

NOVA

THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS OF ANTIQUITY



CICERO DENOUNCING CATILINE

by John Leech (*The Comic History of Rome* by Gilbert Abbott à Beckett c1850)
Image: Hip/ Scala

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

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EDITORIAL

Ann Scott

Editorial

The topic for the 2012 Ancient History Day was 'Crime and Punishment in the Ancient World'. This issue of *Nova* contains comprehensive summaries of the talks given by speakers on aspects of crime and punishment in the ancient Egyptian, Hittite, Athenian and Roman worlds.

Those who attended will recall that punishments included a surprisingly inventive, though necessarily unpleasant, range of punishments involving such things as radishes, brandings, sacks, snakes and apes. The talks covered diverse topics, some concentrating more on what were considered to be crimes in the ancient world, some on the ways suspects were tried, others on forms of punishment for those convicted. The were uniformly interesting, instructive and entertaining.

Many long-term members of the Friends of Antiquity who attended commented that it was one of the most successful Ancient History Days that they remembered. I am most grateful to the speakers for providing their texts to *Nova*, enabling me to keep a promise I made to the teachers present that they need not take comprehensive notes on the day - because the talks would appear in this issue of *Nova*.

Readers may wonder at the relevance of the cover illustration. The explanation can be found in the 'Review of Reviews' section from an article by Brett Evans on *How to Win an Election*, the campaign advice provided by Quintus Tullius Cicero to his brother Marcus Tullius Cicero. Decapitation, followed by a hairpin purportedly thrust through the tongue in his severed head by Mark Antony's wife, was the final punishment meted out to the great orator.



Members will be delighted to hear that Emeritus Professor Bob Milns is to be awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Letters in December. This award recognises his contribution to UQ and to Classics over many years, as well as to the Friends of Antiquity and the wider community - to say nothing of his regular and varied literary contributions for *Nova*.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

Margaret Mapp

President's Report

As the end of 2012 approaches it is a good time to look back at the successes of the year and to look forward to the exciting program ahead. However it is important to realise none of this would have, or will, happen without our Executive Committee members and other FoA volunteers.

The Program Committee determines the academic program for each year, and then its members are involved in contacting speakers, and often also organising their transport, their accommodation, and looking after them while they are in Queensland. All the speakers volunteer their time not only to prepare and present their lectures, but also to provide the text, or a summary, for publication in *Nova*.

Other FoA events are planned and organised by the Social Committee, members of which also organise the afternoon teas we enjoy each Sunday. A range of volunteers sell raffle tickets, donate prizes and provide the refreshments.

Another sub-committee is responsible for our web page. Our busy and efficient editor of *Nova* creates our quarterly publication from articles generously supplied by our various lecturers from the Sunday Series or from Ancient History Day, as well as other regular or occasional contributors who provide articles, both humorous and informative, to add to the variety of offerings in the journal.

The Finance Committee has had a particularly difficult time this year managing the shift to a new accounting system, ensuring we are financial so we can carry out activities and manage our many benefactions such as the Betty Fletcher Scholarship and the Elsie Harwood bequest. Volunteers gave up their Friday evening and their Saturday to run our Ancient History Day in August, ensuring its success: selling books, raffle tickets, morning teas, and donating books for sale and raffle prizes.

So a big thank you to all our volunteers for ensuring that the Friends of Antiquity is a viable and successful organisation.

Christmas is fast approaching. Make a note in your diaries that our Christmas Party will take place at Women's College on Sunday 9 December (see enclosed flier). It should once again be an entertaining time with good food and good company.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

This year's Ancient History Day, 'Crime and Punishment in the Ancient World', included lectures on various aspects of crime, the judicial system, and punishment in the ancient Hittite, Egyptian, Athenian and Roman worlds. The summaries provided by the lecturers are reproduced below.

THE HITTITE WORLD

Emeritus Professor Trevor Bryce



Hittite Lion Gate - Hattusha (source: Wiki Commons)

Our knowledge of Hittite law, the crimes it identifies, and the punishments it prescribes comes to us from a range of sources. The most important of these is a collection of 200 laws, *The Laws*, which survives in a number of fragmentary copies. This contains a range of offences, and punishments for the offender, including homicide, manslaughter, robbery, theft, arson, witchcraft, and various categories of forbidden sexual liaisons, notably incest. In the area of civil law, there is a series of provisions relating to marriage, often stipulating prices to be paid for particular goods and services, the latter including hire rates for human labour, livestock and equipment.

Even though the document was carefully preserved and repeatedly copied with little change over the centuries, the collection seems not to have been treated with any special veneration or regarded as having any special authority. Unlike its Mesopotamian predecessors or its biblical parallels, there is not the slightest suggestion that it was seen as either divinely inspired or divinely endorsed. It is a plain, straightforward secular document. An advantage of this is that the provisions which it contains could be changed over the centuries, and frequently were, to bring them

into line with changes in Hittite society as this society became progressively more stable, with milder penalties for offences often replacing earlier harsher ones. *The Laws* were preserved on clay tablets stored in various archives. We have no evidence that it was ever presented in monumental form or put on public display for all to see, like the stele inscribed with Hammurabi's Laws.

By their very nature, a society's laws tell us much about the ethical norms and codes of conduct which operate within the society, and they often provide important insights into the overall philosophy and principles which helped shape them; for many laws are in effect specific applications of general principles. From its individual clauses, we can identify a number of the principles which underlie the Hittite laws. The most fundamental is the right of all subjects of the state to legal redress for offences committed against their persons or their property. With it is associated one of the document's most characteristic features – fair compensation to the victim of an offence, to be made by the person who has offended against him. In contrast to Hammurabic law, the emphasis in Hittite law is not so much on retributive justice or vengeance for its own sake, which is rarely of any material benefit to the victim, as on compensatory justice. An offender will have satisfied the demands of justice and paid his penalty in full once he has discharged his legal obligations to his victim.

In a case of murder, for example, it was apparently the prerogative of the victim's relatives to decide the murderer's fate. 'Whoever commits murder, whatever the heir of the murdered man says (will be done)' declares the Old Kingdom Proclamation of King Telipinu. 'If he says: "Let him die," he shall die; if he says "Let him make compensation", he shall make compensation.' In later times, the choices available to the victim's family seem to have been limited to either compensatory payment by the murderer or his enslavement to the family. The death penalty was apparently no longer an option, except in districts where it had the sanction of customary law. In a case of adultery, however, if a cuckolded husband took the law into his own hands and executed his faithless wife and her lover the law condoned if not actually legitimized his action.

The Application of The Laws

In the regional and rural districts of the homeland the administration of justice was one of the responsibilities of the town or village authorities known as the Council of Elders, probably consisting of the heads of prominent local families, wealthy local landowners and the like. The Councils were obliged to collaborate closely with the regional governor, the Bel Madgalti, an

appointee of the king whose many duties included the dispensing of justice in the region to which he had been appointed. Minor cases may have fallen entirely within the competence of the local council. But something like assizes were probably held for more serious cases during the governor's tours of inspection of his region.

It is this that provides us with one of *The Laws'* defining features. Its concern was much less with the elite elements of Hittite society than with the little people of the state - the villager injured in a tavern brawl or in a dispute with his neighbour over boundaries, the small farmer seeking to buy some pigs or a small orchard, the hired labourer, the herdsman, the cattle rustler, the slave, the local romeos and lotharios, the participants in family weddings, the partners in mixed and common law marriages. There was potential for conflict and litigation in every aspect of life in the village and farming communities, and no doubt the 'city-gates', the venue of the local courts, were thronged with clamorous appellants, seeking justice for real or supposed wrongs, laying claim to stray livestock which their discoverer has refused to hand over, seeking the return of the 'bride-price' for a reluctant bride who had absconded on her wedding day, demanding compensation for a crop trampled by a neighbour's unsupervised cattle, or for a favourite working dog brained by an irate



neighbour for savaging his ducks.

Roman mosaic (source: Wiki Commons)

In the terms of his appointment, the governor was strictly instructed to administer justice fairly and impartially, not favouring the strong over the weak, being sure to protect the interests of vulnerable members of society, like widows and orphans, against exploitation by a powerful neighbour:

Into whatever city you return, summon forth all the people of the city. Whoever has a suit, decide it for him and satisfy him. If the slave of a man, or the maidservant of a man, or a bereaved woman has a suit, decide it for them and satisfy

them. Do not make the better case the worse or the worse case the better. Do what is just.

Governors were also enjoined to show due regard for local customs in dispensing justice. Judgments handed down and penalties imposed should not, as far as possible, be contrary to local customary law, which might in a number of instances take precedence over judgments specified in *The Laws*. The governor might often have had to rely on the village council's knowledge of local traditions to ensure that his judgments were consistent with these. It might well be that local tradition prescribed a harsher penalty than that allowed for in *The Laws*. For example homicide, as we have already noted, is not categorized as a capital offence in *The Laws*. But there were apparently districts of the kingdom where this offence did in fact attract the death penalty. In such districts the king's governor had instructions to abide by the local custom: 'If in the past it has been the custom in a town to impose the death penalty, that custom will continue. But if in a town it has been the custom to impose exile, that custom will continue.'

The rare occasions on which sentence of death is stipulated in *The Laws* indicates a general reduction, by the time of the New Kingdom, in the range of offences which attracted the death penalty, when compared with the broader application of this penalty in the earliest period of Hittite society, and particularly when compared with its widespread application in Hammurabic law. This in turn serves to highlight the extreme gravity, in the Hittite perception, of those offences for which it was still applicable. Notable amongst these were acts which caused pollution or defilement, physical or moral, like certain prohibited sexual liaisons. It was also applicable in a number of instances to those who polluted the environment of kings or gods, either by coming before them in an unclean state, by serving up polluted food or drink to them, or by entering a temple without authorization. Keeping for oneself and one's family sacrifices intended for a god was also punishable by death. So too acts of negligence committed while in the service of king or god, such as careless action leading to the destruction of a temple by fire. Sometimes the official's family as well as the official himself forfeited their lives in atonement for the latter's negligence. Clearly, offences committed deliberately or inadvertently against the gods ranked amongst the most serious of all crimes, no doubt because of the possible consequences to an entire community of an offended god's wrath. They were for this reason included in the much reduced group of crimes for which the death penalty was still applicable.

The highest judicial authority in the land was exercised by the king. As deputy of the Sun God, he was the judge supreme in the kingdom. He had very much a 'hands-on' role in the kingdom's judicial activities. Disputes between vassal rulers were brought directly before him for arbitration, as also a range of other disputes arising within or between vassal states. He heard appeals against judgments made in lower courts, and cases originating in lower courts were referred to his court when they were adjudged to go beyond the competence of the lower court. In addition, the king's court, known as 'the king's gate' or 'the palace gate' was the venue for judging a wide range of offences which had by law to be referred directly to it.

EGYPT

THE TOMBS IN THE VALLEY OF THE KINGS: SEALS BROKEN AND CONTENTS PLUNDERED?

Dr Susanne Binder (Macquarie University)¹



The Valley of the Kings
(Source: Wiki Commons)

For this public lecture, a topic was chosen that would set the crime scene – as it were – for 'Crime and Punishment in the Ancient World': the burial place of the ancient Egyptian kings of the New Kingdom (c. 1550-1069 BCE), the Valley of the Kings on the West Bank of the Nile at Luxor in Upper Egypt, 800 km south of modern-day Cairo.

In the New Kingdom, the royal funerary complexes consisted of the funerary temple for the cult of the deceased king located in the Nile Valley at the foot of the chain of mountains and the royal tomb itself on the western side of these mountains in the Valley of the Kings. It has often been speculated that the shape of the highest peak in the area, the Qurn (ancient name: Meretseger – 'She who loves silence'), towering over both valleys, resembles that of a pyramid, albeit a natural one, and that the choice of this location for the royal burials was deliberate.

In total there are now 64 numbered tombs in the Valley of the Kings – of which 28 are tombs of kings of the New Kingdom, others belonged to royal family members (e.g. princes, queens, the sons of Ramesses II, Amenhotep III's father-and mother-in-law, and even a few high officials). The Valley of the Kings has been known to the Europeans from the very first expeditions to Egypt (Napoleon, the 1828-9 Franco-Tuscan expedition, Lepsius and the 1842-6 Prussian expedition etc). Systematic archaeological exploration began in the early 20th century with Theodore Davis and culminated in 1921 with Howard Carter's discovery of the intact tomb of Tutankhamun (K[ing's] V[alley] 62). Archaeological work in the Valley is ongoing but since then only two further tombs have been added: in 2005 (Otto Schaden and his team), KV 63 which turned out to be an embalming cache, and in early 2012 a team from the University of Basle (Switzerland) excavated KV 64, a small re-used and undecorated shaft tomb containing the inscribed anthropoid wooden coffin of a female, a Songstress of Amun datable to the 22nd Dynasty.

The tombs designed for the New Kingdom kings are enormous subterranean structures, with steep sloping passages into the depths of the mountain, with huge sarcophagus chambers, brightly painted walls decorated with the various mythological compositions concerning the journey of the sun-god through day and night.

Surprisingly, the archaeology of the Valley has uncovered extremely little in terms of material finds of the original contents of these tombs. The exceptions to this are well-known sensational finds like KV 62, Tutankhamun (1921), and the earlier (1905,) discovery of the tomb of Yuya and Thuya, mother and father-in-law of King Amenhotep III, or the gold hoard in the tomb of Queen Tawosret (KV 56) in 1908. In historical terms, these persons are minor figures, but the wealth of their tomb contents only reinforces the poignancy of the bigger question regarding the whereabouts of the funerary equipment of the tombs of history's greats such as Tuthmosis III, Amenhotep III and Ramesses II. It is clear that only a tiny fraction of their original contents has been uncovered by archaeologists. It is generally thought today that the tombs were empty by the time modern exploration started.

Attributing the dearth of material finds to tomb-robbery on-going since the time of the New Kingdom pharaohs, while straight-forward and seemingly obvious, is an explanation not differentiated enough to take into due account all the known ancient evidence on re-entry into the

¹ This is the summary of the public lecture by Dr Binder on Friday 24 August. Dr Binder provided a reading list with this summary. Lack of space has prevented including it here. Available from (email): aemscott@bigpond.net.au.

tombs. It is true that there is archaeological and textual evidence for post-interment activity in the Valley of the Kings including graffiti and secondary inscriptions (e.g. KV 46 – with a date 80 years after the burial of the King Tuthmosis IV) with evidence for periodical inspections of the royal tombs, the discovery of theft and the restoration of blockings; the use of chambers for the burial of royal family members; the later re-use of burial chambers (e.g. KV 64); broken door seals and careful re-sealing (KV 62); and the 20th dynasty records now called the Tomb Robbery Papyri with the interrogations and trials of tomb robbers at a time when the Valley of the Kings was still in use. In sum, the evidence provides attestations for both re-entry for authorised additional burials or re-use of tombs, inspections and un-authorised entry for an illegal procurement of goods. It is, however, the scale of what is lost that raises the question whether tomb-robbery alone can account for it. Overall, there is good reason to believe that the contents of the royal tombs in the Valley remained virtually intact towards the end of the New Kingdom when royal tombs were still being built and the Dynasty was still in power. Guarding the Valley with its precious contents would have been maintained.

Particularly Karl Jansen-Winkel's (1995) close examination of documents and events in the context of the 21st Dynasty, the period immediately following the New Kingdom, has led to a convincing re-evaluation of the situation, building on reconstructions put forward, among others, by Cyril Aldred (1979) and Nicholas Reeves (1990). Issues like the allusions to civil unrest and conflict in years 17 and 19 of Ramesses XI (Tomb robbery Papyri), the removal of the royal mummies from the Valley of the Kings and their reburial in only two tombs (TT 320 and KV 35, together over 50 mummies), and the rulers' increasingly restricted access to gold, leads to the revised theory that a large-scale official enterprise was commenced to systematically clear the tombs: to protect the human remains from marauding gangs in this time of unrest / civil war but also to use the material contents of the royal tombs as the state treasury. Supporting evidence for this practice over a sustained period of c. 110-140 years is found in the Late Ramesside Letters, 4000 published graffiti in the Theban mountains (evidence for inspections and the role of the scribe Butehamun), traces of the systematic removal of gold from coffins, and in docketts (some dated) on the re-located royal mummies themselves. Examples used in the lecture to illustrate these findings were the coffin of Queen Meritamun with its former gold carefully replaced by yellow paint, and the remains of Ramesses II which, as indicated by docket

inscriptions, were relocated twice in this period before being found in the cache of KV 35.

A complex situation has unfolded suggesting that recycling of state assets, rather than plunder, may be the explanation for re-entry into the tombs.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Dr Boyo Ockinga (Macquarie University)²

Pharaoh the fount of law

In ancient Egypt law is intimately tied up with the king, whose god-given task it was to uphold 'maat', divine order, which also embraced justice; the gods 'lived on maat', thus the king had to ensure that maat abounded. The promulgation and the enforcement of the law were intended to ensure this, since this activity of the king kept the forces of chaos that were opposed to maat in check. The Egyptian word for law is hep; it is also occasionally used with the sense of "rule" or "custom". The word is not attested until the Middle Kingdom, which has led some to suggest that it was in the Middle Kingdom that laws began to be fixed in writing rather than being anchored in custom.

Texts refer to the law of pharaoh: "Give the property to the one who buries", says the law of pharaoh, our good lord". In one document there are two statements that indicate that the king (the person or office) determined law: 'Pharaoh has said, may every man do as he wishes with his property'; 'Pharaoh has said, give the dowry(?) of every woman to her'. Like the god of writing and wisdom Thoth, the king is 'lord of laws', he is also the one who 'makes firm the laws'. A hymn to Ramesses VII states: 'Praise to you, benevolent one, making good laws'. The king is also 'the one who makes the laws'.

However, the king was certainly not above the law. In the New Kingdom it was believed that, like all Egyptians, he would have to account for his behaviour in the court of Osiris and face the judgement of the dead. In the tomb of Ramesses IV we find the text of the declaration of innocence, part of chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, in which the deceased denies having committed 42 crimes. And in the tomb of Ramesses VI there is the complete text of chapter 125, which deals with the judgement.

Was the king involved personally in deciding cases? The evidence is somewhat ambiguous, but I.M. Lurje makes an interesting suggestion that a statue of the king may have been present in the place where the court met, based on the standard

² Dr Ockinga provided a fully-referenced paper. Email: aemscott@bigpond.net.au for a copy.

wording of the oath taken in court: 'As Amun endures, as the ruler endures! I tell pharaoh the truth, I do not lie!' This is a distinct possibility – we have evidence of the presence of statues of the king in the bureaus of officials and the use of images of the ruler to deputise for his physical presence is not confined to ancient Egypt but is well known in early modern Europe.



Amun-Ra
(source: Wiki Commons)

The Dispensation of Justice

The king was obviously assisted in dispensing justice, and it was his officials who did this. In the Teaching for King Merikare that dates to around 2000 BC the king's father advises him: 'make your officials great that they may execute your laws'.

The vizier was the chief legal officer. In the New Kingdom there were two viziers, one in Thebes in the south and the other in Memphis in the north, whose seat was later transferred to the new delta capital built by Ramesses II, Per-Ramesse.

The instructions given by the king to the vizier, as recorded, for example, in the tomb of Rekhmire, give us an insight into what was expected of him: 'Lo, being vizier, Lo, it is not sweet, Lo, it is bitter as gall.' He is also bound by the law: 'See to it that all is done according to law, that all is done exactly right, in [giving a man] his vindication.'

The vizier had to avoid showing partiality but was urged not to go in the opposite direction:

Avoid what was said of the vizier Khety, that he denied his own people for the sake of others, for

fear of being falsely called [partial]. If one of them appealed a judgment, that he had planned to do to him, he persisted in denying him; but that is excess of justice.

But naturally it was not only the vizier who dispensed justice; as the Teaching for King Merikare makes clear, it was the task of the king's officials. A very common epithet found in biographical inscriptions from the Middle Kingdom onwards is the claim that a wise official was 'one who caused that two disputants go forth satisfied by the utterance of his mouth'. We also find various officials claiming to have 'executed justice', often 'for the king', for example, on a statue of Amenhotep son of Hapu, the famous courtier of Amenophis III, he is said to be 'one who hears matters of the secret chamber, an official to whom hearts are opened, one of calm temperament, just of counsel, who executes the laws of / for him who is in the palace'.

On a statue of the scribe of the king Min-Nakht, now in Turin, the text is engraved on the papyrus roll that he carries: 'executing laws, setting regulations, causing that every office knows its duties in the temple of every temple estate by the true scribe of the king, whom he loves, overseer of the granary, counter of the grain of the south and the north, Min-Nakht'.

As dispensers of justice, the officials did not act alone, but were one of a group of officials called a kenbet. Kenbet is often translated 'court', but in fact it means 'council' and is applied to bodies of officials whose duties were not necessarily judicial, such as: the council of the palace, the council of the residence, the council of pharaoh, the council of the royal estate or council of the entire land.

But the term is most frequently used to designate a council that acted as a court of law. This grouping of magistrates, seru in Egyptian, who exercised judicial functions, were often simply referred to as 'the kenbet', but sometimes the word kenbet is qualified, e.g. kenbet sedjemiu 'council of hearers/ investigators', which makes its judicial character clearer.

We also encounter two 'Great Kenbets', one each in Thebes and Memphis (later Per-Ramesse) each under the respective viziers of Upper and Lower Egypt, that clearly had judicial functions since they are often referred to in legal texts as the body that hears a case. That the kenbet that dealt with legal matters was made up of officials whose normal tasks were not judicial is indicated by the make-up of some of them. In the documents that deal with the tomb robberies in the Ramesside period, the 'great kenbet of the city' (Thebes) that tried the cases is made up of the following persons: the Overseer of the city and Vizier, the First Prophet of

Amun-Re, the Second Prophet of Amun-Re, the Royal Butler and Scribe of Pharaoh, the Royal Butler and King's Messenger, the Deputy of the (Chief of the) Chariotry, the Standard Bearer of the Fleet and the Mayor of Thebes. But the membership of the kenbet was not fixed, as is indicated by phrases such as 'the kenbet of this day' which introduces the list of judges who tried a case.

One local kenbet which we know had a judicial function is that of the village, Deir el Medinah, inhabited by the workmen who built the tombs of the pharaohs in the Valley of the kings. We know a great deal about life in the village thanks to a huge number of papyri and ostraca (pottery fragments or shell with etched writing) that were found in a huge pit at the northern end of the village. The legal texts tell us who the members of the kenbet could be: the two chiefs of the gang, the two scribes, two chiefs of police, two district administrators, two doorkeepers, a deputy (presumably of the chief of the gang), an artist, and a workman.

So we know that they were all men who belonged to the community, and included workmen who, as members of the court, were given the title ser 'magistrate', a title normally only held by men of high standing in the administration.

The majority of cases dealt with by the court concerned disputes involving property - payment, sale and loan of objects, the rent and sale of animals, mostly donkeys. There are also some examples of cases involving land ownership or the ownership of a tomb; other cases deal with matters related to the inheritance of property.

The criminal cases deal mainly with the theft of property, both private and state or temple property, but there are also examples of cases dealing with physical assault, including against women and one of disturbing the peace of the dead.

When it came to the major crimes in which some members of the workmen's community were implicated, the famous tomb robberies, it was not before the local court of the village that the accused were tried but the 'great kenbet of the city' headed by the vizier. The court did not only sit in judgement, it also investigated crime.

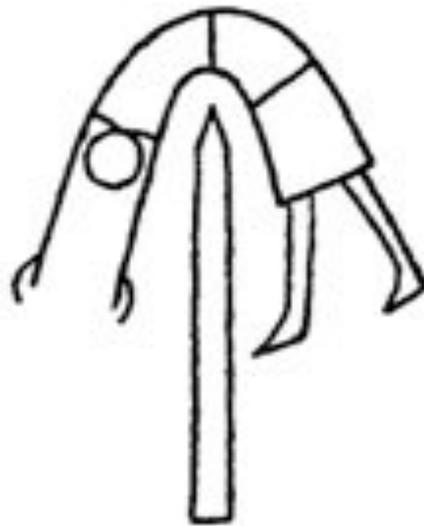
Although some texts seem to suggest that the court was ineffective - cases are sometimes brought before it repeatedly over a period of years - it does seem to have been able to enforce its decision and could impose penalties.

Penalties Imposed

A wide range of penalties can be found in the legal texts. Not all of these were imposed by the local courts, such as that of Deir el Medina, and some sentences could only be passed by the king. The following are some of the penalties we read about:

The death penalty

This was imposed for crimes that are referred to as being a '(serious) offence (worthy) of death', e.g. 'It will be found to be an offence worthy of death'; 'a very grave matter deserving of death'. The death penalty was most frequently carried out by impaling, to judge by the number of times it is referred to. In a tomb robbery papyrus it is said of the desecration of the tombs 'they are great crimes (worthy) of execution and of placing on the stake or the severest penalties'. Or they are 'serious charges involving mutilations or impaling or the severest penalties'. What this involved is graphically illustrated by the hieroglyphic writing in an inscription of Merenptah:



Often, death by impaling is mentioned in oaths in which the defendant says the penalty should be applied in the event that it should be proven that he had lied, and death by impaling is preceded by the person first being mutilated:

In the tomb robbery trials, the defendant 'swore the oath of the lord, LPH, on pain that he would be beaten, his nose and his ears (cut off), and being placed upon the top of a stake'.

In the Nauri decree of Sety I execution is accompanied by other sanctions: "The law will be applied to him by executing him, he being impaled, and giving his wife, his children and all his property to the temple."

But it should be noted that this sort of severe punishment had to be approved by pharaoh, as is indicated by pTurin 1887 rto 2,3: where there is a

reference to a 'charge concerning the cutting off (of) the ear of Sekhatuemnefer, son of Bak-Satet, which this wab-priest did without pharaoh's knowing'.

Several texts indicate that killing a human was to be avoided wherever possible. Djedi says to king Khufu when the latter suggests a prisoner should be beheaded,

But not to a human, Sovereign! ... It is not permitted to do thus to the noble cattle!

The royal author of the Teaching for King Merikare advises:

Do not kill; it is not useful to you. Punish with beatings and with imprisonment so that the land will be well founded. Except for the rebel whose plan is discovered.

But the king could not avoid having to pass the death penalty, so what did he do when he stood before the tribunal of Osiris at the judgement of the dead? The text of the Declaration of Innocence in the tomb of Ramesses IV gives us the answer; where normally we encounter the statement 'I did not kill a person', Ramesses IV's text has 'I did not kill a person unjustly'.

Other forms of execution are referred to, but these appear infrequently and do not seem to have been part of regular judicial procedure: death by burning, drowning, or beheading. Being thrown to wild animals may have been more frequent, if we take at face value the text of an oath attested in the reign of Sethnakhte (beginning of the 20th Dynasty): 'Now it was the inspector of the house of the carrying-chair of King UserkhaCrei-Setepne, Penherwer, who again gave him a hundred blows of the palm-rib, and again made him pronounce an oath, saying: 'If I go back again on what I have said, I will be thrown to the crocodile'.

Highly placed persons were allowed to commit suicide, so for example, the persons who were implicated in the Harem Conspiracy against Ramesses III:

And they went and examined them, and they caused to die by their own hands those whom they caused (so) to die, though [I] do not know [wh]o, [and they] also punished [the] others, though I do not know who. But [I] had charged [them strictly], saying: 'Take heed, have a care lest you allow that [somebody] be punished wrongfully [by an official] who is not over him'. Thus I (the king) spoke to them again and again'.

Corporal punishment

The next most severe punishment was maiming. Corporal punishment also included maiming by cutting off the hand, tongue, nose and/or ears.

Very common is punishment by beatings. This is a punishment we find meted out to tax evaders already in the Old Kingdom. In the texts of the New Kingdom, it is frequently reported in the form of 100 or 200 blows, for example in the Nauri decree of Sety I. 100 beatings and a fine of 100 times the value of what was stolen is imposed for stealing any temple property. 200 beatings are mentioned in the Nauri Decree.

In a dispute about stolen chisels the accused says , 'We will not tell a lie. If we lie, then let us be [beaten] with 100 blows'. Sometimes the part of the body which was to be beaten is specified, e.g. the soles of the feet (bastinado).

Beatings were at times accompanied by five open wounds: The accused swears an oath: 'If I enter this tomb chamber (again) then I will be under 100 blows and five wounds"'.

Sometimes ten brandings were added for good measure: 'The scribe Paser and the draftsman Nebnefer were in the court. One determined that Paser was in the right. One determined that the draftsman Nebnefer was in the wrong. The court said: 'give him 100 blows with the baton as well as ten brandings and deliver him to quarry stone'.

In the last example we have a reference to being condemned to the quarries and this sort of thing is encountered as an additional punishment. Exile is also encountered, e.g. to Kush (Nubia), or, in the decree of Horemheb, to Sile, the frontier post on the eastern border. Imprisonment as we know it is not reported.

Finally, the imposition of fines is also attested. For crimes against personal property, the perpetrator was required to pay compensation to the victim and so restore the situation to what it had been previously. A penalty was also imposed, called TAwT, which was levied as a multiple of the value of the property stolen. Stealing temple property was particularly heavily punished. In the Nauri decree of Sety I we read: 'Now, as for anyone who shall be found stealing any property belonging to the temple of Menmare in Abydos, against him shall the law be executed by beating him with 100 blows, along with exacting from him the goods belonging to the temple of Menmare in Abydos at a penalty of 100 to 1'.

Failure to pay a debt on time was punished by having to pay double what was owed. The district administrator Penrenenutet said:

As Amun endures! As the ruler endures! If I let ten days pass without having given this garment to Hormin, then let it (the debt) be doubled against me'.

ATHENS



CRIME IN ANCIENT ATHENS

Dr Alastair Blanshard (University of Sydney)

There is something paradoxical about crime. The causes of crime are universal, but the manifestations of crime are particular to each society. For example, theft will occur wherever we find high value goods, someone who wants to steal them, and the absence of anyone to prevent them. However, the nature of those high-value goods, their location, the profile of the robber, and the nature of the guard will vary from society to society. Tomb robbery in ancient Egypt, temple theft in Greece, and muggings on the New York subway may look like totally different crimes, but in essence they boil down to the same factors.

For the student of crime, the trick is to focus on what is similar and what is different in each society and work out how this affects the criminal landscape. Take, for example, a crime like 'serial homicide' or, as it is more popularly known, 'serial killing'.

One question the student of crime might ask is 'Why are there no serial killers in the ancient Athens?' Or indeed, 'why are there none in the ancient world more generally?' This terrifying figure that has stalked the cities and imaginations of the West ever since the mid-nineteenth century is entirely absent from the ancient city. It has become almost a cliché of social and economic history that Rome at its height was a city of the same size as Victorian London, yet we never see a figure like Jack the Ripper. Death by anonymous, compulsive killers is not something that its citizens ever seem to worry about.

In Rome and Athens, you always know who is killing you and they always have a good reason. People move around the city in fear, but it is fear from gangs of political enemies, not from unknown killers driven by a personal pathology. Indeed,

death by unknown figures is extremely unusual in the ancient world. When it occurs, it is a matter of great concern or discussion. Is this a just a by-product of our imperfect historical record? Namely, that for various reasons relating to the fragmentary nature of our evidence, the conventions of genre or, perhaps even, the ingenuity of the perpetrators, our records have failed to preserve any account of serial killing. Perhaps it happened, but we just don't have any record of it.

This seems highly unlikely. It would be truly remarkable if a crime such as 'serial homicide', a crime where the killer often demands that he be noticed, would have escaped mention in our sources. Moreover, it is striking that Athenian law doesn't even envisage the possibility of someone like a serial killer. In Athens, homicide could only be prosecuted by immediate kin. So unless the serial killer happened to anonymously over time bump off members of the same family, there would technically be no way of bringing them to justice except through a series of independent court cases. It is telling that Athens never imagined that it would ever be required to pursue joint actions for murder.

So if it is not a function of our evidence, how might we explain the lack of serial killers? One explanation would be to argue that the social factors that led to the production of the crime are absent. Put simply, life in Athens never produced the pathology of which serial homicide was a symptom. A study of the psychology of those who commit serial homicide suggests that the crime tends to be carried out by figures who have a strong sense of social isolation coupled with a lack of certainty about their status.

Athens was not the type of society to produce such individuals. No one was ever alone. Familial and civic networks ensured that no one was ever isolated from systems of exchange and reciprocity. Every individual was bound tightly into networks of friends, family and neighbours. It was impossible to function in this ancient city without these networks. Citizens were locked into groups such as demes, tribes as well as numerous other religious and social clubs. Whether it was dealing with death, marriage, the birth and care of children, one was always surrounded by people. People never moved through the city alone. They shopped in groups, attended theatres and assemblies in groups, and acted co-operatively economically whether it was farming land, organising trading ventures, obtaining credit or loans, leasing mines, or establishing businesses.

We can make a similar point about the issue of status. Athens was a city where status was

constantly being asserted and determined. Whether this was through theatre, religious ritual, familial practice, Athens was constantly and importantly drawing distinctions between who was in and who was out. Status determined what you wore in the gymnasium, which sacrifices you could attend, how and when you participated in civic rituals. There was never the indeterminacy associated with serial homicide.

So if serial homicide wasn't a feature of the Athenian criminal landscape what crimes did occur. A survey of the predictive factors for crime suggest that Athens was a city in which chances of interpersonal violence were high and incidents of property theft were low.

The key predictive factors for occasions of interpersonal violence are a susceptibility to insult, the presence of an audience, and the consumption of alcohol. This is practically a perfect description of life in Athens where a strong sense of honour and shame combined with (as we have already seen) the tendency to move in groups, and a culture of festive consumption of wine. The city would seem to be an ideal breeding ground for assaults and wounding. Anecdotally, this conclusion is supported by numerous stories of fights in the Agora and festivals that descend into drunken brawls.

In contrast, factors that exacerbate property theft are a lack of surveillance, the presence of high-value, non-identifiable goods, and the ability to dispose of goods with ease. Such a model would seem to suggest that theft, especially non-monetary theft, would be comparatively less of a problem in Athens. For example, settlement patterns show a high presence of dwellings within either urban or regional communities in Athens and within those communities there is a high-level of domestic surveillance. (All our evidence seems to suggest that slaves, neighbours, and family ensure that one's self and one's property is constantly supervised.) Similarly, the pre-industrial and craft nature of much manufacturing ensures that goods are readily identifiable. People never seem to have any problem identifying their goods in disputes whether its cups or shoes. And both these features seem to complicate the ability to effectively dispose of stolen property.

Of course, one can think of exceptions. But those exceptions often turn out to be interesting in themselves, and are perhaps the exceptions that prove the rule. For example, monetary theft from purses would seem to be an obvious exception. Coins are high value and easily disposed of. Consequently, I think it is worth noting here that one of the most serious crimes in Athens,

punishable by summary execution, was purse-cutting (ballantiotomia).

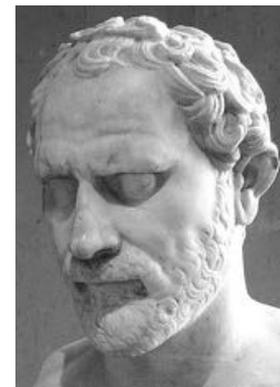
It is worth stressing here just how usual the treatment of purse-cutting is. It was one of just a handful of crimes for which the criminal could be arrested and kept in prison to await trial. If he was caught red-handed and confessed his crime, he could he summarily executed. Such actions are really quite extraordinary and noticeable in a legal system obsessed about legal procedure, restraint of the exercise of the power of magistrates, and the supreme importance of jury trials.

The severity of the law seems to reflect a problem. However, it is hard to work out the scale of the problem. It would be useful to have a clearer idea of the degree of monetization of the Athenian economy. All the recent evidence does seem to suggest that small-denomination use is certainly much more common and widespread than we perhaps thought a decade ago.

For modern criminologists, ancient Athens provides an interesting case study for testing the limits of our intellectual models. Much work has been done on how Athens taught its citizens to be good. But there is an equally interesting story to tell about the way that it encouraged its inhabitants not to be bad.

DEMOSTHENES, AESCHINES AND THE CROWN TRIAL OF 330 BC

Emeritus Professor Bob Milns



Bust of Demosthenes (the Louvre)

In midsummer (June?) in Athens, in the year 330 BC, large crowds of both Athenian citizens and visitors from cities all over Greece had gathered at the law-courts to hear and see the great contest that was about to take place. The issue before the court, with its possibly 1,501 judges, was the public life and policies of Demosthenes, the arch opponent of the now dead King Philip II of Macedonia and his imperialistic conduct. The

case shows clearly how in Athens the law-courts were often the battle-ground between political enemies and the policies they espoused. The person who was technically the defendant was a supporter of Demosthenes named Ctesiphon, but the real defendant was Demosthenes himself, who appeared as supporting speaker (synegoros) of Ctesiphon, but whose own public life over the last 20 years was on trial. The prosecutor was Aeschines, a long-standing and bitter enemy of Demosthenes. In the background there lurk all the time the figures of Philip and his son, Alexander, now King of Macedonia and at the peak of his triumphant campaign of conquest of Persia.

To understand how this situation came about, we must go back almost 30 years to the rise of Macedonia to 'super-power' status under Philip from the time of his accession in 359 BC. Right from the start, Philip and Athens came into military conflict over Philip's expansion in northern Greece at the expense of Athens' hegemony there. Then, as his power grew, Philip's influence expanded southwards into Central Greece, with a further deterioration of Athens' position. Peace was made in 346 BC – the notorious Peace of Philocrates – but this was regarded by Demosthenes and his supporters (who considered that a final 'show-down' with Philip was inevitable) merely as an opportunity to gather strength and to win over hesitant Greek states. The major triumph of Demosthenes' foreign policy was a military alliance with Athens' old enemy and rival, Thebes, soon after war had once again broken out in 340 BC. In 338 BC the forces of Philip defeated the combined forces of Athens and Thebes at the fatal battle of Chaeronea, leaving Philip the master of the destiny of the Greek city-states. Significantly, Demosthenes was asked by his fellow-citizens to deliver the eulogy over the Athenians who had fallen at Chaeronea.

Two years later, in 336 BC, two significant events occurred: King Philip was assassinated in Macedonia; and Ctesiphon proposed in the Council at Athens that Demosthenes should be honoured with a gold crown at the Theatre on the occasion of the dramatic festival because he had always spoken and acted in the best interests of Athens. The decree was passed by the Council but immediately indicted by Aeschines as illegal (paranomon) on the following grounds: (i) it was illegal to crown an official while in office and before he had submitted to audit and Demosthenes was holding public office at that time; (ii) it was illegal to crown a citizen in the Theatre rather than the Assembly; and (iii) it was illegal to insert false statements in the public records and what Ctesiphon said about Demosthenes' public actions and policies was manifestly false.

For unknown reasons, Aeschines let the case lie for six years, until 330 BC, when he obviously believed that circumstances were favourable to resume the case. The ensuing Crown Trial has been described by a modern scholar as 'the most important in Greek history; and Aeschines himself said that 'it had aroused greater interest throughout the Greek world than any public trial in living memory'. The trial opened with Aeschines' speech against Ctesiphon, the nominal defendant. He tried to show that Demosthenes' policies, especially the Theban alliance, had been to the detriment of Athens and were disastrous in their outcome for Athens. Ctesiphon then spoke briefly in his defence before handing over the main defence to Demosthenes, who argued that right from the outset of his public career he had seen the danger that Philip was proving not only to Athens but to all the Greek cities; and that he had worked tirelessly and single-mindedly to unite the Greeks to join with Athens in thwarting Philip's ambition and advance, a task made all the harder because of the actions of Philip's hired traitors in each city, including Athens. The policies he had advocated, he argued, were not only the best and most likely to succeed, but were in accordance with the traditional policy of Athens to defend its own freedom and that of the other Greeks, regardless of the cost and danger.

There can be no doubt that Demosthenes' speech, filled with passion, indignation and contempt for his opponent, deserves the opinion of modern scholars of being the greatest piece of political oratory to come out of antiquity, before which Aeschines' prosecution speech stood little chance of winning. It comes as no surprise that Aeschines failed to secure one fifth of the judges' votes and thus was fined and barred from bringing a similar prosecution (i.e. for proposing an illegal measure) again. Realising that he had no future in Athens, he retired to Rhodes, where he taught rhetoric and allegedly conceded to his Rhodian pupils the superiority of Demosthenes' speech over his own. I personally, on reading Demosthenes's speech, can understand the reaction of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the 1st century BC Greek critic, which he describes in his essay on Demosthenes:

When I pick up one of Demosthenes's speeches, I am transported: I am led hither and thither, feeling one emotion after another – disbelief, anguish, terror, contempt, hatred, pity, goodwill, anger, envy – every emotion in turn that can sway the human mind... And I have often wondered what on earth those men who actually heard him make these speeches must have felt [i.e. if I who live 300 years later feel the way I have described]...surely, to hear him delivering his speeches at the time must have been an extraordinary and overwhelming experience.

ROME

BREAD, WINE AND CRUCIFIXION: CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN DIOCLETIAN'S EDICT ON MAXIMUM PRICES

Dr Amelia Brown

The reign of the Roman emperor Diocletian (284-305) marks a crucial turning point in Western political, religious and legal history. He divided the Roman empire between East and West, and led the last great persecution of Christianity. Less well known is his extensive economic legislation, notable for its ambitious scope, widespread diffusion and harsh punishments. His Edict on Maximum Prices of 301 is the longest piece of legislation to survive from the ancient world, and the longest inscribed text, also the one known in the most copies: over 45 inscribed copies, more than half from Greece, the Roman province of Achaia.



Bust of Diocletian - Istanbul Archaeological Museum (source: Wiki Commons)

Epigraphy is especially important for this era, as literary sources for Diocletian's reign are few: the *Historia Augusta* ends with previous emperors, there is no surviving narrative history, and the majority of sources are Christian martyrologies written later on. We thus know the most about an area of crime and punishment which may not have been a major concern for Diocletian: the arrest, trial and execution of Christians. Profession of Christianity had been illegal for centuries, and punishable by death. Under most emperors, as Trajan famously advised Pliny, Christians were not sought out, and if they sacrificed to the images of the emperor and the gods, they were released.

But if anyone was brought before a Roman official on a charge of Christianity, and confirmed they

were a Christian, then they were subject to the death penalty. The martyrs of Corinth, capital city of Roman Greece, and seat of the Governor, give an idea of the charges and punishments. St Leonidas and his seven virgin companions attracted attention by preaching and singing hymns on Easter Saturday. When asked to sacrifice, they refused, affirmed that they were Christians and resisted execution by walking on the water of the Gulf of Corinth. When officials weighted them down with rocks, however, they were drowned and washed ashore at Lechaion harbor, where their graves led to a shrine and then a 6th-century basilica church. The Christian philosopher St Quadratus, on the other hand, was beheaded, as was the right of a condemned Roman citizen. Corinth's last martyr, under Diocletian, was a young magistrate who freed a virgin desired by the Governor from a brothel, and was thrown to the beasts as a Christian, probably in the Theatre.

Diocletian's Price Edict of 301, however, does not mention Christians at all. Instead, Diocletian's landmark piece of inscribed legislation devotes over 1500 lines of text to the maximum prices which are to be charged for more than 1000 goods and services all over the Roman Empire. He lays down the reasons for the Edict in a flowery Latin preface, and proscribes death as the penalty for any who exceed the prices, which are given in Greek or Latin depending on the province. Though this law was promulgated throughout the Empire, it survives only in now-fragmentary inscriptions, from Egypt, Asia Minor, Bulgaria, and, in far more copies than anywhere else, Achaia (Roman Greece). Surviving texts range from large lightly-battered slabs of stone to tiny fragments with just a few letters; some are almost in situ, but most were broken up and reused in the Middle Ages. Erecting the Price Edict in 301 AD was not a trivial undertaking: it required 10 to 15 large stone slabs covered in multiple columns of fine print by a specialized stone-carver.

The products seem to be organized first by staple foods and then by sections of the marketplace, with services and finally transportation prices last. The first three sections are devoted to grain, wine and oil, staple crops of the Mediterranean, while the following sections list maximum prices for everything from gold wire to artichokes. But scholars wonder- why are so many copies found in Greece? And how relevant was this list of products to the average shopper or tradesman in Corinth, Sparta or Athens?

Only a few products are specifically identified as coming from Greece. The sweet golden 'Chrysattic' wine of Athens is mentioned in Late Antique geographers, alongside olive oil, as a

noteworthy agricultural product of Greece. Chrysatic wine was prescribed in Late Antique medical manuals, including that of Paul of Aegina. Mastic from Chios, a natural chewing gum and flavoring, shows up in the Edict, as do heavy hooded cloaks, byrri, from Greece: the expensive Argive cloak, and the cheap Achaian one (which is also cheapest to clean). Two valuable varieites of green marble also came from Greece: the Carystian 'cipollino' from Carystus in southern Euboea, and the even more expensive lapis Lacedaemonius from Mt Taygetus in Laconia above Sparta. The Edict's section on rates for carriage of cargo by sea lists Achaia three times, with in all cases a very reasonable-looking rate of sea-carriage in and out of the province, whether to Africa (Carthage), Rome or eastwards to Nicomedia (Diocletian's preferred eastern capital city).

However the majority of the products in the Edict do not pertain specifically to Greece, so why were so many copies of the Edict set up there, from the island of Euboea down to the southern reaches of the Peloponnesus, in over 30 cities? The cities with copies of the Edict are all on major travel routes, and many participated in provincial imperial cult; they are likely to be the cities with major markets, and the preferred stops of the Governor on his rounds to collect taxes.

In south-west Anatolia, Fulvius Asticus, Governor of Caria-Phrygia, expressed his enthusiasm for the Edict in a letter which he had inscribed throughout his province along with the Edict, praising the just prices and guarantee of abundance ensured by it.

Thus we must imagine an even greater enthusiasm on the part of the Governor of Achaia in 301, and an inscription in Corinth gives us a reason for it. In this inscription the governor Lucius Sul. Paulus is given the title 'vir perfectissimus', so he was only an equestrian, not a Roman senator like past governors of Achaia. Diocletian apparently demoted the Governor of Achaia as part of his reorganization of the Roman Empire- and then Constantine again raised his status to that of a senator, a vir clarissimus. Erection of the edict thus likely formed part of an advertising campaign by Paulus, and is evidence for his assize route and his bid for an imperial promotion. While he might not have succeeded personally, the office did return to senatorial control within two decades, and the copies of the Edict were left behind as evidence for Diocletian's ambitions, and those of his officials. The Christian writer Lactantius, however, says the Edict led to the death penalty for so many that it was quickly repealed, with the inscribed copies left behind as monuments to unrealistic pan-imperial economic ambitions of Diocletian, and, perhaps, to a

successful bid for promotion on the part of the Governor of Greece.

CRIME, PUNISHMENT AND REWARD IN THE ROMAN ARMY

Dr Dorothy Watts

The paper began with a very short survey of the available classical sources on the topic, and mention was made particularly of the seminal study on military awards: Valerie Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*.

This was followed by a brief history of the Roman army, from the early Republic to the mid-late Empire. It was seen that changes in the army occurred throughout the period, and that the system of rewards also evolved, probably reaching its peak in the first century AD, and declining towards Late Empire: as the decree of Caracalla made all free men in the empire citizens, it was probably impractical to continue with the military decorations system as the pool of eligible soldiers would now have been far too great.



Roman soliers fighting Dracian warriors
Trajan's Column - source Wiki Commons

Eligibility for enrolment in the army also changed over time, but slaves were always excluded, and if they tried to pass themselves off as free or freed and were discovered, the penalty was death.

Discipline was generally very strict, at least until the third century AD, and this was one of the main reasons for the long success of the Roman army. The swearing of oaths of loyalty was part of this discipline, incorporated in the enlistment process from 216 BC. In the period of the Empire, from 31 BC on, Augustus and subsequent emperors required an oath of allegiance to themselves.

Major crimes were punishable by death, and the method usually employed was the fustuarium: the cudgelling to death of the convicted man by his fellow soldiers. Crimes which earned the death penalty included: cowardice; desertion; throwing away one's arms in battle; self-mutilation to avoid service; pretending to be ill to avoid service; disobeying commands; delinquent behaviour especially mutiny; neglect while on guard duty (e.g. falling asleep, failing to carry out orders to the full); stealing from the camp; if in full manhood, committing a homosexual act; giving false evidence (seen as a traitor and treated as such); giving a false report in order to gain military honour; being found guilty and already fined three times for the same offence.

If a whole unit, such as a cohort, was guilty, it was not practicable to put all to death, so decimation was practised: one in ten men was selected by lot, and he was put to death by cudgelling. The rest of the unit were punished by being given a diet of barley (instead of wheat), and were compelled to camp outside the walls, without protection from the enemy.

Lesser crimes and petty offences attracted lesser punishments. These punishments included flogging, which was carried out by the unit's centurion. The offender was beaten by a wooden stick such as the centurion's staff (fustis). The short whip or flagrum was not used on citizens, but only on slaves who had some role within the military such as servants.

Other punishments included: demotion; disbanding of the unit; dishonourable discharge; dietary deprivation; seizure of property; fines; fatigues duty; guard duty outside the palisade; reprimand; public humiliation. Units could also be punished as a whole by their commanders – by dietary deprivation, by pay deduction, or (great dishonour) being merged with another unit (though this might not be a punishment, but a necessity if numbers fell); and among the most shameful of all was being humiliated in front of the enemy by being forced to march under the yoke.

But life in the Roman army was not all about discipline and punishment. There were also opportunities for soldiers who were citizens and for their units to be rewarded for bravery and achievements in the field. Rewards included cash payments, promotion, pay rises, a share in booty, extra rations, and also military decorations (dona militaria). Units could also be rewarded by being given significant names such as Victrix, Felix, Fida, Invicta, Fortis, Vindex, Martia, or even the name of the emperor; and auxiliary units (non-citizens) could be rewarded with Roman citizenship.

A system of military decorations emerged from about the middle of the Republic, and continued to around the beginning of the third century AD, when Caracalla's citizenship decree came into effect. Among the decorations were crowns (coronae), torques or neck rings, armbands (armillae), sets of decorative discs (phalerae) which look a bit like horse brasses – there is a fine example of a phalera in the R D Milns Antiquities Museum - and special standards and spears (perhaps in miniature). Most of what we know about these decorations comes from inscriptions and also from pictorial evidence on tombstones.

Crowns were the most coveted awards and the 'VC' (Victoria Cross) or pinnacle of these was the corona obsidionalis or siege crown, awarded to the man who broke a siege and thus saved many lives. There is no certain depiction of this crown known from tombstones, but like the VC it was made of humble material – the VC supposedly from the metal of a Russian cannon captured in the Crimean War, the siege crown from grass, weeds, flowers or other vegetation found at the place where the siege was broken. Winners of the siege crown included Scipio Africanus Major, Fabius Maximus Cunctator and the dictator Lucius Cornelius Sulla.

Other crowns included the corona civica or civic crown – next in prestige – for saving the life of a Roman citizen. One of the best known instances of this award is found in Augustus' Res Gestae 34, where he tells how he transferred control of the state from himself to the Senate and the People of Rome, and received the civic crown for his generosity (!) or, as he says in the Res Gestae, for his 'valour, clemency, justice and devotion'.

The naval or rostral crown, the rampart or wall crown, the camp or palisade crown, and the crown probably most familiar to us, the corona aurea – a gold crown of laurel leaves, usually seen adorning the head of emperors on their coins - complete the set of major awards. Space here precludes detailing the lower decorations, but if the reader is interested, Valerie Maxfield's excellent book is highly recommended.

Such awards and rewards were part of the overall system of discipline and incentives in the Roman army. They all served to make it one of the greatest fighting forces the world has known, and contributed greatly to the creation and maintenance of an empire which was to have the longest life of all in recorded history.

THE CRIME OF PARRICIDE AND THE 'PUNISHMENT OF THE SACK' (POENA CULLEI) IN ANCIENT ROME

Dr Tom Stevenson

David Daube, a renowned legal historian of ancient Rome, once argued that Roman society was marked by a pronounced tendency towards parricide (viz. the murder of a parent, especially a father), with the implication that in consequence the poena cullei ('penalty / punishment of the sack') was used with some regularity (Roman Law: Linguistic, Social and Philosophical Aspects, Edinburgh, 1969, ch. 3). This penalty appears gruesome in the extreme. The lex Pompeia de parricidiis ('Pompeian law on parricides'), a law sponsored by Pompey the Great in 70, 55, or 52 BC (the years of his three consulships), describes the process in these terms (Justinian, Institutes 4.18.6; Lewis and Reinhold II3, p. 511 n. 21):

The Pompeian law on parricides provides that if anyone hastens the death of a parent or any relation comprehended in the term of 'parricide'....he will be subjected neither to sword nor to fire nor to any other ordinary punishment, but he is to be sewn up in a sack with a dog, a cock, a snake, and an ape, and ... cast into the nearby sea or river, so that he may begin while still alive to be deprived of all enjoyment of the elements and may be denied the light of heaven while living and the earth when dead.

Daube's arguments have long been admired (see J. Crook, *Classical Review* 1970, 361-3), but it seems better to think that the tendency towards parricide has been exaggerated and that 'the sack' was rarely used. In fact, in its most elaborate form it was probably a legal fiction, based on antiquarian musings.

One reason for thinking that parricide has been misunderstood at Rome is the fact that philological research of the 19th century indicates that the word parricidium does not derive from patricidium, which would imply the murder of a pater ('father'), but relates instead to the murder of a par or 'equal'. Thus the word implies the murder of a fellow citizen or simply 'murder' in general. Yet there is little question that the word parricidium was used in the first century BC / first century AD in relation to the murder of 'fathers' in particular. The Ides of March was known as the 'Day of Parricidium' following the assassination of Julius Caesar because the Pater Patriae ('Parent / Father of the Fatherland') had been slain (Suetonius, *Life of the Divine Julius* 88). How can this apparent change in the meaning of parricidium – from 'murder' to 'murder of a father' – be explained, and what does it imply about our understanding of 'parricide' at Rome?

'The sack' was probably a customary punishment in origin rather than a prescribed legal punishment, and it seems not to have been used at first for the murder of fathers or parents. In fact, it appears to have arisen out of incidents involving massive religious affront, in which a monstrum ('monster', 'religious prodigy') needed to be disposed of in a way that separated the victim from heavenly and earthly elements. This helps to explain why the condemned were sealed in a sack or other vessel and disposed of at sea rather than on land (see R. Turcan [trans. A. Nevill], *The Gods of Ancient Rome: Religion in Everyday Life from Archaic to Imperial Times*, New York: Routledge, 2000, 4, on strong overlap between religious practice and civil law; my thanks to Greg Bird for this reference).

The earliest use of 'the sack' – with no mention of animals or other elaborations – is said to have occurred during the regal period when Tarquinius Superbus punished the duumvir Marcus Atilius, who had disclosed secrets of the Sibylline Oracles and thereby undermined the sacredness of these precious verses (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 4.62.4; Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* 1.1.13). Atilius became a monstrum in religious terms, and hence 'the sack' was judged an appropriate method of punishment or disposal.

There can be little doubt that cases of parricide – involving the murder of parents – occurred in Roman history prior to the first half of the century BC, but two laws of that period seem to show lawmakers adopting a more serious attitude. The first was a law of Sulla against 'assassins and poisoners', and the second was the law of 'Pompeius' against parricides mentioned above. The sponsor was apparently Pompey the Great, and the law was specifically directed at murderers of parents 'or any relation comprehended in the term of "parricide".' According to the third-century jurist Modestinus (*Digesta* 48.9.9, c. AD 250), this parricide law followed the lead given by the Sullan law in prescribing 'the sack' in all its gory detail as the punishment for parricide. Yet interpretation is far from straightforward. There is still reason to doubt that 'the sack' was used with any regularity, or even at all, after this.

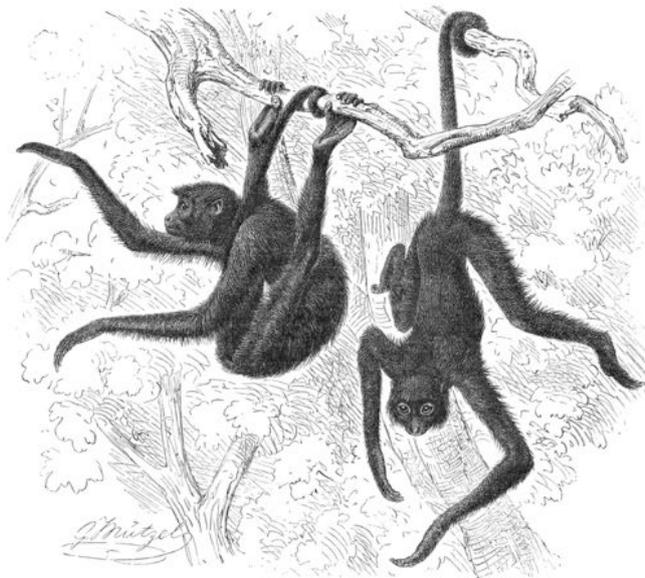
Are we, for instance, dealing with evidence from the first century BC or the third century AD, when Modestinus was writing, or even the sixth century AD, when Justinian's Institutes of Roman Law were compiled? Were intellectual jurists explaining the punishment in terms of antiquarian or moralising speculation? It is especially significant that our evidence from Justinian's Institutes for the lex Pompeia (see above) makes the ritual character of the punishment clear, as though the punishment has a customary basis in

respect of religious prodigies rather than murderers of parents as such. The significance of the animals has been much debated for little resolution. Perhaps they had a symbolic / magical role, accompanying the parricide as symbolic representations of his monstrous nature, or perhaps they played a punitive role, serving as a pragmatic means to aggravate the punishment. It becomes hard not to question the authenticity of the details for the lex Pompeia under these circumstances.



In fact, if the lex Pompeia did attempt to set a standard in respect of parricide and prescribe a frightening punishment, it was quite unsuccessful because it was not consistently applied afterwards. Augustus (Suetonius, *Life of the Divine Augustus* 33.1) apparently wanted to avoid association with 'the sack' as a punishment, asking a defendant, 'You didn't kill your parent, did you?' Claudius, meanwhile, is thought to have revelled in gruesome punishments and a harsh attitude towards parricides (Seneca, *De Clementia* 1.23.1; Suetonius, *Life of the Divine Claudius* 34.1). One scholar even believes that it was Claudius who employed the ape for the first time (M. Radin, 'The Lex Pompeia and the Poena Cullei', *Journal of Roman Studies* 10, 1920: 119-130 at 119 ff). This opinion in itself shows further reason to doubt evidence for 'the sack': Would an ape always have been available throughout Roman history? How would it have been practical to sew an ape, a rooster, a dog, and a snake into a sack with a condemned human being?

show that it was possible to ignore 'the sack' as a punishment, and instead either to throw condemned parricides to wild animals or to burn them alive. Constantine (*The Civil Law*, trans. Scott, 15.31), on the other hand, seems to have recommended 'the sack' for anyone who had hastened 'the end of either of his parents, his children, or any of his relatives whose murder is designated by the term "parricide".' The general impressions of inconsistency and nebulosity are maintained throughout. Formal continuity of the poena cullei (punishment of the sack) turns out to be doubtful. It seems better under these circumstances to think that we are dealing with archaizing memories of, or varying responses to, a terrible punishment which had existed in 'bygone' days.



Why should the lex Pompeia be treated in such a cavalier way? It is probably because that law was subsequently seen as a questionable response to embarrassing civil strife. A heightened concern for the traditional social order seems to have been one product of the violence which brought on the fall of the Roman Republic. Fathers represented the traditional social order. Sons represented youth and ambition and (symbolically) change. The forces of discontent seem to have provoked a reaction in the legal sphere that threatened use of an imaginary punishment that was probably always a fantasy in its most elaborate form.

Further developments under the emperors Hadrian (Digesta 48.9.9) and Septimius Severus (Paulus, *Sententiae* 5.24; Lewis and Reinhold II3, p. 511)

In general, therefore, evidence for 'the sack' as a punishment at Rome, especially in connection with parricide, is disturbing rather than convincing. The legal writers in particular seem to have manufactured a legal fiction or punishment that arose out of a customary practice for dealing with someone who represented extreme pollution in a religious sense, viz. for getting rid of a monstrum. Such a person was 'ominous' in a way disturbing to the community. Parricides, in the sense of those who killed a parent, were seen as similarly monstrous. The poena cullei was thus applied to them. It was not dreamed up for them at first instance. In any case, it was not applied as often as earlier scholars have thought. It was more an idea than a reality.

where mock sea battles were performed for the entertainment of the public. The aqueduct was dedicated in 109 C.E. and was one of eleven aqueducts which supplied the ancient city of Rome with millions of gallons of water each day. It is estimated to have been about 25 miles long. It is believed that all of Rome's aqueducts were cut by the Goths in 537 C.E. and most of these huge and magnificent structures fell into ruins in subsequent centuries.

The exploratory team started their research by examining archives for references to recorded springs in the region. This research involved looking at ancient and medieval sources as well as modern maps and ecclesiastical documents, locally, in Rome and in the great Orsini family archives held in the University of California. This research revealed forgotten knowledge of an ancient aqueduct parts of which were almost certainly incorporated into an aqueduct built by Pope Paul V, called the Acqua Paola, in the 1600s, one and a half millennia after the dedication of the Aqua Traiana. These and associated documents hinted that the source of the water for the Acqua Paola might be at a site, dedicated in medieval times to Santa Fiora, which was a well-documented Christian chapel now in ruins.



Part of the Remains of the Aqua Marcia near Tivoli. This was an older and longer aqueduct than the Aqua Traiana, but delivered a smaller volume of water. From Wiki Media Commons: Contributor, Lalupa

The team obtained permission in 2008 to explore the woodlands on the slopes above Lake Bracciano and found a ruined Roman grotto beneath the thirteenth century structure of the chapel of Santa Fiora. The Roman ruins consisted of three interconnected vaulted chambers. The central one opened to the exterior and at its back there was a niche which may have held a dedicatory statue in Roman times; on the wall above this niche was a stucco Renaissance frame which may have held the miraculous image of the Madonna della Fiora referred to in the documents.

The right hand wall of this central grotto had been walled up nearly to the apex of its vault where a small gap had been left. Clambering through this gap, the explorers discovered the right side of the chamber. This they found to be the functional spring-house which led directly into a major conduit of the AquaTraiana. The walls of the conduit were made of the water-proof cement used by Roman engineers and faced with the typical opus reticulatum bricks confirming that this spring-house had been indeed built by Romans in antiquity.

This was only one spring-house and the archives indicated that there had been other sources for the Acqua Paola, so the team re-examined the Orsini Archives and found a reference on a 1761 map to a 'channel which captured the lost waters ... and conducted them to the Fiora'. In 2010 they re-explored the woods and found another artificial Roman grotto similar to that found in 2008.

The team has since undertaken further exploration and found sections of the aqueduct and hope to be able to map out the entire course and the tributaries of this vast ancient monument.

Readers of the July issue of *Nova* may be interested to know that the Greek Naval replica of a warship, the 'Olympias', which I used in the illustration to demonstrate a bronze rostrum – was exhibited in London for the Olympic games and will now go on exhibition in several cities in the USA. (Shay Mason. *Archaeological Diggings* 2012.19.3: 27)

The UQ Library has just acquired a book about the 'Olympias' entitled *The Trireme Olympias: the final report: sea trials 1992-4*. The call number is VM16.T73 2012 in the Quarto section (third floor) of the SSAH Library.

This is a well-researched and well-illustrated book, but sadly it has no index. However on page 215 and subsequent pages the author describes how the ram was used in ancient naval warfare.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

Roger Scott

(1) HOW TO WIN AN ELECTION : ROMAN STYLE

2012 has been a year of significant elections at home and abroad. Elections often involve accusations of crimes of graft, nepotism and corruption, and occasionally consequential punishment.

Reproduced below, with the permission of the editor, is a slightly modified version of a review by Brett Evans of *How to Win an Election: An Ancient Guide for Modern Politicians* by Quintus Tullius Cicero, translated by Philip Freeman (Princeton University Press, 2012).³

'EARLY one morning in 64 BC a political candidate left his palatial home and set off through the streets of the most powerful city on earth to meet his destiny. The free-men of the Roman Republic were gathering on the Field of Mars to cast their vote for the man they wished to rule over them as Consul for the next year. And as he strode along, surrounded by his many supporters, the candidate might have muttered a simple mantra: "I am an outsider. I want to be Consul. This is Rome."

'The politician was Marcus Tullius Cicero, successful lawyer, Latin prose stylist, and Rome's greatest orator; and the mantra came courtesy of his biggest supporter, his younger brother Quintus.

'The Cicero Boys were intelligent, superbly well-educated and ambitious, but they weren't aristocrats, they weren't rich by Roman standards, and they had been born out in the sticks rather than in Rome. If they wanted power they were going to have to win it on the Field of Mars. To this end Quintus – who was effectively Cicero's campaign manager – had written a long letter of political advice to his brother as his quest to become Consul began.

'Recently published in a new translation by Philip Freeman as *How to Win an Election*, Quintus's letter reads today as a clear-eyed essay on the cynical art of getting people to vote for you. Compared to the letters and speeches of his older brother, Quintus's pamphlet is a minor work, but it is nevertheless fascinating because the ideas it extols and explains are just as relevant today as they would have been in ancient Rome. Empires may rise and fall, it seems, but human nature doesn't change all that much.

'Quintus starts off by telling his brother that getting elected is hard; every ballot is a mountain to climb. Acknowledge your weaknesses. Keep your eye on the prize. Leave nothing to chance. Quintus is reminding his more talented but more emotional sibling to stay focused, every day until election day. Quintus also warns Marcus Tullius not to rely too heavily on his natural talents. He might be able to sway a crowd with his oratory, but he also has to learn how to schmooze the punters one-on-one. Rule number one of getting elected,

according to Quintus, is pretty simple: be disciplined enough to keep to all the other rules.

'The other rules invoked by Quintus are just as basic – and just as hard to adhere to in the daily tumult that is politics. Surround yourself with the right people. Pick advisers who will represent you as if they were trying to get elected themselves. Build a wide base of support. No matter how disagreeable you might find some of your supporters, hold your nose and count their votes. Promise everything to everyone. Deal with the problems that this will inevitably create after the election – when you have some power.

'Rome, according to Quintus, was a 'cesspool of humanity'; never assume too little gullibility on the part of the voters, or too little self-interest. Always exploit the weaknesses of your opponents. Never let a juicy rumour about your political enemies pass you by without passing it along. And don't forget to flatter the voters – after all, they're the real bosses, right? Yeah, right. Remember their names, give them your time. And at all costs give the electorate a sense of hope. The punters need a reason to vote for you, not just against your opponent. Oh, and finally, make sure you have the backing of those closest to you. As Quintus sagely warns, the nastiest stories about a candidate always originate from within his own camp.

'And did it work? Of course it did. The rank outsider, the so-called 'new man', won handsomely. Cicero romped home against a couple of born-to-rule aristocrats who couldn't be bothered to remember their supporters' names.

'Modern-day politics in Australia would look all too familiar to the Cicero Boys – in every respect except perhaps the role of the media. Though I'm sure the greatest orator of his day would have adapted rapidly, and easily come to dominate TV and radio in the same way he dominated the Forum, he never had to watch as his message was chopped into sound-bites by the six o'clock news.

'In the decades after Cicero's consulship Rome descended into civil war and dictatorship, and despite his best efforts to save the republic from itself, the power of the ballot was soon cut down by the sword. In December 43 BC he was hunted down by the men of his enemy, Mark Antony. Reports say that his last words were, 'There is nothing proper about what you are doing, soldier, but do try to kill me properly.' And with that he bared his neck and was promptly decapitated.

³ The review appeared in 'Inside Story, a highly-recommended (free) web-based political science publication of Swinburne University. Brett Evans is a Sydney-based writer.

Both Quintus and his son were also murdered in the round-up. The Cicero Boys – and the political machine they had built – were destroyed.

Education differentiated 'have' from 'have-nots (and from many of the 'have-somes'), and legitimised the vast and unquestioned power that the elite - usually the male elite - held. (p 26)



The assassination of Cicero
15th century French ms - Wiki Commons

'The head of Marcus Tullius Cicero was brought back to Rome and displayed in the Forum. As one last punishment it is said that Fulvia, Mark Antony's wife, took down the head and plunged her hairpin through the great orator's tongue. Australia's modern-day politicians will never be called on to show such courage in the face of their enemies. They have little to fear – except perhaps changes to their superannuation scheme. Both they and the voters should be thankful.'

(2) ROMAN EDUCATION : NOT SO LIBERAL STUDIES?

The London Review of Books (7 June 2012) includes a review by Tim Whitmarsh of a provocative book by Martin Bloomer called *The School of Rome : Latin Studies and the Origins of Liberal Education* (University of California, 2011). The title is misleading because the book seems not much about 'Latin Studies' and the book is provocative in arguing that Roman education had very weak claims to promoting liberal education.

Bloomer argues that the Romans only had a claim to liberal education in the narrow sense of being focussed only on the 'liberales' of Rome, i.e. non-slaves, and no claim to liberal education in the conventional sense of the term. Rather, Roman education was intended to reinforce the naturally superior qualities of the dominant class:

Bloomer identifies the impact of the annexation of the Greek-speaking territories as of prime importance in shaping the educational practice of the Romans and in particular the significance of eloquence as a marker of social distinction:

At every stage in the pedagogical process, young Romans were being taught to naturalise and savour their power; this was the main aim of Roman education. ... Children were taught the worth of disciplined labour so that as adults they could discipline others.

Whitmarsh questions the universality of these generalisations:

Was Roman education really so austere authoritarian? Certainly the ancient world was unsentimental about childhood. Children were imagined as deficient adults. Neither were the Romans squeamish about elitism. No need to disguise strategies for maintaining hierarchy when that hierarchy was visibly reproduced in every aspect of daily life. Yet, for all that it captures Rome's casually thuggish approach to social order, Bloomer's approach seems too functional."

Whitmarsh suggests that Bloomer puts too little emphasis on the power of instruction, even if access was restricted in ways which generally reinforced social and political hierarchies. There were notable exceptions - Whitmarsh instances the famous example of Cicero's slave Tiro and also notes that some Roman women also gained access to education. He raises an important methodological issue:

It might be argued that since Roman education was not designed for slaves and women, they were simply statistical noise in terms of general cultural patterns. But this raises fundamental questions about the practice of history as a discipline : should historians concern themselves only with social norms or do the anomalous cases tell us more?"

In the end, Whitmarsh concludes that Bloomer may have overstated his case but in an interesting way:

Ancient education was weirder and more paradoxical than Bloomer allows, but he has produced a clever and sophisticated reading of a society that was dedicated to naturalising the brutality that it perpetuated.

WHAT'S IN A WORD

Bob Milns

Enchanté, madame/monsieur

'She positively exuded charm'; 'he was one of the most charming people I've ever met'; 'I was absolutely enchanted by her singing of Mozart'; 'the witch muttered an incantation over the bubbling cauldron'. What do the underlined words have in common? Answer: each is derived from Latin words meaning 'song' or 'to sing' and all are words that indicate the use of witchcraft.

The basic Latin word is canere, 'to sing', from which comes the noun 'Carmen', a song AND a magic spell. Connected with canere is the form cantare, which also means 'to sing' AND to charm a person by magic. 'Incantation' is from the form incantare, 'to say, utter, mutter or chant a magic formula'. From Carmen we get, through French, 'charm' and 'charming'; and, similarly through French, we get 'enchant' and 'enchanting' from 'incantare'.

The message we get from the above is that ancient Roman witches often (usually?) sang their spells as they were trying to bewitch somebody – and the same applies for their Greek counter-parts – and there are many instances from Greek and Latin literature to show this. The most famous (notorious) witches were women – think of Medea and her murderous potions, and of Circe, who by her singing beguiled the companions of Odysseus and then turned them into pigs; and, perhaps less famous, the young girl Simaetha, of Theocritus's Idyll 2 about whom I have already written in Nova [December 2011], who is trying to win back her jilting lover by singing a spell on him at the cross-roads at midnight.

But now I'll bind him with magic. Moon, shine clearly;
Listen to my song; I'll chant it low for you.
(trans. R. Wells)

It's perhaps worth noting that one of the most bewitching figures in opera is called Carmen. Is there meant to be a pun in her name?

In the next edition of Nova we'll look at the origins of other words dealing with magic, e.g. magic itself and sorcery. In the meantime, I can only conclude by saying that etymology – the study of the origins of words – is quite fascinating (from the Latin fascinare, 'to bewitch, charm'!!!)

PUNISHMENT IN TRANSYLVANIA

Bob Milns

VLAD TEPES*

From Transylvania comes a tale,
So gruesome and so sad,
About a most ferocious man,
Bloodthirsty, brutal Vlad.

One trick he had to make you writhe –
I shudder to tell the tale –
His captured foes, when still alive,
On a sharp stake he'd impale.



1499 woodcut of Vlad Tepes - Wiki Commons

And as they squirmed and shrieked with pain
And oh so slowly died,
Vlad sat and viewed his ghastly work
With pleasure and with pride.

His name lives on in infamy,
This so sadistic joker;
For he became the impulse
For the vampire of Bram Stoker.

* Tepes ('the Impaler') was the name given to the Wallachian prince Vlad Dracula ('son of the Dragon'), who lived from 1431 to 1476 and fought against the Ottoman Turks. He was renowned for his cruel treatment of his captured enemies - impaling his victims on stakes being his speciality. He was the inspiration for Bram Stoker's novel *Dracula*.

R D MILNS ANTIQUITIES MUSEUM

The R.D. Milns Antiquities Museum is open between 10am and 4pm daily (including weekends). In addition, guided tours are offered for a small fee.

R.D. Milns Antiquities Museum
University of Queensland
Brisbane QLD 4072
P (07) 3365 3010
F (07) 3365 1968
E antiquitiesmuseum@uq.edu.au

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Contact email addresses:
President: Margaret Mapp: margaret.mapp@hotmail.com
Vice-President: Roger Scott: scottroger2@me.com
Editor of Nova: Ann Scott: aemscott@bigpond.net.au

Change of address notification should be sent to:
Friends of Antiquity
c/o The Alumni Centre
50 Walcott Street
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EDITOR'S NOTE: I decided when I took over *Nova* to drop the use of titles for our regular contributors, but retain them when identifying our speakers. Most readers will already know that the regular contributors' full titles are Emeritus Professor Robert Milns, Emeritus Professor Roger Scott, and Dr John Ratcliffe.

SUNDAY SERIES LECTURES - LOCATION 2013

ROOM

In 2012, the Sunday Series lectures changed location to the Forgan Smith Building (from the former location in the Goddard Building). This was the result of various building refurbishments taking place on the campus.

In 2013 the lectures will continue to take place in the Room E302, Level 3, in the Forgan Smith Building (also known as Building No 1). Afternoon teas will be provided, again, in Room E318.

ACCESS

Level 3 is one level above the ground floor, in the eastern end of the building. There are two lifts to Level 3, one in the central tower and one in the old Arts entrance.

PARKING



Members will have noticed that the relaxation of weekend parking charges on the UQ campus last year made parking more difficult on Sunday afternoons.

For those who can manage a short walk, the two large parking stations on the right as you drive onto the campus from Fred Schonell Drive always have plenty of spaces. If you drive up one level after entering the second parking station you will find a walkway half way along the left side that takes you on a relatively flat, diagonal route across the grass towards the front of the Forgan Smith Building.

If anyone has other parking tips, please send me an email (aemscott@bigpond.net.au).

FRIENDS OF ANTIQUITY PROGRAM



MR FEZZIWIG'S ANNUAL CHRISTMAS BALL
John Leech 1843
for Charles Dickens'
A Christmas Carol

FRIENDS OF ANTIQUITY CHRISTMAS PARTY

12 NOON: RECEPTION
FOR 12.30 LUNCH

SUNDAY
9 DECEMBER 2012
(BOOK YOUR PLACE USING ENCLOSED
FLIER)

WOMEN'S COLLEGE DINING ROOM

2013 SUNDAY SERIES LECTURES

ROOM E302, FORGAN SMITH BUILDING

(SEE DIRECTIONS ON PAGE 23)

AN ENTRY DONATION OF \$5 INCLUDES REFRESHMENTS

JANUARY: NO SUNDAY SERIES LECTURE

FEBRUARY 3:

2pm preliminary talk

Ms Rebecca Smith

GREEK THEATRES AND ROMAN SPECTACLES

2.30pm

Emeritus Professor Bob Milns

THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN

MARCH 3:

2pm

Dr Tom Stevenson

**HYPATIA OF ALEXANDRIA: RATIONAL OPPONENT
OF CHRISTIAN FUNDAMENTALISM?**

**ADRIAN HEYWORTH-SMITH MEMORIAL
LECTURE**

APRIL 7

2pm

Dr Janette McWilliam and Mr James Donaldson

**THE NEW R D MILNS ANTIQUITIES
MUSEUM DATABASE**

MAY 5: 2pm preliminary talk

Ms Kathryn White

ATTIC WOMEN AND GODDESSES

2.30pm

Dr Caillan Davenport

**EDUCATING CAESAR: THE LETTERS OF FRONTO
AND MARCUS AURELIUS**

JUNE 2: 2pm preliminary talk

Mr Wesley Theobald

**GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE ON ROMAN TRADERS:
A BLESSING OR A CURSE?**

2.30pm

Dr Deb Brown

STOICS AND EPICUREANS