins: Pyrrhos and the Successors of Alexander the Great* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1995), Figure 15a.

Fig. 3: Gold octodrachm issued by Ptolemy II or III at Alexandria

Ptolemy I and
Berenike I

Ptolemy II and
Arsinoe II

Heads of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II / heads of Ptolemy I and Berenike I. In New York, ANS. Photographs courtesy the ANS. Pl. XVII. Photo from: Blanche R. Brown, *Royal Portraits in Sculpture and Coins: Pyrrhos and the Successors of Alexander the Great* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1995), Figure 16.

Fig. 4: Portrait of Ptolemy VI   **Fig. 5 Cleopatra VII, 51-30 BCE**
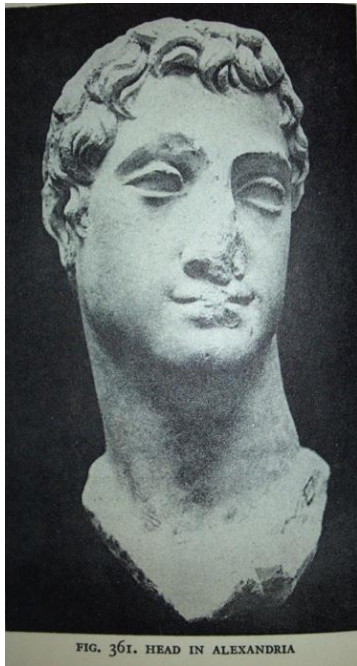**(Ptolmey Philometor), 181-145 B.C.**

Fig. 4 Head in Alexandria from Bulletin de la Société royale d'Archéologie, Alexandrie, N. S. Vol. X, I, No. 32 (1938), Plates X, XI, XII. Photo from: Bieber, Margarete, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), Fig. 361.
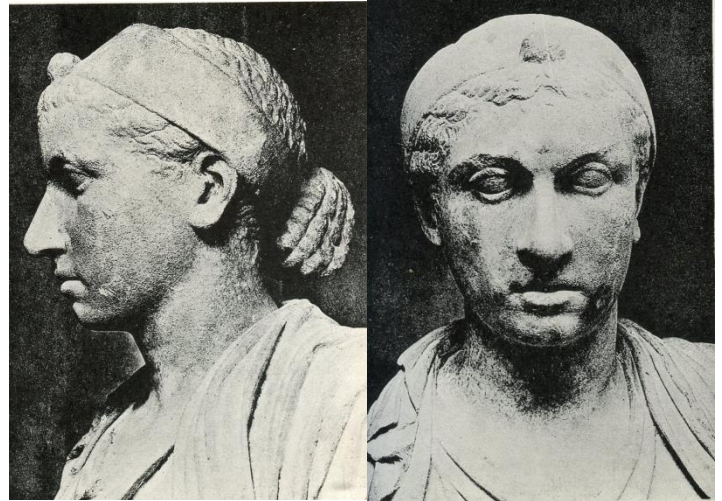
Fig. 5. Head, Vatican Museum, From G. Lippold, Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums, Vol. III, Pl. LXII. Photo from: Bieber, Margarete, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), Figures 366-367.

Ptolemaic Eyes: Historical or Stylized feature?

     The large eyes in portraits of the Ptolemaic rulers are a prevalent and intriguing characteristic that continues throughout the dynasty.[5] The wide, bulging eyes in the depictions of the Ptolemies are somewhat unusual in nature. This is because the startling size of the eyes is an innate divergence from the idealism of early Hellenistic art. This feature may be a historically accurate and realistic portrayal of a genetic trait that ran in the Ptolemaic family. It has been argued that the characteristic thick neck and large eyes of the Ptolemies are symptomatic depictions of the presence of an exophthalmic goitre, an enlargement of the thyroid that leads to protruding eyes (Fig. 6).[6] In this way the large eyes

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[5] This paper will focus mainly on the portraiture of the first three generations of the Ptolemaic dynasty (Ptolemy I, Ptolemy II, Ptolemy III and their respective wives) because of time and length constraints. There will, however, be brief mentions made of other, later Ptolemies.

[6] Blanche R. Brown, *Royal Portraits in Sculpture and Coins: Pyrrhos and the Successors of Alexander the Great* (New York, Peter Lang Publishing, 1995), 86; E. Brunelle, *Die Bildnisse der Ptolemäerinnen,* (diss., J. W. Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1976), 14; Dorothy Burr Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience: Aspects of the Ruler Cult* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 84. Roger Hinks, "A Portrait of a Ptolemaic Queen", *JHS* 48 (1928): 242.

Fig. 6: Bulging eyes (exophthalmos)

"Exopthalmos" Mayo Clinic, accessed April 1, 2013, http://www.mayoclinic.com/health/medical/IM02688

could be a familial trait of the Ptolemies, perhaps carried through the family because of the continuous incestuous marriages that characterized the dynasty.[7]

While an exophthalmic goiter may have caused the large Ptolemaic eyes, the continuation of the large eye trait in dynastic portraiture of the Ptolemies suggests that this trait is instead a stylized feature. The large eyes of the Ptolemies may certainly have a possible basis in historical reality, but as a stylized feature this aspect is also imbued with symbolic meaning referencing descent and as an expression of the divine, which served to justify Ptolemaic rule in Egypt.

Connection to Alexander the Great

First, the eyes of Ptolemaic portraits clearly reference Alexander the Great. Alexander the Great was portrayed in portraiture with a 'melting gaze,' an intense facial expression centered on the power of his eyes. The coins depicting Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II (Figs. 2 and 3) share significant similarities with the silver tetradrachm depicting Alexander the Great, which was issued by Lysimachos at Lampsakos between 306 and 281 BCE, after the death of Alexander (Fig. 7). The presentation of the figures in both coins is "dramatic and dynamic" and the hair of Ptolemy I and II is quite similar to that of Alexander as well.[8] This type of depiction was not unusual for successors of Alexander [9] and shows that the Ptolemies claimed to be "heirs of Alexander."[10]

In fact, an ancient legend exists that asserts that Ptolemy I was the illegitimate child of Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great.[11] This would make Ptolemy I the half-brother of Alexander the Great. As relatives of Alexander the Great, linked by portraiture or legend, the Ptolemies would be hereditary successors of Alexander the Great, and thereby have a legitimate claim to rule Egypt. Furthermore, a connection to Alexander the Great would also establish a connection to the gods, which would further solidify the validity of Ptolemaic rule.

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[7] Sheila L. Ager, "Familiarity Breeds: Incest and the Ptolemaic Dynasty," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 125 (2005): 8-13.

[8] Brown, *Royal Portraits in Sculpture and Coins,* 16.

[9] "many of his successors copied Alexander's appearance…" Susan Walker, *Greek and Roman Portraits* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 54.

[10] Brown, *Royal Portraits in Sculpture and Coins*, 29.

[11] Ludwig Koenen, "The Ptolemaic King as a Religious Figure", in *Images and Ideologies: Self-definition in the Hellenistic World*, ed. Anthony Bulloch et al. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 44-45.

Fig. 7: Silver tetradrachm issued by Lysimachos at Lampsakos

Head of Alexander the Great / seated Athena. In New York, ANS. Photographs courtesy the ANS. Pl. III. Photo from: Blanche R. Brown, *Royal Portraits in Sculpture and Coins: Pyrrhos and the Successors of Alexander the Great* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1995), Figure 2a.

Divine Descent

As relatives and heirs of Alexander the Great, the Ptolemies could also claim divine descent. Alexander the Great claimed heroic and mythic ancestry from both Herakles and Zeus Ammon, and he is represented on coins with the attributes of his supposed ancestors.[12] Alexander is shown with the horns of Zeus Ammon in the Lysimachos coin (Fig. 7). He is paralleled in the portrait of Herakles wearing the skin of the Nemean lion from a silver tetradrachm he circulated following his ascension in 336 BCE (Fig. 8). [13]

Fig. 8: Silver tetradrachm depicting Herakles wearing the skin of the Nemean lion

Head of Herakles / seated Zeus. In New York, ANS. Photographs courtesy the ANS. Pl. X. Photo from: Blanche R. Brown, *Royal Portraits in Sculpture and Coins: Pyrrhos and the Successors of Alexander the Great* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1995), Figure 9a.
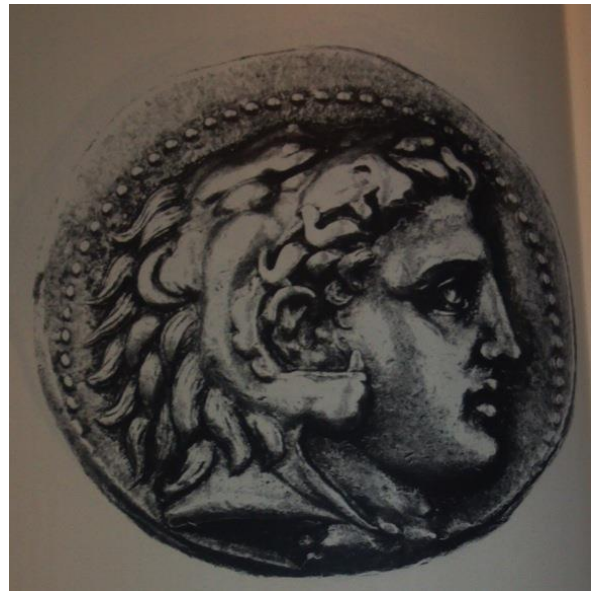

As the heirs of Alexander the Great, the Ptolemies were able to claim this heritage as well. In fact, the Ptolemies took the divine descent of Alexander the Great a step further; Ptolemy II Euergetes traced his lineage to Zeus two ways in the Adulis Inscription: "through Herakles on the paternal side, through Dionysus on the maternal."[14] This dual divine descent further asserted the legitimacy of Ptolemaic right to rule, as descendants of not just Alexander the Great, but also the gods.

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[12] Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 25-28.

[13] Ibid., 25.

[14] Alan E. Samuel, *From Athens to Alexandria: Hellenism and Social Goals in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Lovanii, 1983), 92.

Association with the divine and divine inspiration

Moreover, the Ptolemies were also associated with the divine. This is clearly the case with Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, the Philadelphoi, who were the children of Ptolemy I and Berenike I. As a brother-sister married couple, Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II were firmly associated with Greek gods, Zeus and Hera, and Egyptian gods, Osiris and Isis. Both sets of deities were brother-sister married couples; and, because of this, the union of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II was viewed as an imitation and assimilation of the gods.[15] Arsinoe II even took the title "Isis Arsinoe Philadelphus."[16] This is significant because it means that the Ptolemies were not just associating themselves with Greek religious figures, which were part of their own Greco-Macedonian cultural heritage, but were also associating themselves with the gods of Egypt, the province they were ruling.

It must be emphasized, however, that while the Ptolemies were presenting themselves as gods, they were not claiming divinity outright. In this way, the large Ptolemaic eyes can be interpreted not as a sign of divinity, but of "divine inspiration" and empowerment by the gods.[17] This is because divinity and its attributes were not bestowed upon a person and their subsequent portrayal in portraiture until he or she had died. This is illustrated by the presence of cult names of rulers, like Soter and Theon Adelphon, only on posthumous issues of coins.[18] Hence, Ptolemaic eyes were an assertion of divinity, but only through association with the gods. The Ptolemies were not gods in their own right.

Furthermore, this association with the gods was an important part of ruling. For the Egyptians, the pharaoh had a "cosmic responsibility"[19] that involved a daily battle with chaos to maintain social order.[20] Because of this, Egyptians conferred upon a ruler associations with the divine based on the very office of king.[21] Greeks, however, afforded a ruler "divine honors" through the state cult of the ruler.[22] The association of the Ptolemies with the divine, therefore, had both a political and a religious function.

Yet, while the large eyes of the Ptolemies are an intriguing aspect of the royal portraiture of Alexandria, the presence of large eyes as a symbol or association with power and the divine is not unique. Sumerian votive offerings, which were said to have been inhabited by deities, have large, wide eyes.[23] Offerings like the Mesopotamian Standing Male Votive Figure (Fig. 9) date from between 2900 and 2600 BCE, showing that oversized eyes as an expression of the divine may be an ancient idea merely harnessed by the Ptolemies. The Egyptian Eye of Horus (Fig. 10), a symbol of the Egyptian god and an apotropaic and therefore inherently powerful symbol, dates to pharonic Egypt and further supports this supposition.

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[15] Koenen, "The Ptolemaic King as a Religious Figure", 62. Ager, "Familiarity Breeds: Incest and the Ptolemaic Dynasty," 17. "Full sibling marriage is the prerogative of the gods- the Greek gods Zeus and Hera, as well as the Egyptian gods Isis and Osiris- and to behave like the gods is to assimilate oneself to them"

[16] Samuel, *From Athens to Alexandria*, 84.

[17] Brown, *Royal Portraits in Sculpture and Coins*, 16.

[18] Otto Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage from the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336-188 B.C.)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 30. The only exception to this seems to be "an Egyptian gold issue of Ptolemy II… inscribed ΘΕΟΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ, referring to Ptolemy II and his sister-wife Arsinoe at a time when Arsinoe was dead but Ptolemy himself still alive."

[19] Ager, "Familiarity Breeds: Incest and the Ptolemaic Dynasty," 22.

[20] Koenen, "The Ptolemaic King as a Religious Figure," 39.

[21] Ibid., 70.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Kim Benzel, et al., *Art of the Ancient Near East: A Resource for Educators* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010), 60.

Fig. 9. Standing Male Votive Figure, Early Dynastic I-II period, ca. 2900-2600 BC, Mesopotamia, Excavated at Eshnunna (modern Tell Asmar)The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1940 (40.156). Photo from: Kim Benzel, et al., *Art of the Ancient Near East: A Resource for Educators* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010), 61.

Furthermore, large eyes as a symbol of the association with and expression of the divine were not restricted to royal portraiture in Alexandria. The Thmuis Mosaic (Fig. 11) from the third to second century BCE portrays the personification of Alexandria with large eyes with dark outlines. These eyes express her "superhuman nature" and the dark lining of her eyes is somewhat reminiscent of the eye of Horus.[24] However, as a personification of Alexandria, the Thmuis Mosaic may have had large eyes as a reference to Ptolemaic eyes.

**Fig. 10: Eye of Horus**
Amulet from the tomb of Tutankhamun

Eye of Horus, Amulet from the Tomb of Tutankhamun, Egyptian Museum in Cairo, photo from: "Eye of Horus," National Geographic, accessed April 2, 2013. http://science.nationalgeographic.com/science/archaeology/photos/ancient-artifacts-and-symbols/#/eye-horus_24755_600x450.jpg

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[24] Koenen, "The Ptolemaic King as a Religious Figure," 27.

Fig. 11: Thmuis Mosaic
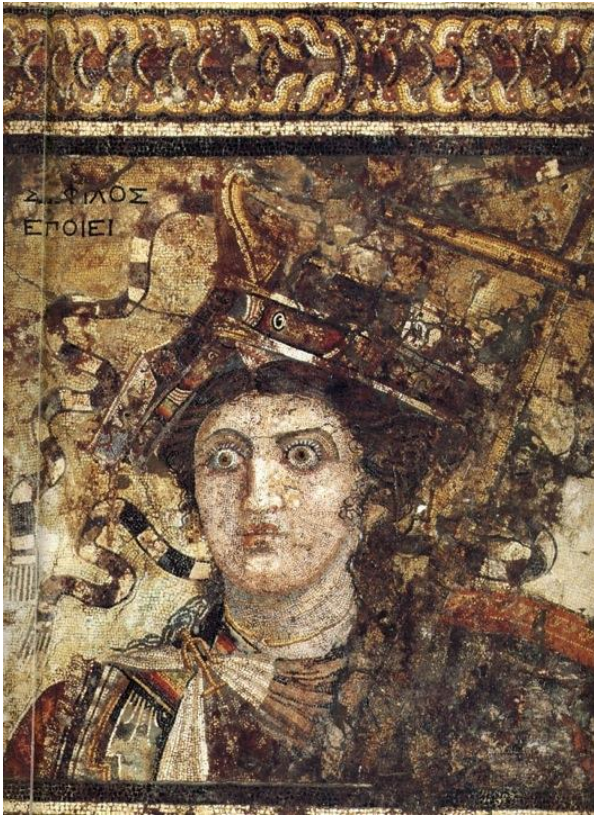
Sophilos, Thumis mosaic. 3rd-2nd c. BCE. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, photo from: Nancy de Grummond, "Alexandria" (lecture for Hellenistic Art and Archeology class, February 20, 2013).

Nevertheless, the Ptolemies harnessed the multifaceted symbol of eyes as one aspect in the greater whole of their dynastic expression of divinity and power. Ptolemaic coins included other aspects of the gods like the aegis, a symbol of Zeus and Athena, and the eagle, a sign of Zeus. It has even been argued that the Ptolemaic practice of incest was innately a symbol of power and an assertion of the elevated nature of the royal dynasty[25]. These expressions of divinity and power stemmed from Ptolemaic divine descent and served to justify and legitimize Ptolemaic rule. The continuation of the large eye motif in Ptolemaic portraiture from Ptolemy I (Fig. 2) to later rulers like Ptolemy VI (Fig. 4) and Cleopatra VIII (Fig. 5) serves to create a feeling of "dynastic stability", because the portraits were stylistically very similar.[26] This constancy in portraiture was just one aspect of the political and religious propaganda inherent in the portrayal of the Ptolemies.

Conclusion

Thus, Ptolemaic eyes are an overt feature characteristic of Ptolemaic portraiture and are multifaceted in nature. The symbolic nature of Ptolemaic eyes, imbued with associations with and expressions of the divine, and its continuation throughout the dynasty served as a continual justification of Ptolemaic rule. The large eyes of the Ptolemies referenced Ptolemaic heroic and divine descent from Alexander and the gods. This descent subsequently reasserted both Ptolemaic hereditary and divine right to rule. As such, Ptolemaic eyes may be viewed as a small facet in the great opus of Ptolemaic political and religious propaganda used to reinforce dynastic rule over Egypt.

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[25] Sheila L. Ager, "Familiarity Breeds: Incest and the Ptolemaic Dynasty," 21; William Arens, *The Original Sin: Incest and Its Meaning* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[26] Smith, R.R.R. *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 207.

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The Clemency of Caesar

Abstract

Julius Caesar was famous for his clemency, but the most common view of this famous clemency is that it was a manifestation of his tyrannical power. This view seems to have its roots in writings of Seneca who characterized clemency as a function of 'superioris adversus inferiorem.' *However Caesar's writings in* De Bello Gallico*,* De Bello Civilli*, and his letters recorded by Cicero show that Caesar saw his clemency as a personal attribute and a virtue not to be feared, but rather to be welcomed and admired. He records his acts of clemency in a way which shows consistency and which was later deemed worthy of imitation by later emperors.*

Writing over a century after the death of Julius Caesar, Suetonius describes the story of a young Julius Caesar's capture by a band of pirates. The pirates held him for ransom for nearly 40 days off the island of Pharmacussa. Caesar boasted to the captors that he would one day capture and crucify them, (*Divus Julius,* 4). True to his word, upon his release he did as he had promised. He hunted them down, and nailed them to crosses. But he first slit their throats in order to lessen their agony in dying. The action of cutting the throats of the pirates is for Suetonius an example of Caesar's "most gentle nature in enacting revenge."[1] He goes on to describe Caesar's execution of slave without torture, and Caesar's refusal to testify against his wife when she was accused of adultery as further examples of his merciful nature. Despite the fact that these examples might seem strange to a modern reader as examples of mercy, Suetonius reminds us that years after his death, Caesar was famous in the ancient world for his clemency. Indeed Caesar's own writings indicate that clemency was important to his own self-image. This is especially evident in the period following the Civil War when Caesar employs clemency in new political ways.[2] Previously clemency was exercised by generals over defeated enemies, but in Caesar it became the virtue of an individual exercised toward his fellow citizens.[3]

Many scholars have posited that Caesar's clemency was a manifestation of his tyrannical power. This point of view is so widespread that David Konstan calls it *communis opino*,[4] however a careful reading of Caesar's own works *De Bello Gallico, De Bello Civili,* and the writing of contemporaries like Cicero suggest otherwise. This paper will show that the Caesar's clemency was a defining aspect of his character, and that the negative association of clemency with tyrannical power arose from Caesar's fellow Roman's inability to trust his motivations in the application of clemency. For Caesar, clemency was a personal attribute not to be feared as a function of absolute power (as some scholars suggest) but rather welcomed and admired virtue. An examination of Caesar's own works reveals an open and consistent application of a clement nature throughout Caesar's life which was deemed worthy of recognition by the Roman senate following his death.

The source of negative associations of clemency may have roots in Seneca's *De Clementia* written for the emperor Nero around 55 C.E. Seneca defined clemency in the

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[1] '*in uliscendo natura lenissimus*' (*Divus Julius,* 74) All translations are those of the author unless otherwise noted.
[2] Melissa Barden Dowling, *Clemency and Cruelty in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 20.
[3] Stefan Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford: Oxford Press, 1971), 239.
[4] David Konstan, "Clemency as a Virtue" *Classical Philology,* Vol.100, No. 4 October (2005), 337.

following way: "Clemency is self-control of the mind in the power of enacting revenge or mildness of a superior to an inferior in deciding punishment."[5] The idea that clemency implies a relationship of superiority and power over another contained in Seneca's words '*superioris adversus inferiorem'* has led many to focus on this aspect of clemency as an attribute of Caesar's tyrannical rule. Because clemency can only be exercised by the superior in a relationship, there is an inherent notion in this fact that a person in a position of superiority is capable of acting severely and punitively. Ronald Syme has stated "When Caesar the dictator paraded a merciful and forgiving spirit … he did not endear himself to all men in his class and order. Clemency depends not on duty but on choice and whim, it is the will of the master not an aristocrat's virtue. To acquiesce in the '*clementia Caesaris'* implied a recognition of despotism."[6]

Other scholars have likewise seized upon the idea of clemency as a function of superiority and power, specifically political power for Caesar. John Casey writes, "Caesar is, of course, gigantically ambitious, and has political and military genius… The condition of Caesar's clemency is conquest; … its enabling condition is power."[7] Donald Earl states, "*Clementia*, in fact, denoted the arbitrary mercy, bound by no law, shown by a superior to an inferior who is entirely in his power."[8] Others see Caesar's clemency as a means to belittle enemies and shore up the dictatorship.[9]

It is doubtful that *clementia* was defined during Caesar's time as '*lenitas superioris adversus inferiorem'* the way in which Seneca defined it years later.[10] The concept of clemency was certainly not exclusive to Rome. It was a virtue that Plato in *The Republic* ascribed to ideal statesmen or the king of an ideal state. The term first appears in Roman literature by Plautus and Terence, who both used the term, but in the adjectival form *clemens*. Clemency was demanded in law courts as well as being an important factor in warfare.[11] "*Clementia* was an expression of a man's *virtus* on the battlefield and in the courtroom but could not be expressed in other fields of civic combat."[12] For Romans during Caesar's time, on the battlefield *clementia* was at the discretion of a victorious Roman general. Any hostile forces having been defeated were perceived as having committed a wrong against the Roman state, simply for engaging in battle with Romans. Therefore they were subject to execution. If Rome through its general elected to exhibit *clementia*, the enemy was "spared execution and became subject to Roman authority."[13] During the time of the Republic, *clementia* "was regarded as a personal attribute and as a public virtue of the citizen,…and among other qualities that were part of the Roman code of conduct, was thought to be one of those attributes which… gave the Roman state a particular moral strength."[14]

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[5] '*Clementia est temperantia animi in potestate uliscendi vel lenitas superioris adversus inferiorem in constitudendis poenis,'* (*De Clem.* II, 3).

[6] Ronald Syme, *Tacitus,* (Oxford: Oxford Press), Vol I , 414.

[7] John Casey, *Pagan Virtue and Essay in Ethics,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press , 1990), 203.

[8] Donald Earl, *The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome*, (London, 1967), 60.

[9] Konstan, "Clemency as a Virtue," 338.

[10] Zwi Yavetz, *Julius Caesar and His Public Image,* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 175.

[11] Weinstock, *Divus Julius,* 234, 235.

[12] Dowling, *Clemency and Cruelty,* 17.

[13] Susanna Morton Braund, "The Anger of Tyrants and the Forgiveness of Kings," *Ancient Forgiveness: Classical, Judaic, and Christian,* Charles L. Griswold and David Konstan eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 89.

[14] Julian-Gabriel Hrusca, "Humanitas-Clementia and Clementia Caesaris" *European Journal of Science and Theology*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September 2012), 264.

Ceasar's moral strength as representative of the Roman state can be seen in *De Bello Gallico*. There is willingness on Caesar's part to confer with the Helvetii and settle differences through negotiation rather than through battle. Having been defeated in battle, the Helvetii sent ambassadors to Caesar. Caesar promised to make peace with them, (*sese cum eis pacem esse facturum)* in exchange for hostages and for restitution to the Aedui and Allobroges, (*B.G.* 1.14). He later sought a meeting with Ariovistus, having learned of the oppression of the Aedui and the Sequani, in order to discuss a resolution, (*B.G.* 1.34). Both of these gestures from Caesar were refused, and he was forced to take more extreme measures on the battlefield. Although these events conform to Seneca's definition of clemency '*lenitas superioris adversus inferiorem'* on the part of Caesar; they do not suggest a tyrannical misuse of power. In seeking a peaceful resolution Ceasar acted from a position of military superiority, not from a position of despotic power.

Further examples of Caesar's clemency can be seen in his approach to terms of surrender imposed on defeated troops. The usual conditions for peace demanded by Caesar in the Gallic War were not unreasonable for their standards of war. They typically included surrender of arms, giving of hostages, and sometimes the payment of tribute, (*B.G.* 1.27, 2.13, 2.15, 2.32, 4.27, 4.36, and 5.22). Cornelia Coulter points out two examples which exemplify Caesar's clemency in dealing with defeated tribes: "In one case the terms include definite permission to the Gauls to retain their own territory (B.G. 2.28): in another we are told that Caesar withdrew his forces from a conquered city at nightfall in order that his soldiers might not harm townspeople, (B.G. 2.33)."[15]

Caesar mentions his own clemency in two passages of De *Bello Gallico* by way of indirect discourse. The first instance is in a speech of Diviciacus in which he intercedes on behalf of the Bellovaci, "Not only the Bellovaci but also the Aeudi entreat (Caesar) to employ his clemency and mildness toward them."[16] The second passage occurs when the Aduatuci sent ambassadors to Caesar, having witnessed the impressive speed with which the Roman army deployed battle technology. Caesar recorded the words of the legate: "If perchance it is agreeable to his clemency and mildness, which they themselves had heard about from others, he should resolve that the Aduatuci should be spared."[17]

These passages suggest that Caesar's clemency had made some sort of impression on the minds of the Gauls. Caesar emphasizes this point by use of indirect speech, placing words which point out his clemency in the mouths of his adversaries. The phrase '*quam ipsi ab aliis audirent*' also suggests that the Caesar's reputation for clemency must have been widespread at the time. Certainly his surrender terms described above contrasted with "indiscriminate slaughter, enslavement of populations, and seizure of possessions … (Caesar's) treatment must have seemed mild." [18]

It is also noteworthy that the possessive pronoun *sua* (his) is used in these quotes. This suggests that the Gaul's recognized *clementia* as a particular characteristic of Caesar's, and not necessarily as a characteristic of his role as representative of the Roman state. From the point of view of these ambassadors seeking Caesar's *clementia*, it would be hard to argue that they feared any sort of mistreatment at the hands of a tyrant. Despite the fact that he was their enemy, they recognized in him *clementia* as a positive attribute of his character. If on the other hand, one takes the view that these quotes were written by Caesar in an effort

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[15] Cornelia Catlin Coulter, "Caesar's Clemency," *The Classical Journal* Vol. 26 No. 7 (April 1931): 515.
[16] '*Pertere non solum Bellovacos sed etiam pro his Aeduos, ut sua clementia ac mansuetudine in eos utatur.*' (*B.G.* 2.14).
[17] '*si forte pro sua clementia ac mansuetudine, quam ipsi ab aliis audirent, statuisset Aduatucos esse conservandos.*' (*B.G.* 2.31).
[18] Coulter, "Caesar's Clemency," 515.

to portray himself in a favorable way and may not reflect the actual sentiments of the Gauls, then it is still evident that Caesar at least views *clementia* as a virtue that defines his character.

Hirtius provides another description of Caesar's character in Book 8 of *De Bello Gallico:* "Caesar, since he knew that his clemency was known to all, and he did not fear that more severe actions might seem to be made from a natural cruelty."[19] This statement also speaks to the widespread regard for Caesar's lenient nature. Even when Caesar was compelled to act severely, according to Hirtius those being punished did not believe that the punishment was a function of a cruel or despotic nature. He further points out that *clementia* was a characteristic of Caesar which was an asset in his role as a political leader. "The Bituriges, when they saw that the clemency of Caesar opened the return to his friendship, and that neighboring states, had given hostages without any punishment, and had been received into his protection, did the same."[20] Hirtius in this statement indicates that *clementia Caesaris*, was not perceived as a function of a cruel despot, rather it was welcomed as an opening to friendship and peace with Caesar and a means by which he was able to garner favor from his enemies without continuation of hostilities on the battlefield.

In *De Bello Civili,* Caesar does not directly make mention of his *clementia*, however his acts of clemency during and after the war were famous. Caesar dispenses his *clementia* to Roman citizens in the same way in which he had previously given it to conquered barbarians and foreigners. In doing this Caesar was acting on his own rather than in his capacity as a military general on behalf of the Roman state. Caesar does not directly refer to his own clemency; he structures *De Bello Gallico* in such a way as to contrast his own *clementia* against Pompey's cruelty. Dowling points out that Caesar uses a pattern of describing Pompeian cruelties followed by examples of his own gentleness and forgiving nature toward his adversaries. "The opposition is subtly done but striking when observed in repetition." [21] Suetonius described the contrast between Caesar and Pompey in this way: "While Pompey announced that he would treat as enemies those who did not take up arms for the government, Caesar gave out that those who were neutral and of neither party should be numbered with his friends."[22]

Caesar's policy during the Civil War was to dismiss armies who had fought against him, to allow them to return home, and even in some instances to provide them with supplies of grain. (*B.C.* 1.85-87). Suetonius singles out events described in *B.C.* 1.77 in which opposing troops of their own accord, came over to Caesar's side upon their defeat. Rather than punish them, he gave them positions in his own army corresponding to those which they held under Afranius and Petrius. Clearly these men welcomed Casar's clemency and it is doubtful they would have considered this the behavior of a tyrant. Caesar even ordered his own soldiers to care for those survivors of the battle at Pharsalus, and ordered them to see that none were injured or lost property, (B.C. 3.98). Even following the war immunity was granted to prominent Pompeians including Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius.[23]

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[19] '*Caesar, cum suam lenitatem cognitam omnibus sciret neque vereretur ne quid crudelitate naturae videretur asperius fecisse,*' (*B.G.* 8.44).

[20] '*Bituriges, cum sibi viderent clementia Caesaris reditum patere in eius amicitiam finitimasque civitates sine ulla poena dedisse obsides atque in fidem receptas esse, idem fecerunt.*' (*B.G.* 8.3).

[21] Dowling, *Clemency and Cruelty,* 21.

[22] '*Denuntiante Pompeio pro hostibus se habiturum qui rei publicae defuissent, ipse medios et neutrius partis suorum sibi numero futuros pronuntiavit.*' (*Divus Julius*, 75).

[23] Coulter, "Caesar's Clemency," 523.

According to Dowling. the reception of Caesar's clemency was mostly positive; however there was a minority among those of higher status who resented it. "To be forced to receive pardon as though they were defeated barbarians, from a man whom many considered an equal at best, was an insult many could not forgive."[24] It is perhaps for this reason that Cicero referred to Caesar's clemency as '*insidiosa clementia*,' (*Att.* 8.16) "treacherous clemency" and further states that Caesar's *clementia* was motivated by a desire to win popularity, and once Caesar lost the people's support, he would become cruel. (*Att.* 10.4). However, nothing in Caesar's record would suggest this as a valid concern. In fact his consistency in the application of clemency suggest otherwise. But despite his bitterness toward Caesar's clemency, Cicero himself often called on Caesar for pardon for himself and others.[25] There are even instances where Cicero makes reference to the divine nature of clemency, "or of the man who, by saving the lives of others, comes near to divinity."[26]

The resentments of the nobility toward Caesar's clemency might be seen as the source of the notion that the clemency was a trait of tyranny. The fact that Caesar was clement toward pirates, and the barbaric tribes of Gaul was one thing, but to extend this same treatment to people of nobility or equal political status became a source of resentment due to its implications of absolute power over them. Although Caesar was not always lenient toward his opponents during the Civil War, it would be difficult to say that he treated the opponents in the Gallic War or the pirates any differently. Konstan argues that Caesar's fellow Roman's resented being dependent on his clemency, and were aggrieved the most in having been defeated. [27] The bitterness of defeat led Caesar's contemporaries to fear future retributions, and as a result they mistrusted his clemency. This seems to indicate that it was the inability of Caesar's contemporaries to accept his clemency which fostered the notion that it was a negative aspect of his dictatorial powers.

Cicero records Caesar himself explaining his use of clemency following the civil war:

> …that I had of my own accord resolved to display the greatest clemency and would give work so that Pompey may be reconciled. Let us try in this way if we can recover the goodwill of everyone, and enjoy victory for a long time; since the remaining ones by means of cruelty, have been unable to avoid hatred, or to maintain their victory for any length of time, with the one exception of Lucius Sulla, whom I have no intention of imitating. Let this be our new method of conquering – let us fortify ourselves by mercy and kindness.[28]

Note that Caesar applied clemency of his own accord (*sponte*) i.e., not in his capacity as an absolute ruler. Clearly Caesar sees his use of clemency as a personal characteristic. The consistent application of clemency by Caesar throughout his career suggests that it was done of his own accord as a function of his character and not as the result of a "choice or whim" as Syme suggested. His employment of clemency was a conscious effort to avoid imitation of Sulla, who was famous for dealing harshly with political foes as a way of maintaining a

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[24] Dowling, *Clemency and Cruelty,* 22.

[25] Ibid., 23.

[26] Weinstock, *Divus Julius,* 239.

[27] Konstan, "Clemency as a Virtue," 341.

[28] *"… quod mea sponte facere constitueram ut quam lenissimum me praeberem et Pompeium darem operam ut reconciliarem. Temptemus hoc modo si possimus omnium voluntates reciperare et diuturna victoria uti, quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt neque victoriam diutius tenere praeter unum L. Sullam quem imitaturus non sum. Haec nova sit ratio vincendi ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus"(Att.* 9.7C). Translation by the author.

lasting victory.   In his actions calling for the use of mercy and generosity as a new way of conquering, Caesar truly seems to "be the first Roman to elevate restraint or clemency to the status of a policy."[29]

From the record that remains of Caesar's writings, the image that emerges is of a man who did not shy away from fighting when it was necessary, and who could enact punishment on his enemies when necessary; but also of a man who when it was possible to do so, was merciful and generous to conquered foes. He certainly realized that he could get further along by practicing clemency, than by severely punishing his enemies in every instance as had been done by Sulla. Some have suggested that his use of clemency was a trait of an absolute ruler, " but to see the needs of others as well as his own, to deal with provincials and fellow citizens so that, while advancing his own interests, he was at the same time acting for their ultimate good, this required a keenness and a breadth of vision such as few men in all of history have possessed."[30]

Caesar's use of clemency was frank and openly displayed. His opponents in the Gallic campaign spoke of it as a one of his distinguishing characteristics and welcomed its application to them. In fact in Caesar's time the application of *clementia* on the battlefield was a virtue practiced by conquering Roman generals, and not avoided for its tyrannical associations. These tyrannical associations of Caesar's clemency appear to have stemmed from the fears of the nobility following the Civil War who feared that the good will Caesar showed to them would not last. Given the previous example of Sulla, these fears may have been valid, but Caesar clearly saw his clement nature as a characteristic which distinguished him from Sulla. In 44 B.C.E., the Roman Senate voted to erect a temple in honor of *Clementia Caesaris*. It is not clear whether the temple was ever constructed, but it is clear that Caesar's bold new application of *clementia* cemented it as a virtue to which the emperors who succeeded him aspired.[31]

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[29] Konstan, "Clemency as a Virtue," 340.
[30] Coulter, "Caesar's Clemency," 524.
[31] Konstan, "Clemency as a Virtue," 341-342.

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Female Roles and the Use of Irony in *The Trojan Women*

Abstract

Greek tragedians augment the lamentable and therefore influential nature of the women on stage through tragic irony, a literary device in which the words or actions of a character contradict the actual situation recognized by the spectators but not the character. Needless to say, the presence of strong, influential women in Greek tragedy caused some consternation among its male viewers. However, the role of women as the primary mourners in ancient Greece remains unchanged whether seen on stage or in real life. Men in Greek tragedy rarely lament, leaving that role to the women. And women in tragedy compliantly receive the role of principal lamenters, as in Euripides' Trojan Women, which has been argued by many scholars to be an entire lament in and of itself. The female characters in the Trojan Women find their voice through powerful lamentations, and the dramatic irony Euripides uses sharpens and emphasizes these women's desperate situations.

Lament is universal. Throughout history and across cultures every civilization and people has experienced loss and each culture or group's response to this suffering is surprisingly similar. When looking at ancient Greek ritual lamentation it is interesting to note the similarities between ancient and modern customs. The funeral rituals of the ancient Greeks are particularly well-known to us today because so much material and archaeological evidence has survived through the years, and many examples of Greek lament have been preserved in tragedies and other writings. The cultural patterns of grief and mourning expressed in Greek literature, however, do not necessarily mirror the reality of these rituals, and so one must be careful when using Greek tragedy as a blueprint for actual practice. While the laments represented in tragedy no doubt have many similarities to funerals, there are some features of tragic lament that appear to contrast with Greek ideas of proper behavior and status. In particular, the role of tragic women vastly differs from the place and responsibilities ancient Greek women held in fifth-century Athens where these tragedies were produced.

Women in Greek tragedy have a reputation of being pugnacious, daring, and outspoken, traits that would never have been seen as fitting or proper to a right-minded Greek citizen. While the proper Greek woman was shy and demure, tragic women, as Helene Foley states, "frequently make important autonomous decisions, often in the absence of male guardians, and can deliberately flout the authority of their men."[1] Greek tragedians also augment the lamentable and therefore influential nature of the women on stage through tragic irony, a literary device in which the words or actions of a character contradict the actual situation recognized by the spectators but not the character. Needless to say, the presence of strong, influential women in Greek tragedy caused some consternation among its male viewers. Women such as Hecuba and Cassandra are not willing to stand by and await their fate in the wake of Troy's defeat, opting instead to exact their own revenge, such as when Hecuba avenges the murder of her son in the *Hecuba* by blinding Polymestor. However, the role of women as the primary mourners in ancient Greece remains unchanged

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[1] Helene P. Foley, *Female Acts in Greek Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 8. On the role of women in the ancient Greek polis, also see Sarah B. Pomeroy et al., *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 234.

whether seen on stage or in real life. Men in Greek tragedy rarely lament, leaving that role to the women. And women in tragedy compliantly receive the role of principal lamenters, as in Euripides' *Trojan Women*, which has been argued by many scholars to be an entire lament in and of itself.[2] The female characters in the *Trojan Women* find their voice through powerful lamentations, and the dramatic irony Euripides uses sharpens and emphasizes these women's desperate situations.

The *Trojan Women* was produced at the City Dionysia.[3] Euripides first competed in the festival in 455 BCE, and the *Trojan Women*, one of his later plays, was produced in 415 during the Peloponnesian War. The play was originally produced as the final work in a trilogy, but the first two tragedies in this trilogy, the *Alexandros* and the *Palamedes*, survive only in fragments. The *Alexandros* is set in Troy at an earlier stage in Trojan history. At Paris' birth, his parents, Priam and Hecuba, expose the child due to a prophecy stating that he would destroy Troy. However, Paris is brought up in secret by a shepherd, and comes as an adult to Troy where he is discovered and his true identity revealed. In the *Palamedes*, Odysseus leads the Greeks in a condemnation of the wise man Palamedes based on false evidence. The final play, the *Trojan Women*, describes the aftermath of the Trojan War once all of its male heroes have been killed. The women and children have been left behind to await their fates at the hands of the Greek victors. Hecuba will be taken away by Odysseus, her daughter Cassandra has been claimed as a concubine by Agamemnon, and Andromache, Hecuba's daughter-in-law, is to be the mistress of Achilles' son. To add to Hecuba's sorrow, Andromache informs her that Hecuba's daughter Polyxena has been murdered, and the Greeks plan to kill her grandson Astyanax by throwing him from the battlements of Troy. Hecuba, onstage through the entire play, is left to lament the fates of both her family and her beloved home, Troy.

The play has often been interpreted as a commentary on and protest of the capture of the Aegean island of Melos during the Peloponnesian War and the subsequent massacre of its people that same year.[4] In a similar manner to Aeschylus in the *Persians*, Euripides chose not to portray the Greek perspective of the conflict, which might have had serious repercussions so soon after the controversial military action, since the *Trojan Women* was first produced a mere few months after the attack on Melos. Instead, the tragedian chose not only to depict the situation from the eyes of the 'other' but also to place it in a fantastical setting wreathed in mythology. Additionally, the use of women further removes the audience of Greek men from the situation. As mentioned above, women in tragedy, especially in Euripidean works, are often rendered as overly emotional, vengeful, outspoken, and unstable. In other words, these women are the exact opposite of the ideal Greek female figure, who was supposed to be demure, coy, and always seen, never heard. As Laura McClure states, "Ancient critics complained, about Euripides in particular, that the tragic poets created women who were too heroic and brave…too rhetorical…or too philosophical."[5] In the *Trojan Women*, the laments of Hecuba, Andromache, and Cassandra remove the audience from the immediacy of the actions onstage, while at the same time bringing the tragic nature of the situation to a more personal level. Furthermore, the use of irony in the *Trojan Women* additionally highlights the pathos of the play. Over the course of

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[2] On the entirety of the *Trojan Women* being a lament, see especially Suter (2003).

[3] Pomeroy, et al., *Ancient Greece,* 172.

[4] Pomeroy, et al., *Ancient Greece*, 26 and 318.

[5] Laura McClure, *Spoken Like a Woman: Speech and Gender in Athenian Drama* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 25.

the rest of this paper, I will attempt to demonstrate these claims through analyzing the function of women onstage and specific instances in which irony is used to heighten the pitiful situations in which these women are.

Irony is often used in Greek tragedy to highlight the dramatic elements of the play and to further engage the audience on a personal level with the characters onstage. The primary type of irony used in Greek tragedy, dramatic irony, can be separated into two subcategories.[6] The first is explicit or oracular irony, which is conveyed through suggestive language, and the second is situational irony, in which events have the opposite effect or outcome from what was expected. A major characteristic of irony, of course, is that it is usually perceived by the audience but unbeknownst to the character onstage. This can either be because the irony is "true in one sense, but not true in the sense understood by the victim of irony," or true in two senses but only one is understood by the victim.[7] Because the audience is informed of the true situation but the character is not, irony adds suspense to the actions onstage and allows the audience to feel more connected with the character. As Phillip Vellacott has argued, irony mainly serves as a "filter which separates different meanings for their various recipients."[8] These definitions of irony can be used as a helpful tool in analyzing the *Trojan Women*.

I begin with a discussion of the various examples of dramatic irony in the *Trojan Women* and its strengthening of the inherent lament of the tragedy. In an exchange between Hecuba and Andromache, the wife of Hector laments her ironic situation:

> As for me, I aimed at high repute and then having for the most part achieved it, failed to gain happiness. I worked hard in Hector's house at all the things that are considered right for women. First of all, whether blame already attached to women or not, I put aside my longing for the very things that brings most scandal, namely staying outside, and I stayed in the house. I didn't let into my house the clever talk of women but I was content with having in my own mind a sound teacher from my own resources. I kept before my husband a quiet tongue and tranquil look. I knew where it was proper for me to have my way and where it was right for me to give in to him. Report of this reached the Greek camp and was my undoing. For when I was captured, Achilles' son wanted me for his wife. I shall be a slave in the house of murderers.
>
> (Eur. *Tro.* 643-60)[9]

In ancient Athens, one of the characteristics of the model woman was that others never spoke of her outside her home. Another characteristic is to be an obedient wife who is loyal to her husband.[10] Andromache finds herself, in the wake of her husband's death, in a

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[6] Gerasimos Markantonatos, "On the Main types of Dramatic Irony as used in Greek Tragedy," *Platon* 29 (1977): 79.

[7] Ibid., 80-81.

[8] Phillip Vellacott, *Ironic Drama: A Study of Euripides' Method and Meaning* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 24.

[9] All translations in this paper are by Shirley Barlow, *Trojan Women* (Warminster, Wiltshire, England: Aris & Phillips), 1986.

[10] The view that women were fundamentally inferior to men was an idea deeply ingrained in the Greek male psyche, and Aristotle in his *Politics* and *Ethics* defends the view that women are morally inferior to men by their very nature. See Foley (2001), especially Part III.I.

situation of dramatic irony. Having lived out her life as the perfect wife and mother, she is now being talked about throughout the Greek camp and many of the Greeks are fighting over who will be lucky enough to claim Andromache as their prize.

Through all of her careful actions and her desire always to be the ideal wife and woman, Andromache has become such a model of the perfect Greek woman that her name and her actions are being widely discussed. As N. T. Croally states in his book *The Euripidean Polemic*:

> …the very qualities which are supposed to ensure that a wife remains silent and not talked about are possessed by Andromache to such a degree that word of her behavior has spread to the Greek camp, where, as a wife who conforms perfectly to male ideological prescriptions, she has become an object to be desired… Andromache is caught in a dilemma: proper wifely behavior urges her to honour Hector, and thus dishonour [*sic*] her new husband, and vice versa.[11]

Andromache's actions as a perfect wife have led her to become a type of shameful women who is talked about everywhere. Furthermore, the death of Hector and the possibility of being forcibly joined to a new husband leave her in an impossible situation. She is called both to honor Hector while dishonoring her new husband, Neoptolemus, as well as to dishonor Hector while honoring Neoptolemus.[12]

We can analyze this primarily as situational irony. Andromache did not at first perceive, of course, the consequences that her desire to be the perfect wife and mother would have on her future. The audience, however, would have been well-versed in the stories of the *Iliad* in which Andromache's fate is clear.[13] From the very beginning of the tragedy, the audience is fully aware of the inevitable fate of the women onstage and through watching these women suffer and realize their fates on their own, the audience is able to sympathize with Andromache, Hecuba, and Cassandra. Euripides uses the powerful emotions which his dramatic irony in general and his situational irony in particular produce in order to voice his own opinions in the public sphere, which I discuss in detail later.

Euripides also uses irony in the relationship between the Trojan women and Talthybius, the Greek herald who announces the Greek generals' decisions to the women. In typical Greek society, Talthybius, as a man, would have been relatively free to act and speak in whatever way he desired. Hecuba, Andromache, and Cassandra, on the other hand, would have had very little freedom of speech as women. In this tragedy, however, it is the women who have the freedom to speak as they choose, while Talthybius is allowed only to convey, albeit reluctantly, the orders of the great Greek generals, his masters. This reversal of gender roles marks an important departure from reality in Greek tragedy. As mentioned earlier, women in tragedy are often given more freedom and power than women in actual Greek

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[11] N.T. Croally, *Euripidean Polemic: Euripides'* Trojan Women *and the Function of Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 92.

[12] Neoptolemus was the son of Achilles by the princess Deidamia. Neoptolemus joined the Greeks in the Trojan War after his father's death and became a hero in his own right. See Stephen L. Harris and Gloria Platzner, *Classical Mythology: Images and Insights* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2008), especially chapters 11 and 12.

[13] While Andromache's fate is not explicitly stated in the *Iliad*, she does foreshadow it during her lament for Hector at his funeral. See the *Iliad* book XXIV. Andromache is also a central figure in another of Euripides' plays, *Andromache*, which features her life as a slave after the Trojan War. This tragedy was most likely produced before the *Trojan Women*, and so the audience would have been familiar with her fate.

society would have had. They are also, however, portrayed as emotionally unstable and prone to suicide or desperate acts of revenge.[14]

As a captive woman, Hecuba enjoys a certain license which Talthybius, due to the militaristic and restrictive structure of his duties and abilities, lacks. She feels confident enough in her power to speak freely with Menelaus, the conqueror and, as such, her master, urging him to kill Helen in Troy rather than take her back to Greece (Eur. *Tro.* 979-1032). Her language in addressing Menelaus is not that of a slave addressing her master, but rather a man addressing his equal. However, Hecuba does not forget her true identity throughout the speech, closing with an appeal to Menelaus' male sensibilities: "Death for the woman who betrays her husband" (Eur. *Tro.* 1032). Even though Hecuba's speech has many persuasive elements of rhetoric a man would appreciate, she realizes that Menelaus will most likely be convinced by his fundamental values of male dominance and proper household hierarchies. Hecuba appeals to Menelaus' ideals of the duties of women as loyal servants of their husbands. Although she is ultimately unsuccessful in convincing the Greek king, Hecuba's freedom to address Menelaus sharply contrasts with Talthybius' actions in the play.

Talthybius makes it clear throughout the play that he is a reluctant messenger, but he lacks the influence and authority to help the women in any way. When he is sent by the Greeks to take Astyanax away to his death, the messenger delivers the news slowly and unwillingly, pausing frequently in his inability to tell Andromache her infant son has been sentenced to die. Talthybius ends his announcement by handing the child to another guard and saying:

> Take him. The man to announce such things is one without pity, someone
> who is more of a friend to heartlessness than is my nature.
>
> (Eur. *Tro.* 786-89)

Talthybius makes his views of the unpleasant task known, and he can barely stand to hold the child he has been ordered to kill. However, unlike Hecuba, he has no agency or power to change the course of events to which he is in such opposition. While Hecuba directly takes up her case with Menelaus, Talthybius' only act of resistance is to let the women of Troy know that he pities them, a small consolation. One of the major ironies of the *Trojan Women* is that Hecuba, who as a woman traditionally has no power to change men's minds, has the freedom to speak out, while Talthybius is trapped and his voice unspoken.

Helen, on the other hand, uses her power as a captive woman to full effectiveness, managing to convince Menelaus to take her back to Sparta. Once home, she returns to her former role as his wife and queen, a fact the audience would have been aware of based on prior literature.[15] Menelaus' first lines in the play suggest that she has already convinced him to forgive her: "How bright the splendor of the sun is on this day when I shall lay hands on my wife" (Eur. *Tro.* 860-2). Far from being outraged and looking for revenge, Menelaus is excited to see his wife again after the decade they have spent apart since she sailed to Troy with Paris. Hecuba fully realizes that if Menelaus takes Helen home to Greece, he will be so overcome by her beauty he will not be able to bring himself to kill her as he has vowed. Because of this, she begs him to kill Helen on the spot and "avoid setting eyes on her, in

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[14] See, for instance, Euripides' *Medea*.
[15] See primarily the *Odyssey*, Books III-IV. Odysseus' son Telemachus journeys to Sparta searching for news of his father after the Trojan War has ended. In Sparta he meets both Menelaus and Helen, who has returned from Troy with her husband to resume her role as queen of Sparta.

case [he is] seized with desire for her" (Eur. *Tro.* 891). Helen's beauty is powerful enough to make Menelaus completely forget she is the reason the Trojan War was fought, and Helen manipulates this to her advantage.

Helen's beauty and power over men is portrayed as dangerous, in a similar manner to the dangerous quality women's laments held in Greek society, a quality which later will be discussed in more detail. It is not Helen's words, however, that Hecuba worries will sway Menelaus away from his resolve to kill his wife, but her appearance. When Hecuba first sees Menelaus, she warns him to kill Helen without even looking at her for fear that if he should see her beauty, he would not have the willpower to kill her. When Helen requests to be given the opportunity to defend herself, however, Hecuba urges Menelaus to allow it, saying:

> Listen to her, Menelaus. Let her not die deprived of this chance. Give me the opportunity to reply to her. You know nothing of the wrongs she has wrought Troy. A full debate will mean her inevitable death.
>
> (Eur. *Tro.* 906-10)

While this logical rhetoric in the midst of lament may appear at first to be out of place, a break from the profusion of lamentations, it actually contributes to and furthers the tragic nature of the *Trojan Women*. The juxtaposition of Hecuba's success at lamentation with her ineptitude at persuading Menelaus through the male dominated medium of rhetoric augments the play's tragic nature rather than detracts from it. As C. Collard states:

> The Athenian audience no doubt responded [to rhetoric in tragedy] as readily as we to courtroom drama, because of its immediacy to our own experience and our easy identification with the emotions of the stage-persons…[16]

In like manner to the function of dramatic irony in Euripidean tragedy, the use of rhetoric emphasizes Hecuba's tragic situation by connecting her plight with the experiences of the audience. Furthermore, Hecuba's choice of rhetoric as a persuasive device instead of lament would have been ironic to the ancient Greek audience. In Hecuba's eyes, Helen's only power is her beauty, and once she enters into the male realm of debate, she will be seen for who she truly is – a traitor deserving death. Hecuba fails to realize the impossibility, however, of winning even if she should have sounder logic.

Having been persuaded to listen to the arguments, Menelaus allows Helen to speak. Helen's main argument is that it was not her fault that she left Sparta for Troy, but rather it was Aphrodite's doing. Zeus himself has been known to succumb to Cupid's arrow, so how could Helen, a mere mortal, possibly resist? Hecuba, on the other hand, responds with the non-theistic view that Aphrodite does not exist outside of men's own minds, and serves as an excuse for human lust. Where Helen is cold and calculating, Hecuba is passionate, outraged, and filled with emotion. While Hecuba's argument is not as logically sound as Helen's, she ultimately appears to convince the chorus and Menelaus. Hecuba's passion is able to sway her audience where Helen's cold, detached logic fails. However, Hecuba's temporary triumph does not give her the results for which she is searching, ironically enough.

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[16] C. Collard, "Formal Debates in Euripides' Drama," in *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Euripides*, ed. Judith Mossman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 70.

In another example of irony, Hecuba's apparent defeat of Helen fails to achieve her goal. Menelaus, while "paying lip service to her cogent words," decides not to accept her plea for Helen's instant death.[17] Instead, he decides to take his wife home to Sparta, where he will then kill her, or so he promises. Hecuba realizes here she has lost, as she knows that Menelaus will not be able to kill Helen once he is at home, bitterly saying, "Once a lover, always a lover" (Eur. *Tro.* 1051). As Shirley Barlow points out in her commentary, it is ironic that Helen should base her entire argument on her state of helpless victimhood at the hands of Aphrodite while remaining entirely in control of Menelaus, calmly manipulating him with her dangerous feminine skill.[18] As hinted at above, Hecuba's attempt to overcome Helen in the male realm of debate ultimately fails because since neither debater is actually a man, Menelaus cannot be expected to take either of their arguments seriously. Rather, he will (and does) make his decision based on their female power of seductive persuasion. This results in Hecuba winning the debate but Helen winning the ultimate contest. As Laura McClure states:

> The Athenians did not really distinguish between sexual and political persuasion…although they did associate erotic and deceitful persuasion mainly with women and with womanish men, and considered more direct forms of political persuasion the province of "real" men and the polis. Erotic persuasion often has connotations of *dolos*, a kind of trickery that allows one person to get the better of another who is superior in power.[19]

Helen is the champion of *dolos*, as she loses the logical argument with Hecuba but still manages to win Menelaus over to her side. In this rhetorical battle, Hecuba should have known that she could not possibly persuade Menelaus by words alone. Helen has the power of seduction on her side, and it is through this that she ultimately saves her own life.

Euripides' depiction of Hecuba's ineptitude at persuading Menelaus through debate is contrasted with the success of her lamentations. Throughout the play, Hecuba laments her own fate as well as the fates of her daughters, her family, and Troy. The scene with Menelaus is almost the only place in which Hecuba is not lamenting. Mostly Hecuba laments alone, but she also has various antiphones with Cassandra and Andromache.[20] These laments ultimately convince the one man with whom Hecuba comes into contact during her laments – Talthybius – to take pity, a dangerous emotion, on the women. Although he is a Greek and therefore Hecuba's enemy, by the end of the tragedy he allows her to bury her grandson and speaks kindly to her. While Hecuba's does use lament to mourn her dead husband and sons and to console her daughters, she also, as Casey Dué argues, uses lament to "manipulate [her] listeners and achieve various goals."[21] The ancient Greeks viewed this possible function

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[17] Barlow, *Trojan Women*, 207.

[18] Ibid.

[19] McClure, *Spoken Like a Woman*, 62.

[20] It should be noted also that Hecuba does *not* share any laments with Helen. Their only direct interactions are hostile, such as the debate discussed earlier. The lack of interaction Hecuba has with Helen emphasizes their antagonistic relationship.

[21] Casey Dué, *The Captive Woman's Lament in Greek Tragedy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 9.

of lament as very dangerous, similar to their views of rhetoric and *dolos*, and it led to the banning of public lament in fifth-century Athens.[22]

The funeral lamentation in ancient Greece was primarily the woman's role, and it was often seen as a "dangerous voice" (a phrase I take from Gail Holst-Warhaft) that could lead to revenge and an unhealthy level of influence for women in society.[23] In fifth century Athens, female lamentation was portrayed as a source of disaster "liable to undermine the stable, masculine community of the polis."[24] Men in Athens saw female lament as a tool which women might use to unite an otherwise powerless and marginalized group, which then in turn could potentially turn against the dominant male power.[25] Solon banned public lament in the fifth-century in response to a blood-feud between two prominent families in an attempt to restrict the female lamenter's influence in arousing feelings of vengeance from funeral attendees.[26] However, the ban had much farther-reaching consequences on the women themselves, as lament was their primary form of public speech in ancient Athens. With the banning of lament, women "lost their value [as chief mourners]…and their ability to influence the course of conflict."[27]

Euripides clearly depicts the dangerous nature of female lament in his play, as it gives Hecuba and her daughters a voice among the voiceless amidst the destruction of Troy. With the male defenders of the city gone, all that is left are its women, and Hecuba uses the power of lament in an attempt to regain the control she has lost. It is ironic that Hecuba uses her laments to persuade Talthybius to take pity on her and allow her to give Astyanax a proper burial, but when she is faced with Menelaus, the king of Sparta, a man with real power and influence, she chooses to attempt to persuade him through logic rather than lament. Had Hecuba chosen to lament about her situation, would Menelaus have had a different response and decided to kill Helen on the spot?

The laments of Hecuba, Cassandra, and Andromache do indeed have power, though it does not ultimately save them from their respective fates as slaves and concubines.[28] As Dué states, "because ritual lamentation gives Greek women a public voice that they are not allowed in any other context, women can use lament to protest their position in life and the status quo."[29] Women's laments give them an outlet through which they can protest the desolation of their city and the wrongful deaths of their husbands, brothers, and sons. This allows the audience to sympathize better with the other, similar to the use of dramatic irony. In hearing the women lament about their situations, the audience is reminded of their own mothers, wives, and daughters as well as their own losses.

By including such an emotional, personal yet also public display in his tragedy, Euripides provides a basis of connection between the audience and the characters onstage. Rather than portraying the enemy, Euripides portrays human beings who are facing loss

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[22] See Gail Holst-Warhaft, "Mourning in a Man's World: The Epitaphios Logos and the Banning of Laments in Fifth-century Athens," in *Dangerous Voices: Women's Laments and Greek Literature* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 99.

[23] Margaret Alexiou, "Tradition and Change in Antiquity," in *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 21.

[24] McClure, *Spoken Like a Woman,* 41.

[25] Ibid., 46.

[26] Alexiou, "Tradition and change," 14-15.

[27] Holst-Warhaft, "Mourning in a Man's World," 103.

[28] Unfortunately, the laments of Andromache and Cassandra could not be discussed in this paper due to length constraints. For more on these women's laments, see Foley (2001).

[29] Dué, *The Captive Woman's Lament*, 38.

similar to what many of the men in the audience would have probably felt at some time in their lives. The removal of the barrier between Greek and other allows the audience to sympathize further with the Trojans onstage in the same way dramatic irony does.[30] When the audience knows something about the characters that the character does not, it creates a bond of compassion as the audience members acutely feel the pain of each action the character onstage takes without knowing its true consequences.

This can be seen in Hecuba's first interaction with Talthybius when she inquires after the fate of her daughter Polyxena. Talthybius has just come from the Greek camp and Hecuba is anxiously attempting to figure out to where each of her daughters, as well as herself, is to be sent. After discovering the allotment of Cassandra, Hecuba asks about her youngest daughter, painfully ignorant of the fact Polyxena has been slaughtered as a sacrifice at Achilles' tomb:

> Hec. And what of her you took from me, my youngest child, where is she?
> Ta. Do you mean Polyxena? Or who is it you ask about?
> Hec. Polyxena. To whom has her lot bound her?
> Ta. It has been decreed that she attend Achilles' tomb.
> Hec. Alas, that I bore a daughter to be an attendant at a tomb! But what
>   established custom or law among the Greeks is this, my friend?
> Ta. Consider your daughter happy. All is well with her.
> Hec. What did I hear you say? Does she still *live*?
> Ta. She is in the hands of her fate: her cares are over.
>
> (Eur. *Tro.* 260-70)

Talthybius, well aware of Polyxena's fate, is reluctant to inform the already grieving queen of her daughter's death. Carefully attempting to avoid the issue, he merely states that Polyxena is happy and well. He does not fool Hecuba, however, who quickly demands to be told if her daughter is still alive. When Talthybius again evades the question, Hecuba proceeds to ask about Andromache. She most likely has deduced Polyxena's fate by this point, but finds it too difficult to face in the midst of all her other troubles, and so she chooses to ignore it. It is not until Andromache forces Hecuba to face the reality of Polyxena's death that the Trojan queen allows herself to grieve for the dead girl.[31]

The audience, sitting through this painfully drawn out conversation between Talthybius and Hecuba, would have been very aware of Polyxena's fate through previous literature and productions.[32] The irony of Hecuba lamenting over her daughter's fate as a tomb attendant when she is actually dead creates empathy from the audience and establishes a connection between the characters onstage and the men watching the tragedy. By emphasizing dramatic irony and lament in his tragedy, Euripides creates a situation in which it becomes easy to identify with the other and the audience quickly forgets that Hecuba and the rest of the Trojan women are supposed to be the enemy. Throughout the *Trojan Women*, irony and lament work together to complement and enhance one another, achieving a far greater effect than either could have achieved on its own.

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[30] The concept of Greek notions of "other" and "barbarian" has been widely discussed in Classical scholarship. See Zeitlin (1996) and Hall (1989).

[31] Andromache: "Your daughter is dead. Polyxena was murdered at Achilles' grave, a gift to him in death – to a corpse" (Eur. *Tro.* 626-7).

[32] See Euripides' *Hecuba* and Sophocles' *Polyxena*.

The women's laments also give Euripides an outlet for his own agenda – the protestation of the massacre of the men of Melos and the enslavement of its women and children. Many scholars today view Euripides as somewhat of a champion of social reform and women's rights.[33] While it is out of context and anachronistic to attribute modern views of feminism and social justice to an ancient tragedian such as Euripides, who was no doubt a product of his time, he does appear in places to advocate for strong female voices, and he fully understands their power. Through the voices of the women onstage, Euripides gains a new sort of influence, the very power that was so feared by the men in ancient Athens they banned public funerary laments in an attempt to curtail the feelings of vengeance which women often stirred up among surviving family members. Furthermore, many of the dangerous qualities tragic women possess, such as their impaired moral judgment, tendencies toward violent acts, and their passionate responses to oppression and victimization are all "characteristics men feared in themselves and preferred to explore in women."[34] By placing these emotions and weaknesses onstage in a female character, man could examine their own failings from a safe and removed distance. The male citizens in the audience were much more likely to listen to the laments of the women onstage and Euripides capitalizes on this fact, filling almost his entire play with the women's lamentations, allowing him to protest the treatment of Melos with a more influential voice.

One of the reasons Euripides and other Athenians felt that the massacre of the people of Melos was wrong is that Melos had attempted to remain neutral in the Peloponnesian War. Athens, however, decided to attack the island anyway.[35] The lament of Hecuba when she is blaming Helen for Troy's destruction especially aligns with the plight of Melos:

> You ships' prows who sailed across the purple sea and by way of the fair harbours [sic] of Greece, to the accompaniment of a hateful paean of flutes and to the hateful voice of tuneful pipes, you hung from your sterns the Egyptian rope cables when you went to find in the Gulfs of Troy the hateful wife of Menelaus, Castor's blight and a disgrace to the Eurotas, she who is the murderer of Priam, father of fifty children, she who has ruined me, wretched Hecuba, aground in this destruction.
>
> (Eur. *Tro.* 122-137)

Were it not for Helen, Troy would have been spared and Hecuba's husband and sons would still be alive. In this lament, Troy is the innocent bystander, cruelly destroyed by one woman's ill decision. In like manner, Melos, intending to remain neutral, was suddenly attacked by the mighty power of Athens, leaving the island completely and utterly desolate.

Both Melos and Troy are undeserving of their fates, and Euripides carefully suggests the possible relationship between Athens and Helen through Hecuba's lament. By placing his concerns over the fate of Melos within the context of a female lament, Euripides gives the situation a new perspective. The audience would have felt more personally connected to

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[33] Vellacott, *Ironic Drama*, 87.

[34] Foley, *Female Acts*, 116.

[35] Melos did have Spartan sympathies, and had been attacked in the past by Athens while Sparta and Athens were at war, but in 416 Sparta had recently signed a peace treaty with Athens and the attack on Melos was, by many accounts, including that of the famed orator Thucydides, largely unwarranted. See Pomeroy et al., *Ancient Greece*, 305.

the women onstage as they would have all experienced loss and funerary lamentation. Placing his protest within the constraints of lament and tragedy allows Euripides a greater ability to connect with the audience and persuade them to his personal ideology concerning war. As Edith Hamilton states in her book *The Greek Way*:

> A tragedy shows us pain and gives us pleasure thereby... Pain, sorrow, disaster, are always spoken of as depressing, as dragging down – the dark abyss of pain, a crushing sorrow, an overwhelming disaster. But speak of tragedy and the metaphor changes...The whole philosophy of human nature is implicit in human speech...There is something in tragedy which marks it off from other disaster so sharply that in our common speech we bear witness to the difference.[36]

The Greek attitude towards tragedy is similar to our modern ideas of movies and cinema. Terrible things can be portrayed through these outlets, yet we still garner pleasure from watching it and this pleasure removes us from the reality of the events unfolding onscreen. The Greeks, too, felt both connected to and separated from the actors onstage. By placing dangerous emotions and weaknesses onstage in a female character, Euripides forces the men in the audience to critically think about and analyze their own actions, especially since many of the men in the audience may have participated in the slaughter at Melos themselves, while maintaining a barrier of safety through removal from the actual situation. Although they assuredly would have felt the passion of the tragedy and the pain of the Trojan women, there is still a void between the two that cannot be completely crossed.

While Greek women had very few rights and privileges in actuality, Greek women in the realm of tragedy were courageous, outspoken, and even at times wild and vengeful. The sole power a woman in real life had in lament becomes suddenly amplified when placed onstage, where women are seen as even more of a "dangerous voice". The power of tragedy when combined with female lament creates an outlet from which Euripides could safely voice his opinions without worrying about backlash. The *Trojan Women* presents women's lament as a medium for social and political exchange in ancient Athens, capitalizing on the power of female voices in lament as well as dramatic irony. Throughout the *Trojan Women*, Euripides uses dramatic irony and female lament to emphasize the tragic nature of war, especially the wrongful capture of Melos and the murder and enslavement of its people. Dramatic irony, giving the audience knowledge that the characters lack, creates a bond between the fictitious characters onstage and the men watching them in reality. Irony allows the audience to sympathize with the other, to feel pity for a person who otherwise would be a bitter enemy. It helps to fill the void between the action and reality while at the same time allowing Euripides to convey his thoughts to others in a more effective and powerful way. Through the seemingly powerless voice of a woman, Euripides finds a greater strength and power than he could have possibly had on his own as a man, which is the ultimate irony.

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[36] Edith Hamilton, *The Greek Way* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1930), 139-140.

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