Power of the Priests

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Political Use of Religious Knowledge

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Edited by
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Preface

The papers of this volume are contributions of a workshop on the 'Power of the Priests – Political Use of religious Knowledge' held by the Subcluster Knowledge of the DFG Excellence Cluster ROOTS at the Christian-Albrechts University at Kiel November 29 until December 1, 2018. At the end, the publication was made possible by the generous financial support of the Excellence Cluster ROOTS and the extraordinary patience of the publisher, Christoph Lundgreen, De Gruyter. Both of them we thank explicitly.

Furthermore, the volume never would have been finished without the practical help and assistance of Valerio Mejr and Rico May in the Institut für Klassische Altertumskunde at the CAU Kiel. Of course, for all remaining insufficiencies only we, the editors, take responsibility.

Sabine Kubisch and Hilmar Klinkott

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Hilmar Klinkott and Sabine Kubisch

Introduction

Dio Chrysostom, the famous Greek orator of the early Roman Principate, explains in his speech 49 the important role of priests in their capacity as "philosophers" for successful politics:[1]

> Furthermore, since they (i.e. the Greeks) cannot always be ruled by kings who are philosophers, the most powerful nations have publicly appointed philosophers as superintendents and officers for their kings. Thus the Persians, methinks, appointed those whom they call Magi, because they were acquainted with Nature and understood how the gods should be worshipped; the Egyptians appointed the priests who had the same knowledge as the Magi, devoting themselves to the service of the gods and knowing the how and the wherefore of everything; the Indians appointed Brachmans, because they excel in self-control and righteousness and in their devotion to the divine, as result of which they know the future better than all other men know their immediate present; the Celts appointed those whom they call Druids; these also being devoted to the prophetic art and to wisdom in general. I all these cases the kings were not permitted to do or plan anything without the assistance of these wise men, so that in truth it was they who ruled, while the kings became their servants and the ministers of their will.

According to Dio, priests not only advise kings and "powerful peoples" as "wise men" and philosophers through intellectual and religious knowledge, but also influence them through concrete political impact. This specific element, the political power, influence, and practice of the "priestly personnel" in detail, is the core issue addressed in this volume. Of course, religion and politics, faith and power, rituals and the state are intensively researched topics. The close intertwining of religion and "state" in premodern societies, such as ancient Rome, Greece, Egypt and Mesopotamia, is also well known. Already Cicero postulated the political influences of the priests as a general transcultural phenomenon (de divinatione 1.43.95):

> But who fails to observe that auspices and all other kinds of divination flourish best in the best regulated states? And what king or people has there ever been who did not employ divination?

How the political influence of the priestly personnel ("the priests") works in detail, however, remains vague. Only the fact of their importance becomes clear when Cicero explains:[2]

> And as this is the case, o priests/pontifices, recall now your attention from this subtle argument of ours to the general state and interests of the republic, which you have before now had many gallant men to assist you in supporting, but which in this case you are upholding on your own shoulders alone. To you the whole future authority of the senate, which you yourselves always led in most admirable manner during the discussion of my case; to you that most glorious agita-

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1 Dio Chrysost. 49, 7–8 (Declining office as archon); translation Crosby 2001, 301.

2 Cic. De domo sua 142–143.

> tion of Italy, and that thronging hither of all the municipal towns; to you the Campus Martius, and the unanimous voice of all the centuries, of which you were the chiefs and leaders; to you every company in the city, every rank of men, all men who have any property or any hopes, think that all their zeal for my dignity, all their decisions in my favor are not only entrusted, but put wholly under your protection.

Cicero makes the central importance of the priests in public and political life very clear: religion and cult had to be consistent with official, political (and also military) action. Against this background, the responsible priests possessed important influence on political institutions. However, Cicero does not explain in detail the modes of operation of a "priest-led" political decision-making process. For classical Greece, Kai Trampedach examined in particular the modes and characteristics of political communication through the oracles and the *mantes* as "priestly specialists" in classical Greece.[3] Although he characterizes the sophisticated political knowledge and foresight of the "priestly personnel," he emphasizes the phenomenon of influence without clear political commitment. However, the example of Alexander III shows the important role of the *mantes* who accompanied the Macedonian king on his campaign against the Achaemenid Empire. In close association with the king, as part of his court society, the *mantes* were involved in politically and militarily decisive situations and could influence decision-making. Although historiographical sources such as Diodorus, Arrian, Plutarch or Curtius Rufus report these events, however, the concrete act of political interaction between the king and the priestly personnel remains unclear in detail.[4]

On the other hand, prophecies and mantic practices are central elements in the cultures of the ancient Near East. Huge 'archives' of mantic literature are known, for example, from Mesopotamia, Egypt, Syria and the Levant or eastern Asia Minor.[5] Many examples illustrate the close relationship to political themes.[6]

In general, these pre-modern societies, like the Roman Republic or the Hellenistic monarchies, show how the influence of the local priesthood – for example, in Egypt for the Ptolemies or in Babylonia for the Seleucids – was a core element for political success and the establishment of new rulers. In other words, religious personnel often had a fundamentally political function beyond religious aspects and ritual acts. The Kiel conference therefore discussed the question in which way the ritual personnel or "priests" used their possibilities – in the mixture of religious, administrative and political competences – to pursue active politics. Specifically, the following contributions address the question of how exactly to define the role and actions of ritual personnel as politicians.

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3 Trampedach 2015.

4 Cf. Trampedach 2020, 45–51.

5 See an overview in Schmitt 2014, 17–27.

6 For the Old Testament: Schmitt 2014, 77–80; Zwickel 2016, 198–199, 202–204; for Mesopotamia see for example Pongratz-Leisten 1999; Kleber 2008.

For a long time, scholars have been studying the close connection between religion and politics, such as the Cluster of Excellence "Religion and Politics" at the WWU Münster since 2007.[7] These studies focus on the relationship between religion and politics,[8] the particular political conditions of religions,[9] the power of religion itself,[10] or the religious competencies or aspects of certain political institutions. All the more, the contributions to this conference volume do not intend to examine religious or ritual matters, the character of religions, or theological concepts with their development and implications. Rather, the contributions to the volume focus on the following questions: For what reasons was religion used for political purposes? What goals were to be achieved? A focus should also be on the political role of religious personnel. What media (texts, inscriptions, images, rituals, etc.) were used? What can be said about the misuse of religion for political purposes? Has there been a shift or change in methods and what might be the reason? Can we observe cross-cultural links or even the form and nature of the transfer of political and religious knowledge between different cultures?

The close connection between religion and politics in antiquity is evident, in which personal entanglements and cooperations have already been intensively studied.[11] Nevertheless, the question remains in what concrete way 'priestly' activities and influences on political processes take place? Even if the factual interconnection between the areas of priestly interest or competence on the one hand and political decision-makers on the other is obvious, it seems complicated to trace the individuals in the details of their activities. Rather, the ritual or priestly personnel in their political actions do not seem to be of interest in most cases. Who are these individuals? Often, their priestly, social and political position remains unclear, as does the specific nature of their influence. In this context, we must ask how these powerful individuals or groups are to be treated and whether they can be assigned to a political orientation. Do they enjoy a kind of "religious immunity" or does their political position require the replacement of priestly personnel in the event of political changes?

As obvious as it is to establish the intertwining of religion and politics in premodern societies, it is difficult to prove the concrete interaction of priestly and political "personnel," and thus a self-motivated or self-initiated political activity of priests in detail. This is especially the case when officials who were political decision-makers held priestly powers or attributes in personal union. For example, the Egyptian pharaoh was always also the highest priest in addition to and as part of his position as

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7 Cf. https://www.uni-muenster.de/Religion-und-Politik/en/publikationen/2023_gesamt.shtml (accessed 11 August 2023).

8 See for example, Faber 1997, especially for antiquity with the articles of N. Wotkart and J. Rüpke; Brantl et al. 2013.

9 See for example Rüpke/Woolf 2021; Rüpke 2014.

10 See for example Trampedach 2015; Price 1984.

11 See for example Gschnitzer 2003, 145–152.

ruling king of the country. The case of ancient Egypt is therefore an appropriate example to illustrate the complexity of the priestly-political nexus, but also to demonstrate the difficulties of defining the core area of impact and influence in action. As the introductory articles show, all the other contributors and the editors of the volume are aware that the papers presented are selected examples in a much broader field of discussion. They are based on the background of a stimulating conference held at the Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel from November 29 to December 1, 2018. Therefore, we would like to conclude by thanking all participants who stimulated the discussion in a broader context with their thought-provoking contributions. Contributors to the conference were:

– Igor Alexeev (Moskau): "God's Rule vs. Power of Clergy: Ibn Khaldun's Apology of Umayyads and Dynamis of Power Sacralization in Early Islamic History"
– Mariano Barbato (Münster/Passau): "Power through Pilgrimage. How Priests Became Pope"
– Lutz Berger (Kiel): "Islamic Theocracy. Historic Realities and Modern Fallacies"
– Maurits de Leeuw (Tübingen): "Politics in the Life of Daniel the Stylite. The Holy Man as a Political Player in Late Antique Constantinople"
– Andreas Effland (Kairo): "Knowledge is Power – Power of the Priests Against the Ptolemies"
– Veit Groß (Freiburg): "Harnessing the Power of the Priests – Clerics as Instigators and Ressoures of Popular Politics in the Late Middle Ages"
– Reuven Kiperwasser (Jerusalem): "The Power of the Rabbis and the Power of God(s): Reading Urban Stories of Late Antiquity"
– Katharina Knäpper (Wien): "The Sacred Dimension of Bureaucracy. Constructing Consensus via Oracles"
– Eleni Krikona (Hamburg): "A New Constitutional Order in the Late Sixth Century BCE Athens, Powered by the Delphic Oracle"
– Sabine Kubisch (Kiel): "The Oracle in Pharaonic Egypt"
– Etka Liebowitz (Jerusalem): "Gender, Politics and Religion in Antiquity: The Challenge of the Reign of Queen Alexandra"
– Ahmed Mansour (Alexandria): "Behind the Scene: Religion at the Service of Politics in Ancient Egypt. Views from the Philae Island Texts"
– Nenad Marković (Prague): "Master of the Secrets of the Sky, the Earth, and the Underworld: The High Priest of Ptah at Memphis During the Kushite and the Saite-Persian Periods (746-after 486 BC)"
– Darja Sterbenc-Erker (Berlin): "Transformation of Political Power of Roman Priests: Augustus as a Priest"
– Michel Summer (Dublin): "Early Medieval Missionaries as Political Agents: The Case of Willibrord (AD 690–739)"
– Kai Trampedach (Heidelberg): „Staging Charisma: Alexander and Divination"
– Harald Wiese (Leipzig): "Did Brahmins Have Power in Premodern India?"

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Zwickel 2016: W. Zwickel, Die Beziehungen zwischen Tempel und Palast im eisenzeitlichen Israel, in: T.R. Kämmerer, M. Kõiv, V. Sazanov (eds.), Kings, Gods and People. Establishing Monarchies in the Ancient World (AOAT 390/4), Münster 2016, 187–208.

Shaping Policy: Case Study from Ancient Egypt

Efstathia Dionysopoulou

The Political Role of an Egyptian Priest under the Early Ptolemies: The Case of Manetho

Abstract: This paper seeks to shed light on how a priest contributes to the recognition of the political authority and legitimation claims of a newly established royal dynasty. It focuses attention on Manetho and his treatise on the *History of Egypt*. It will present him as an agent of the native elite who composes at the interface of the Graeco-Egyptian encounter a work intended to contribute to the adaptation of Ptolemaic power to new political agendas within bicephalous Ptolemaic society.

Keywords: Manetho, Sothic cycle, Macedonian kings, Argos, Troy

Manetho's life and works

The ancient testimonies about Manetho are fragmentary and poorly preserved. Most of them are dated centuries after his supposed *floruit* under the first Ptolemies. His name, which derives indeed from a Greek transcription of an Egyptian anthroponym,[1] indicates his Egyptian origin. Ancient authors confirm this assumption. Flavius Josephus states that Manetho was Egyptian in origin who had partaken in Greek culture (*paideia*).[2] Plutarch, Aelian, Tertullian, and Eusebius also mention his Egyptian origin.[3] In the epistolary prologue of *Sothis Book*,[4] addressed to Ptolemy II and transmitted by

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1 The name of Manetho, in the current state of knowledge, is not attested in any Egyptian or bilingual text. Scholars have suggested several possible etymologies in attempting to reconstruct the original Egyptian name, such as *Mrj-Nj.t* (Beloved of Neith), *Mrj-nj-Ḏḥwtj* (Beloved of Thoth), *Mȝꜥ(t)-n-Ḏḥwtj* (The Truth of Thoth), *Mȝȝ.n=i Ḏḥwtj* (I have seen Thoth), *Mrj-nṯr-ꜥȝ* (Beloved of the Great God), or even *Mniw-tȝ-ḥw.t* (The guardian of the temple). For a general overview, see Griffiths 1970, 78–81; Moyer 2011, 85.

2 Joseph. Ap. 14.73.

3 Plut. De Is. et Os. 28; Ael. NA 10.16; Tert. Apol. 19.6; Eus. PE 2.5.

4 A number of 'anachronisms' in the letter itself have made modern scholarship to consider *Sothis Book* as a spurious pseudonymous work. For many scholars, the letter should be considered as a later forgery for two reasons. First, the epithet "Thrice-Greatest" applied to Hermes, unattested before the reign of Ptolemy V and second, the title *Sebastos*, which is the Greek translation of the Roman *Augustus*, and thus unattested before the Imperial era arise suspicion about his authenticity. For an extensive commentary and further bibliography on this letter, see Adler 1989, 58–60; Adler/Tuffin 2002, 55. Most recently, the anachronistic elements of the letter have also been discussed in Bull 2018, 49–51, who rightly considers these two features "insufficient proof that the text is a later forgery." He argues, for the first one, that it could be an alteration of a copyist or epitomist of the Imperial era. As for the epithet *Sebastos* applied to Ptolemy II Philadelphus, he proposes that Manetho could use it "in an idio-

the 8th cent. Byzantine monk George Syncellus in his universal chronography, Mane-tho presents himself as Sebennyte,[5] high priest and scribe of the Egyptian shrines who dwells at Heliopolis.[6] Concerning Manetho's dates, we shall see below that, in all likelihood, he was active in the reigns of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III. Syncellus states that he was a quasi-contemporary of Berossus,[7] a Babylonian priest of Bel-Marduk who wrote in Greek a work dedicated to Antiochus I entitled *Babyloniaca* or *Chalda-ïca*.[8] If we assume that the account of Plutarch[9] is correct in portraying Manetho as one of the advisors of Ptolemy I who participated to the introduction of Sarapis statue in Alexandria, it seems that the "Sebennyte" had established a close connection with the Ptolemaic royal court since the very end of the reign of Ptolemy I.[10] There is some disagreement among scholars as to whether or not Manetho acceded to the rank of a priest. This debate goes so far as to contest even the fact that Manetho truly existed. For some, Manetho should be considered as a local historian whose works were dis-covered much later by the Alexandrian scholars;[11] others propose that he was a ficti-tious persona conceived by an expert group with the intention to represent before the Ptolemaic King the Egyptian priestly interests.[12] A letter from El-Hibeh preserved on papyrus can contradict, however, these objections. The text dates to the year 6 of the reign of Ptolemy III (242–241 BC) and refers to the theft of the official seal of the tem-ple of Heracles at Phebichis by two Egyptians, a certain Chesmenis and his son Sem-theus.[13] The high-priest Petosiris complains to Dorion, the Greek *epistatēs* of the Herakleopolite nome, that these two men will be able, in possession of the seal, to use

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syncratic manner" to highlight the divine nature of the King, in the same way as he does with the sacred animals of Egypt which he calls them *sebastuomena* (Joseph. Ap. 1.26.249 = Waddell 1964, fr. 54). Cf. Colin 2015, 57, for how the scribes translated in Egyptian demotic the Roman imperial title *Augustus*, by using the expression *nty ḥwy* (who is protected and therefore holy/sacred).

5 Two entries of Suida refer to a writer under the name Manetho: the first (M 142) mentions of a certain Manetho of Mendes, chief priest and author of a work entitled *On the preparation of Kyphi.* In all proba-bility, there is a confusion here with Ptolemaeus of Mendes, an Egyptian priest of the Augustan period who also wrote a treatise on Egyptian history. See Waddell 1964, x. The second one (M 143) refers to a certain Manetho from Sebennytus or Diospolis Kato, author of a *Treatise on physical doctrines,* and an astronomical work entitled *Apotelesmatika.* The latter is a pseudepigraphic hexametrical poem dated, beyond any doubt, in the Imperial period. On *Apotelesmatika* of Pseudo-Manetho, see Verbrugghe/Wick-ersham 1996, F1–2; Ypsilanti 2006.

6 Waddell 1964, App. I. Cf. Syncellus Chron. 72.31–32.

7 Syncellus Chron. 32.21–25.

8 For Berossus' life and work, see Verbrugghe/Wickersham 1996, 13–91; Dillery 2015.

9 Plut. De Is. et Os. 28.

10 The version of Jerome of the Chronicle of Eusebius mentions that the transfer of the statue held in 286 BC. See Helm 1956, 129.

11 Yoyotte et al. 1997, 31, following by Gorre 2009, 483; Gorre 2018, 138.

12 Aufrère 2012, 323.

13 p.Hib. 1.72 (TM 8221).

it on any letter addressed to Manetho and the others.[14] If he is our Manetho, and this is highly probable since the name is uncommon, we see that the "Sebennyte" held under the reign of Ptolemy III a senior level position in the religious administration. The text of the papyrus, together with the testimony of Syncellus' who designate him as archierea *tōn en Aigyptō miarōn hierōn* lead us to suppose that he was appointed as an overseer of priests and Egyptian temples, probably with extended authority to all the country. The scattered testimonies on Manetho's literary production allow crediting him at least with three main works: a *History of Egypt* and/or *Sothis Book*, the *Sacred Book*, and an *Epitome of Physical Doctrines*. Three other treatises bearing the titles *On Antiquity and Religion, On Festivals* and *On the Preparation of Kyphi* must be seen as part of the same religious work, that should be the *Sacred Book*.[15] Similarly, the *Criticisms of Herodotus*[16] must be rather considered as an excerpt of the *History of Egypt*.[17]

Manetho's Treatise on the Royal Past of Egypt: Useful propaganda tool?

The original of Manetho's *History of Egypt* (also known as *Aegyptiaca*)[18] is not preserved. What remains for us to study are some extended passages quoted by Flavius Josephus in his counter-polemic treatise *Contra Apionem* and a condensed version of his original work, an *epitomē*,[19] preserved in the Chronographies of the Christian writers Sextus Julius Africanus (3rd cent. AD) and Eusebius (4th cent. AD). These two, slightly different, versions of the *epitomē* have been transmitted to us down to us through Jerome's Latin translation of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius (4th–5th cent. AD), the chronographic work of George Syncellus (9th cent. AD), as well as an Armenian translation (6th–8th cent. AD).[20] The *History of Egypt* was by far the most known of Manetho's writings, judging by the many citations of this work by ancient authors. The date of the text's composition is not known. Based on a reference to the construction of the funerary

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14 p.Hib. 1.72, ll. 6–7.

15 Waddell 1964, xiv–xv; Moyer 2011, 91.

16 Verbrugghe/Wickersham 1996, F17.

17 Verbrugghe/Wickersham 1996, 100.

18 It should be noted that these titles are used for the sake of simplicity. We do not know if they are really the titles that Manetho assigned to his work.

19 When and by whom Manetho's work is converted into an *epitomē* is unknown. One solution is to consider Ptolemaeus of Mendes as the epitomizer of Manetho's work. It is an intriguing assumption that can give a reason for the confusion between the name of Manetho and Ptolemaeus in Suidas. On this, see the arguments discussed in Krauss 2006b.

20 For the history of the transmission of Manetho's work, see Verbrugghe/Wickersham 1996, 115–118; Moyer 2011, 92.

complex of the Pharaoh Amenemhat III in the Arsinoïte nome,[21] we can suppose a *terminus post quem* the year 256 BC, when Ptolemy II renamed the Fayum as "Arsinoitēs" in honor of his deified sister-wife.[22]

What we know by the *epitomē* about the content of the work is that the *History of Egypt* contained, at least, a list of divine and half-divine kings, along with a list of Pharaohs of Egypt, going from Menes down to the Dynasty XXX, or most likely XXXI.[23] The reigns are grouped into dynasties, and the total is divided into three books.[24] Each dynasty is identified by an ordinal number, followed by a mention of the total of kings as well as the name of the royal capital. For each sovereign, an entry gives the king's name, the total of his regnal years, and occasionally a brief notice of memorable events or important details. In some cases, these events are synchronized with episodes and figures of the Greek tradition.

As it concerns the sources of Manetho, Josephus and Eusebius tell us that the "Sebennyte" translated the Egyptian history from scribal and priestly material, but also nameless oral tradition and legends, into Greek.[25] A part of the content, as well as narrative structures that one finds in his work, seem to trace their models back to pharaonic royal lists,[26] such as the hieratic Turin King List (ca. 1290–1224 BC),[27] as well as annalistic texts,[28] prophecies, wisdom literature[29] and various business documents.[30] One may suppose that Manetho's position as a high-ranking Egyptian priest allowed him to have access to this rich documentation.[31] Besides the Egyptian material, we

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21 Waddell 1964, fr. 34–36 (in Eusebius & Africanus *apud* Syncellus and the Armenian version).

22 Hölbl 2001, 59.

23 It should be noted that the excerpt of Jerome's Latin translation (Verbrugghe/Wickersham 1996, T8d) suggests that Manetho closes the *History of Egypt* with the overwhelm of Nectanebo II by Artaxerxes III Ochos. The Armenian version, however, states that Manetho's work includes a list of kings up to the reign of Darius III (Verbrugghe/Wickersham 1996, T8a–b). Syncellus mentions also that "Manetho recorded the thirty-one dynasties of Egypt" (Verbrugghe/Wickersham 1996, F2c).

24 Verbrugghe/Wickersham 1996, T8a–c.

25 Joseph. Ap. 1.73, 228–230.

26 On Manetho's sources see Waddell 1964, xx–xxiv; Malek 1982; Redford 1986, 206–230; Verbrugghe/ Wickersham 1996, 103–107; Gundacker 2015, 143–154; Adams 2011, 25–27.

27 In an extended comparison between the Turin King List and Manetho's work, scholars have recognized many similarities in dynastic divisions of earlier sovereigns up to the New Kingdom. Another shared feature with the Turin Canon is the list of divine and semi-divine kings ruling Egypt in the predynastic period. These similarities prove beyond any doubt the close dependence of Manetho from the Egyptian scholarly tradition that produced the King lists. On this issue, see Dillery 2015, 84–97, along with the further bibliography cited by the author.

28 About the origins and the use of Egyptian annalistic records (gnwt), see Redford 1986, 65–96, and for further information, especially on the sources of book 3, 297–331.

29 Redford 1986, 206–214.

30 Adams 2011, 26.

31 About the content of an Egyptian temple library in the Late Period, see Redford 1986, 215–223.

can also consider the accounts of Herodotus and Hecateus of Abdera as possible sources of Manetho's work, in terms of both their structure and content.[32]

As said above, some entries of his King List attempt to synchronize Egyptian reigns with events and figures of the Greek mythological past, in the manner, one could say, of Herodotus, who proceeds in his Egyptian account to synchronisms, such as this between the Egyptian king Sesostris and Heracles.[33] Such kind of synchronistic comparison has no counterpart in pharaonic tradition. We must search for precedents in Greek historiography, where the first attempts to correlate unrelated past events and proceed to approximate synchronisms occur in the works of Herodotus, Hellanicus of Lesbos, Thucydides, Timaeus of Tauromenium and Dicaearchus of Messene.[34] The case of the Sicilian historian, Timaeus of Tauromenium, almost contemporaneous to Manetho (ca. 350–260 BC),[35] is intriguing since the former appears as the first who clumps and coordinates in a synchronistic manner events from the Greek and the non-Greek past.[36] Could his historical and chronographic works have inspired Manetho to establish synchronisms between the Egyptian and the Greek past? If we consider the close diplomatic and cultural relations between Sicily and Egypt under the first Ptolemies,[37] it is not too far-fetched to think that Manetho may have had access to his work and been influenced by his synchronistic attitude.[38]

It is the analysis and the interpretation of Manetho's synchronistic connexions that concern me in this paper. As John Dillery had pointed out,[39] these Graeco-Egyptian linkages can be grouped into two main categories: the internal synchronisms that identify Egyptian pharaohs with mythological figures of the Greek past and the external ones that place figures and events of the Greek past under the reign of a par-

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32 See Fraser 1972, 506–509; Murray 1972, 209. *Contra* the assumption that Manetho was also based on material and narrative patterns furnished by the Egyptian account of Herodotus and Hecateus are Redford 1986, 225–226, and Mendels 1990, 93–94, who argue that both of these Greek historians seem to have followed in their works, as Manetho did, the Egyptian tradition of King Lists. It should be pointed out, however, that the work of Manetho innovates by combining king's names and reign-lengths, as it is usual in Egyptian and Near Eastern king lists, with narrative segments in the form of glosses. This does not occur in the Egyptian king list tradition and recalls the book 2 of Herodotus who enhances his sequence of Pharaohs by linking together anecdotes on their achievements. One may also assume that the threefold partition of the *spatium historicum* in Herodotus' account on Egypt could have a determining influence on Manetho who divides his account of Egyptian royal past into three books. See, on this issues, Vannicelli 2001; Moyer 2011, 107–108, 140, along with the further bibliography cited by the authors.

33 On this synchronism, see Lloyd 1975, 1, 171–194.

34 Lloyd 1975, 1, 182–183; Feeney 2007, 7–67; Dillery 2015, 100–104; Dillery 2016, 112–115.

35 For the dates of Timaeus' life, Baron 2013, 17–22.

36 See, for example, FGrH 566 F 60. On the synchronistic practices of Timaeus, see Feeney 2007, 47–52.

37 Hölbl 2001, 133.

38 Cf. Dillery 2015, 101–103.

39 Dillery 2016, 110.

ticular pharaoh. It should be noted, however, that all the synchronisms that we find in Manetho's work cannot be genuine. I leave aside the gloss concerning the *speaking statue of Memnon*[40] that surely is a case of a later interpolation, since the earliest evidence of the *Vocal Memnon* date to the 1st cent. BC[41] as well as the *anti-Jewish* material of Manetho, namely the Exodus' story,[42] that could be injected into his work from outside, since overtones of antisemitism in literary evidence are not attested before the Maccabeans.[43] In addition, I will not consider in detail the lists of divine and semi-divine kings that start Manetho's account, because the versions transmitted by the *epitomes*, Syncellus and John Malalas[44] correspond partly to one another. The only part common to all the versions is the list of divine rulers that consists of an *interpretatio Graeca* of the Memphite ennead. Manetho translates Ptah to Hephaestus, Ra to Helios, Geb to Cronus and Set to Typhon. The name of Osiris has been left unchanged.

To understand better the meaning of Manethonian synchronisms, it is necessary, first, to examine the reasons lying behind the composition of his treatise. What could be the purpose of Manetho's work?

Manifold theories have been proposed in order to explain the object to be attained by such a project. We may summarize by saying that for a large part of modern scholarship the purpose of the work is that of an Egyptian who was seeking "to instruct foreigners in the history and religion of his native land",[45] "serve patriotic truth"[46] and in-process correct the Egyptian accounts of Herodotus and Hecateus of Abdera.[47] This is how Ian Moyer interprets the role of Manethonian synchronisms. He argues that "by pinning down figures that drift unanchored in the most remote parts of Greek antiquity, Manetho exposed the gaps in Greek genealogical chronologies and filled them in, defining the Egyptian King List as the scale of absolute chronology".[48] He sees Manetho's work as an indigenous reply to preceding Greek narrations on the Egyptian past as well as an attempt to instruct the Greeks on how to read Egyptian

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40 Waddell 1964, fr. 52–53a–c.

41 The 'Memnon' colossus in Luxor represented the Pharaoh Amenhotep III (Dynasty XVIII) originally. It is known for his miraculous 'singing'. At the beginning of the Imperial era, an earthquake severely damaged the statue, and his base was emitting a high-pitched noise, especially at dawn. For this reason, the statue is supposed to represent Memnon, son of the dawn goddess Eos and king of Ethiopia, who was killed by the hand of Achilles. For possible reasons explaining the identification between Amenhotep III and the Homeric hero Memnon, see Aufrère 2011, 352–355. The earliest evidence is given by Strabo (17.1.46) who states that he heard the 'Vocal Memnon' during his visit in Thebes in 26–25 BC with the Roman prefect Aelius Gallus. It should also be noted that all visitors' graffiti date to the Imperial period. See Bernand/Bernand 1960, 29–31; Sijpesteijn 1990.

42 Waddell 1964, fr. 50.

43 See Hornung et al. 2006; Krauss 2006b.

44 Waddell 1964, fr. 1–5.

45 Waddell 1964, xxvi.

46 Verbrugghe/Wickersham 1996, 119.

47 Waddell 1964, xxiv; Verbrugghe/Wickersham 1996, 119.

48 Moyer 2011, 140.

history in the Egyptian manner.[49] John Dillery[50] proposes a less "antagonistic" interpretation. For him, Manetho intended to inform efficiently, by using trends and patterns of Greek historiographic tradition, the new incomers about the history of his country.

Another intriguing interpretation of the goals and accomplishments to be attained by Manetho's work is proposed recently by Christian Bull in his study on the tradition of Hermes Trismegistus.[51] The author argues that the original title of Manetho's work is that of *Sothis Book.* In fact, we do not know what title Manetho assigned to his work. In our surviving evidence, the treatise is cited, mainly by Syncellus, with some form of a general title *Aigyptiaka,* maybe, with the intention to compare it with the *Chaldaika* of Berossus.[52] The use of such a general title for citing a work in antiquity was very common.[53] *Sothis Book* is the title of the Manethonian treatise attested in the letter-preface of the work dedicated to Ptolemy II.[54] The modern editors attached to this epistolary prologue, "on untenable grounds",[55] a running list of 86 Egyptian kings ('Mestraia-list'),[56] also transmitted in the *Chronographia* of Syncellus.[57] The objections to the authenticity of the letter discussed above[58] led modern scholarship to consider the *Sothis Book* (prologue letter + 'Mestraia-list') as a spurious pseudepigraphic work. Nevertheless, it should be noted that at the end of the letter to Ptolemy II, Syncellus states that Manetho continues with the narration about the Egyptian classes of kings, namely the gods, demigods, spirits of dead and mortal men divided into dynasties.[59] Nonetheless, the 'Mestraia-list' does not present the expected divisions into dynasties, as announces Syncellus and as it is the case in the *History of Egypt.* Another argument against the association of the prologue of *Sothis Book* with the 'Mestraia-list' is a statement of Syncellus in the latter concerning the 25th king who appears under the name *Koncharis*. He says that he should be affiliated to "the Sixteenth Dynasty of the 'Sothic cycle' as it is known in Manetho (*para tō Manethō)*".[60]

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49 Moyer 2011, 141.

50 Dillery 2015.

51 See Bull 2018, 47–80.

52 Syncellus *Chron.* 38.

53 See, for example, the case of the historical work of Timaeus, which is in the sources as *Hellēnika, Sikelika,* or *Historiai.* See Baron 2013, 28.

54 Waddell 1964, App. 1: "[. . .] Manetho dedicated it to the above King Ptolemy II Philadelphus in his *Book of Sothis,* using the following words [. . .]".

55 For the inconclusive arguments of the 19th cent. scholarship connecting the preface of *Sothis Book* with the 'Mestraia-list', see Bull 2018, 67–69.

56 Bull 2018, 63. For the text, see Waddell 1964, App. 4.

57 Waddell 1964, 234–249. Cf. also Adler/Tuffin 2002, 127.

58 See above p. 9, n. 4.

59 Waddell 1964, App. 1.

60 Waddell 1964, 236–237.

Thus, this cross-reference to Manethonian *Sothis Book* suggests that for Syncellus the 'Mestraia-list' is not part of the *Sothis Book*[61] which should be considered as an original Manethonian work concerning Egyptian dynasties. Thus, the working hypothesis, as proposed by Christian Bull, is that the *Sothis Book*, dedicated to Ptolemy II and opening with the prologue letter, must have been the original title of the Manetho's *History of Egypt*. If this assumption is correct, why the Egyptian erudite-priest gave such a title to his treatise?

A passage from Tacitus' Annals informs us that the appearance of the phoenix had fallen in the reigns of Sesosis, Amasis, and Ptolemy III.[62] It should be noted that already in Herodotus,[63] the Greek phoenix is identified to the Heliopolitan *benu*-bird, a symbol of the 'Sothic period',[64] which is renewed in Egypt approximately[65] every 1,461 years.[66] Bearing this in mind, we can understand that for Tacitus, the appearance of the phoenix, and consequently, the beginning of a new Sothis cycle fell in the reigns of Sesosis, Amasis, and Ptolemy III. From my point of view, this Sesosis should be identified, for reasons that I will explain below, to Sesonchosis son of Ammanemes (Sesostris I),[67] placed 'deliberately', I think, by Manetho at the beginning of Dynasty XII, while his father Ammanemes is not assigned to any dynasty, and his name is mentioned between the end of Dynasty XI and the beginning of Dynasty XII.[68] Amasis should refer not to the pharaoh of the Dynasty XXVI, but to Amosis (Ahmose I), founder of Dynasty XVIII. He is called *Amōsis* by the *epitomē*, in the same manner as the homonymous pharaoh of the Dynasty XXVI.[69] Calculating the total of regnal years from Amosis (Dynasty XVIII) down to Darius III (Dynasty XXXI), it is possible to reach

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61 Unfortunately, the versions of the *epitomē* do not list any Pharaoh of the Dynasty XVI by his name, so as to verify the cross-reference made here by Syncellus.

62 Tac. Ann. 6.28.

63 Hdt. 2.73.

64 For the assimilation of the *benu*-bird with phoenix, and the link with the concept of the 'Sothic period', see van den Broek 1972, 14–32, 67–112, 400–402; Krauss 2006a, 442–443.

65 The 'Sothic cycle' is of variable length that goes from 1,450 to 1,461 years, hence the name *annus vagus*. This variability is due to the axial precession of the equinoxes as well as the altitude of Sirius and the Sun at the moment of the heliacal rising. On this issue, see Ingham 1969; Aubourg 2000, 39. It must be noted here that the concept of 'Sothic period' is known essentially by Graeco-Roman sources, like Tacitus (*ann.* 6.28) and Censorinus (*DN*, 18.10). On this issue, see also Luft 1984, 1118, 1122.

66 Long 1974, 262: "Egypt possessed a 365 – day civil calendar: 3 seasons, each containing 4 months or 12 months of 30 days with 5 epagomenal days at the beginning of the year. Being ¼ day short every year or an entire day every 4 years the calendar corrected itself in accordance with the seasons only once in approximately 1,460 revolutions of the earth around the sun (actually 1,460 Julian calendar years and 1,461 Egyptian calendar years)." About the length of 'Sothis cycle' in Egypt, see Ingham 1969; O'Mara 2003.

67 Waddell 1964, fr. 31–32a–b. Bull 2018, 70, suggests an identification with Sesostris III and van den Broek 1972, 108, with Sethos I. From my point of view, these identifications are problematic since they do not allow the beginning of a new cycle at the reign of Amosis (Ahmose I), founder of the Dynasty XVIII.

68 Waddell 1964, fr. 34–36.

69 Waddell 1964, fr. 53a–b, 68, 69a–b.

a sum of 1,377 years.[70] Adding to this 84 years, that is the period from the end of the reign of Darius III (332 BC)[71] until the death of Ptolemy II and the accession of Ptolemy III (247/246 BC),[72] we can get the total of 1,461 years that defines a full 'Sothic cycle'. This means that at the time of the accession of Ptolemy III, in the year 1,461 from Amosis, a new 'Sothic cycle' and, by extension, a new 'Golden era' will begin. I believe that the Sothic scheme of approximately 1,461 years can also be applied to the period that goes from the Dynasty XII, which begins in Manetho, as seen above, 'irregularly' with Sesonchosis (Senwosret I)[73] and not Ammanemes (Amenemhat I), and goes down to the end of the Dynasty XVII. The reign of Amosis (Ahmose I), in which, according to Tacitus, appeared for a second time the phoenix marks the beginning of the new Sothic cycle that will be completed by the end of Ptolemy's II reign, and will be renewed with the accession of Ptolemy III to the throne of Egypt. After a necessary adjustment to the totals of the Dynasties XII–XVII,[74] as they are given in Eusebius and the Armenian version,[75] I believe that the period spanning between the beginning of the Dynasty XII and the reign of Ahmose I fits also well to the scheme of the Sothis cycle.

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70 For the calculation of the total of regnal years from the Dynasty XVIII to the Dynasty XXI, see Bull 2018, 69–74.

71 von Beckerath 1997, 192.

72 Pestman 1967, 29.

73 Manetho seems to misplace the reign of the founder-king of Dynasty XII Amenemhet I in an "undynastic" period, between the end of Dynasty XI and the beginning of Dynasty XII. Such an oddity could be explained, from my point of view, if we consider the importance of the legendary figure of Sesostris within the framework of the royal ideology of Ptolemies. Senwosret I and Senwosret III, both members of the Dynasty XII, are considered by modern scholarship as the main historical personages that served as models for the development of the legendary figure of Sesostris – Sesonchosis – Sesoosis, with whom Alexander as well as the first Ptolemies sought to create a close connection for ideological purposes. On this issue, see Malaise 1966; Dillery 1999, 112; Nawotka/Wojciechowska 2014. If we admit the assumption that the *Aegyptiaca – Sothis Book* portrays the reign of Ptolemy III as the beginning of a new Golden Age, I think that the placement by Manetho of Senwosret I, whose reign signals also the beginning of a new Sothis cycle at the head of Dynasty XII is intentional. It aims to further highlight the close ties between Ptolemies and the Pharaohs of the Dynasty XII, on whom the new sovereigns of Egypt modelled themselves. Such a hypothesis enhances further the ideological and political orientation of Manetho's work. The importance of the legendary figure of Sesostris is also confirmed in the Armenian version of Eusebius, the Chronography of John Malalas, as well as the *Excerpta Latina barbari*, where Sesostris, under the name Sosis and Sosinosiris is listed among the divine predynastic rulers. Waddell 1964, fr. 1, 5–4.

74 The totals for Dynasties XII–XVII yield 1,425. If we add up the regnal years of Amenemhet I (16 years) given by Manetho at the end of his first book, as well as the regnal years of Senwosret II (19 or 10 years) whose name, for unknown reason, seems to be omitted in the *epitomes*, we can get a total that varies from 1,450 to 1,460 years, which also fits to the length of a 'Sothic cycle'. This places, according to Manetho, the end of the 'Sothic cycle' at the end of Dynasty XVII. So, the reign of the founder of Dynasty XVIII Amosis (Ahmose I) inaugurates a new 'Sothic cycle' which lasts until the end of Ptolemy's II reign. For the length of Senwosret's II reign, see Edgerton 1942, 311; von Beckerath 1997, 189.

75 The *epitomē* of Africanus' gives a different total for the Dynasties XII–XVII (1,750 years). The subtotals also of each dynasty are quite different from that of Eusebius. If we add up, as above, the totals

If the above calculations are correct, we can assume that the main purpose of Manetho's *History of Egypt–Sothis Book* is to demonstrate that a new 'Sothic cycle' will begin when Ptolemy III will accede to the throne.[76] The exaggerated numbers that we can find in the totals of the regnal years of these dynasties reflect an apparent effort to fit the periods mentioned above to the schema of a 'Sothic cycle'. On historical grounds, the Dynasty XII begins approximately only 426 years before the reign of Ahmose I.[77] The same applies to the period from the Dynasty XVIII to the Dynasty XXXI for which Manetho gives a sum of 1,377 years, but, its actual length is about 1,220 years.[78] If such an assumption is correct, it may be assumed that Manetho's work tries to portray the crown prince as the inaugurator of a new era. It also draws an analogy between the future King Ptolemy III, Senwsret I, one of the historical models of the legendary figure of Sesostris, with whom the Ptolemaic propaganda was closely connected, and Ahmosis I, whose reign laid the foundations of the 'Golden era' of pharaonic Egypt. The propagandistic belief that Euergetes' reign marks the beginning of a new Sothic cycle might also be the reason of the unsuccessful reform calendar of the Canopus Decree (238 BC) that tried to add a day into the Egyptian calendar in order to conjunct the civic calendar with the Sothic year.[79] The link between Sothis and Euergetes' reign is also apparent in the same decree in the decision of Egyptian priests to establish a new festival in honour of the royal couple on the day when the Isis star [i.e., Sothis] raises.[80] A passage of the 1st cent. BC astronomer Geminus suggests that such questions were also related to the interests of the scientific advisors of Euergetes, such as Eratosthenes who addressed similar issues in a treatise about the eight-year lunisolar cycle.[81] Thus, the scheme in which Manetho chooses to fit and present a part of the Egyptian past, with the overriding objective to praise his future patron Ptolemy III, both a Macedonian King and an Egyptian Pharaoh, reflects matters also raised by the Ptolemaic intellectuals and court science. Based on the assumption that the letter

for the reigns of Amenemhet I and Senwosret II (26 or 35 years), we get a sum of 1,776 or 1,785 years. This goes far beyond the expected length of a 'Sothic cycle'. The *Excerpta Latina barbari*, which is based chiefly upon a copy of Africanus' *epitomē*, gives for the XV Dynasty a total of 318 years (Waddell 1964, fr. 4). This may reduce the total number to 1,576 or 1,585 years, but it is still far from the length of a 'Sothic cycle'. We have to admit that the version of Africanus does not allow us to confirm the assumption that the total length of Dynasties XII–XVII could fit a 'Sothic period'. One may assume that in the course of the transmission of the *epitomē* some of the totals have been erroneously copied.

76 See also Bull 2018, 73.
77 See the chronology proposed in von Beckerath 1997, 189: Dynasty XII (ca. 1976–1794 BC), Dynasty XVIII (ca. 1550–1292 BC).
78 von Beckerath 1997, 189–192.
79 The latter, as it was governed by Sirius, who added one further day to his rising every four years, was out of alignment with the civic calendar. For the passage of Canopus decree, see Pfeiffer 2004, 131–144. For extremely limited application of the reform calendar of Canopus decree, see Bennett 2011, 179–186.
80 Pfeiffer 2004, 121–131.
81 Gem. 8.24. See Geus 2002, 208.

to Ptolemy II is indeed the prologue of '*Aegyptiaca*'–*Sothis Book*, it can be assumed that the Egyptian priest, whose original work was probably framed as a long letter, in the same way as other experts and advisors of Hellenistic royal courts have addressed their works to their patrons,[82] began to compose his text at the time of Ptolemy's II death and the accession to the throne of Ptolemy III.

As Christian Bull argues, the '*Aegyptiaca*'–*Sothis Book* can be presumed as a prophecy given to Ptolemy II, who sought to learn "*peri tōn mellontōn tō kosmō gignesthai*",[83] that predicts the new era that will be inaugurated by the crown prince Ptolemy III.[84] The exegetical format of the King List composed by lemmata and comments might also have been intended to make explicit to Ptolemies, by citing examples of concrete royal actions, the traditional role assumed by an Egyptian king.[85] The Ptolemaic king, however, must be seen as a double-faced ruler, both a pharaoh and Macedonian king.[86] As we shall see, the episodes and the figures of the Greek mythological past that are synchronized with the reigns of Egyptian pharaohs can be considered as significant for the Ptolemaic ideology, and may have been intended to provide legitimizing reference points for the new sovereigns of Egypt. Manetho, being conscious of the bicephalous nature of Ptolemaic kingship, seeks to make linkages between the Egyptian past and the past of Greeks in a way to create significant meanings capable of developing much further the legitimization process of the newly founded royal house of Egypt. It should be noted that the coordination of events as well as the cross-cultural identification of figures of the Greek past with Egyptian pharaohs occurs only from Dynasty XVIII onwards, namely from the 'Sothic period' that will be renewed at the beginning of the reign of Euergetes'. This remark can reinforce the assumption that Manetho's work clearly has an ideological and political orientation.

Linkages between the Egyptian and Greek past

The reign of Misphragmouthosis and the Deucalionic flood myth

The first event of the Greek past coordinated with the reign of an Egyptian pharaoh is attested under the reign of Misphragmouthosis. This latter is presented in the *epitomē* of Africanus[87] as the 6th pharaoh of the Dynasty XVIII. The name of this pharaoh is

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82 On the scientific letters addressed to Hellenistic rulers, see Berrey 2017, 127–161, along with the bibliography discussed by the author.

83 Waddell 1964, App. 1.

84 Bull 2018, 73–74.

85 See also Moyer 2011, 130.

86 For the Janus-like character of Ptolemaic kingship, see Koenen 1993.

87 Waddell 1964, fr. 52.

not easily identifiable, but, as Sydney Aufrère suggests, it can be construed as a ficti-tious name composed by elements that recall the birth and coronation names of Thut-mose.[88] The Heliopolitan priest, if the synchronism transmitted in Africanus' *epitomē* is not a later interpolation,[89] puts in the reign of Misphragmouthosis the episode of the flood held at the time of Deucalion. John Dillery understands the presence of Deu-calion's flood story in Manetho as the result of interaction with contemporary Near Eastern scholarship,[90] and especially with Berossus who provides an extended ac-count of the flood.[91] Bearing in mind that the Macedonians defined themselves in rela-tion to the heroic past,[92] I think that we can also contemplate broader ideological implications in this synchronism. The earliest mentions of Deucalion are known for the most part from scattered and allusive indications that appear in Hesiod as well as in the logographers of the 6th and 5th cent. BC, like Acusilaus, Pherecydes, and Hellani-cus.[93] The account in Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliothēkē,* based in all likelihood on sour-ces of Classical and Hellenistic period,[94] presents Deucalion as king of Pthia,[95] a region situated in southern Thessaly. This statement reflects a mythological tradition that dates back to Hesiod, Hecateus and Herodotus, and portrays the Phtiotic king Deucalion as the common ancestor of all the Thessalian kings.[96] One of them is Peleus, father of Achilles.[97] This latter was said to be ancestor of Alexander on his mother's side.[98] As is well known, Achilles provided many times an *exemplum* not only for the Macedonian king[99] but also for his successors. Deucalion should also have been an important figure for Ptolemaic ideology, since he was, from the perspective of Archaic genealogical epic, the grandfather of Makedon, eponym of Macedonians. As it is men-tioned in the Pseudo-Hesiodic catalog of women, Thyia, the daughter of Deucalion bears to Zeus two sons, Magnes and Makedon.[100] It is interesting also to note that Aris-

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88 About the etymology of the name Misphragmouthosis, see Aufrère 2011, 349.

89 It should be noted that the synchronism between the reign of Misphragmouthosis and the Greek flood does not occur neither in Eusebius' *epitomē* (Waddell 1964, fr. 53a–b) nor in Josephus' account (Waddell 1964, fr. 54). John Dillery seems to follow the reservations of Felix Jacoby on this point, and does not exclude the possibility that the mention of the Deucalionic flood is an interpolation, perhaps by Christian authors, such as Africanus, who also attached a great importance to flood accounts. See Dillery 2015, 108; Dillery 2016, 121–122. However, the Deucalionic flood is mentioned in the Parian chronicle (IG 12.5 444, 4.6b), that is an exact contemporary of Manetho's work (ca. 264–263 BC).

90 For the oriental influences on Deucalionic flood myth, see West 2003.

91 Dillery 2015, 108–109, 253–264; Dillery 2016, 122–123.

92 For further details, see Stewart 1993, 81.

93 See Fowler 2000, Ac. 34–35; Ph. 23, 85; Hell. 6, 74, 117, 125. Cf. also Smith 2015, 243.

94 West 2003, 247.

95 Ps.-Apollod. Bibl. 1.7–2.

96 Hdt. 1.56.3; Merkelbach/West, fr. 6. See also Bremmer 2008, 107.

97 On Achilles and Thessaly, see De Cristofaro 2016.

98 Diod. Sic. 17.1.5; Paus. 1.9.8; Plut. Vit. Alex. 2.1–2. Cf. also Carney 2006, 5–18.

99 See, for example, Stewart 1993, 78–86.

100 Merkelbach/West, fr. 107. See also Heckel 1980, 452; Gantz 1993, 167.

totle's account confines Deucalion's flood to the old Hellas,[101] a region around the river Acheloos and Dodona,[102] where was situated from the 4th cent. BC the seat of the Aeacid house. It was from this dynasty that Alexander claimed descent on the side of his mother Olympias, daughter of the Molossian king Neoptolemus.[103] Thus, I think that the flood story, if genuine, is cited by Manetho not only as a simple chronological milestone that establishes an epoch. It should be considered above all as a reference alluding to the matrilineal descent of Alexander as well as to a common Macedonian ancestry, which is undoubtedly a thing mattered to early Ptolemies who appear to be proud of their Macedonian origin.[104]

Egyptian pharaohs and the Argive mythological cycle

The next synchronism, which is also placed in the Dynasty XVIII, is an internal one since it identifies the Egyptian pharaohs Armaïs/Hermaeus (Horemheb) and Ramesses I (Paramessu),[105] or Sethos (Sety I),[106] with the Argive brothers Danaus and Aigyptus.[107] The narrative of the quarrel between the two brothers, transmitted by Flavius Josephus[108] informs us on how Armaïs/Danaus seized the *diadēma*, namely the royal power of the legitimate pharaoh Sethos/Aigyptus.[109] The passages of Eusebius' and the Armenian version[110] focus on the return of Armaïs/Danaus to Greece and his accession to the throne of Argos. Manetho tries to introduce into the chronological framework of Egyptian past two figures of the Inachid line, namely Danaus and Aigyptus, the sons of Belus. This latter was a king who succeeded to the Egyptian throne his grandfather Epaphus, son of the Argive princess Io[111] and grandson of Inachus, the mythical king of Argos.[112] Belus fathered with Anchinoe, daughter of the Nile two sons, Danaus and Aigyptus.[113] Aigyptus was installed by his father as ruler in Arabia.

101 Arist. Mete. 352a30.
102 See also Trzaskoma/Smith 2009, 93–94.
103 Carney 2006, 28, 91, 142, 178.
104 See Thompson 2005, 270.
105 For an overview of Paramessu's career under Horemheb's reign, see Somaglino 2014.
106 Waddell 1964, fr. 50, 54.
107 Waddell 1964, fr. 53 a–b.
108 Waddell 1964, fr. 50.
109 For the assumption that the elements of Josephus' excerpt, such as the term *diadēma* and the expression "*o tetagmenos epi tōn hiereōn*" might suggest genuine elements of Manetho's text dated in the Hellenistic period, see Dillery 1999, 99–100; Dillery 2015, 306–309.
110 Waddell 1964, 53a–b.
111 For the myth of Io and its ties with Egypt, see Gottesman 2013.
112 For an overview of the early history of Inachids and the beginnings of the Argive royal family, see Hard 2004, 225–245.
113 Ps.-Apollod. Bibl. 2.1.4. Cf. A. Supp. 315–323.

He also conquered Egypt and gave his name to the Egyptians. His brother Danaus was installed as ruler by Belus in Libya. The quarrel between the two brothers began when Aigyptus insisted on marrying his fifty sons with the fifty daughters of Danaus. The claim of Aigyptus provoked fear to Danaus, who believed that his family and consequently his power would be absorbed by that of his brother. The rivalry with his brother forced Danaus to flee to Argos, where he seized the power from Gelanor, son of Sthenelas.[114] The sons of Aigyptus pursued the Danaids to Argos. Danaus, feared Aigyptus, incited his daughters to kill the sons of his brother in the wedding-night. However, the Danaid Hypermnestra saved his husband, Lynkeus, son of Aigyptus,[115] who established himself king of Argos, after killing Danaus. Their son Abas, who descended both from Danaus and Aigyptus lineages,[116] succeeded his father on the throne of Argos. His reign inaugurated a new Argive dynasty that produced the two mythological ancestors of Alexander, Perseus[117] and Heracles,[118] both descended from Akrisios, son of Abas. From the Heraclid lineage, through Hyllus, son of Heracles, descended also the Argive king Temenus, from whom the Macedonian royal family of Temenids/Argeads, to which Alexander have belonged, claimed ancestry.[119] The Argeads have always sought to highlight their mythological past and their ties with the legends of Argos in order to claim legitimacy.[120]

In the light of this evidence, I think that Manetho proceeds to this internal synchronism due to the considerable importance that the myths of the Argive cycle had in the self-conception of the Ptolemaic dynasty. As is well known, the Ptolemies desired to present themselves, *inter alia*, as Argead kings, since as newly-established rulers needed to construct *ex nihilo* their dynastic legitimacy.[121] Mythological figures related to Argos must have been therefore eloquent reference points for the legitimating agenda of the new sovereigns of Egypt. Incorporating into the Egyptian royal past the story of Danaus and Aigyptus, who gave rise to the respectable mythical ancestry of Alexander, should make a direct claim to the Ptolemaic Argead legacy. The identification of Danaus and Aigyptus with pharaonic rulers locates in Egypt the origin of the Argeads. The Macedonian rule is thereby depicted not as a conquest, but as a return to the ancestral land. However, the slightly nationalistic overtone[122] in Manetho's nar-

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114 Ps.-Apollod. Bibl. 2.1. 4; Paus. 2.19.3; 2.16.1.

115 Ps.-Apollod. Bibl. 2.1.5; A. *Pr.* 859–869.

116 Ps.-Apollod. Bibl. 2.2.1; Paus. 2.16.1.

117 On Perseus as ancestor of Alexander, see the evidence discussed by Caneva 2016, 46; Bianchi 2018, 91.

118 On Alexander's Heracleian ancestry on his father's side, see the evidence discussed by Huttner 1997, 102–112. On emulation of Heracles by Alexander, see, for example, Palagia 1986, 140–141; Huttner 1997, 112–123.

119 Hdt. 8.137–139; Thuc. 2.99.3.

120 See for example Psoma 2015; Asirvatham 2010; Sprawski 2010.

121 On the connections established by Ptolemies with the Argeads, see Lianou 2010, 128–130.

122 Cf. also Aufrère 2010.

rative cannot go unnoticed. By presenting Danaus as the usurper of the Egyptian throne, Manetho probably sought to call attention to the superiority of the Egyptian descendance of the Argeads.

It is in the same perspective that one should understand the identification of Osorchōn/Osorthōn, pharaoh of the Tanite Dynasty XXIII with Heracles.[123] Donald Redford identified Osorchōn of Manetho with Osorkon III,[124] and suggested that the "nick-name" Heracles should be derived from the pharaoh's epithet *sꜣ ꜣs.t* alluding to Horus, son of Isis who was often identified with Khonsu, son of Amun. Through the assimilation of Amun with Zeus, the Theban god Khonsu was also identified with Heracles, son of Zeus.[125] Jürgen von Beckerath[126] has furthered the observations of Karl-Heinz Priese[127] by convincingly argued for identifying the Manethonian pharaoh of the Tanite dynasty with Osorkon IV, king of Bubastis and *Rꜥ-nfr* [i.e. the region of Tanis].[128] Both of them have pointed out that Osorkon III should be ascribed to the Upper Egyptian royal line of the Dynasty XXII that was not based at Tanis.[129] For von Beckerath, it is this notion of strength that laid the ground for the identification with Heracles, "den starken Helden ihres Mythos".[130] He argues that the surname of Osorchon/Osorthon results from a reinterpretation of the pharaoh's Libyan name *Wsirkn* as *wsr-qn* ("mächtig und stark") or *Wsjr-qn* ("Osiris der Starke").[131] No documentary evidence, however, links together the name of the pharaoh with one of these two nominal groups. As showed by Frédéric Colin, the Libyan name *Wsirkn* must have been reinterpreted in Egyptian as *Wsjr-tn*,[132] and from this form it was transcribed into Greek as *Osorchōn/Osorthōn*. But the question remains—why *Wsirkn/Wsjr-tn* is identified with Heracles? An entry of *Etymologicum Magnum* could be regarded, I think, as evidence to explain this internal synchronism. The entry tells us that Heracles is called *Chōn* in the Egyptian language.[133] This statement points to the existence of a Greek transcription of the divine name *Ḫnsw* (Khonsu) as *Chōn.* Thus, one may assume that this was through the second part of the Greek transcription of

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123 Waddell 1964, fr. 62, 63a–b.

124 For the long-standing debate over the identification of Manethonian Osorcho with Osorkon III or Osorkon IV, see Aston 2009, 12–14; Adams 2011, along with the further bibliography cited by the authors. Kahn 2006, 32, identifies Osorthon of Manetho with a poorly attested Tanite king who bears the names *iri.n Rꜥ špss-kꜣ-rꜥ* Gemenef-Khonsu-bak. Such an assumption, however, does not explain why the Pharaoh is mentioned by Manetho under the name Osorkon.

125 On the identification of Heracles with Khonsu, see von Lieven 2016, 73.

126 von Beckerath 1994.

127 Priese 1972, 20.

128 Priese 1972, 20, n. 23; Jansen-Winkeln 2006, 246; Aston 2009, 12.

129 See also Adams 2011, 27–28.

130 von Beckerath 1994, 8.

131 von Beckerath 1994, 8.

132 Colin 1996, 1, 61–63.

133 Etym. Magn. 816.27.

the Egyptian reinterpretation of the Libyan name (-chōn/-*thōn*), which recalls the Khonsu's name in Greek, that Manetho established the equivalence between *Osorchōn/ Osorthōn* and Heracles. But why it was so important to connect Heracles with a pharaoh of Egypt? Before answering the question, let us note a paradox in the gloss of Manetho. The 'Sebennyte' states that Osorchon is named Heracles by the Egyptians. One can see that he makes here, in fact, an inverted *interpretatio Graeca*, contrary to Herodotus' pattern that assigns the Greek names to Greek speakers and the Egyptian names to Egyptian speakers[134] ("the Egyptians call Zeus Amun"[135]/ "Horus, the son of Osiris, whom the Greeks called him Apollo"[136]). An explanation may be that Manetho aims to portray Heracles, the Greek mythical ancestor of Alexander and of Ptolemies[137] as a foreign but legitimate pharaoh of Egypt. As in the case of Aigyptus/Danaus' story, he tries to show that the power of Macedonian rulers also stems from the Egyptian side, bestowing in this way on the new sovereigns of Egypt a strong Pharaonic political legacy, enhanced by legitimizing points of reference to their mythological ancestry.

The reign of the queen Tausret and the Fall of Troy

The last entry of the Dynasty XIX attests to a synchronism, both internal and external, between the Greek and the Egyptian past. It occurs in all the versions of the *epitomē* and it states the following:[138]

> Ruler 5 (or 6[139]): Thuoris, who is called by Homer Polybus, the husband of Alkandrē, and in whose reign Troy was captured; he reigned for 7 years.

Manetho makes, first, an internal synchronism by identifying a pharaoh under the name Thyoris with the Homeric figure of Polybus, and, after that, he synchronizes this reign with an event of the Greek mythological past, namely the fall of Troy. As Alan Gardiner remarked, "Thyoris [. . .] gives in distorted form the name Twosre, though there misrepresented as a male".[140] The reign of the queen Twosre lasted approximately 9 years. She acceded to the throne of Egypt as regent of Ramesses-Siptah.[141] This

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134 See also Dillery 2015, 112–113; Dillery 2016, 126.

135 Hdt. 2.42.

136 Hdt. 2.144.

137 On Heracles as Ptolemaic ancestor and the *emulatio* of his iconography by Ptolemies, see Fraser 1972, 1, 44–45.; Palagia 1986, 143–144; Huttner 1997, 124–145; Hunter 2003, 12–13,79, 107–108, 116, 120, 129, 196.

138 Waddell 1964, fr. 55, 56 a-b. The Armenian version designates Polybus also as a strenuous and the most powerful man at Thebes. See Waddell 1964, fr. 56b.

139 According to the Africanus' *epitomē*.

140 Gardiner 1958, 20. See also Callender 2012, 25.

141 Callender 2012, 29–32.

latter succeeded Sety II, the Twosre's husband at about 1194 BC.[142] After the death of Siptah in ca. 1186 BC, she became pharaoh of Egypt and continued to rule at least until ca. 1185 BC.[143] It is under this period (ca. 1194–1185 BC)[144] that arrived, according to Manetho, the fall of Troy. As it was a very significant episode of the Greek mythical past, many ancient scholars before him have reckoned various dates of the event.[145] Among them, the date 1194/1193 BC[146] given by the quasi-contemporary of Manetho, Timaeaus of Tauromenium would have guided Manetho's choice[147] to place the fall of Troy at the end of Dynasty XIX, under the reign of Twosre. I think, however, that we can also search for additional reasons justifying this double synchronism.

The relevant evidence concerning the events of this period suggests that at the end of the Dynasty XIX certain Asiatic princelets threatened Egyptian sovereignty. Two texts referring to this period, the Great Harris Papyrus I[148] and the Elephantine Stele[149] record how Asian rebels led by a certain *ir-sw ḫȝrw*,[150] an Asiatic leader of Palestine, most likely contemporary of Siptah and Twosre,[151] seized control in Egypt's northern regions. According to texts, the invaders were expelled by Sethnakht, the first pharaoh of the Dynasty XX, who usurped the throne from Twosre.[152] Bearing in mind, however, the Nebty name of the queen (*grgt Kmt wˁf ḫȝswt*),[153] which suggests that she crushed foreign invaders, it is not unlikely that the queen, long before Sethnakht, has been started to fight wars for driving back the Asiatic enemies and saving Egypt's sovereignty. We could assume that the opposition under Twosre's reign between Egypt and its Asiatic neighbours, who plundered Egyptian treasures and insulted the Egyptian gods[154] recalls *mutatis mutandis* the "Asiatic" Paris whose outrage had caused the Trojan war. The triumph of the Greeks over the Trojans and the capture of Troy may be considered analogous to the destruction and expulsion of Asiatics who threatened Egypt under Twosre's reign. Synchronizing the reign of this queen, a supposed "descendant" of the Inachid/Argead line, if we accept the assumption that

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142 von Beckerath 1997, 118.

143 For the length of the reign of Twosre, see von Beckerath 1997, 118; Hornung 2006, 214; Callender 2012, 43; Wilkinson 2011, 44–45, 127–128; Wilkinson 2012, 2.

144 The available documentation suggests that Twosre's reign started to count from the death of Sety II onward.

145 For an overview of all the alternative dates, see Möller 2005, 249.

146 See Möller 2005, 249; Kokkinos 2009, 40.

147 For other general similarities in the methodology of Timaeus and Manetho, see Dillery 2016, 114–115.

148 § 75.3–75.6. See Grandet 1994, 1, 335.

149 ll. 4, 7 –18. See Drenkhahn 1980, 62–63.

150 On the Asian rebel Irsu Kharu [i.e. region of Syro-Palestine], see Grandet 1994, 2, 220–224. Cf. Goedicke 1979, 6–7.

151 Goedicke 1979, 11.

152 On this issue, see Callender 2012, 43–47.

153 Callender 2012, 36.

154 Papyrus Harris I, § 75.5–75.6; Elephantine stele, ll. 4, 9.

she was granddaughter of Ramesses II,[155] who descended in his turn from Aigyptus/ Ramesses I-Sety I, with the fall of Troy, which were understood in Antiquity as a signal of victory of the "modesty" of the West over the overweening *hybris* of the East[156] could carry a significant political and ideological message, especially if we admit that Manetho composed his work at the end of Ptolemy's II reign (*terminus post quem* the year 256 BC).[157]

Twosre/Thouōris is considered as a male king[158] by Manetho, who identifies him with Polybus, husband of Alkandrē. This internal synchronism is a clear allusion to *Odyssey*, where we find a certain Polybus, resident of the wealthy Egyptian city of Thebes, who, along with his wife Alkandrē hosted Helen and Menelaus during their sojourn on the banks of the Nile. They also furnished them with luxurious things that existed, according to Homer, in Menelaus' palace in Sparta.[159] The common Theban origin of the queen Twosre and Polybus could partially explain the identification of these figures. It must be noted that the reference to Polybus could also recall the sojourn of Helen in Egypt during the Trojan War.[160] According to Herodotus' account, the Memphite king Proteus forced out Paris from Egypt, while he compelled Helen to stay with him in order to reunite her with Menelaus after the Achaeans had besieged Troy. In Egypt, Menelaus received good hospitality and regained his wife, as well as all his possession stolen by an 'Asiatic', namely the son of King Priam. As Phiroze Vasunia remarked, "Egypt occupies an interesting intermediate position between European Greece and barbarian Asia in Herodotus' narrative [. . .] and functions as a necessary hurdle for the Asiatics, [. . .] a point through which the Asian threat to Greece must pass and encounter difficulties."[161] I think that such juxtapositions of references underlying, both from Egyptian and Greek perspective, the capacity of Egypt to prevent the 'Asiatic' enemy from enjoying the fruits of his theft, should have an ideologically central thrust for Ptolemaic propaganda, especially towards the end of the reign of Ptolemy II, when the relations between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids were strained. Despite the marriage in April 252 BC of the Seleucid king Antiochus II with the princess Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy II, that brought the Second Syrian War to an end, it seems that the competition between the two kings for the control of Koilē Syria and Palestine had no end. We can assume that Antiochus II could be considered as the 'Asiatic' enemy who respected neither the matrimonial alliance with the Ptolemaic royal house nor the huge dowry of gold and silver brought by the Ptole-

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155 Callender 2012, 28.

156 For the reception of Trojan themes in antiquity, see Zeitlin 2009.

157 See above p. 12.

158 A possible reason for this misinterpretation may be that in most cases the Horus name of Twosre takes a masculine form ("*Kȝ nḫt mry Mȝˁt, nb ˁn m nswt mi Tm*"). See Callender 2012, 36.

159 Hom. Od. 4.125–128.

160 Hdt. 2.113–120.

161 Vasunia 2001, 124–126.

maic princess Berenikē when she arrived in Antioch in 252 BC. The Seleucid policy in Crete and in Thrace shows clearly that Antiochus II did not abandon his anti-Ptolemaic activity after the peace and his marriage with Berenikē.[162] From such a perspective, the ideological message of this dual synchronism is clear enough: the Ptolemaic kingdom, especially under the new era that will begin with the accession of the crown prince Ptolemy III to the throne, and as rightful heir of Pharaonic royalty will crush every attempt of an 'Asiatic'-Seleucid invader, who, motivated by his predictable tendency to *hybris*, will challenge Egypt's sovereignty.

The reign of Petoubatēs and the date of the first Olympic games

The last synchronism coordinates the reign of the first pharaoh of the Manethonian Dynasty XXIII, who appears under the name of Petubatēs, with the foundation of the Olympic games.[163] It is difficult to identify with certainty the pharaoh in question,[164] and the absence of a fixed date of the first Olympiad, at least before the *Chronographiae* of Eratosthenes that occurs a little later than Manetho's work (ca. 220 BC) and dates the first Olympiad at 776/775 BC,[165] complexifies every attempt of identification. About 50 years before Eratosthenes, the *Olympionicae* of the quasi-contemporaneous of Manetho, Timaeus has also established in all likelihood a fixed date for the first Olympiad, but unfortunately nothing directly survives.[166]

For the chronographic tradition of the Greeks, the first Olympiad functions as a marker of a new time-epoch. According to Varro, the past time can be divided into three epochs: the first one goes from the creation of humankind to the flood, and it is called *adēlon*, the second one from the flood to the first Olympiad, and it is named *mythikon*, and the last one, goes from the first Olympic games to our days, which is known as *historikon*.[167]

I think, however, that the mention of the first Olympiad is not just a matter of epoch's division. As in previous cases, such a reference may also carry ideological significance for the first Ptolemies, who were in search of legitimizing symbols advertising their direct relations with the dynasty of Argeads. For understanding the ideological meaning of this synchronism, we should recall Herodotus' story of the participation of

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162 For an overview of the events mentioned above, see Grainger 2010, 137–152.

163 Waddell 1964, fr. 62.

164 The identification of the Manethonian Petubatēs with Pedubast I, Pedubast II, or even another Pedubast, contemporary of Shoshenq V has been much debated. For an overview, see Kahn 2006; Aston 2009, 13–18.

165 FGrH 241. Cf. Möller 2004, 178–179; ead. 2005, 254.

166 For the Timaean evidence concerning the first Olympiad, see Möller 2004, 175–176; Baron 2013, 23–28.

167 Varro apud Censorinus DN 20.12–21.2.

Alexander I at the Olympic games, which allowed the Argeads to prove their Greek-ness.[168] The Olympic games can be seen, therefore, as a reference point to the legitimate authority of significant ancestors of the Ptolemaic royal house.

Laudatory poems composed by poets of the Ptolemaic court used very often the 'Leitmotiv' of equestrian victories at Olympia in order to praise their patrons, and this proves that the Olympic games were a source of prestige for the first Ptolemies.[169]

The mention of the most prestigious among the four Panhellenic festivals of main-land Greece in the timeline of the Egyptian royal past should matter to the first Ptole-mies for one more reason. As is well known, Ptolemy II founded in 279–278 BC[170] a new festival in honor of his predecessors and parents, Ptolemy I and Berenike I. Orga-nized on the Olympic model, Philadelphus sought to ensure that his festival, intended to honor Ptolemy's ancestors and advertise the legitimacy of his rule,[171] should be rec-ognized as *isolympion* [i.e. equal to the Olympic games].[172] Due to his Panhellenic character, it provided also to the new ruler of Egypt a means of exhibiting the power and wealth of Ptolemaic Kingdom throughout the Greeks, and also building the image of Alexandria as the new epicenter of the Hellenistic world. Moreover, an anecdote mentions that the Panhellenic character of the Olympic games, which bestowed pres-tige on Ptolemy II through the organization of his own *isolympion* festival, was sanc-tioned by the Egyptian pharaoh. According to Herodotus[173] and Diodorus[174] an Elian delegation arrived in Egypt in order to consult the Egyptian pharaoh Psammis (Psam-tik II) or Amasis (Ahmose II) regarding the fairness of the games held at Olympia. The instructive reply that the royal counselors gave to the Elians suggested that the main condition for ensuring fairness is the participation of *xeinoi* in the games.

In the light of this evidence, we can assume that the mention of the first Olympiad by Manetho served not only as a key marker for the beginning of the historical epoch, but also as a frame of reference intended to allude symbolically to the Ptolemaic royal prestige.

Conclusion

To sum up, given the available documentary and literary evidence, we can depict Man-etho as a native priest, proficient in Greek language, with an intimate knowledge of

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168 Hdt. 5.22, 9.45. Cf. also Borza 1999, 27–50.

169 See, for example, the racing successes at Olympia of Ptolemy I, Ptolemy II, Arsinoe and Berenice recorded by Posidippus in Thompson 2005, 272–273.

170 Thompson 2000, 381–388.

171 Thompson 2000, 369.

172 Grabowski 2014, 28, along with further bibliography.

173 Hdt. 2.160.

174 Diod. Sic. 1.95.

Greek myths and literature. His capacity to navigate between the two different cultural contexts allowed him to be one of the court clerics who had access to the entourage of the Macedonian king and participated in activities of intercultural cooperation with the new royal house of Egypt, just as did previously the Egyptian priest Wedjahorresnet, who had had a substantial contribution to the legitimation of the Persian rule.[175] Allusive indications in his treatise suggest placing his *floruit* most likely in the reigns of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III. Under the assumption that the annotated King List has initially been part of *Sothis Book,* a treatise with strong ideological overtones that seeks to point out that the reign of the crown prince Ptolemy III will usher in a new cosmic era, we can consider his work on the royal Egyptian past as an instructing tool intended to facilitate the self-positioning and self-fashioning of the Janus-headed ruling house of Egypt. Incorporating into his work trends, patterns, and material from Greek as much as Egyptian sources, this bicultural high-ranking erudite-priest of the Ptolemaic court, functioning as mouthpiece of Ptolemaic propaganda had intertwined in a common temporal grid events, figures, myths, and symbols of the Egyptian and the Greek past for serving the identity needs of the bicephalous Ptolemaic monarchy. His work testifies to an apparent willingness to laud his patrons, as well as register and adjust their rule to the royal pharaonic tradition.

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Sabine Kubisch

Oracles as an Instrument for Political Decisions and Royal Legitimation: A Case Study of Ancient Egypt

Abstract: The divine oracle was a very common method to use religion for political porpusos in pharaonic Egypt, probably since the early periods. At least since the 18th dynasty (15th century BC) oracles are tangible in the Egyptian 'state religion'. Several pharaohs used it for the purpose of legitimization. This paper exemplifies two of them – the female pharaoh Hatshepsut and Ramesses II of the 19th dynasty.

Since a female pharaoh was never intended in Egyptian royal ideology Hatshepsut needed to take special measures to justify her claim to the throne. She developed the so-called legend of the divine birth to set her descent from the god Amun. So, she used an oracle in which the same Amun chose and confirmed her to be pharaoh. On the other side, the theological conception changed considerably under the reign of Ramesses II, in particular the legitimizing significance of Maat. Instead of the pharaoh it is now the god who maintained Maat as the religious and political order of the world. In consequence, the king has to earn the favour of the god in order to legitimate himself as ruler.

According to the Ramesside royal ideology the gods became an active and vital parameter in political rule, a phenomenon called "Theologie des Wissens" by Jan Assmann. The will of the gods manifests itself not in the form of constantly established Maat but in singular signs and oracles. This leads to a professionalism and social differentiation of the priesthood as the very social class which is able to interpret these divine signs and by that to get influence on political decisions.

Keywords: Hatshepsut, Hapuseneb, Nebwenenef, Ramesses II, High Priest of Amun

When we deal with religious personnel in Ancient Egypt, we must understand an important difference in the self-conception of this professional group in comparison to priests or shamans of tribal societies, for example. Therefore, a short introductory digression into the sociology of religionmight be necessary.

Max Weber[1] distinguished in his sociological reference book on economy and society between personal and official charisma[2] with regard to the analysis of a rule. The most important difference is that personal charisma is tied to a specific person

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1 Weber 1980.

2 Weber 1980, 144, 661–781.

and usually cannot be transferred. The official charisma was not *a priori* inherent in its bearer, but was conferred upon him when he was put in his office – be it a civil, religious or ruling one. The sociologist of religion Joachim Wach[3] applied this conceptual distinction to his systematics of religious specialists and defined different types of religious authorities within a certain hierarchy (Tab. 1).

Tab. 1: Hierarchy of different religious authorities according to J. Wach.

Religionsstifter	founder of religion (Wach 1944, 341–344)
Reformator	reformer (Wach 1944, 344–346)
Prophet	prophet (in a biblical sense), (Wach 1944, 346–351)
Seher	seer (Wach 1944, 351–353)
Zauberer	magician (Wach 1944, 353–356)
Wahrsager	diviner (Wach 1944, 356–357)
Heiliger	saint (Wach 1944, 357–360)
Priester	priest (Wach 1944, 360–368)
Religiöse	religious people (Wach 1944, 368–370)
Zuhörerschaft	audience (Wach 1944, 370–374)

Wach's typology and the order of his authorities are determined solely by their subjective charisma, their communion with the gods. Following Joachim Wach[4] and Jörg Rüpke[5], the crucial point for this concept was the *sensus numinis*, the sense for transcendental matters. The religious specialist feels the transcendent power, he is not actively engaged but waits passively for a divine address. The first three specialists in particular are characterised by a high degree of personal charisma. Here the difference to Ancient Egypt, but also to other ancient civilizations becomes clear, because this personal charisma or *sensus numinis* was not necessarily a precondition to be a priest in ancient cultures.

Anyway, not all of these authorities are relevant for premodern cultures. With regard to Ancient Egypt only seers, magicians, priests, and religious audience are of interest.[6]

In Ancient Egypt – as well as in Ancient Near East – religion was not only part of the social life but its solid foundation. The religious system in Egypt was never challenged, with the exception of Akhenaten and his religious revolution in the 14th century BC.[7]

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3 Wach 1944, 331–374, cf. Weber 1980, 245–259.

4 Wach 1944, 333–337.

5 Rüpke 2007, 128–130.

6 In Ancient Egypt, strictly speaking, the Pharaoh is to be included here, as he is considered the highest religious official. Qua office he is the highest priest, but only nominally and not active as such. This article is primarily concerned with the active personnel and the religiously intended influence on the king's political actions.

7 Further reading: Hornung 1995; Assmann 2012; Assmann 2014; Hoffmeier 2015.

Akhenaten promoted the sun disk Aton to be the one and only god with himself and the royal family as the only persons to communicate with him. He banned most of the other cults, especially the most powerful god Amun. The temples all over Egypt had been closed, priests dismissed from their offices, and cults have been banned. But for the common people it was existential to consult the gods in every aspect of life, so they developed their own idea of religious practice.[8] The roots of this concept of personal piety already existed before[9] but it experienced an extremely dynamic development during this time. So, this Period, commonly referred to as Amarna Period can be seen as a 'catalyst' for cultural development, especially for religious phenomena such as personal piety.

Nevertheless, gods have been omnipresent in Ancient Egypt, even during the Amarna Period. Therefore, the first three authorities, founder of religion, reformer and prophet, are usually not an issue in Ancient Egypt or Ancient Mesopotamia. If every aspect of social life is created by the gods and dependent on their will, a person proclaiming religion is certainly not required. In both cultures the gods are in the centre of the worldview and accordingly in the centre of the royal self-perception. As a representative for the mankind the pharaoh, as well as the Mesopotamian king had to provide the gods with everything they need in the daily cult and at the feasts, to keep them gracious and well-disposed. The main task of the king was the maintenance of law and order and the satisfaction of the gods.

The Egyptian ruler was the "earthly embodiment of the gods",[10] he was situated between the divine and human sphere and was, as it were, a mediator between the two worlds. The living king was both the recipient and the actor of ritual acts. The divinity of the pharaoh was immanent to the office, and only at the moment of his coronation does his divinity come to fruition. It was the title of Horus that symbolised the divinity.[11]

In Mesopotamia it was similar, here the ruler also stood at the top of society and as such between the human and divine spheres. The office of king was conferred by divine recognition,[12] the decisive element in the legitimisation of the Babylonian king was his election by the gods. With his accession to power, the ruler entered the world of the gods, so here too it is not the person who is divine, but the office.[13] He qualified himself by a personal achievement and in return was appointed as ruler by the gods,

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8 Private religion in Amarna: Stevens 2003; Stevens 2006; DuQuesne 2011.

9 Personal Piety in general: Luiselli 2011a, Luiselli 2011b.

10 Blumenthal 2002, 54.

11 Cf. Blumenthal 2002, 53–54.

12 Sallaberger 2002, 85.

13 Sallaberger 2002, 94.

followed by enthronement.[14] The concrete actions of the king were determined by the divine mandate.[15]

Both, the Egyptian pharaoh and the Mesopotamian king owe their position as legitimate rulers to the gods.[16] Thus, one of their core tasks was to build and to maintain temples, to care for the gods and to stay in close contact to them.

With regards to the possibilities of contact to the gods and to fathom their will there has to be noticed a significant difference between Egypt and Mesopotamia. In both cultures various practices of divination did exist, such as oracles or dream interpretation. But only in Mesopotamia an elaborate system of *omina* can be observed by the cuneiform documentation.[17] The interpretation of *omina* was based on the observation of nature and sky or on the investigation of the intestines of a sacrificial animal (*extispicium)*, which surprisingly was not common in pharaonic Egypt. Some of these omina are restricted to the royal sphere and could only be performed by the ruler. This suggests a special role of these omina in politics.[18]

Especially the extispicy must have been of greatest importance in Mesopotamia, measured by the extent of sources dealing with this topic. Numerous texts of different genres are recorded from the late old-Babylonian period onwards (18th century BC).[19] Among them are comprehensive manuals which were also used for teaching purposes.

Furthermore, there are detailed ritual descriptions with instructions and interpretation, compendia of *omina*, records of certain inquiries or relevant correspondences. Royal inscriptions or literary texts also refer to this topic.[20] The wide range of sources allows conclusions to be drawn about the keen interest of the Mesopotamian rulers in this kind of divination. The specialist for the hepatoscopy was the *barû*, the seer. He is to be seen as a scholar and scientist[21] who qualified himself by studying the science of *omina*. He needed this knowledge for the interpretation of the *omina*, but his professional success rather depended on the mercy of the gods and their willingness to communicate. In practical terms, that means the liver of the sacrificial animal did not show a special feature, which was necessary for the divination. If this feature was not visible, the god was not present and accordingly not able to answer.

A *barû* in the service of the king normally was a high dignitary with ministerial status who also had other official tasks and obligations. He was a carrier of confidential information. His political influence and power become visible by the fact that di-

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14 Ambos, 2017, 67; Sallaberger 2002, 91.

15 Sallaberger 2002, 85.

16 Egypt: Gundlach 1995; cf. also Otto 1969 (partly outdated); Mesopotamia: Steible 2001 (3rd millennium BC); cf. Janowski 2008, 149−153.

17 Maul 2003 for a first overview, furthermore Pongratz-Leisten 1999 and Radner 2011.

18 For an overview see Böck 2016, and cf. Sallaberger 2002, 86.

19 Cf. Maul 2003, 58–59, Pongratz-Leisten 1999, 128–201.

20 See for example Maul 2003, 45–88, Janowski/Wilhelm 2008.

21 Sweek 2002, 46.

viners took the oath by the king. An oath from the Palace of Zimrilim in Mari (18th century BC)[22] handed down that the *barû* was not allowed to share any results of the extispicy with other parties and he was not allowed to act against the king on the basis of this information. He was also obliged to report any conspicuous findings. To avoid abuse, betrayal or mistakes it was possible to assign more than one team of seers or to have the results of an extispicy confirmed by another *barû*. The compendia and manuals were apparently not used mechanically, but left room for interpretation and creative thinking.[23]

Seers sometimes seek the protection of powerful cults, patrons, protective associations, or political rivals of the king which is also a sign for their influence.[24] They can be seen as a kind of translator between god and king. But if there are particularly sensitive inquiries, it was possible to degrade this translator to a kind of instrument. So, for example, the king himself wrote and sealed his inquiry, so only the god would know his plan.[25] The *barû* submitted the divine response without knowing the question, so to speak.

In the end the king had several possibilities to keep this very important process of extispicy under his control. But on the other hand this strategy and the large amount of sources imply that there might have been incidents of abuse.

This was just a very short insight to show which important role the different kind of *omina* played in the Ancient Near East. In contrast to this, we are not able to prove *omina* to the extent in Ancient Egypt before the 1st millennium BC even though there are so many parallels between the royal ideology or religion of both cultures.

Instead, in Egypt existed divine oracles.[26] Important decisions were made by an oracle during the processions in Karnak, and it was also used for the legitimization of the king. I would like to illustrate the role of the divine oracle and of the responsible priest as well as the related problem by two examples. However, I will start with some general remarks.

The political state system of Ancient Egypt has to be considered as a so-called "Sakral- und Rechtskönigtum"[27], where political actions took place always on behalf of the gods and should never be detached from religion. The pharaoh was the highest priest and only mediator between gods and men like in Mesopotamia. Theoretically and officially nobody else was allowed to take up contact to the gods and to practice the daily cult and ceremonial rituals. In the temple reliefs we see only the king serving the gods. In view of the large number of gods and temples in Egypt this was of

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22 Cf. Maul 2003, 76 with further literature, cf. also Pongratz-Leisten 1999.

23 Maul 2003.

24 Sweek 2002, 42.

25 Starr 1990, No 129−138.

26 Kaiser 1958; Černy 1962; Von Lieven 1999.

27 Assmann 2010, 96.

course practically impossible to realise. So, the king delegated every cultic and ritual service to the priests who acted as his representatives.

The Egyptian priests were part of the society like any other officials. They had been organised in so-called *phyles* in a rotating system. In each respective temple only one of the phyles was in charge. So, a priest served the gods only 3 months per year, while being occupied with other offices for the rest of the year. It is not at all unusual that an Egyptian official held both priestly and civil posts. Priests had to respect certain purity rules, as we know first and foremost from Herodotus.[28] They did not follow a divine calling or had to have certain abilities, first and foremost, it was a regular profession.

In the Egyptological scientific literature, both designations 'priest' and 'prophet' are regularly used for the cultic personnel. Both are partly correct but in the end not precise. The indigenous Egyptian designation of a religious specialist is *ḥm nṯr* – 'God's servant' which best describes the cultic tasks of an Egyptian priest. The religious leader of a certain temple in Ancient Egypt had been the *ḥm nṯr tpj* – literally '1st God's Servant', also translated as '1st Prophet' or 'High Priest'. Most important were the High Priest of Ptah in Memphis, the High Priest of Re-Harachte in Heliopolis and the High Priest of Amun in Karnak. In his contribution of the particular volume, Nenad Marković will go into more detail about the High Priest of Ptah in the Late Period.

The High Priest led all ritual acts and had probably most competences not only in the religious and cultic part but also in the field of temple administration, which provides him with economic and therefore also with political power. In other words: Whoever had access to economic resources also possessed political influence. So economic and religious tasks are apparently highly connected which seems to be of special importance in the temple of Amun in Karnak for two reasons. Firstly, it is the biggest and economically the most powerful temple in Egypt during the New Kingdom. From the pHarris I we learn that the temple of Karnak during the 20th Dynasty (12th century BC) had around 86.000 workers, estates of more than 230.000 hectar, livestock of more than 400.000 cows and so on.[29] Secondly, the king in the New Kingdom had to be legitimized and confirmed by the god Amun.[30]

The person who was supposed to interpret and to communicate the oracular decision was the High Priest of Amun as the highest representative of the temple. In consequence, he hypothetically must have had significant authority and influence. *Vice versa* the installation of the High Priest of Amun must have been a sensitive and highly political issue.

Pharaoh Hatshepsut was the first to include the god Amun in her legitimation strategy at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty (15th century BC).[31] At that time the god

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28 See Hdt. 2. 37.1–5; 41.1–4; 42.1; 47.1–2; 64.1.

29 Grandet 1994, 323–332; cf. Breasted 1906, 95–103, §§ 16–171.

30 Cf. in general Gundlach 2002, 105–108.

31 Cf. Gabolde 2014; Laboury 2014; for an overview cf. Kubisch 2017, 246–259.

Amun became more important and his temple in Karnak started to increase. The two most important offices in this context – High Priest of Amun and Gods Wife of Amun – were created immediately before.

Just for contextualizing the historical framework: Hatshepsut was the ruling queen who finally completed the restoration process after the foreign rule of the Hyksos.[32] She was the aunt of the legitimate but underaged king Thutmosis III. As such she was supposed to act as regent for him until he came of age, but instead she initiated her own coronation as pharaoh. However, a female pharaoh was never envisaged in Egyptian royal ideology, so she had to take special measures to establish her claim to the throne. **Firstly** she used the so-called legend of the divine birth to set her descent from the god Amun.[33] Maybe this myth already existed in the pharaonic cultural memory but Hatshepsut was the first who set it out in writing and illustration. These reliefs are located in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari.[34] The inscriptions and reliefs describe and illustrate how Hatshepsut fathered by the god Amun, was elected by him to be king of Egypt and set upon the throne. In this context we also find **secondly** the so-called coronation oracle, which Amun gave to confirm Hatshepsut as pharaoh. Scenes of her coronation are also shown in the Red Chapelle in Karnak.[35]

An oracle in the New Kingdom Egypt was not given verbally like the Siwa oracle but by means of a certain movement code. The cult image was placed in a closed shrine upon a wooden barque which was carried by several priests. To answer the oracular questions the god started to move in different ways. The translation of the Egyptian terms in this context is not conclusively clear, but only understood and interpreted by the priests. Indeed, these activities probably can be thought of as nodding or walking forwards and backwards. So, in fact the result of the oracle depends on the persons who carried the barque, or at least the superior priest who leads the procession.[36]

In the text of the birth legend of Hatshepsut there is described a procession of Amun, where the god did not show any reaction at the places where an oracle used to take place. Supposedly, he himself guided the procession to the palace of Hatshepsut, and thereby determined her as ruler:[37]

> After this, she placed herself upon her belly in the presence of His Majesty (i.e. the god Amun), saying: "How much greater is this than the (customary) conduct of Your Majesty! It is you, my father, who plans everything which exists. What is that which you wished to happen? I will truly

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32 Assmann 2006, 55–62.

33 Cf. Assmann 2009, 11–25; Assmann 2006, 55–62. About the legend of divine birth cf. Brunner 1986; Assmann 1982, 13–61.

34 Naville 1897 (part II).

35 Laboury 2014, 52 note 13, 54; cf. also Gabolde 2014.

36 Von Lieven 1999, 80.

37 Assmann 2006, 69; Gabolde 2014, 35–36; Laboury 2014, 66–67.

do in accordance with that which you have commanded". Then the Majesty of this god performed very great and very many wonders.

Then he placed her before him and advanced her to the mansion of Maat, she receiving the insignia of her servant(ship) and her jewellery of the wife of the god who is within his temple.[38]

The following text says that Amun lead Hatshepsut into the coronation hall, where he himself crowned her:

I put you on my throne. I take for you crook and flagellum. I mould you, who I planned to create, so that you give offerings before your creator, so that you restore the sanctuaries of the gods, so that you protect this land by an effective administration, so that the criminals have respect for you, so that the rebels are enslaved of your power, so that you take power as the Lord of Force. Then the land will be under your control, mankind under your supervision and your subjects will praise you.[39]

In all texts a direct and exclusive communication between Hatshepsut and the god Amun is suggested. But it cannot be assumed that she wrote them all by herself. The sources of the birth legend and of the oracle required special theological knowledge and must have been composed by experts. Whom else one would expect in this context than the priests, possibly in consultation with the queen. In fact, this specific creation legitimizing the woman pharaoh was a highly political act which only could be realized by the assistance of the responsible priests.

In the case of Hatshepsut we even know various high officials, among them the High Priest of Amun Hapuseneb. He was one of several persons Hatshepsut promoted in the sense of *homines novi* in order to create an inner circle of loyal subjects.

Concerning his appointment as High Priest of Amun Hapuseneb said:

[. . .]one whom Her Majesty selected amidst millions, whom she made great among the Rechit because of the great efficiency in the heart (of the king).[40]

Hapuseneb held also other, partially secular offices beside the title of the High Priest, for instance Overseer of all works of the king and Overseer of the priests of Upper and Lower Egypt etc. There are some indications that he was already in office before Hatshepsut became pharaoh, so it is quite likely that he was involved in her legitimation program. But here we are at a point where we can't get any further. We know, the royal texts must have been written by religious specialists, and we also know some of these specialists but we are not able to prove that a certain priest like Hapuseneb was in fact responsible for its realization. Hapuseneb left several inscriptions in which he reported about different building activities in the temple and cultic equip-

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38 Transl. after Gillen 2005, 1–8.
39 After Assmann 2009, 11–25.
40 Sethe 1927, 472: 5–7.

ment he was responsible for.[41] So, we know from his monuments that he supervised the production of a door of copper, a wooden shrine and several cultic devices. But he did not give explicit information about the cultic or theological aspect of his office. Hapuseneb only mentioned that he was put into his office by the king. He had his/her absolute confidence and did his job to the highest satisfaction of the king. However, it is a biographic text written on the Bologna statue which says:

> I carried out the orders he (= she = Hatshepsut) placed, I didn't neglect every business of the Lord of the Two Lands (the pharaoh) and I carried out everything he (= she) charged me with.[42]

Unsurprisingly we do not get more details, since the cultic aspect was most likely secret knowledge which was not allowed to talk about outside the temple walls. And so, Hapuseneb said in a text on the Bologna statue: "no fault of mine was discovered, there was no secret which I would have revealed outward."[43]

Now, let us jump from the 15th century BC to the 13th century BC, in particular to a slightly different case under Ramesses II at the beginning of the 19th dynasty. Ramesses II took over the throne after a period of political instability. His predecessors Ramesses I and Sety I were both quite aged when they assume the government after the Amarna Period, therefore they had not much time to consolidate the political realm. Ramesses II in turn was very young when he became pharaoh and the question of his succession was not fully clear. A sign for that is the existence of an enigmatic hereditary prince who was eliminated from the reliefs and replaced with figures of Ramesses. In his 9th year, Sety I appointed his son as his successor. At that time Ramesses was only 18 or 19 years old. His father died 2 years later, so Ramesses was not more than 21 years old when he became pharaoh. This and the still unstable dynasty required a large-scale and well thought-out legitimation strategy, which is evident in the royal titles as well as in two long official inscriptions.[44] For sure, Ramesses II did not develop this program all alone. He was dependent on a reliable team of loyal officials, who are even to be seen as kingmakers. In the highest positions, which was the Vizier of the South and the North we find senior officials of merit. We know both viziers Paser[45] and Nebamun[46] already from the time of Sety I. Paser in particular has left us revealing texts from which we learn that he was appointed by Ramesses I, was in service under Sety I and was at the height of his career when Ram-

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41 Cf. Kubisch 2017, 246–254 for an overview.

42 Bologna 1822: Sethe 1927, 484:5–6.

43 Bologna 1822: Sethe 1927, 484:10–11.

44 Accompanying incription to the Festival of Opet in the Karnak temple: Brand/Feleg/Murnane 2016; and the Great Dedication Inscription in Abydos: Spalinger 2009; cf. also Kubisch 2018, 196–199.

45 Sources about Paser compiled by Raedler 2004, 309–348.

46 Sources about Nebamun: Raedler 2004, 303–309.

esses II became king.[47] In his rock-cut tomb, a biographical inscription was placed on each of two pillars, one referring to Sety I and the other to Ramesses II. The inscription to Sety I reads:

> My lord (i.e. Sety I) commanded that this servant be promoted to first companion of the palace, and he appointed him to be overseer of chamberlains and high priest of 'Great-of-Magic'. Then again (*wḥm.n rd.t=f*) he placed him as city governor and vizier who judges what is right, and who is charged to receive tribute of foreign countries from south and north for the Treasury of the Victorious King.[48]

Since Paser already held the highest political office in Egypt under Sety I, it is more than likely that he was heavily involved, if not solely responsible, for Ramesses' program of legitimation, especially considering Ramesses' great youth when he took office. But what about the sensitive office of the High Priest of Amun at the beginning of the reign of Ramesses II? The High Priest of Amun played an important religio-political role because Amun had to confirm the new king.[49] But when Ramesses II took over the throne the post of the High Priest was vacant and he has to install a new official in his first regnal year.

This new official was a man called Nebwenenef, and we know the circumstances of his investiture from his well-known installation scene in his rock-cut tomb in the Theban necropolis (TT 157).[50] This large scene is located at a very prominent place – at the eastern wall in the broad hall close to the entrance. The scene shows King Ramesses II with his wife Nefertary in a window of appearance, maybe in the king's palace in Abydos. We see the portico in front of the window, where Nebwenenef is standing. He stretches his right hand towards the king, wearing the usual robe of a high official, his shaven head identifies him as priest. Behind him are the remains of five persons in portrait. Fortunately, Wilhelm Spiegelberg did squeezes of certain parts of the walls, including the installation scene. These squeezes confirm that there was no inscription next to these figures, so we can only assume that that the two officials directly behind Nebwenenef are to be identified with the viziers of northern and southern Egypt – most likely Nebamun and Paser. They can be recognised by their special regalia – the long robe without folds and the sceptre. The associated text starts as follows:

> Year 1, 3rd Month of Akhet, [. . .] when His Majesty sailed North from the Southern City, having done the pleasure of his father Amen-Re [. . .] in his beautiful Festival of Opet, (one) returned from there with favour, when favour had been received on behalf of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Wsr-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ stp-n-Rꜥ*, living forever.[51]

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47 Cf. Raedler 2004, 346, and Kubisch 2018, 192.

48 Kitchen 1975, 299:9–11, translation after Frood 2007, 151.

49 See also Kubisch 2018, 189–203.

50 Cf. Kubisch 2018, 193–199.

51 Biographical inscription of Nebwenenef: Kitchen 1980, 283:1–5; cf. here and in the following Frood 2007, 35–37.

According to this inscription, Ramesses was on his way back from Thebes to the residence in Memphis when he stopped in Thinis near Abydos to inform Nebwenenef that he would be High Priest of Amun from now on:

> Landing was made in the Thinite Province, and the (future) High Priest of Amun, Nebwenenef, justified, was ushered-in before His Majesty. Now, he was (then) High Priest of Anhur, and High Priest of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, and Superintendent of Prophets of all Gods.[52]

According to his biography, Nebwenenef was chosen by the god Amun himself. This statement was given more weight by dressing it up in a – presumably fictitious – speech of the king:

> (I swear), as Re lives for me and loves me, and (as) my father Amun favours me, I set out for him the whole Court, and the chief executive of the troops. There were repeated (before) him the prophets of the gods, and the notables of his House, who were in his presence. But he was not satisfied with any of them, until I mentioned your name to him. (So), serve him well, according as he has desired you![53]

However, the formal ceremony of investiture was also carried out by the King, which underlines the great importance of this act as well as of the office:

> [Then] His Majesty [gave] him his two gold signet-rings, and his electrum-staff-of-office on being promoted to be High Priest of Amun, Superintendent of (Amun's) double treasury of silver and gold, Superintendent of the granary, Chief of Works, and Chief of all Craftsmen in Thebes.[54]

Nebwenenef, whom we only know from his biographical text as priest of a provincial temple without connections to the royal court, finished a meteoric carrier, which he owes in fact to the king, even if he officially was chosen by the god Amun. Now he was responsible for all institutions and foundations associated with the temple of Amun, and he also was the keeper of the seals of Amun's double Treasury. He was thus not only responsible for the entire assets of the temple, but also had unrestricted access to them. Compared to the size of these economic resources this means an enormous financial power. This system worked as long as temple and state, High Priest and pharaoh work by common agreement and in balanced relations. However, in the later Ramesside period, Ramesses III transferred several estates to the temple of Amun to such an extent that in the end he was no longer able to pay his workers.[55] The reasons for this transfer are unclear, but this is all the more incomprehensible as

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52 Biographical inscription of Nebwenenef: Kitchen 1980, 283:5–7.
53 Kitchen 1980, 283:10–13.
54 Kitchen 1980, 285:1–2.
55 This account goes back posthumously to his son Ramesses IV and is handed down on the Great Papyrus Harris I, cf. Grandet 1994, especially 225–232; on the political role of the historical section cf. Maderna-Sieben 1991, 57–90.

the balance between state and temple now no longer existed. Of course, there are other factors at play on this occasion, but the most important aspect is the fact that the temple was clearly not obliged to help in this situation.

But in addition, we probably have a representation of the oracle which nominated Nebwenenef. From the Great Dedication Inscription of Ramesses II in Abydos,[56] one of the two extended legitimation texts, we know that the procession of Amun to Luxor in the course of the Festival of Opet took place in Ramesses' very first regnal year.[57] During this festival, the young Pharaoh was confirmed as king by the god Amun, as we know from a pictorial representation in the temple of Karnak.[58] In the Hypostyle Hall in Karnak there is a relief of a procession on the occasion of the Opet Festival, the accompanying inscription of which mentions the accession of Ramesses II to the throne. Although it was probably carved a few years later, it is very likely that the relief refers to the particular Opet Festival when the oracle has elected Nebwenenef as High Priest of Amun.

On this relief we see the barques of the Theban divine triad Amun, Mut and Chons, in front of them the king burning incense, Because of the cartouches depicted above the king, we know that it is Ramesses II who leads the procession. The first and largest barque – that of Amun – is carried by the priests wearing masks with falcon- and jackal-heads. The barques of Mut and Chons follow in two registers. Beside each barque, a high-ranking member of the clergy is represented. It is clearly visible that the person near the shrine is not carrying anything, but raises his hand and stands out from the other people because of the leopard skin he is wearing. But the priest who is escorting the barque of Amun is additionally marked by his crown with an uraeus and by an inscription:

> The first prophet of Amun, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt (*Wsr-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ stp-n-rꜣ*) the son of Re (*Rꜥ-ms-sw mrj Jmn*) given life.[59]

This inscription is extraordinary: In most representations of such processions, the priests who are depicted are not accompanied by an identifying inscription. In this case however, it is worth mentioning, probably because it is the king himself who is acting as High Priest of Amun. Kurt Sethe[60] presumed that there might be a connection between the installation scene in the tomb of Nebwenenef and the procession scene in Karnak in which Ramesses II is explicitly referred to as High Priest of Amun. This hypothesis is convincing, however it was probably not the installation of Nebwenenef which the king had in mind when he had this representation made, but rather other and more core issues concerning his own accession to power. He probably

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56 Cf. Spalinger 2009.

57 Spalinger 2009, 22.

58 Nelson/Murnane 1981, pl. 53; Brand/Feleg/Murnane 2016, 109; Kubisch 2018, 196–197.

59 Brand/Feleg/Murnane 2016, 109.

60 Sethe 1923, 54; cf. Lefebvre 1929, 117–121.

might not only be confirming Nebwenenef as High Priest of Amun but primarily aims to affirm his own position as the king of Egypt. This is the reason why the speech of Amun-Re near his barque says:

> The wonders (*bj3j.t* = oracles) of my double-figurehead belong to your handsome face, for the two uraeus-serpents have become attached to your diadem. I foretell for you victories against all foreign countries [. . .] I have caused that your name might endure in the likeness of the sky. You shall exist so long as heaven exists, forever.[61]

In a similar way, the Great Dedication Inscription of Ramesses II in Abydos refers to that as well:

> It was Amun-Atum in Thebes, that he came forth praised in power and might. It was with millions [of] years up to the lifetime of Re in heaven that he rewarded him. After [he] heard [his requests, he?] was rewarded with eternity and everlastingness (*nḥḥ* and *ḏt*).[62]

Amun legitimized the king as pharaoh and predicts him a long and victorious reign. The term *bj3.yt* which is mentioned in the text, is the Egyptian word for the moving oracle, and the High Priest would be the person who was responsible for that. In this case, it was apparently the king himself, for which there are two indications. Firstly, the king is depicted as High Priest within the procession, in the identifying inscription he is called by his royal name and as *ḥm nṯr tpj n Jmn*. Secondly, it is assumed that Ramesses was on his way back from Luxor to Memphis after the Opet festival when he stopped at Thinis and appointed Nebwenenef as High Priest of Amun. In fact, at that time there was no High Priest of Amun except the king himself. Ramesses II therefore did not use the support of a High Priest of Amun for his own legitimation, but he himself was the High Priest. When he ascended the throne, however, he lost no time in filling this office. The special thing about the appointment was that the new High Priest was chosen by oracle and that the king appointed himself to the cardinal position for the oracle. In other words: He was able to influence the result of the oracle. This demonstrates that he did not leave the filling of this politically important office to chance. In the crucial situation, the king reduced the power of political influence by the High Priest, but installed a loyal fellow in this important position for his further reign.

We have no idea in what way Nebwenenef was deemed suitable to be chosen for this office. Maybe he got a promotion for his merits in the Thinite nome, for instance for a hypothetical work in the funerary temple of Sety I, or it had something to do with the situation in Thebes. Maybe nobody was suitable for this post or the king wanted to avoid nepotism. Nevertheless, the new king seemed to have changed the elite(s) at his royal court. This ultimately does not matter. The key for Ramesses was obviously that he could be sure of Nebwenenef's loyalty, because the king elected him for this high

61 Brand/Feleg/Murnane 2016, 109.

62 Spalinger 2009, 23.

office. Moreover, Ramesses ensured that this decision would (hopefully) never be questioned because the new High Priest of Amun was appointed by an oracle. It was thus a divine decision which left no room for discussion. At the end, this example clearly demonstrates how sensitive this priestly office has to be seen, especially since the temple of Karnak as an economically most powerful factor was located far away from the royal residence. Thereby this person has to be qualified for theological and cultic as well as for political tasks. The King had to elect very carefully a capable and loyal candidate who would be able to assert himself against "old-boy-networks" and to represent the royal interest. He created a loyal environment that is reliable and tractable in political decision-making situations.

The installation of a High Priest of Amun obviously was a matter of the king himself, but the priests took the opportunity to fill this post by themselves immediately when the occasion arose, which was the case under Ramesses III and IV. However, The case of Nebwenenef suggests that the high priest was involved in political decisions. His possibilities of political influence and decision-making are obvious but how much influence he really possessed and how great his room for manoeuvre was remains unclear in the details.

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Experts for Teaching and Consulting

Maurits de Leeuw

Politics in the *Life of Daniel the Stylite*: The Holy Man as a Political Player in Late Antique Constantinople

Abstract: As Christianity became the dominant religion of the late antique Roman Empire, leaders of Christian communities started to play a role in imperial politics. In the 4th century, bishops could exercise direct and decisive influence on the emperor; holy men succeeded them in this role during the 5th century. Daniel the Stylite is the prime example of a holy man engaged in imperial politics, acting as the personal adviser of Emperor Leo I. Taking up his abode on top of a pillar near Constantinople, Daniel's spiritual authority gradually increased through the working of miracles and successful intercessory prayers. Hence, members of the imperial elite and finally the emperor himself consulted him on personal affairs, but also on political matters pertaining to the entire empire. These contacts were in the interest of both the persons of secular authority and the holy man: it increased the political legitimacy of the former and fostered the authority of the latter.

Keywords: Daniel the Stylite, holy man, Eatsern Roman Empire, Constantinople

Introduction

The late antique holy man, and the subtype of the 'pillar saint' in particular, can be a bizarre phenomenon to an (uninitiated) modern observer. Many will find it difficult to relate to their ascetic practices, which involved extreme abstinence and self-mortification. Arguably the champions of asceticism were the pillar saints, also named 'stylites' after the Greek word for pillar, *stylos*. Exposed to the seasons on an open, small platform on top of a high pillar, a stylite ostentatiously devoted his body and life to the adoration of God. Such practices might yet seem somehow understandable as extreme forms of religious devotion, an area of human activity that often tends to express itself in uncommon, irrational ways. We might, then, comprehend that men and women who led such lives were held in high esteem by their contemporaries, who indeed worshipped them during their lifetime. Yet there is another, more complex issue of late antique holiness that puzzles the modern historian: the involvement of a holy man in secular politics, up to the highest, i.e. imperial level. A holy man did not only have a great status as a spiritual man, but he could also exercise significant influence in secular matters. This blurring of spiritual and secular power, by no means exceptional in premodern states, is strange to modern politics, in which the enlightenment ideal of a strict

separation between religious and political spheres is pivotal.[1] Therefore, this volume on the 'Power of the Priests', which presents many more parallel cases, seems a suitable place to study the political role of the late antique holy man.

Daniel the Stylite will be the holy man around whom our observations revolve. He allegedly lived for 33 years and 3 days on top of one, later on two or even three columns at a short distance from the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, Constantinople. This paper examines the dynamics of political power, influence, and legitimacy around the figure of Daniel as a prime example of the phenomenon of the politically engaged holy man at the imperial court in 5th-century Constantinople. We first consider how Daniel, and the late antique holy man in general, can be considered a 'priest with power' in accordance with the general theme of this volume. Although Daniel's political involvement as a holy man is exceptional, even for late antique standards, his is not an isolated case. Therefore, the second part of this paper shows against what background Daniel's political role as a man of spiritual, Christian authority should be seen. It examines trends and developments over the 4th and 5th centuries concerning the relationship between emperors and people who claimed political influence on the basis of their spiritual authority. Finally, we offer a close study of the political processes described in the *Life of Daniel the Stylite* (henceforth *LD*), the main source for Daniel's political activities. We propose a critical model that allows us to identify and examine relationships of political power in which the late antique holy man is engaged. The holy man's involvement in political relationships could have mutual benefits, both to the secular people involved and to the holy man himself, whose spiritual authority could benefit from social recognition and an increased reputation. Before we discuss these matters in detail, it will be useful to start with a brief summary of Daniel's biography, based on the *LD*.

The *LD*, a Greek hagiographical text, was probably produced in the years after Daniel's death in 493. Its author is unknown, but he might have been a disciple of Daniel who lived in the monastic community at the column's base: the narrator of the text presents himself as eyewitness to many of the events in Daniel's life.[2] After a brief introduction, its narrative begins with Daniel's birth in the Syrian village of Meratha, which is to be dated around 410 AD.[3] At the age of twelve, Daniel against the will of his parents joined a nearby monastic community, where he became an accom-

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1 Only the figure of Rasputin is regularly adduced as a 'priest' with political power that was comparable to that of the most influential holy men in Late Antiquity. Hippolyte Delehaye, for example, closes his evaluation of the *Life of Daniel the Stylite* with the following allusive remark: "Nous aurions plus de peine à comprendre l'ascendant pris par un solitaire sur les chefs de l'État, sans les exemples récents qui sont dans la mémoire de tous." Delehaye 1923, LV.

2 The standard edition of the text is Delehaye 1923, 1–94; translations exist in English: Dawes/Baynes 1948, 7–84, in French: Festugière 1961, 93–165, and in Dutch: van der Horst 2009. On authorship, date and transmission of the text, see Delehaye 1923, XXXVI–XXXIX; Efthymiadis 2011, 61; Kosiński 2016, 119; Lane Fox 1997, 185–200.

3 All dates in this contribution are AD, unless indicated otherwise.

plished ascetic monk over the following three decades. In the early 450s, he left his native Syria to take up residence in the surroundings of Constantinople. He first spent some years in a deserted pagan temple that was thought to be haunted by demons. Around 460, he decided to continue his ascetic lifestyle on top of a pillar. After overcoming some initial quarrels with the owner of the land where he set up his first column, his star began to rise. In reverence of Daniel's holiness, to which his successful intercessory prayers and fulfilled prophecies testified, ever more important aristocrats began visiting the stylite and offered him gifts: he received two additional columns in addition to the first one. Before long, the (Eastern) emperor himself, Leo I, also found his way to the holy man. Daniel became little less than Leo's personal holy adviser as the emperor sought his counsel on a great variety of political issues. He also ordered Gennadios, the archbishop of Constantinople, to ordain Daniel a priest. In the *LD*'s portrayal, the climactic moment in Daniel's life came after Leo's death, when the holy man confronted the usurping Emperor Basiliscus over his support for a Christian doctrine that the stylite considered heretical. Basiliscus yielded to Daniel; the former would not last long as an emperor, while the latter would continue to command respect during the reign of Zeno into that of Anastasius. At Daniel's death (still on top of the pillar), a solemn cortège attended his funeral as his body was brought down and buried at the feet of his columns.

The Holy Man as a Political Priest

We will return to Daniel's life in detail below; first, we need to address questions of definition and offer some contextualisation. We may begin by asking in what way Daniel can be considered a 'priest'. Strictly speaking, Daniel only became a priest when his contacts with the political elite in Constantinople were already well-established: his (rather unconventional) consecration by Gennadios happened after his first contact with the emperor Leo.[4] For Daniel, the priesthood was merely an external confirmation of his holy status;[5] neither his outward activities nor the nature of his authority changed after his ordination. Therefore, we shall consider Daniel and other holy men as priests under a broad definition of 'religious experts', whose special status in society was based on their perceived spiritual authority. This also allows us to compare Da-

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4 *LD* 42–43. Gennadios initially refused to fulfill Leo's demand; he only obeyed in second instance, after the emperor had urgently ordered him to go to the stylite. Daniel, in turn, was reluctant to be ordained and did not allow the archbishop to ascend his pillar. In the end, Gennadios spoke the words of ordination at the base of the column without a laying of hands. Rapp 2005, 141–142 observes that several holy men, including Daniel, were not at all eager to become a priest, which, in fact, emphasises their humility and worthiness to be ordained.

5 The ordination was an important moment for Leo, who was the instigator behind it; we will return to this below.

niel's position to that of similar figures (whether they were priests in a strict sense or not) who played a political role in the Roman Empire on the basis of their spiritual authority.

Let us have a closer look at Daniel's spiritual authority that underpinned his status as a religious expert. The holy man (or woman[6]), of which Daniel is a prime example, is a well-known figure to scholars of Late Antiquity. He can be defined as a person who was worshipped during his lifetime because of a perceived closeness to God, to which an ascetic lifestyle and the performing of miracles typically testify.[7] Holy men appear in our sources, most prominently in hagiographical texts, from the 4th century onwards. What status they actually had in society, and to what extent their alleged prominence may reveal general trends in the Late Antique world, remains a subject of debate.

It was an article by the famous historian Peter Brown, published in 1971, that made the holy man a protagonist in the rise of Late Antique studies.[8] In Brown's eyes, holy men were the landmark figures of Eastern Roman society. He considered their "rise and function", as his article is titled, indicative of trends and changes that affected the world of the Roman east. Significantly, he saw the holy man as a social patron. Due to changes in the empire's administrative organisation and hierarchy, contact with (local) authorities became increasingly difficult for people in the Syrian countryside; holy men filled this vacuum as new patrons in this power structure. They acted as mediators who could appeal to God as well as to people in power, including the emperor himself. Brown further suggested that the accounts of their lives can yield information about the lives, concerns, and beliefs of Roman commoners, whom we meet in the hagiographical texts as the crowds looking for a holy man's guidance.[9]

This article, which scholars generally qualify "seminal" or even "classic", has inspired many studies that follow up on its observations and theses, although they are

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6 For matters of convenience and because all 'holy men' discussed here were, indeed, men, I will refer to the general figure of the holy man as a male person.

7 Some scholars use 'ascetic' or 'monk' (or both) synonymously with 'holy man' (e.g. Hasse-Ungeheuer 2016); I prefer not to do so. Holy men typically lived an ascetic lifestyle, but asceticism was not a sufficient condition to become a holy man. Similarly, most holy men were indeed monks, but not all monks were holy men. Bishops, too, could be worshipped for their holiness, and holy women were often aristocrats who abjured a life of luxury and used their wealth to sponsor Christian communities. In English scholarship, moreover, 'holy men' are often distinguished from 'saints', who were worshipped posthumously on account of their holiness.

8 Brown 1971. For an evaluation of the theories that influenced this study, see his own recapitulation in Brown 1998.

9 Thus, hagiographical accounts could serve "as a mirror, to catch, from a surprising angle, another glimpse of the average Late Roman" (Brown 1971, 81).

not necessarily in agreement with Brown's original ideas.[10] Two themes in studies on Late Antique holiness are of particular interest to us here. The first concerns the authority that a cleric had in Late Antiquity, which supported his influence and his status as a patron – his 'power', if one will. Claudia Rapp's 2005 monograph is indispensable on this subject. Rapp subdivides the authority of the Late Antique bishop into three related categories: pragmatic, spiritual, and ascetic authority. Pragmatic authority depends on the responsibilities of a bishop as a leader of a local community; spiritual authority concerns the ability to act and communicate with the Holy Spirit; ascetic authority is the authority gained from living an ascetic lifestyle, which could simultaneously contribute and testify to one's spiritual authority. Most relevant to our purposes is Rapp's delineation of spiritual authority: holy men who acted in accordance with the Holy Spirit were able to influence secular leaders.[11] This ability was known as *parrhesia* in ancient sources, a term to which will return below. Rapp's observations are mostly concerned with the *effects* of spiritual authority, rather than with its *sources* or *causes*: she takes for granted that a holy man *had* spiritual authority. This paper, however, does not take a holy man's spiritual authority for granted: by approaching it as a social construct, we may observe how dynamics of reputation and recognition were also important in a holy man's ability to exercise political influence.

Thus we come upon the second theme: interactions between holy men and persons of secular authority, particularly the emperor, in the Eastern Roman Empire.[12] When Brown described the holy man as first and foremost a patron to the Roman commoner, whose essential activity was a day-to-day business in answering to the needs of his flock, he responded to earlier studies that rather tended to focus on the most significant moments of holy men's lives.[13] Thus, Brown transferred the holy man away from the fields of political and church history, in which historians had hitherto mostly considered his role.[14] Recently, the political role of the holy man has attracted

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10 Instructive are the two collections of papers published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Brown's 1971 paper: Elm/Janowitz 1998 (which includes Brown 1998) and Hayward/Howard-Johnston 1999. Brown 1995, 55–78 and Brown 2000 take a different approach to the holy man than his 1971 article: he considers a more variegated body of sources than just hagiography and broadens his geographical scope to include the west (his 1971 article mostly treats examples from the east). MacMullen 2019, 3–4 n. 6, lists places where Brown 1971 is (in MacMullen's eyes uncritically, perhaps even unduly) praised; the article as a whole is in fundamental disagreement with Brown's treatment of the holy man.

11 Rapp 2005, 3–152, with 56–99 on spiritual authority.

12 The society of the Western Roman Empire (and its successor states) never saw holy men rise to the status of prominence they had in the east. Instead, bishops retained more secular power and veneration of individuals on account of their spiritual status largely occurred after their death, i.e. as saints. See Brown 1976, 10–24 on differences between holiness in the late antique east and west.

13 Brown 1971, 80, with references to earlier studies on the late antique holy man.

14 (Church) politics was by no means entirely absent from post-Brownian scholarship on the holy man, but studies rarely focused on it (with the notable exception of studies specifically on Daniel the Stylite, whose life is so markedly political). See e.g. Caner 2002 and Hatlie 2007, both of which do not

renewed scholarly attention, particularly in the form of two monographs by Rafał Ko-siński and Alexandra Hasse-Ungeheuer.[15] Kosiński's work is useful mostly as a collection and discussion of interactions between holy men and people of authority as transmitted in four relatively reliable hagiographical accounts of holy men in the 5th century. However, it does not draw any comprehensive conclusions on "holiness and power".[16] Hasse-Ungeheuer's work is more argumentative in that respect: she studies legal texts and historiography as well as hagiography to evaluate the role of monasticism and holiness in politics during Justinian's reign. She observes how monasticism was politicised as Emperor Justinian sought to employ monks and their spiritual authority to support his rule. Justinian himself even appropriated certain characteristics of holy men to enhance his own imperial self-representation. Although the source material on political history is much less abundant for the period through which Daniel lived than for Justinian's reign, we will adopt Hasse-Ungeheuer's approach of also considering the stance of the emperor, Leo I in our case, with regard to Daniel.

Priests in Late Antique Politics

With Hasse-Ungeheuer's focus on the emperor, we touch upon another thriving branch of historical scholarship on Late Antiquity, which examines imperial politics and representation during the reigns of specific emperors and over longer-term trends.[17] During the 5th century, two developments notably made their mark on emperorship: emperors no longer left Constantinople as their place of residence, and Christian aspects and vir-

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bypass politics, but focus on more mundane aspects of monasticism (significantly, both discuss the general category of 'monks' rather than the more specific group of 'holy men'). The studies in Camplani/Filoramo 2006 do examine holy men, but with a focus mostly on local relations of power and authority. Finally, the political history of Pfeilschifter 2013, 434–451, constitutes a notable negation of a structural political role for holy men in Constantinople: evaluating their actions in the history of Constantinople from 395 to 610, he concludes that they did not constitute a "consensus group", i.e. the emperor did not depend on their approval to stay in power.

15 Kosiński 2016; Hasse-Ungeheuer 2016.

16 The critical review by Trampedach 2016 rightly signals more flaws in Kosiński's work, among which his neglect of much (generally more recent) scholarly literature pertinent to the topic of his study.

17 The reigns of Leo I and Basiliscus are the reigns of two out of five 5th-century emperors of the east that have not yet been (fully) covered by a recent study (the others being Arcadius, Marcian, and Leo II). However, the voluminous work of Siebigs 2010, which nominally covers only the first three years of Leo I's reign, also addresses many issues that are of importance to the entire reigns of both Marcian and Leo. Millar 2006 and Kelly 2013 revise the rule of Theodosius II, Kosiński 2010a is a recent account of Zeno, and Anastasius' reign is treated in Haarer 2006 and Meier 2009. Pfeilschifter 2013 covers the entire 5th century.

tues became a more emphatic aspect of imperial self-representation.[18] Both of these developments facilitated the holy man's way to the emperor. Although Daniel's political position as a holy man was exceptional, it is a (climactic) example of the Late Antique trend that Christian 'priests' (again in the broad sense of the word) could have significant influence on imperial politics. The following precis of this trend, which I propose here as a hypothesis,[19] offers an impression of how the political role of Christian priests developed in Late Antiquity and allows us to see how Daniel fits into this. I observe the political involvement of priests through an etic lens: actions we may perceive as 'political' would not necessarily (indeed, often not at all) have appeared as such to a Late Antique audience.

As Christianity became the dominant religion in the Roman Empire over the course of the 4th century, a hierarchy of church offices came into existence that was parallel to, but, importantly, separate from the Roman political-administrative structure.[20] The formation of this independent clerical hierarchy constitutes a significant break with the position of priesthoods in prior ages.[21] In the christianised empire, influential religious offices were no longer an integral part of the aristocratic curriculum, as they had been in the pagan Empire.[22] Importantly, this meant that Christian priests (at least theoretically) owed their rank and influence not to the emperor's favour, but to their status as ordained priests, making them mediators between the human and the divine – this is what Rapp means by the bishop's pragmatic authority. On this basis, they enjoyed *parrhesia*, the ability to speak without restraint to persons of secular power, including the emperor himself.[23]

In the 4th century, bishops used this *parrhesia* with the emperor most, particularly those who held the high-ranking sees in the largest and most important cities of the empire: Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, Milan, and Rome. They had considerable influence, particularly in matters of religious politics, where they often competed with each other to gain imperial support for their doctrinal conviction. Some of the most assertive bishops even outrightly opposed imperial policy and confronted

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18 Diefenbach 1996; Meier 2017, 513–524.

19 This hypothesis is partly based on observations I will expound in detail in my PhD thesis, which discusses the political role of holy men in the 5th century.

20 Hunt 1997.

21 We focus on institutional priestly offices here, although professional 'priests' who relied on forms of religious expertise such as astrology, divination, and/or magic could certainly also be influential as personal adviser or persons of secular power.

22 Beard et al. 1998, 99–108 (particularly for the early empire), 370.

23 Brown 1992, 61–70; Rapp 2005, 267–271. This is not to deny that more mundane means such as wealth, networks, and education were also important to enforce a bishop's authority; see Gaddis 2009 on the integration of traditional "[h]abits, discourses, and structures of power" into the "political church".

the emperor, claiming superiority on the basis of their spiritual authority.[24] Although partisan clerics could celebrate such moments, both the emperor and the ecumenical community of bishops perceived this potential for episcopal influence on the imperial court as essentially problematic. Already at the council of Serdica in 343, the gathered bishops with imperial approval issued canons that greatly restricted the mobility of bishops to travel to the emperor and make their appeal.[25] These canons obviously did not immediately diminish episcopal authority, but towards the end of the 4th century and continuing into the fifth, the emperor of the east[26] indeed succeeded in establishing more control over the bishops in his half of the empire. Particularly the bishop of Constantinople came to depend on the emperor's favour for the tenure of his see: should he somehow displease the emperor, he could easily lose his position and his authority.[27]

This is where the holy man enters the political arena. By the middle of the 4th century, Anthony of Egypt was the first holy man to gain empire-wide renown. His fame was spread by Athanasius of Alexandria, one of the most influential 4th-century bishops who successfully challenged imperial authority on several occasions.[28] According to Athanasius (*Life of Anthony* 81),[29] Antony's stature was so great that even Emperor Constantine and his sons Constantius and Constans wrote letters to the holy man "as to a father". As was befitting to his holy modesty, Antony did not make too much out of the honour the imperials paid to him; he answered the letters only at the urging of his followers.

Holy men became more actively involved in imperial politics toward the end of the century.[30] Coming to Constantinople from Syria, the holy Isaac is credited to have been the first monk to establish a monastery in the capital in 378 and thus to have been the first leader of a monastic community there. Obviously, Isaac's presence immediately made itself visible in the highest political circles of the capital: he received

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24 Athanasius of Alexandria and Ambrose of Milan are the best examples of such towering bishops who made their mark on religious politics and rivalled the emperor's authority (with success).

25 Hess 2002, 201–209.

26 Due to the demise of imperial power in the west, occidental bishops became far more autonomous than their eastern colleagues, and the bishop of Rome could assert his authority much more independently than his colleague in Constantinople; see Gwynn 2012, 890–896.

27 The depositions of John Chrysostom, Nestorius, and Flavian in the first half of the 5th century rank among the most famous cases.

28 Barnes 1993.

29 Athanasius' account of Anthony's ascetic life in the Egyptian desert, which became the literary standard for subsequent Greek hagiography, served to associate himself with the holy man to enhance his own authority as a bishop, as shown by Hägg 2011.

30 My overview does not take into account the (often adduced) influence that Porphyry of Gaza allegedly exercised on Emperor Arcadius and his wife Eudoxia in the vivid portrayal by 'Marc the Deacon' (*Life of Porphyry of Gaza* 26–57). I agree with Barnes 2016, 260–284 and Hübner 2013, 58–67, who consider the text a later forgery with little historical value for the period it purports to describe; arguments in favour of authenticity were recently put forward by Lampadaridi 2016, 12–25.

support from senatorial aristocrats and was involved in the controversy around John Chrysostom as bishop of Constantinople.[31] The holy monks who succeeded Isaac as leaders of the monastic community in Constantinople notably took part in the dogmatic conflicts around the councils of Ephesus in 431 and 449 and of Chalcedon in 451.[32] Most successful was a pupil of Isaac named Dalmatius. He countered the influence of Nestorius, the bishop of Constantinople, whose teachings Dalmatius considered heretical but who enjoyed the favour of Emperor Theodosius II. He did so by ostentatiously coming forth from the monastery where he had lived an ascetic life for 48 years to confront Theodosius in person. As a consequence of Dalmatius' momentous visit, the emperor supposedly took sides against Nestorius and anathematised his Christological position. Two decades later, the archimandrite Eutyches faced an opposite fate when his own teachings were denounced at the Council of Chalcedon. Not unlike the restrictions imposed on bishops a century before at the Council of Serdica, the canons that were issued at Chalcedon restricted the mobility of monks and bound them closer to the ecclesiastical hierarchy.[33] These canons seem to have effectively brought at least the capital's monks in line: we no longer hear of their participation in controversies in the years following the council. Instead, over the next decades, our Daniel from Syria would be the figurehead of (orthodox) Christian authority in the capital's politics.

Daniel is the second famous stylite saint: his predecessor and example Symeon the Stylite was the most prominent holy man of the eastern provinces of the empire from the 420s to his death in 459. While Symeon was still alive, Theodoret of Cyrrhus produced a hagiographical account of his life, which forms the climax in a collection of *Lives* of Syrian holy men (*Religious history* 26).[34] According to Theodoret's account, masses of people from within and outside the empire were drawn to Symeon's abide in veneration of the stylite. Echoing the canonical *Life of Anthony*, Symeon also counselled the emperor, Theodosius II, via letters (*Religious history* 26.27).[35] A follower of Symeon, Daniel was to transfer the authority of the first stylite to the centre of imperial power, on the banks of the Bosporus, making his position as a holy man far more political.

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31 See Caner 2002, 191–199 on Isaac's connections and conflicts in Constantinople.

32 See Bacht 1953, 193–221; Caner 2002, 218–235; Dagron 1970; Elm 2015, 321–325 and Frend 1972, 3–17 on the involvement of Constantinopolitan monks in the dogmatic controversies of the early 5th century.

33 Canons 4, 8, 18, and 23; translations of the canons are available in Price/Gaddis 2005. The relevance of these canons for monasticism in the capital is discussed in Caner 2002, 237–238; Trampedach 2013, 187–189 and Ueding 1953.

34 Consulted in the translation of Price 1985, 160–176.

35 Price 1985, 175 n. 35 specifically lists Symeon's contacts with persons of authority.

Spiritual Authority Politicised

We now turn to a close examination of the political dynamics around Daniel, based on the hagiographical account of his life. It should not go unnoticed that hagiographical texts pose particular problems for historical investigation. The lives of holy man are full of supernatural events and miracles, and topoi abound in the genre, which makes it difficult to discern whether a passage has some historical bearing or is merely included as a repetition of earlier hagiographical accounts (or both). Scholars generally consider the *LD* one of the more reliable hagiographical texts of Late Antiquity, arguing that it contains many historical details (events, relative chronology, names of officials) that match with information we find in other sources.[36] Although historicity is certainly an important issue, an examination restricted to the account of the *LD* without recourse to information other sources provide suffices for the purposes of this paper. From the information the *LD* provides on Daniel's contacts with persons of secular power, I extrapolate a model that describes more generally how a holy man and his spiritual authority functioned in a political environment. This model does not necessarily depend on the presence of specific persons at specific times: similar processes could (and, indeed, did)[37] occur around other holy men at other instances.

We focus on two phases of Daniel's political activity as narrated in the *LD*. First, we examine his rise to prominence after he has taken up his ascetic life as a stylite near Constantinople; this stage is characterised by contacts with aristocrats (*LD* 22–35). The second phase revolves around Daniel's contacts with the emperor Leo, who, during this period, seems to have exclusive access to the stylite as his personal guide (*LD* 38–66). Particularly instructive is Daniel's role in the conflict between Leo and his influential general Aspar.[38]

The first stage begins with some interactions between the holy man and two (relatively) low-ranking aristocrats that we only know from the *LD*. Daniel receives his first pillar from a certain Marc, whose identification as a *silentiarius* reveals that he belonged to the capital's aristocracy.[39] He might have heard of Daniel through a monk named Sergius, who brought the message of Symeon's death to Constantinople and gave Daniel Symeon's tunic – one of the significant moments where the authority of

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36 Lane Fox 1997, *passim*; Kosiński 2016, 119–122; Trampedach 2013, 190; Vivian 2010.

37 As I will show in my forthcoming PhD thesis.

38 Studies on Daniel's role in imperial politics include Croke 2005, 174–175; Kosiński 2016, 129–207; Lane Fox 1997; Trampedach 2013. In this paper we bypass the arguable climax of Daniel's political activity: his opposition against Basiliscus. Its dynamics could certainly be described through the proposed model, but an examination of the episode is not essential to the argument put forward here.

39 The *silentiarii* were responsible for keeping order during imperial audiences; their proximity to the emperor made them influential members of the imperial court, particularly in the 5th and 6th centuries; see Jones 1964, 571–572.

Symeon is transferred to Daniel (*LD* 22–26). The first response to the erection of Daniel's column is negative: a man named Gelanius, as a *castrensis sacrae mensae* also a member of the lower imperial aristocracy,[40] appears as the owner of the land where Daniel's column stands: unhappy about Daniel's intrusion, he summons the holy man to depart. In fact, canon law would have been on Gelanius' side had he pressed the issue;[41] in the hagiographical narrative, Gelanius naturally changes his mind about Daniel, warned by a devastating storm and Daniel's popularity. He accepts and recognises Daniel's holiness by offering him a second pillar, which Daniel reluctantly accepts (*LD* 27–28).

Daniel then receives two high-ranking figures about whom we are better informed. First comes Cyrus of Panopolis: he originally arrived in Constantinople as a learned poet from Egypt, but he became a prominent politician during the 430s, when he served as consul and pretorian prefect. He had fallen from grace around 440 and was consequently relegated away from the capital to become a bishop.[42] On his first visit to Daniel, he expresses his anger about the fact that the unworthy Gelanius was allowed the honour of erecting a second column for the holy man; he would have gladly sponsored the column himself. Daniel reassures Cyrus that all is well as it is and tells him that God would compensate him for his expression of faith (*LD* 32). Somewhat later, Cyrus returns to Daniel to thank him for freeing his daughter from demonic possession. As a thanksgiving, he offers a verse inscription to be carved into Daniel's column, which the hagiographical text quotes (*LD* 36).

Meanwhile, Daniel has received another distinguished visitor in the person of the empress (Augusta) Licinia Eudoxia (*LD* 35). A daughter of Theodosius II, she had been married to the Western Roman Emperors Valentinian III and Petronius Maximus (briefly), both of whom were killed in 455. When the Vandals sacked Rome and killed Maximus that year, they took Eudoxia and her two daughters as captives to Africa, from which she has recently returned when she visits Daniel.[43] She has heard about the holy man through her son-in-law Olybrius, who was to become Emperor in the west and who had earlier met with Daniel, as the text tells only at this point.[44] Like Cyrus on his first visit, Eudoxia also brings up matters of sponsorship, as she asks Daniel to relocate his column to one of her estates. Daniel refuses her request but prays that she may be granted an earthly and a heavenly kingdom.

Cyrus and Eudoxia are the most distinguished of Daniel's visitors in the *LD* before Emperor Leo comes to him. It is striking that, while both once ranked as members of

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40 See Kosiński 2016, 173 n. 241 on this rank.

41 See n. 33 above on the canons of the Council of Chalcedon, which did not allow free movement and settling of monks without episcopal approval (which Daniel did not have, as far as we know).

42 Martindale 1980, 336–339.

43 Martindale 1980, 410–412.

44 Kosiński 2016, 171 gives some sensible suggestions to explain why this meeting between Olybrius and Daniel is only referred to in passing rather than included in the narrative.

the highest imperial elite, they are no longer at the height of their political power when they visit the stylite. Both, moreover, offer Daniel their sponsorship. A close association with the holy man would obviously have been in their interest. Perhaps they looked for a pious resort to religion in times of hardship; perhaps, too, they sought the holy man's support to achieve political rehabilitation.

After these visits, the contact between Leo and Daniel sets off, which is the subject of most of the hagiography's subsequent narrative for as long as Leo lives. We have earlier been informed that it was Gelanius who brought the stylite to the emperor's attention (*LD* 34). The first contact between the emperor and Daniel occurs when Leo orders a certain Sergius to ask the holy man to pray for the birth of a son. This he does and, of course, Empress Verina soon gives birth to a son. In gratitude, Leo organises the erection of a third column for the holy man (*LD* 38). The events of the ensuing narrative confirm Daniel's importance as Leo's guardian and counsellor. After Gennadios, the bishop of Constantinople, has ordained Daniel a priest on Leo' orders (*LD* 42–43),[45] the emperor starts visiting the holy man in person. The emperor organises several building projects around the column: a palace where Leo could stay in close proximity to Daniel (*LD* 50), a shelter on top of the column (*LD* 54), and a shrine and a monastery at its base (*LD* 57). Slowly but surely, Daniel's contacts with Leo become more political: they initially concern figures from Leo's personal circle whom Leo wants to punish but is kept from doing so through Daniel's intercession (*LD* 48–49). Before long, however, Daniel is involved in the highest matters of state: Leo brings a foreign ruler, the king of Lazica, to Daniel so that he may arbitrate negotiations with him (*LD* 51); the emperor asks for the holy man's opinion on military strategy in Africa (*LD* 56); he bids him to pray on behalf of his general and newlywed son-in-law Zeno (*LD* 65). The last case touches upon a situation that is worth considering in detail, as it illustrates how Daniel's spiritual authority legitimates a crucial and controversial turn in Leo's reign.

Zeno was one of the leading figures that competed for influence at Leo's court during the 460s. His main rival was the general Aspar, who had an impressive record of military service in the Roman army and who had personally selected Leo, an officer from his ranks, as Marcian's successor in 457. This conflict between Leo and Aspar has recently drawn the attention of historians of Late Antiquity, who debunk the traditional assumption that ethnicity drove this conflict between Aspar as leader of a 'Germanic' and Zeno as leader of an 'Isaurian' party.[46] Instead, the conflict should be seen as a more pragmatic struggle for power, in which both parties might have occasionally used ethnic stereotypes to attack their opponents.[47] Significantly, religion

45 See n. 5 above on Daniel's ordainment.

46 Isauria, a mountainous region in southern Anatolia, was famous for its warlike inhabitants, who often plagued the surrounding countryside. Consequently, soldiers from Isauria often served in the Roman army: Croke 2005, 200.

47 Thus Croke 2005; McEvoy 2016; Stewart 2014.

also played an important role: Aspar and large parts of the army favoured Arian/Homoean Christianity, while Leo, Zeno, and the majority of the capital's populace were 'orthodox', i.e. Nicene/Chalcedonian Christians.[48] The *LD* is an important source for this conflict, as it introduces Zeno when he presents letters to the emperor that reveal a collision of Aspar's son Ardabarius with Sassanid Persia, the archenemy of the Eastern Roman Empire in Late Antiquity (*LD* 55). Leo thereafter appoints Zeno a consul and marries him off to his daughter Ariadne, although she had already been promised to Aspar's son Patricius (*LD* 65).

Daniel's role in this conflict is most interesting. On no point does the hagiography explicitly attack Aspar and his family, but from Daniel's sympathy for Leo and Zeno we may deduce that Daniel can hardly have had a favourable view of them. Daniel gives his support to Zeno's cause by prophesying that Zeno would survive the plot that is being formed against him (*LD* 65). Daniel does not mention who is behind this plot, but it can be inferred that Aspar and his followers are meant. In the next chapter, they are said to stir up a rebellion against the emperor himself after the birth of his grandson Leo (III), a son to Zeno and Ariadne. The emperor overcomes the rebellion with God's help and destroys Aspar and his sons (*LD* 66). The hagiographical account presents this execution of Aspar as a salutary solution of the conflict, but we know from other sources that it was a rather controversial move: Aspar's death was followed by some rioting of his supporters and Leo was given the nickname of '*makelles*', 'butcher', for his brutal conduct.[49] The disputed nature of this event shows that Leo could well have used Daniel's spiritual authority in legitimating his coup.[50]

As we are starting to consider issues of legitimacy, it is a good moment to conclude by presenting the model that I extract from the described interactions. Most of Daniel's contact with persons of authority in the *LD* are one-on-one engagements, rather independent from other contacts he happens to have. In most of them, moreover, he appears as the passive party that is approached by someone who, in reverence of Daniel's holiness, asks for his help through intercessory prayer or wishes to express his or her admiration by offering (material) support. A generalising model for these interactions based on a literal reading of the *LD* would include just two agents, with the interest coming from one direction, as reflected in Fig. 1.

Although we cannot fail to stress the importance personal religiosity must have played behind such one-on-one interactions, I propose a more complex, triangular model to describe the workings of a holy man's spiritual authority in a political context (Fig. 2). This model, which has the holy man at one end, the emperor at another,

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48 See McEvoy 2016, 498–502 on (the consequences of) the Arian identity of Aspar's family.

49 John Malalas, *Chronicon* 14.40 on the riots; Malchus fr. 1 on Leo's nickname.

50 In fact, Aspar himself also appealed to spiritual authority, as he was engaged in (traditional aristocratic) patronage to many religious foundations in Constantinople: McEvoy 2016, 496–498. We might see similar motivations behind Zeno's association with the monk Peter the Fuller, on whose life see Kosiński 2010b.

person of authority (including the emperor)

shows his/her reverence
through gift or plea

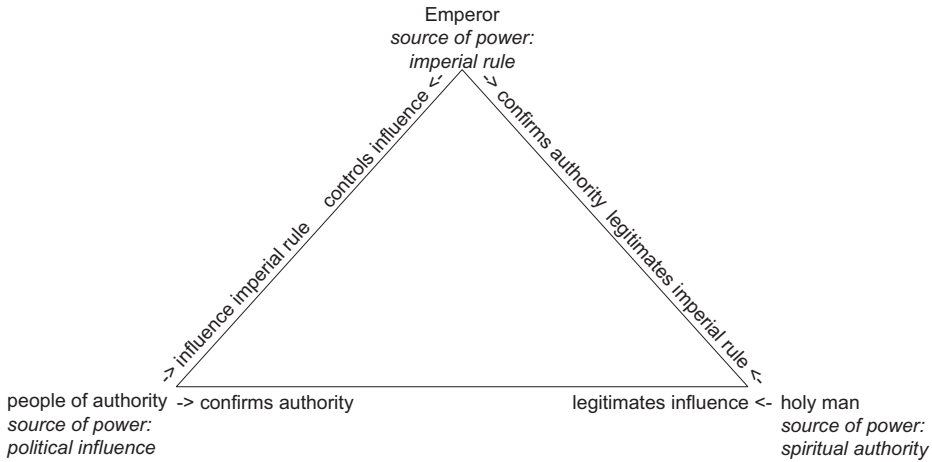holy man
passive in humility

Fig. 1: The interaction model of passive spiritual authority. Created by Maurits de Leeuw.

and other persons of power at the third, takes into account sources of power of the parties involved[51] and emphasises the mutual benefit for the holy man and other parties in establishing constructive contact. Legitimacy is the 'currency', so to say, that flows through the triangle, in which the holy man's spiritual authority also partakes. As we have seen in his rise to prominence, Daniel's spiritual authority grows through his contacts with ever more important officials. They, on the other hand, benefit from being associated with the holy man, wherefore they seek to act as his patron or sponsor. The holy man may boost their authority by blessing them or giving a favourable prediction, as Daniel does with Eudoxia and Zeno. In turn, as they are seen to enjoy divine favour communicated through them by the holy man, they could act with greater influence with the emperor. The processes function similarly with the emperor: Leo enhances Daniel's spiritual authority by humbly paying him respect, while the close association of the emperor with the holy man affects the legitimacy of imperial rule, which the holy man may again boost through prayers or favourable prophecies (see Fig. 2). When the mediation of the holy man brings divine favour to the emperor's rule, he increases his legitimacy to enact plans and policies, even when they are as controversial as Leo's 'slaughtering' of Aspar.

Conclusion

Daniel's three decades of ascetic life on top of his column at the coast of the Bosporus must remain essentially strange to most of us modern observers (which, to be sure, seems a perfectly healthy reaction). Yet, I hope to have offered a better understanding

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51 Of course, these are not the only sources of power the different parties had at their disposal; they are, however, the sources that interact most with each other in this specific setting. A holy man's asceticism, for example, would probably not be affected by political processes.

Fig. 2: Interaction model of spiritual authority and legitimacy. Created by Maurits de Leeuw.

of how his lofty life close to the centre of imperial power could take the political turn it took. Daniel's political influence as a holy man is part of a late antique trend in which priests/religious experts regularly played a role in (church) politics at the imperial level. Bishops seem to have taken on this political role most successfully in the 4th century, but their ability to exercise such influence was increasingly restricted and their authority was subjected to that of the (eastern) emperor. The holy man took over from the bishop towards the turn of the century and continued to be a potentially powerful political player during the first half of the 5th century, as long as the monastic communities in Constantinople enjoyed a large degree of independence. After Symeon the Stylite had introduced a new form of holiness in the Syrian countryside, Daniel trod in his footsteps and brought the towering spiritual authority of a stylite to the centre of imperial power.

In the proximity of the empire's aristocracy and the emperor himself, Daniel's spiritual authority grew through his contacts with people from the highest circles of the imperial elite, who were eager to act as the stylite's sponsor. Once emperor Leo I had reverently found his way to him and further confirmed his holy status through his patronage, Daniel became an important pillar on which the Emperor built the legitimacy of his rule. The stylite's spiritual authority was particularly welcome in his struggle to emancipate from his powerful general Aspar. My evaluation of Daniel's political role in Constantinople again confirms how intertwined secular and religious power were in Late Antiquity, even to a holy man with mortified feet, who stood raised on a high platform that should have extracted him from worldly concerns.

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Harald Wiese

Did Brahmins have Power in Premodern India?

Abstract: The guiding question of this paper is whether Brahmins did have power in premodern India. Since the concept of power is elusive, some introductory remarks on power and power-over are necessary. It seems that the high status of Brahmins (going back to the *puruṣa* hymn in the Ṛgveda) is responsible for different kinds of privileges Brahmins enjoy: right of way, teaching the Veda, receiving gifts, reduced punishments, and others. It is a bit more difficult to pinpoint the political power of Brahmins. In particular, one may point to the power to punish a king for wrong-doing (Varuṇa rule). However, the privileges and powers that Brahmins seem to enjoy may be less clear after some closer examination. In particular, (i) teaching the Veda is part of a bundle offered to students living in a Brahmin teacher's house, (ii) gifts are receivable only by Brahmins who are both virtuous and knowledgeable, and (iii) the Varuṇa rule may serve the king's power interests in the final analysis.

Keywords: Brahmin, payoff power, action power, power-over, control, Varuṇa rule

1 Introduction

1.1 Power

"Power" is an elusive and multifarious concept.[1] In any definition known to the current author, it refers to an asymmetric relation between people. In order to address the title's question, I propose a manageable typology of power that may help to structure the discussion (see the matrix below). First, power may refer to actions ("action

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1 Power is often considered a (or even the) central concept of the social sciences (see Haugaard/Clegg 2009a). One can easily disagree. First, one cannot help noticing that economics seems to do without (with the exception of technical terms like purchasing power or market power). Second, a huge part of the power literature is concerned with definitional problems (see the handbook by Haugaard/Clegg 2009b). Third, substantive power-related work uses very different methodologies. Thus, while the words "power" or "power-over" feature in all these disparate areas, a common deeper link is missing nevertheless. See the unpublished paper by Wiese 2012.

power") or to payoffs ("payoff power").[2] Second, power may mean "power-over"[3] (one actor's power over another) or "control of valuable events"[4] (Tab. 1).

Tab. 1: Power matrix with examples.

	Action power	Payoff power
Control-of-events power	– Exclusive permission to study the Vedas – Right to emigrate	– Physical strength – High purchasing power – High rank – Large army – Low punishment for offense
Power-over	– Command obeyed by others – Make someone study the Vedas – Make someone to live a dharmic life – Incite someone to accept *dāna*	– Market power (high price) – Taxing – Robbing – Obtaining *dāna*

The entries given in the matrix are surely debatable. One could defend them by the following remarks:

- Quite naturally, power-over is an asymmetric relationship. One actor gives a command and the second obeys it (action power). One actor robs another one (payoff power over another's wealth). Power in the sense of control of events is asymmetric in that one actor may be richer or enjoy a higher rank than the second. Or, in an Indian context, one may be allowed to study the Vedas while a second is not.
- Purchasing power means that the actor can buy goods and services, i.e., he has control over the event "enjoyment of this or that good or service". If the purchasing power of agent A is larger than that of agent B, the inverse relation does not hold. That is, purchasing power leads to an asymmetric relation between agents.[5]
- These four kinds of power are interrelated. For example, a high rank (upper right corner) may be enjoyable as such. However, it may also allow a person certain actions (upper left) or it may be associated with the expectation to find commands obeyed.[6]

Power-over (second line in the matrix) is especially difficult. According to Max Weber's famous definition, "Power" (*Macht*) is the probability that one actor within a so-

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2 This distinction is close to the one between influence and prize power due to Felsenthal/Machover 1998.
3 This understanding is advocated by Weber 1978, 53; Emerson 1962, and others.
4 This is the definition by Coleman 1990, 133, according to which power "is not a property of the relation between two actors (so it is not correct to speak of one actor's power over another, although it is possible to speak of the relative power of two actors)".
5 See the Sparkasse advertisement clip (German): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DbqcRG-CT30 (accessed 15 September 2023).
6 This is "domination" in the sense of Weber 1978, 53.

cial relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests.[7]

However, in every exchange relationship both sides do what they would not have done without the influence (or existence) of the other party.[8] Indeed, if some rich person 1 offers 2 some money to perform a service and 2 obliges, does 1 have power over 2? Or, the other way around, does 2 have power over 1 because he 'forces' 1 to give him money for some important (to 1) service? According to everyday usage, 1 exerts power over 2 if 1 obtains the service for 'too little' money ('*exploitation*') while 2 exerts power over 1 if 2 asks for 'too much' and 1 is in urgent need of the service ('profiteering', 'extortion', 'usury'). In line with this observation, we claim that every fruitful definition of power-over needs a reference point defined by something 'usual' or 'normal'. It seems quite unavoidable that these reference points contain some measure of arbitrariness and need to be defended rather specifically.[9]

1.2 Texts

In this article, literature from quite diverse strands are considered. First, the oldest Vedic text, the Ṛgveda (second half of second millennium BC[10]); second, the post-Vedic, but pre-classic literature, such as the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (7th to 6th c. BC) or the Taittirīya Upaniṣad (6th to 5th c. BC).[11] Third come the *dharma* texts. Broadly speaking, these deal with three topics:

– *ācāra* (proper conduct)/*saṃskāra* (sacraments, mainly for twice-born, concerning birth, schooling, marriage, reverence to manes and others)
– *rājadharma* (laws for kings)/*vyavahāra* (laws for settling disputes)
– *prāyaścitta* (penance, expiation, purification)

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7 Weber 1978, 53.

8 This important observation is due to Vanberg 1982, 59 fn. 48.

9 However, the Shapley value from cooperative game theory (see Wiese 2009) allows to work with a non-arbitrary reference point, the "where would you be without me" reference point. The Shapley value obeys "withdrawal symmetry". If one agent A withdraws, another agent B may suffer from that withdrawal. Under the Shapley value, the damage that A's withdrawal does to B equals the damage that B inflicts on A if B withdraws. Consider the following example that is due to Emerson (1962). Imagine two children A and B that often play together. Since they differ in their preferences, they take turns in playing their respective favourite games. In that situation, says Emerson, power-over is balanced. Now, assume that child B in the A–B relationship finds another playing buddy C. Then, power-over is unbalanced. A would suffer more if B decides not to play with A any more than the other way around. After all, B can turn to her new-found alternative C. In that situation, argues Emerson, balancing operations set in that allow B to impose her favorite game on A more often than before. From the point of view of the Shapley value (that was not known to Emerson), the effect of that balancing operation is to restore withdrawal symmetry. Thus, the only non-arbitrary reference point is useless in identifying power-over.

10 Jamison/Brereton 2014, 5.

11 This Upaniṣad chronology is due to Olivelle 1998, 12.

Thus, from a premodern Indian perspective, Brahmin rituals, Brahmin learning and teaching seem closely related to power questions.

Within the *dharma* literature, consider the texts[12] ascribed to

–   Āpastamba (late 3rd c. BC),
–   Baudhāyana (early 1st c. BC),
–   Vasiṣṭha (late 1st c. BC),
–   Manu (mid 2nd c. AD),
–   Nārada (5th–6th c. AD), and
–   Viṣṇu (7th c. AD).

One should note that these texts would build on predecessors most of which are not extant any more. Thus, we need to be careful not to draw far-reaching conclusions of when a specific rule has been applied or proposed for the first time.

Finally, perhaps between 50 and 125 AD.,[13] an author with the name Kauṭilya has written a manual on kingship. This textbook is known as the Arthaśāstra, i.e., teaching (*śāstra*) on *artha* ("purpose, wealth, power"). *Arthaśāstra* can be translated as "teachings on political economy".

2 The four classes

2.1 Rank order

In premodern India, the priests were recruited from the first class or first *varṇa*. Very famous is the *puruṣa* hymn from the Ṛgveda (second half of second millennium BC[14]):

> When they apportioned the man, into how many parts did they arrange him?
>   What was his mouth? What his two arms? What are said to be his two thighs, his two feet?
>   The brahmin was his mouth. The ruler was made his two arms. As to his thighs – that is what the freeman was. From his two feet the servant was born.[15]

In Sanskrit, these four classes are called *brāhmaṇa* (Brahmin), *rājanya* (ruler), *vaiśya* (freeman), and *śūdra* (servant) in the Ṛgveda. Within a passage on creation, the Mānava Dharmaśāstra (mid-second c. AD) echoes the Ṛgveda, but employs the word *kṣatriya* for the second class.[16]

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12 I use *dharma* texts where one may differentiate between *dharmasūtra*s (typically with short aphorisms) and *dharmaśāstra*s (which tend to be more explicit). The dating follows Olivelle 2005; Olivelle 2010; Olivelle 2016.

13 See Olivelle 2013, 29.

14 Jamison/Brereton 2014, 5.

15 ṚgV 10.90.11–12.

16 MDh 1.31.

The rank order that is hinted at in the Ṛgveda is elaborated in more detail by Manu:

> Among creatures, living beings are the best; among living beings, those who subsist by intelligence; among those [. . .] human beings [. . .] Brahmins [. . .] the learned [. . .] the Vedic savants.[17]

Taking the Indian case as a starting point, Dumont (1980) analyzes hierarchy and considers man as '*homo hierarchicus*'.[18] In the context of our paper, we consider rank an instance of control-of-events/payoff power.

2.2 Occupations

In order to get some concrete ideas, how these different classes differ in premodern Indian society, see, for example, Āpastamba's allocation of classes to occupations:

The occupations specific to a Brahmin are

<a>   studying,
<b>   teaching [the Vedas, HW],
<c>   sacrificing,
<d>   officiating at sacrifices,
<e>   giving gifts,
<f>   receiving gifts,
<g>   inheriting, and gleaning, as well as
<h>   appropriating things that do not belong to anybody.

The occupations specific to a Kṣatriya are the same, with the exception of

<i>   teaching,
<j>   officiating at sacrifices, and
<k>   receiving gifts,
        but the addition of
<l>   meting out punishment and warfare.

The occupations specific to a Vaiśya are the same as those of a Kṣatriya, with the exception of

<m>   meting out punishment and warfare,
        but the addition of

agriculture, cattle herding, and trade.[19]

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17 MDh 1.96–97.
18 The interested reader may in particular read Dumont 1980, 65–91.
19 ĀDh 2.10.4–7 (where the markers <a> etc. are added by the current author). Similarly, elsewhere, for example KAŚ 1.3.5–7.

3 Priviledges enjoyed by the first class

In terms of the matrix of subsection 1.1., the Brahmins enjoy the highest rank, i.e., pay-off power in the sense of control of events. Quite expectedly, their higher rank feeds into a large number of privileges. A few of them are mentioned in this section.

3.1 Right of way

Āpastamba regulates the right of way according to the *puruṣa* hymn and in line with common sense:

> The road belongs to the king, except when he meets a Brahmin; and when he does, it is to the Brahmin that the road belongs. All must yield to vehicles, people carrying heavy loads, the sick, and women; so, people of lower classes must also yield to people of higher classes. For their own well-being, moreover, all must yield to fools, outcastes, drunkards, and madmen.[20]

This rule is a rather clear-cut example for action power in the form of power-over. A *Vaiya* and even the king has to yield the right of way to Brahmins.

3.2 Material benefits (without dāna)

The high rank of the Brahmins has far-reaching material consequences. The theory is expounded by the Mānava Dharmaśāstra:

> This whole world—whatever there is on earth—is the property of the Brahmin. Because of his eminence and high birth, the Brahmin has a clear right to this whole world. The Brahmin eats only what belongs to him, wears what belongs to him, and gives what belongs to him; it is by the kindness of the Brahmin that other people eat.[21]

Among the material benefits accruing to Brahmins, one can count *dāna*, feeding, exemption from taxes, or treasure-troves. Relegating *dāna* to subsections 3.4. and 5.3., it was the king's responsibility to ensure that Brahmins do not suffer from hunger. For example, the Law Code of Viṣṇu recommends:

> He [the king, HW] should always honor gods and Brāhmaṇas, render service to the elderly, and offer sacrifices. In his realm a Brāhmaṇa must never suffer from hunger, nor anyone else devoted to good deeds. He should, moreover, donate land to Brāhmaṇas.[22]

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20 ĀDh 2.11.5–9.
21 MDh 1.100–101.
22 ViDh 3.76–81.

Second, Brahmins were exempt from taxation (a sort of gift by non-taking) according to the same dharma text:

> He [the king, HW] should not collect taxes from Brāhmaṇas, for they pay taxes to the king in the form of merit.[23]

Furthermore, the Law Code of Viṣṇu favours Brahmins in relation to treasure-troves (see <h> in subsection 2.2.). The privileges concern other classes and, in small measure, the king himself:

> He [the king, HW] should appropriate all the produce of mines. When he finds a treasure-trove, he should give half of it to Brāhmaṇas and deposit the other half in the treasury. When a Brāhmaṇa finds a treasure-trove, he may keep all of it; a Kṣatriya should give a quarter to the king, a quarter to Brāhmaṇas, and keep one half for himself; a Vaiśya should give a quarter to the king, a half to Brāhmaṇas, and keep a quarter for himself; a Śūdra should divide what he has found into twelve portions and give five portions to the king, five to Brāhmaṇas, and keep two portions for himself.[24]

One may put the donated land or the relatively large proportion of a treasure-trove under the heading of payoff power in the form of control of valuable events.

3.3 Studying and teaching the Veda

Studying and teaching were connected with high prestige as is clar, for example from Manu:

> Wealth, kin, age, ritual life, and the fifth, knowledge – these are the grounds for respect; and each subsequent one carries greater weight than each preceding.[25]

Indeed, the teacher has a treasure to offer:

> Now, Vedic knowledge came up to a Brāhmaṇa and said: "Guard me; I am your treasure. Do not disclose me to a man who is envious, crooked, or uncontrolled. Thus, I shall wax strong.[26]

Permission to study the Vedas is a prerogative (action power in the control-of-events sense) of the three highest classes, while teaching the Vedas can be done only by Brahmins (see <a>, <b>, and <i> in subsection 2.2.).

In Vedic times, teaching was affected in family clans, but was institutionalized later. The teacher was called a *guru* or an *ācārya*. The first word points to the high rank of teaching Brahmins:

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23 ViDh 3.26–27.
24 ViDh 3.55–61.
25 MDh 2.136.
26 ViDh 29.9.

- "The word [*guru*] originally meant 'heavy, weighty,' and calls to mind the Latin expression of a *vir gravis*, 'a weighty man,' i.e. a man of importance and dignity."[27] Indeed, Sanskrit *guru* and Latin *gravis* derive from a common Indo-European word.
- The *guru* "who teaches young boys and men in his house the sacred texts of the *Veda*, is called an *ācārya* – meaning literally either the man 'who teaches the right conduct' or, more likely, 'he who must be approached'".[28]

The *guru*'s income (payoff power) as an *ācārya* has three components: First, he lets the student beg for alms; second, he has the student do all kinds of services in the house; third, the *ācārya* obtains a gift called *dakṣiṇā* when teaching has finished:

> After the completion of Vedic study, the teacher admonishes his resident pupil: 'Speak the truth. Follow the Law. Do not neglect your private recitation of the Veda. After you have given a valuable gift to the teacher, do not cut off your family line. [. . .] Treat your mother like a god. Treat your father like a god. Treat your teacher like a god. Treat your guests like gods'.[29]

The amount given is left to the student. This arrangement may well have been to the advantage of the teacher, by some process of gift differentiation (corresponding to price differentiation in microeconomics or marketing). That is, a student from an affluent family can and will give more generously than a student from a poor family. Interestingly, stealing for the teacher's benefit might be allowed:

> After learning as much as he can, he should present the fee for Vedic study, a fee that is procured righteously and according to his ability. If his teacher has fallen into hardship, however, he may seize it from an Ugra[30] or a Śūdra. Some maintain that it is lawful at all times to seize wealth for the teacher from an Ugra or a Śūdra.[31]

3.4 Dāna

Many *dharma* texts have portions on *dāna*, i.e., gift giving. The givers earn merit by giving as is clear from Manu:

> One should as a matter of routine obligation painstakingly offer sacrifices and donate gifts with a spirit of generosity, for these two things, when performed with a spirit of generosity and with well-acquired wealth, become imperishable.[32]

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27 Scharfe 2002, 277.
28 Scharfe 2002, 277–278.
29 TaiU 1.11.
30 An Ugra has a Kṣatriya father and a Śūdra mother according to KAŚ 3.7.22.
31 ĀDh I7.19–21.
32 MDh 4.226 in DK 1.39.

Giving is also a king's duty:

> He [the king, HW] should pay honor to Brahmins who have returned from their teacher's house; for this is the inexhaustible treasure deposited with Brahmins decreed for kings. Neither thief nor enemy can steal it. [. . .] A gift to a non-Brahmin brings an equal reward; to a Brahmin by name, a double reward; to one who is advanced in Vedic study, a thousandfold reward.[33]

The receivers need to be *pātra*s, "*vessels*" or "*proper recipients*". The typical receivers of gifts are Brahmins as is clear from <f> and <k> in subsection 2.2. See the Mahābhārata:

> Whenever some bull among Brahmins studies the four Vedas together with the Vedāṅgas [pronunciation, meter, etymology, grammar, astronomy, ritual, HW] and does not waver from his six duties,[34] the seers know him as a proper recipient [pātra, HW].[35]

Similarly:

> Discipline, austerity, self-control, liberality, truthfulness, purity, Vedic learning, compassion, erudition, intelligence, and religious faith—these are the characteristics of a Brahmin. . . . Some are worthy to receive gifts because of ther Vedic learning, and others because of their austerities. Among all men worthy of receiving gifts, the most worth is the man into whose stomach the food of a Śūdra has never entered.[36]

One can surely see the possibility to collect *dāna* as yet another privilege (indeed an example of payoff-power in the form of power-over) as Brick seems to do:

> Two fundamental motivations seem to explain both the prominence of the discussions of proper recipients within the dānanibandhas[37] and the bulk of their contents. The first of these is a desire to establish orthodox, Vedic Brahmins as the ideal recipients and in many cases as the sole legitimate recipients of gifts. The second is the theoretical principle that the merit of a gift is directly proportional to the virtuousness of its recipient (with "virtuousness", of course, here defined from a Brahmanical perspective). As is likely obvious to readers, the achievement of both of these desires would have been very much in the interests of the Brahmins who composed most of the dānanibandhas, including the Dānakāṇḍa . . . .[38]

I have occasion to revisit *dāna* in subsection 5.3.

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33 MDh 7.82–85.

34 The six duties refer to lists similar to those give in the Āpastamba quote of subsection 2.2.

35 MBh 13.23.36 in DK 3.13.

36 VaDh 6.23–26.

37 A *nibandha* is an antology, a *dānanibandha* an antology on the subject of (dharmic) giving. Brick (2015) has critically edited and translated the section entitled Dānakāṇḍa (DK) of Lakṣmīdhara's anthology "Kṛtyakalpataru". DK and the Kṛtyakalpataru date from the 12th c. (see Brick 2015, 3–21).

38 Brick 2015, 41–42.

3.5 Inheritance

The Indian law of inheritance stresses the rights of a son to be the heir. A problem arises when no living or legitimate son is available. Viṣṇu mentions this order of inheritance for a man without son: wife, daughter, father, mother, brother, brother's son, *bandhu* members, *sakulya* members, fellow student, and, finally, the king.[39] Interestingly, the king is not the final recipient if the dead one is a Brahmin whose property would then go to other Brahmins.[40]

3.6 Punishment

Preferential treatment of Brahmins is clearly present in criminal law. On the one hand, the punishment for hurting or killing Brahmins is more severe than the punishment for hurting or killing members of lower classes. On the other hand, Brahmins are punished less severely for a given crime than other classes. See Baudhāyana (early first c. BC):

> A Brahmin, clearly, is not subject to capital punishment for any crime. When a Brahmin kills a Brahmin, has sex with the wife of an elder, steals gold, or drinks liquor, the king should brand the man's forehead with the mark of a headless corpse, a vagina, a jackal, or a tavern banner, respectively, using a heated iron and banish him from his kingdom. When a man belonging to the Kṣatriya or lower class kill a Brahmin, he should be executed and all his property confiscated. When such people kill a man of equal or lower class, the king should impose a suitable punishment in accordance with their ability [to pay, HW]. If someone kills a kṣatriya, to erase the enmity he should hand over to the king a thousand cows and in addition a bull; a hundred if he kills a Vaiśya, and ten if he kills a Śūdra—here too, in addition a bull. The provision for killing a Śūdra applies also to the killing of a woman or a cow [. . .].[41]

The later (!) Nārada is a bit more egalitarian:

> These punishments [which are systematically defined,[42] HW] apply uniformly to everyone, except that no corporal punishment should be inflicted on a brāhmaṇa.[43]

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39 ViDh 17.4–14 (after Olivelle 2009). Across many dharma texts, Kane 1973 narrates the discussions surrounding the question of who should be entitled to the property of an *aputra*: possibly his widow (702–713) or even his daughters (713–719).

40 ViDh 17.14.

41 BDh 1.18.17–1.19.3. Manu (MDh 8.267–268) is also very clear on this subject: "For assailing a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya ought to be fined 100, and a Vaiśya 150 or 200; but a Śūdra ought to suffer corporal punishment. A Brahmin should be fined 50 for abusing a Kṣatriya, 25 for abusing a Vaiśya, and 12 for abusing a Śūdra."

42 NSmV 14.1–7 defines violent acts (14.1), describes three different degrees (14.2–5) and specifies punishments in line with these degrees (14.6–7).

43 NSmV 14.8.

3.7 Ordeals

In a lawsuit, a king would typically consider the evidence presented to him and decide accordingly. Apart from the 'objective' evidence, the king may resort to ordeals that defendants would have to undergo. According to Manu, a defendant is to

> carry fire, stay submerged in water, or touch separately the heads of his sons and wife. When the blazing fire does not burn a man, the water does not push him up to the surface, and no misfortune quickly strikes him, he should be judged innocent by reason of his oath.[44]

Some ordeals were easier to pass or less dangerous than others. It seems that Brahmins were given special treatment by Nārada:

> He should not administer the poison to a Brāhmaṇa, nor should a kṣatriya carry the iron; a Vaiśya should not be plunged into water, nor should a Śūdra be allowed to drink Holy Water.[45]

4 Political power of Brahmins

Interestingly, the Brahmin's highest rank does not automatically confer worldly power. The latter is reserved for the *rājanya*s/*kṣatriya*s. Nevertheless, Brahmins did wield worldly power in several respects.

4.1 The king's duty to maintain the social order

The king has to see to it that the social order remains intact. For example, the Law Code of Viṣṇu requires:

> Next, the Laws of the king: protecting the subjects and establishing the social classes [varṇa, HW] and the orders of life[46] in the law specific to each.[47]

If it is thought that the social order previleges the Brahmins over the other classes, "establishing the social classes" would be of vital interest to the Brahmins. However,

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44 MDh 8.114. Leeson 2012 and Wiese 2016a offer economic analyses of ordeals.
45 NSmV 20.47.
46 See MDh 4.1: "After spending the first quarter of his life at his teacher's, a twice-born man should marry a wife and spend the second quarter of his life at home.". See also MDh 6.87–88: "Student, householder, forest hermit, and ascetic: these four distinct orders have their origin in the householder. All of these, when they are undertaken in their proper sequence as spelled out in the sacred texts, lead a Brahmin who acts in the prescribed manner to the highest state".
47 ViDh 3.1–3.

this is not the perspective taken by the *dharma* texts. With respect to the two highest classes, Manu states:

> The Kṣatriya does not flourish without the Brahmin, and the Brahmin does not prosper without the Kṣatriya; but when Brahmin and Kṣatriya are united, they prosper here and in the hereafter.[48]

Concerning the two lowest classes, Manu has this advice to the king:

> The king should strenuously make Vaiśyas and Śūdras perform the activities specific to them;[49] for when they deviate from their specific activities, they throw this world into confusion.[50]

4.2 Brahmin involvement in the trias politica

1. For the seven-member theory of state Kauṭilya enumerates:

> Lord, minister, countryside, fort, treasury, army, and ally are the constituent elements.[51]

This citation is usually referred to as the seven-member theory of state.[52] The constituent elements enumerated in KAŚ 6.1.1 come in this specific order for a reason: Kauṭilya argues in detail why, in the order given above, "a calamity affecting each previous one is more serious".[53] The pre-eminence of the king is also clear from KAŚ 8.2.1: "King and reign – that is the epitome of the constituent elements."

2. Brahmins as *amātyas* – executive and judiciary: Sharma calls the above Kauṭilyan list a "complete definition of the state". A comparison with the principle of 'trias politica' consisting of legislature, executive, and judiciary, is instructive. It seems that Kauṭilya's definition of a state covers both executive and judiciary. Indeed, Sharma remarks that the usual translation of *amātya* as "minister" is misleading: "In the *Arthaśāstra* the *amātya*s constitute a regular cadre of service from which all high officers such as the chief priest, ministers, collectors, treasurers, officers engaged in civil and criminal administration, officers in charge of harem, envoys and the superintend-

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48 MDh 9.322.
49 According to MDh 9.326–335, *Vaiśya*s should look after farm animals and *Śūdra*s should serve Brahmin householders.
50 MDh 8.418.
51 KAŚ 6.1.1.
52 One could differentiate between four major old Indian ideas of state: the idealistic viewpoint, the seven-member theory, the protection-through-punishment theory, and the contract theory. See also Drekmeier 1962, 245–281 and Sharma 2005, 31–76.
53 KAŚ 8.1.5. Detailed arguments follow in KAŚ 8.1.6–59.

ents of various departments are to be recruited".[54] Summarizing, Sharma remarks that "the *amātya*s stand for the governmental machinery".[55]

Sharma summarizes how Brahmins were involved in that machinery:[56]

– While Brahmins did not typically fill the role of kings, Brahmin ruling dynasties came into being a few hundred centuries BC.
– Brahmins were not supposed to fight unless in a time of adversity.[57]
– The commander of an army (*senāpati*) could have been a *Kṣatriya* or a Brahmin.
– Members of the first two classes were typically chosen to serve as *amātya*s.

*Purohita*s[58] have a specific role to play. One the one hand, they are very important advisers:

> He [the king, HW] should appoint as Chaplain a man who comes from a distinguished family and has an equally distinguished character, who is thoroughly trained in the Veda together with the limbs,[59] in divine omens, and in government, and who could counteract divine and human adversities through Atharvan means.[60] He should follow him as a pupil his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master.[61]

On the other hand, they function as family priest so that "the Chaplain should perform the rite of passage for the son"[62] who is newly born into the king's family.

Olivelle stresses the Chaplain's importance: "The most important ministers comprise the king's innermost circle of advisors called *mantrin*, counselors, within which the Chaplain (*purohita*) occupies a central position. The counselors do not have specific tasks to carry out, but the king is always expected to consult them before initiating any task."[63] In the subsection after next, yet another role of the *purohita*s is dealt with.

3. Brahmins as *amātyas* – legislature: It is not quite clear how the legislature was organized.[64] While we know a large number of law books (subsection 1.2.), we have only vague ideas of where they may have been employed and how they came about. It is

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54 See, for example, KAŚ 1.9–10, 1.16, 2.6–36, or 3.1.1. Kauṭilya often uses the term *amātyasaṃpad* which is translated as "exemplary qualities of a minister" by Olivelle 2013, in particular in KAŚ 1.9.1, 1.16.2, or 2.9.1. Referring to KAŚ 3.1.1 on "justices of ministerial rank", Olivelle 2013, 582, supports Sharma's assessment by noting that "a large number of officials carried this rank".

55 For this whole paragraph, see Sharma 2005, 31–34.

56 Sharma 2005, 235–244.

57 MDh 8.348–349.

58 Translated as chaplain by Olivelle 2013.

59 The limbs refer to pronunciation, etc., as in the Mahābhārata citation of subsection 3.4.

60 Olivelle 2013, 474, comments that *Atharvan* refers to "ritual means for warding off impending catastrophes given in the *Atharva Veda* or in literature and practices connected to that Vedic tradition."

61 KAŚ 1.9.9–10.

62 KAŚ 1.17.26.

63 Olivelle 2013, 40.

64 Consult Lingat 1973, 224–232.

usually assumed that they have been composed by Brahmins. Scharfe opines:[65] "Generally speaking, the king had no legislative power; nevertheless, there are instances where kings created new rules, usually by recognizing existing customs."[66] In line with this observation, Manu prescribes (for the king):

> He who knows the Law should examine the Laws of castes, regions, guilds, and families, and only then settle the Law specific to each.[67]

4. Brahmins as protectors of state: Outside the 'trias politica' the *purohita* sometimes had another function, that of protecting the state by rituals. With respect to Śaiva officiants, Sanderson tells about an inscription from the 12th c. where "an army from Sri Lanka had invaded the mainland, removed the door of the Rāmeśvaram temple, obstructed the worship, and carried away all the temple's treasures" whereupon a Śaiva officiant "was engaged by the emperor to perform a ritual that would bring destruction on those responsible for this desecration. According to the inscription, the ceremony was continued for twenty-eight days and at its end the invading army was indeed defeated."[68]

It is clear that success in these ways would ensure "close links with the institution of kingship and thereby with the principal source of patronage".[69] See, for example, the Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa:

> The kingdom of that king in whose realm dwells an Atharvavedic master of the rites for warding off ills will prosper, free of all calamities. The kingdom of that king in whose realm he is not present is oppressed by diverse dangers. It sinks like a cow in the mud. Therefore, to that Atharvan [chaplain] whose senses are controlled the king should show exceptional honour at all times, by means of gifts, marks of distinction, and demonstrations of respect.[70]

In some traditions, the Atharvavedic knowledge of a *purohita* was a requirement for serving as a chaplain.[71]

4.3 Varuṇa rule

Some Indian *dharma* texts mention that the king may punish his subjects by confiscating property.[72] Consider the Arthaśāstra:

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65 Scharfe 1989, 221–222.

66 Lubin 2015 discusses how customary law was recognized in Premodern India and Java.

67 MDh 8.41.

68 Sanderson 2004, 233–234.

69 Sanderson 2004, 232.

70 AP 4.6.1–3.

71 Sanderson 2004, 233.

72 This section and subsection 5.4. freely borrow from Wiese 2016b.

> For a king fining someone who does not deserve to be fined, the fine is 30 times that amount. He should place it in water for Varuṇa, and then give it to Brāhmaṇas. By that, the king's sin caused by wrongful infliction of fines is cleansed, for Varuṇa is the one who disciplines kings when they act wrongly with respect to men.[73]

Here, one finds a two-level structure where Varuṇa can punish the king who in turn can punish his subjects.[74] The king is enticed to punish in a just manner if he believes that Varuṇa will otherwise punish him. We call the prescription to give the fine "to Varuṇa by casting it into water" the 'Varuṇa clause'.[75] The Arthaśāstra also mentions water, but here, Kauṭilya does not seriously entertain the possibility of casting the fines (this time to be paid by the king himself) into the water. Instead, "place it in water for Varuṇa, and then give it to Brāhmaṇas" seems to be a short description of a ceremony by which the king is cleansed of his judicial mistake.

The Varuṇa clause has puzzled indologists. Is it just another clever device by Brahmins to gain influence and wealth? Sharma offers these comments: The king is responsible to Varuṇa, but the fine for the king (30 times the amount unjustly taken as a fine) is collected by the Brahmins who then "exercise *de facto* power over the king". Sharma adds: "[I]f we accept the crucial passage of Kauṭilya at its face value, it will mean that our author imparts a theocratic character to the state."[76]

Alternatively, one could read the Arthaśāstra passage as implying that the king would somehow need to punish himself? Against this idea, Kane has already opined that "these prescriptions [. . .] were counsels of perfection and must have been futile. No king would ordinarily fine himself". He then refers to Medieval texts where the king is understood as a "subordinate chief". Then, it is not Varuṇa himself who punishes, but the overlord, instead.[77] This is a good explanation, as far as it goes. However, it just pushes up the problem one level. After all, how would, then, an unjust overlord be brought to justice?

Since section 4 collects evidence of the Brahmins' power, the discussion on the Varuṇa rule stops here, but is taken up again in subsection 5.4.

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73 KAŚ 4.13.42–43. MDh 9.245 resembles KAŚ 4.13.43.

74 At this juncture, one might worry about Varuṇa's incentives to chastise the king appropriately. Can we run into a regressus ad infinitum? Presumably not, because the god Varuṇa does not encounter any incentive problems, himself.

75 Strictly speaking, "casting into water" and confiscation are contradictory terms. Lat. *fiscus* means treasury and confiscation hence "adjoining the treasury". From this perspective, one might say that Manu 9.242–247 forbids confiscation. However, we will understand confiscation as asset forfeiture or asset seizure, irrespective of how the property taken is used afterwards.

76 Sharma 2005, 260–261.

77 Kane 1973, 176–177.

5 . . . but matters may be more complicated (or equitable) than they look

The final to last section is devoted to proposing alternative understandings of selected issues discussed in sections 3 and 4. First of all, being and remaining a Brahmin, may not be an easy matter (subsection 5.1.). Second, remember Vanberg's observation that agents in exchange relationships might perform actions they would not perform otherwise (subsection 1.1.). In that line, one may revisit some instances of Brahmin power that may turn out to be more equitable than thought at a first glance.

5.1 Difficulty to maintain status

Learning is vital for the social standing:

> In this manner, he [the pupil, HW] should learn one Veda, or two, or three; thereafter, the Vedic supplements [pronunciation, meter, etymology, grammar, astronomy, ritual, HW]. When a Brāhmaṇa expends great effort in other matters without studying the Veda, he is quickly reduced to the status of a Śūdra, along with his children.[78]

While a person (male or female) is born a Brahmin, a male Brahmin may lose that high status by not studying the Vedas (see <a>) or by committing a sin that causes a person to fall from his caste.[79]

5.2 Revisiting teaching the Veda

While it is true that a *guru* enjoys the high prestige associated with studying and teaching the Vedas and receives income from the students in different forms (see subsection 3.3.), the *ācārya* offers a bundle of goods and services:

1) Teaching of the *Veda*: According the ViDh 27.15–17 or ĀDh I1.19, the period of study begins before the pupil is 8 years (for a Brahmin), 11 years (for a Kṣatriya) or 12 years (for Vaiśya). The length of study varies. If one needs 12 years for each of the three *Veda*s, one has to study 36 years. Indeed, Manu says:

> He should carry out the observance relating to the three Vedas at his teacher's house, an observance lasting thirty-six years, or one-half or one-quarter of that time, or else until he has learnt them. After he has learnt in the proper order the three Vedas or two of them, or at least one, without violating his chastity, he should undertake the householder's order of life.[80]

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[78] ViDh 28.34–36.

[79] See, for example, MDh 3.16–17, 3.150, 11.55–67.

[80] MDh 3.1–2.

2) Rituals: *Veda* teaching occurs in the framework of well-established rituals.[81] In particular, the beginning of the student's stay in the teacher's house is called *upanayana* (leading [the student] near [the teacher by his guardians]). The end of studies is often marked by the ceremony called *snāna* (bath) and/or *samāvartana* (returning).

3) Bed and board: The students obtain lodging and food at the *guru*'s house. In return, the students had to beg for food and to provide personal services to the *guru*. These services and the humility that comes with providing them may also be considered a product given (!) to the students.

5.3 Revisiting dāna

According to the *dharma* texts, Brahmins as writers of these texts point to themselves as receivers of *dāna*. Of course, "one can easily interpret this stress on the Brahminness and Vedic knowledge of proper recipients as intended to reserve for the authors' own social group the entitlement to receive gifts."[82]

Remember from subsection 3.4.:

> Discipline, austerity, self-control, liberality, truthfulness, purity, vedic learning, compassion, erudition, intelligence, and religious faith – these are the characteristics of a Brahmin [brāhmaṇa-lakṣana, HW].[83]

Two possible understandings of quotations like these come to mind: (i) as "definitions of a proper Brahmin"[84] with "unambiruously high opinions of themselves and of their place in society".[85] Thus, Brahmins have somehow managed to enjoy payoff-power in the control-of-events sense in the form of material wealth (the *dāna*) and in the form of high rank.

While this understanding is certainly not wrong, "discipline, vedic learning" may also point to (ii) requirements the Brahmins have to fulfil. Consider the following two maxims:

> One can know a person's virtue by living with him, his purity by interacting with him, and his wisdom by talking with him. A recipient [pātra, HW] should be tested in these three things.[86]

and

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81 An overview of Hindu *saṃskāra*s, including educational ones, is given by Pandey 1969.
82 See Brick 2015, 42.
83 VaDh 6.23.
84 Brick 2015, 41.
85 Brick 2015, 40.
86 DK 3.1.

One should feed a Brahmin whose mouth is filled with the Veda, even if he's well-fed, but not a foodless fool who has fasted for six nights.[87]

The understanding (ii) stresses the requirements Brahmins as *pātra*s have to fulfil rather than (i) the definitional aspect where Brahmins engage in self-exhaltation. As Brick states with respect to the Brahmins' virtuousness, "it serves the purpose of policing the Brahmin community by encouraging its members to aspire to the high standards of an ideal Brahmin lest they be deemed unfit to receive patronage."[88]

Clearly, the Brahmins' knowledge of the Vedas, of Upaniṣadic or classical literature is also instrumental for keeping the ritual and scientific traditions intact. These ideas give rise to a functional theory of dāna that needs to be made more explicit.

5.4 Revisiting the Varuṇa rule

The Varuṇa rule is introduced in subsection 4.3. One version is covered by Manu:

9.243 A good king must never take the property of someone guilty of a grievous sin causing loss of caste; if he takes it out of greed, he becomes tainted with the same sin.
9.244 He should offer that fine to Varuṇa by casting it into water, or present it to a Brahmin endowed with learning and virtue.
9.245 Varuṇa is the lord of punishment, for he holds the rod of punishment over kings; and a Brahmin who has mastered the Veda is the lord of the entire world.
9.246 When a king refrains from taking the fines of evildoers, in that land are born in due course men with long lives;
9.247 the farmers' crops ripen, each as it was sown; children do not die; and no deformed child is born.[89]

Here, the king is strongly advised not to keep any confiscated property for himself or his treasury. Instead, he should throw it into the water **or** give it to the Brahmins. Manu expounds the negative consequences of the king's confiscating for himself (in 9.243) and the positive consequences of not doing so (in 9.246–247).

In contrast to Kauṭilya (subsection 4.3.), the Manu commentator Medhātithi understands "casting into water" as a serious option. He requests to meditate on the receiver Varuṇa:

meditating "this is to Varuṇa" in one's mind, he [the king] should throw it into waters.[90]

Why should *Manu* demand that the king does not keep the confiscated property taken from the offenders? Is it not pure waste to throw the property into the water? Perhaps, the subjects' point of view may be helpful here. They may fear that the king uses the

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87 DK 3.17.
88 See Brick 2015, 44. Similarly, Heim 2004 stresses the importance of the *pātra*s' virtue.
89 MDh 9.243–247.
90 See Mandlik 1886, vol II, 1238, on MDh 9.244 for the Sanskrit.

fines to overcome financial bottlenecks. In contrast, they will trust the king to punish them in a just manner if they believe that the king is a believer (in Varuṇa). Thus, we need second-order believes[91] which are more difficult to uphold than first-order ones.

If the belief argument is too facile, we need to supply additional arguments of how Varuṇa's punishment might work. Importantly, the king (who does not have an overlord to punish him) may be in a difficult position. He certainly likes to be reckoned a just king and enjoy the loyalty of his ministers and subjects.[92]

Now, in his position relative to his subjects, the king knows best whether he acts justly. But how can he, even if well-intended, convince the subjects? Just saying: "I am a just king" will generally not suffice. Here, the Varuṇa clause may help the king to "prove" that he is a good king, a king who would not take property as a fine in order to enrich himself or in order to fill his depleted treasury. The best way to do this would then be a ritual, with Brahmins performing the rites and many onlookers. Indeed, Chwe advances the interesting idea that rituals serve the purpose of producing 'common knowledge', here, the common knowledge of a just king.[93]

Nowlet us return to Kane's assertion that "[n]o king would ordinarily fine himself" (subsection 4.3.). One might reply: Maybe, he would not, but he would like to be able to. And he may have to incur some cost to achieve that aim, for example by offering the confiscated property "to Varuṇa by casting it into water".

6 Conclusion

In his book on Dravidian kingship, Trautmann discusses what he calls "the central conundrum of Indian social ideology":

> [I]n respect to the king, is the brahmin his superior or his dependent? The question is addressed in every age, and the resolution in brahmanical literature is via the notion of two truths, a higher and a lower.[94]

The underlying reason, according to Trautmann, is the existence of two pairs of contrasting modes of exchange, "sacred versus profane and noble versus ignoble" that are "not reducible the one to the other".[95] Indeed, the sacred and the profane are inextricably linked as shown in section 5, not only for *dāna* (on which Trautmann focuses) but also for teaching the Veda and for the Varuṇa rule.

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91 See Geanakoplos 1994.
92 The importance of loyalty is clearly spelled out in KAŚ 7.5.27.
93 See Chwe 2001. Common knowledge is said to be present between actors A and B if A knows something, B knows that A knows it, A knows that B knows that A knows etc. ad infinitum.
94 Trautmann 1981, 285.
95 Trautmann 1981, 285.

Abbreviations and symbols

ĀDh   Āpastamba Dharmasūtra (Olivelle 2000)
AP   Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa (Sanderson 2004)
BĀU   Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (Olivelle 1998)
BDh   Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra (Olivelle 2000)
DK   Dānakāṇḍa of the Kṛtyakalpataru (Brick 2015)
KAŚ   Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra (Olivelle 2013)
MBh   Mahābhārata (as cited in DK)
MDh   Mānava Dharmaśāstra (Olivelle 2005)
NSmV   Nārada Smṛti (Vyavahārapadāni section) (Lariviere 2003)
NSmM   Nārada Smṛti (Mātṛkā section) (Lariviere 2003)
ṚgV   Ṛgveda (Jamison/Brereton 2014)
TaiU   Taittirīya Upanisad (Olivelle 1998)
VaDh   Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra (Olivelle 2000)
ViDh   Vaiṣṇava Dharmaśāstra (Olivelle 2009)
c.   century

The translations of passages from these sources are due to the authors given here.

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Instrumentalizing the 'Priests'

Veit Groß

Ideologists, Instigators or 'Stage Props'? Priests and Popular Protest in the English Rising of 1381

Abstract: Uprisings and revolts were a frequent phenomenon in the 14th and 15th century. The role priests played in these events has lately been reassessed by some scholars. It has become increasingly clear that popular movements were much less dependent on clerical leadership than previously thought. Using the example of the so-called English 'Peasants' Revolt' of 1381, where priests undeniably played a considerable role, I argue that there are three distinct ways of thinking about priestly involvement in protest movements, where it did in fact occur: As ideologists, as instigators and as mere props for political theater. These perspectives should be distinguished, yet they should also be integrated into a model that leaves room for the agency of priests and popular movements alike.

In the summer of 1381, a popular uprising of unprecedented scale erupted in the English counties of Kent and Essex, not far from London. From there it spread all the way north to Yorkshire.[1] Although it lasted for only a little more than a month it became famous under the label 'Peasants' Revolt', an invention of the 19th century today considered a misnomer by most historians.[2] They point out that although the participants of the rising often came from rural areas and were, at least in their majority, agricultural producers, being a part of a 'peasant movement' was certainly not the way in which they conceived of their actions. But what it was they thought they were doing instead remains a hotly debated issue.[3] In what follows, I shall make the case that the line of questioning pursued in this volume, i.e. exploring the political uses of the power of the priests, can shed some new light on the question of the 'ideology' informing the English rising of 1381. After giving an overview of the events of the summer of 1381, I shall examine the role attributed to priests in the rising in three steps, going backwards, so to speak, from modern interpretations to medieval reports and finally to some of the actions of the rebels. The point I will be arguing is that all three

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1 A highly readable account has recently been published by Barker 2014. Eiden 1995 offers by far the most thorough one, but unfortunately no English translation is available.
2 Strohm 2008.
3 The latest summary has recently been provided by Prescott 2016.

perspectives are somewhat defective on their own and should therefore be integrated into a more comprehensive model that centers the dialogical relationship between protest movements and their interlocutors from the clergy.

The events of the Rising of 1381 are – as late medieval revolts go – very well documented, so in order to keep the cast of characters down to a manageable number, each chapter will be built around one historical figure, each of whom played a distinct part in the events. The first chapter will examine how modern scholars viewed the role of John Ball, often seen as the main 'ideologist' of the movement, while the second will use the historical writing of Jean Froissart to make a point about the way in which the ruling elite made sense of the role of priests in popular protest. The final chapter will look at a brief encounter between the rebels and the Bishop of Rochester, Thomas Brinton.

The movement of 1381

Before zooming in on these three characters, I shall use a brief overview of the events of the uprising to get one common misconception about the "power of the priests" in late medieval revolts out of the way: There is little reason to believe that preaching – or any other kind of priestly activity – triggered the rising of 1381 in the sense of constituting its root cause. Samuel Cohn has recently shown that medieval popular movements in general did not require the leadership of priests – although on occasion they may have used it.[4] Instead of following the highly partial medieval sources in belittling lay commoners' capacity for self-organization, the rising can be much more readily explained as a collective reaction to a case of government overreach.

The background of the unrest of 1381 is England's "Hundred Years' War" with France, which from an English perspective had been going terribly for almost a decade. After the widely revered king Edward III had died in 1377, the power of the monarch rested in the hands of a council, since his successor, his grandson Richard II, was a boy of only ten on the day of his coronation.[5] The disastrous military situation on the continent strained the royal finances. Although regular, almost annual taxation had been normalized over the course of the 14th century, taxes were still one-off and had to be agreed to individually by a parliament. In fact, parliaments were primarily held to secure the finances of the crown by passing taxes and subsidies and the monarch was under no obligation to convene a parliament unless he needed money. In the 1370s, in these semi-regular get-togethers of England's 'political community', the rich townspeople, rural gentry and great lords repeatedly butted heads over who had to foot the bill for the war.

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4 Cohn 2006 and Cohn 2012.

5 On the council see Saul 1997, 24–55.

One way to avert this conflict, for a while anyway, was to shift the pressure of taxation downward to the commoners who were not represented in the parliaments. An obvious way of doing this was to experiment with new modes of taxation. And so, in 1377, parliament agreed to a poll tax, which was calculated by the number of household members instead of by movable goods, thereby letting wealthier people off comparatively easily. Perhaps not surprisingly, this exercise was repeated in 1378.

Although this second poll tax was fraught with staggering levels of tax evasion, which probably already signaled popular resentment, a parliament at Northampton, hastily convened in November 1380 and responding to a dramatic shortfall in royal finances, agreed to a third one, thus almost certainly creating the impression that poll taxes were on their way to becoming an annual burden. To make matters worse, this time parliament failed to make any meaningful provisions as to how the resulting inequities were to be ameliorated: A toothless provision that "those of adequate means shall help those of lesser means as far as they are able"[6] was counteracted by another, stating that nobody was to pay more than twenty shillings.[7] In any event, the rate of one shilling per person was "exceptionally high".[8]

Even this manifestly unfair act of parliament, however, did not cause a revolt right away. The reaction of the English population at first was tax evasion on such a massive scale that we should think of it in terms of an organized boycott. The organizational origins of the movement of 1381, although it becomes visible only later that year, probably lie in this collective effort to subvert the collection of the tax. It was very successful: If the rolls that documented the collection had been correct – which everybody realized they were not – England would have lost a third of its population within a matter of only three years.[9] Not surprisingly, the amount of money collected was nowhere near the sum the Crown required. Therefore, after it had become apparent that the realm was rife with tax evasion, commissions were sent into the counties in order to investigate the matter and find people who still had to pay up. It was this ill-advised decision which triggered the uprising.

The first instance of militant resistance occurred in Brentwood (Essex) on May 30, 1381 and was directed against a commission headed by Justice of the Peace John of Bampton.[10] He had summoned local villagers to discuss the matter of taxation but was violently assaulted and forced to flee. Contrary to the impression the sources try

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6 RP VI (1377–1384), 191 : "les suffisantz selonc lour afferant eident les meindres".

7 Gillespie 1998.

8 Dobson 1983, 112.

9 For a brief overview of the three consecutive poll taxes see Fryde 1996, 44 and Kaeuper 1988, 354. An edition has been provided by Fenwick 1998, 2001 and 2005, who, however, calls the amount of evasion into question and assumes a larger number of exempt people.

10 This is based on the account of the Anonimalle Chronicle (AC 1927, 134), according to Eiden the documentary evidence by and large corroborates this version of the events, see Eiden 1995, 190–196.

to create, this was most likely no spontaneous eruption, but a calculated escalation.[11] By the early summer of 1381, unseen by the authorities and therefore hidden from our sources, a movement had formed, led by the more well-to-do local elites of the villages in Kent and Essex.[12] Its participants certainly knew that commissions were coming and it seems as if they had been preparing for a signal to strike.[13]

Within a matter of days huge bands of people came together in Essex and Kent and local acts of disobedience can be traced in the sources all over the region. The insurgents demonstratively burned written documents in public places, freed prisoners and vandalized the manor houses of unpopular nobles – not nobles in general, they selected their targets with great care.[14] While the revolt continued in the southwestern counties and simultaneously spread to the west and to the north, large bands marched from Essex and Kent towards London, where they handed over petitions to the royal government, calling, among other things, for the heads of royal officials, the Duke of Lancaster and for an end to the institution of servitude. On June 12 they gained access to the city, where they laid waste to the houses of their political opponents, sacking, for instance, the Duke of Lancaster's famous Savoy Palace. Nowhere does their desire to be seen not as lawless rioters but as coherent movement become as obvious as in this episode, when they demonstratively refrained from plundering the goods of the richest man of England, destroying them instead. One of the chroniclers, who grudgingly reports on the evident restraint the rebels showed, claims – probably in order to portray them as brutal savages in spite of reporting evidence to the contrary – that they threw one of their own into the flames of the burning palace as a punishment for looting, "crying that they were zealots of truth and justice, not robbers or thieves".[15]

Events quickly came to a head in London and the government succeeded in dispersing the crowds in a confusing turn on June 15 when after several days of looting, negotiations, and extra-legal executions, the boy-king Richard seized upon the claim the rebels had been repeating constantly, namely that they were the king's most loyal fol-

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11 Brooks 1985 and also Ronan 1989 were the first attempt to systematically reconstruct evidence from the sources that the rebels were by no means as disorganized and chaotic as the chroniclers make them out to be.

12 Dyer 1984.

13 Brooks 1985. The temporal proximity to the view of frankpledge, which allowed them to gather bearing arms, is likely no coincidence, see Dyer 1984, 14. For the Frankpledge see White 1998 and Schofield 1996.

14 Fryde 1996, 46 highlights a very important fact, when he writes: "Nobles were given a bad fright, though the risings were threatening their properties and especially their estate records more than their persons. Any killing [. . .] that took place occurred in London and a few other towns. One outstanding feature of events in the countryside was the rarity of murders and the absence of lethal class animosities".

15 Knighton 1995, 214–215: "Vnus autem illorum nephandorum sumpsit unam pulcram peciam argenteam, in gremioque abscondit, quod videns alius et sociis referens, ipsum cum pecia in ignem proiecerunt, dicentes se zelatores ueritatis et iusticie, non fures aut latrones".

lowers. Richard II, after negotiations in London's tournament-venue of Smithfield had gone sideways and seen the rebels' negotiator struck down and killed (the famous Wat Tyler, whose name is sometimes eponymous with the revolt as a whole), declared himself their 'captain' and succeeded in leading them away from the city long enough for the urban militia to be mobilized.[16] This led to the collapse of the movement around London.[17] The revolt raged on in the counties, but the authorities had regained the initiative and a successful campaign of repression was launched immediately.

Measured against the radical program that was formulated in the petitions, the uprising was a failure – the petitions had called for the end of villeinage, abolition of the labor legislation designed to keep wages down in spite of the labor shortage caused by the Black Death,[18] and basically an end of all noble and church privileges "except for the king's own lordship".[19] It is worth remembering, however, that it is probably no coincidence that the third poll tax was also the last. On the minds of England's ruling elite, the rebellion remained a lasting shock, an unexpected natural catastrophe that begged an explanation. This feeling is captured in the verses of an anonymous poet who, writing in 1382, connected it with an outbreak of plague and an earthquake that had occurred that year.

> The Rysing of the comuynes in londe (The rising of the commons in the land),
> The Pestilens, and the eorthe-quake (The pestilence and the earthquake),
> Theose threo thinges, I vnderstonde, (These three things, I understand),
> Beo-tokenes the grete vengaunce & wrake (Betoken the great vengeance and ruin)
> That schulde falle for synnes sake (That shall come to pass because of sin)[20]

The poets' interpretation of the rising brings us right back to the question of the power of the priest: The three events, in his view, are divine warnings to refrain from sin, directed, presumably, at everyone. But in the following lines he makes it clear that clerics are needed in order to interpret these signs correctly:[21]

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16 One chronicler imagines Richard's words as follows: "Non causemini, nec sitis tristes de morte proditoris et ribaldi. Ego enim ero rex uester, ego capitaneus et ductor uester". Walsingham 2003, 438.

17 The details are hard to reconstruct, but Eiden 1995, 257–262 succeeds in building a convincing approximation. A theory why this cunning move worked will be presented in my dissertation.

18 For labor legislation and the cultural phenomena attached to it, see Knight 2000.

19 Dobson 1983, 164. For the original see AC 1927, 147: "et qe nulle seignur ne averoit seignurie fors swelment estre proporcione entre toutz gentz, fors tansoulement la seignurie la roy".

20 Robbins 1959, 59. My translation.

21 See Pugh 2000, 99: "The poet argues that falsehood is a sin subject to God's punishment, a punishment meted out by both the rebellion itself and the earthquake. The answer to this problematic falseness, however, is the knowledge of the clerks: [. . .] the author locates temporal authority in the clerks; their knowledge is privileged as the locus of proper judgment against the rebellious classes".

> As this Clerkes conne de-clare (As the clerics can explain)
> Now may we chese to leue or take (Now we may choose to take it or leave it),
> Ffor warnyng haue we to ben ware (For we have a warning to be careful).[22]

The implied assertion about priestly power in this poem is that it should have a monopoly on interpreting social reality and on determining what belonged to the natural order of the world and was thus outside of the realm of politics.[23] The rising the poet responds to, however, was in itself proof that this logic was in fact a double-edged sword. Priests did figure prominently in it in various roles, because in 14th century England their power and authority was a powerful instrument.

Ideologists: John Ball's role in modern interpretations

When considering the role 'the power of the priest' played in the rising of 1381, one clarification seems necessary from the outset. In the sources that report the events priests, in the sense of 'ordained men of the church', are ubiquitous. Their roles, however, differ widely and do not necessarily have much to do with their social function of belonging to a group of people "authorized to perform the sacred rites of a religion especially as a mediatory agent between humans and God".[24] The most prominent victim of the rebels, Simon Sudbury, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was probably beheaded for his role as the king's chancellor. The campaign of repression was led by the bishop of Norwich, but he acted mostly as a royal agent and it is hard to see how his church background would have informed his war-like actions.[25] Men of the church also often appear as the butt of protest, we have a detailed account of the fierce conflict between the rebellious townsfolk and the powerful abbot of St. Albans, for instance, but this may have more to do with their role as particularly unpopular landlords. Moreover, it almost goes without saying that our sources were authored by men of the church, from the chroniclers who unanimously denounced the revolt to the humble scribes who documented the rebels' criminal persecution in the courts.

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22 Robbins 1959, 59. My translation.
23 Crane 1992, 201–210. Paul Strohm carefully dissects the strategies employed by the chroniclers to delegitimize the rebels, Strohm, 1992, 36–42. Justice highlights that the chroniclers contrast their own literacy with the supposed "mute idiocy of the peasant", Justice 1994, 18. Especially when they were angry, the "peasants'" incompatibility with the political sphere became evident, because to the minds of the chroniclers "peasant anger was opposed to thought", Freedman 1998, 179.
24 The definition given by Merriam-Webster's dictionary for the word "priest".
25 Although with Bishop Despenser things might be more complicated – he is, after all, famous especially for personally leading a crusade against the followers of the Avignonese pope shortly after the revolt, see Miller 2002.

Many of these men were ordained, to be sure, and by this definition 'priests'. So clearly, asking what the role of 'priests' was in 1381 allows for a whole array of answers, as is to be expected in a society in which institutions affiliated with the church were important political entities and, in spite of growing rates of lay-literacy, also dominated most intellectual activities.

There is, however, something that, if not entirely unique, sets the Rising of 1381 apart from other medieval revolts, and that is much more directly linked to the political use of religious knowledge in popular politics:[26] There is a noticeable participation of clerics in the ranks of the insurgents. Herbert Eiden has documented at least 35 members of the clergy who participated in the revolt on the side of the rebels.[27] This suggests that in 1381 the power of the priest was more important than can be said for many other cases of popular unrest in the later Middle Ages. This requires an explanation, but has often been ignored, because the large and famous uprisings, like the one of 1381, have been considered the prototypes of later medieval protest movements, not the exceptions they actually were.[28]

By far the most famous priest to participate in the English rising of 1381 was John Ball. Considering his lowly status, we know quite a few things about his life, even before the revolt. He was a member of the lower clergy, probably a chantry priest, men who read mass for the souls of the deceased for pay.[29] He may have hailed from York originally, but one source has him preaching in Essex as early as 1364.[30] He seems to have stayed there, because he got into conflict with the church authorities in Essex only two years later, when he was banned from preaching, something that would happen to him again and again from this time on. Archbishop Sudbury personally ordered him to be arrested in December 1376 and excommunicated him.[31] He must have been released after a while but was detained again only a month before the revolt erupted in late April, 1381.[32] From this incarceration in Maidstone he was freed by the insurgents,[33] probably

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26 In the last decade or so, the term 'popular politics' has increasingly been employed by researchers to capture the political behavior and actions of those sections of society that lacked a legitimate voice in political discourse. Hinck 2019, 16.

27 Eiden 1995, 442–447.

28 The „peculiar" and by no means representative nature of the movement of 1381 was highlighted by Cohn 2010.

29 Kowaleski 2006, 255.

30 Eiden 1995, 443–444 and Logan 1968, 63–64. There is some room for speculation that he originated from Essex, this seems conceivable, if farfetched. See Bird/Stephenson 1976.

31 CPR XVI, 415. This may be related to the so called 'Good Parliament', a connection on which I shall elaborate below and in greater detail in my forthcoming dissertation.

32 Eiden 1995, 443 and Logan, 1968, 63–65.

33 Or, possibly, Bishop's Stortford, see Barker 2014, 212. This has wide-ranging implications, as Eiden 1995, 219 fn. 16 notes, because if Ball was not broken out of Maidstone prison, it is virtually impossible for him to have even been present at Blackheath.

on June 11, well into the second week of the revolt.[34] The chronicles tell us that he delivered a sermon just before the rebels entered London, on June 12 – Corpus Christi – that was attended by many thousand people.[35] Interestingly, it is unclear what he was doing in the crucial days thereafter, when the movement controlled London and negotiated with the government. The chronicles rarely mention him and if they do, they simply assume that he was a leader in a general sense.[36] What is more, documentary evidence mentioning him is lacking altogether for this crucial time. After the collapse of the revolt on June 15 he apparently fled, but he was arrested, put on trial and executed on July 15 in St. Albans, with one of the chroniclers, Thomas Walsingham, as an eye-witness.

The fact that Ball had been a preacher for well over a decade makes it likely that he was well-known by "the common people, whom he always strove to entice to his sermons by pleasing words, and slander of the prelates",[37] (as Walsingham informs us) and that he was freed for this reason. Modern scholars have often made him out to be the movement's 'ideologist'.[38] If this is to imply that John Ball's preaching shaped the ideology of the 1381 rebels, this is a problematic proposition, but surely any treatment of the power of the priest in the movement still has to start with him.

There can be little doubt that John Ball was a prominent figure among the rebels and the date his arrest was ordered, April 26, 1381,[39] makes one suspect that in times of mounting popular disaffection Archbishop Simon Sudbury wanted to take a notorious troublemaker off the board. Ball had perhaps been preaching against the poll tax or against the commissions enforcing its collection.[40] This would have certainly fit his profile, but the order for his arrest – in as much as it makes reference to the content of his preaching – does not mention this. This, however, should come as no surprise, because it was his invective against the pope in Rome,[41] which provided the grounds for excommunication. Sudbury denies him the power of the priest, stating that he demands the arrest of John Ball, "who we do not consider a priest, but rather a schismatic and an apostate".[42] Another hint that Ball may have been directly involved in

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34 Eiden 1995, 204.

35 For the importance of Corpus Christi see Aston 1994, but also Justice 1994, 157 and passim. See also Cohn/Aiton 2013, 295.

36 Prescott 2004, 561.

37 Dobson 1983, 374. For the Latin original see Walsingham 2003, 544: "Nec defuerunt ei de communibus auditores, quos semper studuit per detracciones prelatoru, et placencia verba, allicere ad sermonem".

38 A term employed, albeit in passing, by Eiden 1995, 204: "beherrschende[r] 'Ideologe'".

39 Logan 1968, 64. For the full document see Conc. Brit. III, 152–153.

40 The commission for Essex was established on March 16, the one for Kent on May 3, so only the former can have been active prior to his arrest. See Dobson 1983, 122.

41 As opposed to the one in Avignon, presumably.

42 Conc. Brit. III, 152 "Johannem Balle, quem non presbyterum, sed potius schismaticum et apostaticum reputamus."

the organization of the resistance in Essex is Walsingham's claim that Ball had predicted that he would be freed.[43]

In light of this evidence, it is entirely possible, even likely, that John Ball was informed about, or even part of, early organizational efforts against the poll tax. His role, however, must have been relatively minor, because otherwise it is hard to imagine that the sources, whose narrative this would fit perfectly, would not tell us so.[44] After all, they left out no chance to emphasize the rebels' incapability of organizing the movement without help. Moreover, in May, when the movement in Essex was preparing to face the commissions, Ball was almost certainly in prison. Perhaps even more tellingly, freeing him does not seem to have been a top priority for the rebels. If we accept that the revolt broke out in the last days of May, surely efforts to free the 'leading ideologist' of the movement would have taken place before June 11, when he was finally broken out of jail – along with all other prisoners.[45] The concrete evidence for Ball being something like the movements' ideologist amounts to very little, and is mostly conjecture. It seems just as likely that the rebels got Ball out of prison because he was a famous preacher whose theology fit into their worldview. Ball, sitting in jail, waiting to be released, appears more like an object of the movement's actions, than as its guiding light.

But what if John Ball had a significant effect on the rebels' ideology after his escape? This, too, does not seem likely, judged by the only two actions that we know he carried out on the rebels behalf in the four days that separate him regaining his freedom and him fleeing London after the movement's collapse. For one thing, we know that he preached a well-attended sermon at Blackheath just outside of London on the day after his release.[46] In it, he almost certainly developed a theological reasoning for the rebels' actions. The chroniclers' renditions of Ball's sermon are extremely powerful, albeit to modern ears in quite the opposite way than their authors intended.[47] When Walsingham reports that Ball opened with the vernacular proverb: "When Adam delved, and Eve span/ Who was then a gentleman?" he is sure to command our sympathies, but such sentiments, to the chronicler, were a "self-evident absurdity".[48]

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43 Walsingham 2003, 544–546.

44 Tellingly Walsingham (= Dobson 1983, 374) says that Ball "instructed the people that tithes ought not to be paid and that tithes and offering ought to be withheld", but mentions nothing of taxes.

45 In a similar vein Prescott 2004, 560. Barker 2014, 212–213 does not buy into this hypothesis and maintains that Ball was not freed in Maidstone. The jailbreak there, she argues, was unrelated. She does not, however, contest, the extremely late date of June 11, if anything her account demotes Ball's role even further.

46 Barker 2014, 213–216 even maintains that the whole sermon is an invention of Thomas Walsingham and never actually took place, at least not at Blackheath.

47 Cf. Dobson 1983, 369: "Above all, the famous sermon which Froissart put into the mouth of John Ball has had an effect on his modern readers quite the opposite of what the author can have intended. As translated by Berners, Ball's sermon becomes the most moving plea for social equality in the history of the English language."

48 Strohm 1992, 40.

It is debatable if they are more or less faithful to Balls' social and religious thought or a mere representation of the chroniclers' own fears about the subversive potential of Christian religion.[49] I tend towards the former,[50] but however that may be, it bears remembering that the people John Ball preached for had already gone through the considerable trouble of being on the road for several days to march to London and mobilize for the movement at an enormous personal risk. It is implausible to assume that only now, after the fact, they received a structured reasoning for this behavior.[51] Unless we assume some kind of mass hypnosis, the people who listened to Ball's sermon had already made up their minds without one. For them, at least at this point in time, Ball did not *create* an ideology, but *confirm* beliefs they already held.

The other thing we can be fairly certain John Ball did, was writing messages for the movement, poems, to be precise. They have become well known under the name 'John Ball's letters'.[52] One of them was used as evidence in his trial, "found in the sleeve of a man who was to be hanged for taking part in the rebellion"[53] and was copied by Thomas Walsingham, who then continues:

> John Ball confessed that he had written this letter, that he had sent it to the commons, and admitted many other things.[54]

We know that sending this kind of letters must have been a common practice among the rebels, because another chronicler, Henry Knighton, writing shortly after the events, copied five different but stylistically very similar ones, apparently without quite knowing what to make of them.[55] Two of these also explicitly purport to be written by John Ball, one representative example reads as follows:

> John Ball greets you all well and would have you know that he has rung your bell
> Now for right and might, and will and skill, and God speed all.
> Now is the time: Lady help Jesus, thy Son, and thy Son his Father,

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49 Arnold 2009, 152–153 provides a list of examples that can probably be added to.

50 A point made by Freedman 1999, 267: "Of course the chroniclers were aghast at the danger to order and hierarchy, but they did not live in a world completely deaf to the plaintive voice of those under them. Their reports depict this voice in stylized terms, yet authentic details are revealed through chinks in what might otherwise seem an effective hegemonic discourse".

51 In a similar vein John Arnold writes about the young shepherd Hans Behem who preached unlicensed radical sermons about equality to thousands of German pilgrims in the little village of Niklashausen, near Würzburg a century later: "Behem was always, to some large degree, the creation of his audience: those who flocked from southern Germany came to the Tauber valley principally because of their own projected expectations and hopes." Arnold 2009, 155.

52 Although it is possible, that he may not have actually authored all of them, see Prescott 2004.

53 Walsingham 2003, 549.

54 Walsingham 2003, 549.

55 For an introduction see Justice 1994, 13–66.

to make a good end, in the name of the Trinity, to that which is begun.
Amen, amen, for love, amen.[56]

These letters puzzled not only the chroniclers – Walsingham observed that they were "full of riddles"[57] – but scholars debated them for a long time, too.[58] Steven Justice probably solved the mystery when he argued that these letters were intended to be used as broadsides and that they were meant to be read out loud in public, for instance in front of the parish church.[59] It is uncertain, whether John Ball wrote the letters that are given in a different name.[60] But even if he did, the rebels then copied and circulated them among themselves and what is immediately obvious – and more important to the point under consideration here –, is that they cannot have been intended to convey any kind of ideology to people who were not already informed. Their content and language evoke popular vernacular sermons, and according to Justice we should think of them as "shorthand" for texts that were common knowledge among literate and illiterate people alike.[61] To give just one example, the rhyme of *"will"* and *"skill"*, used in the poem above, appears in the very beginning of the "most popular English poem of the Middle ages",[62] the *Prick of Conscience*, a didactic poem that had tremendous influence on 14th century vernacular sermons.[63] Rosell Hope Robbins was therefore right when he observed that John Ball, in his letters, turned omnipresent literary clichés about the sad state of affairs in the realm of England and about the reign of sin into a call to action by adding lines like "God do bote for nowe is time" ("God make the reckoning, for now is the time").[64] But this did not make him a "priestly theoretician" of the movement.[65] If the power of the priest was first and foremost preaching the word of God, it is almost as if by writing the letters the rebels were trying to put this power into a portable device, thus actually separating it from

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56 For the Middle English original see Knighton 1995, 222:

Ion Balle gretyþ ȝow wele alle and doþ ȝow to understande, he haþ rungen oure belle.
Nowe ryȝt and myȝt, wylle and skylle. God spede every y dele.
Noew is tyme lady helpe to Iesu þi sone, and þi sone to his fadur,
to make a gode ende, in þe name of þe Trinite, of þat is begunne.
Amen, Amen, pur charite, Amen.

57 Walsingham 2003, 548: "Aingmatibus plenam".
58 Maddicott 1986, 138 links them to a tradition of "poems of social protest in Early Fourteenth-Century England".
59 Justice 1994, 28–30.
60 Prescott 2004.
61 Justice 1994, 13–66.
62 Lewis 1998.
63 "All thing he ordaynd aftir is wille/ in sere kyndes, for certayn skylle", Morris 2013, 4.
64 Knighton 1995, 222–223.
65 Robbins 1979, 37.

the priestly person. These activities by Ball and the other rebels show how important the priestly power of preaching was for the rising, but apparently not so much as a means to develop an ideology, but rather as a tool for mobilization.[66]

Although the chroniclers call him a leader, we never actually see John Ball in any clear position of 'leadership'.[67] After his sermon at Blackheath for the rest of the revolt we hear very little of him until his capture. The negotiations in 1381 with the royal government and the young king were carried out by laymen – perhaps not all by the famous Wat Tyler, as is often assumed, but definitely not by any member of the clergy. This is also borne out quite clearly in what we can reconstruct of their content. The concerns that were voiced seem to be political, economic, and legal, and – more importantly – so is the language. An anonymous Anglo-French prose chronicle preserves what is probably a copy of a list of the rebels' demands that circulated in the royal administration[68] – and it makes no mention of any religious rationale, even when proposing reforms to the religious institutions of England:

> He also asked that the goods of Holy Church should not remain in the hands of the religious, nor of parsons and vicars, and other churchmen; but that clergy already in possession should have a sufficient sustenance and the rest of their goods should be divided among the people of the parish. And he demanded that there should be only one bishop in England and only one prelate and all the lands and tenements of the possessioners should be taken from them and divided among the commons, only reserving for them a reasonable sustenance. And he demanded that there should be no more villeins in England and no serfdom nor villeinage but that all men should be free and of one condition.[69]

This is the language of petitions, not of theology. The program of the rebels was framed in religious language and imbued with priestly authority in John Ball's ser-

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66 Green 1992, 191 highlighted a tradition of complaint literature and popular preaching that "at the very least [. . .] may be said to have helped inflame deeply banked resentments in 1381". I would agree as long as the word "help" is understood in terms of mobilization, and not in terms of instigation.

67 Prescott 2004. Knighton even reports that after they broke him out of prison the rebels "carried him off with them (abire eum secum fecerunt), for they intended to make him their archbishop", a curious choice of words. See Knighton 1995, 210–211. Similarly, Thomas Walsingham writes that after the rebels freed him John Ball "followed them (eos secutus est)". Walsingham 2003, 546.

68 This is a speculation on my part, but the form and style resemble very much a list turned into prose text. For an overview of the Chronicle see Gransden 1983, 110–113, 164–168 and V.H. Galbraith's introduction in AC 1927, xiii–xlvi.

69 Dobson 164–165. For the Anglo-Norman original see AC 1927, 147: "et qe les biens de seint esglise ne deveroient estre en mayns des gentz de religione, ne des parsones et vikeers, ne autres de seint esglise, mes les avances averont lour sustenance esement et le remanent de les biens deveroient estre divides entre les parochiens; et nulle evesqe serroit en Engleterre for une, ne nulle prelate for une, et toutz les terres et tenementes des possessioners serroient pris de eux et partiez entre les comunes, salvant a eux lour resonable sustenance; et qe nulle nayf serroit en Engleterre, ne nulle servage ne nayfte, mes toutz estre free et de une condicione".

mons and letters, but this was a 'tactical' addition,[70] which was dropped in circumstances in which it would have been inappropriate. In late medieval England there was certainly no clear opposition between religion and politics, but this notwithstanding, suspecting a 'Christian egalitarianism' as laying at the core of the movement is only correct in the general sense that late medieval people considered all things only to be legitimate if they were in accordance with the law of God. But opinions like Owst's statement that "the preaching not merely of friars but of other orthodox churchmen of the day was ultimately responsible for the outbreak of the Peasants' Revolt"[71] probably stretch the meaning of the word 'responsible' too far. The rebels' demands and actions were not developed out of a theological construct that percolated downward from a radical faction of priests – there was no need for that. This, however, was the opinion of many contemporary observers.

Instigators: Jean Froissart's portrayal of John Ball

Jean Froissart was certainly the stylistically most colorful chronicler of his time, and his report of the events is as vivid as one of the many war-stories he relates from the Hundred Years' War. In 1381, however, he was not actually in England and he only returned there after he had finished his account of the revolt. He did have some well-informed sources who probably witnessed some of the events, but his report is still a better source for how the revolt was perceived by his aristocratic readership than for the actual events,[72] even though he corroborates much of what we are told by other sources. His report of the inception of the revolt attributes great importance to the power of the priest.

> [the villeins in southern England] said that they were too severely exploited and that at the beginning of the world there were no serfs, and none could be such, unless he committed treason against his lord, just as Lucifer did against God;[73] but such was not their rank, for they were neither angels nor spirits, but men formed in the same image as their lords – who kept them as beasts. This they could no longer endure and wanted to be treated equally, and if they were to plough or do any form of labour for their lords, they wanted payment for it. On previous occasions they had been persuaded to such thoughts by a mad priest from the county of Kent called John Ball, and for his mad words he had been thrown into the Archbishop of Canterbury's prison a good many times;

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70 Arnold 2009, 153.

71 Owst 1961, 304. For a recent affirmation of this statement, originally made in 1933, see Cohn/Aiton 2013, 296.

72 Ainsworth 1999, 56 makes the case that occasionally he also subverts the social "order he purports to uphold".

73 Note that Froissart, in having the rebels compare themselves to Lucifer, is ridiculing them subtly, because to his mind they were guilty of the same sin as the fallen angel, namely rebelling against their master. This allusion was likely not lost on his readers.

for on Sundays after mass, when the people were leaving the church, this John Ball had been in the habit of going to the lectern and preaching there, causing the people to gather around him.[74]

To Froissart's mind, John Ball was the man who gave the ideas to the people. He clearly would have found the label 'ideologist' quite fitting for the rebellious priest. The ideology on offer is, however, fairly secular – the speech Froissart puts into Ball's mouth contains few references to scripture except for the line "Why do they keep us in servitude? Do we not all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eve?",[75] which is likely a reference to the sermon of Blackheath. While other sources maintain that this sermon took place right before the rebels entered London,[76] and therefore long after the beginning of the rising, for Froissart Ball's preaching is what actually starts the entire movement. Froissart makes Ball's role as an instigator especially clear by also portraying him as the one who comes up with the plan for action:

> They have their ease in fine manor houses, while we have toil and labour, and the rain and wind in the fields, and from our exertions comes the means for them to maintain their estates. [. . .] Let us petition the king for he is young, and we will make him aware of our servitude and tell him that we would wish things to be otherwise or else we will find our own remedy. If we go to him directly and as a group, all manner of people who are called serfs and are kept in bondage will follow us in order to be liberated. When the king sees or hears us, he will provide a solution, peaceful or otherwise.[77]

Against the backdrop of the timeline we can construct with reasonable certainty from the other sources, Froissart's account here is obviously made out of whole cloth. John Ball did certainly not organize an uprising in the spring of 1381, as mentioned above, he was incarcerated during the time in question! But to Froissart, who was just as much a writer as he was a historian, and presumably to his mostly aristocratic readership, there was something intuitively and satisfyingly true about portraying a priest as the instigator and prime mover of a revolt. This reveals the ideological assumptions the chronicler and his audience shared, the exact assumptions that were threatened by the rising: That commoners were base peasants and thus rightly excluded from the political sphere.[78]

Perhaps surprisingly, Ball's radical sermon, as imagined by Froissart, is still a powerful piece of literature: A series of rhetorical questions aims at the very heart of the theory of the three estates that the elites tended to adhere to, a society neatly made up of those who worked, those who prayed and those who fought.[79] Even though the notion of equality advocated in the sermon must have been absurd to aris-

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74 The Online Froissart 2019, fol. 70 r.

75 The Online Froissart 2019, fol. 70 r.

76 Eiden 1995, 219.

77 The Online Froissart 2019, fol. 70 v.

78 Freedman 1999, 133–135 and passim.

79 For medieval criticisms of the society of orders, emerging in the thirteenth century and thereafter, see Töpfer 1994.

tocratic audiences, Ball's attack remains so literarily powerful that the literary effect Froissart achieves is to create the impression that this might make sense to many people.[80] What he wanted to impress upon his readers was that sermons, even absurd ones, could be dangerous and that the effects of this illicit preaching might only show once it was too late. After all, the organization of a revolt could be done in secret:

> Thus spoke John Ball, and other such words, as he was accustomed to doing in the villages every Sunday after mass, which meant that many common people heard him. Some of them who had nothing but evil intentions said, "He speaks the truth!" and, **murmuring and conferring** among themselves (murmuroyent et recordoyend l'un a l'autre) as they walked **in the fields or on the roads** together from one village to another, or in their homes, they said, "John Ball speaks of such things and what he says is true.[81]

The language here strongly evokes images of conspiracies, plotted "in the fields" where the peasants were among themselves. Froissart elegantly captures the sense of paranoia that must have pervaded the landholding elite after a rising that must have come unexpected to many. The solution to this problem, however, was obvious to the chronicler:

> The archbishop of Canterbury, who was informed of this, had John Ball arrested and put in prison for two or three months as punishment. It would have been better if he had been sentenced to life imprisonment or put to death the first time, rather than what he did with him, for it was his wish to release him, as he could not find it in his conscience to have him executed. When John was out of the archbishop's prison he continued in his folly just as before.[82]

To Jean Froissart the power of the priest needed to be controlled, because if those who wielded it questioned the existing social hierarchy it could cause revolts and lead to anarchy. The Archbishop, by not controlling the actions of John Ball, had neglected his duties and thus allowed a catastrophe to happen.

The function of the priest as instigator in Froissart's account is twofold: It serves as a powerful warning to his elite audience but it also re-affirms the very answer that the ruling elites would have given to Ball's provocative questions about the justification of their dominance: Namely that commoners were naturally incapable of rational thought and needed leadership from others. Froissart sneeringly comments about those who marched to London:

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80 Perhaps a good comparison to the effect intended by Froissart is Leo Löwenthal's iconic warning of the allure of fascism, condensed into a fictitious speech called "what the agitator says" ("Was der Agitator meint"). Its shocking effect is achieved because Löwenthal's invented speech masterfully conveys under which material circumstances fascist rhetoric might actually make psychological sense to somebody. I would suggest that Froissart is doing something very similar here. Löwenthal 1990, 183–184.

81 The Online Froissart 2019, fol. 70 v.

82 The Online Froissart 2019, fol. 70 v.

> Yet the truth is that at least three quarters of these people did not know what they wanted or who they were looking for, but were simply following each other like brute beasts.[83]

The overblown role of John Ball is not unique to Froissart's chronicle. As R.B. Dobson has observed:

> Few features of the early stream of commentary on the great revolt of 1381 are more impressive than the unanimity with which the chroniclers stress the importance of the role played by the foolish priest of Kent. Froissart, Walsingham and Knighton, writers of very different temperaments and interests, all agreed in seeing John Ball as the eminence grise of the Peasants' Revolt.[84]

All the chronicles downplay the amount of planning and organization that must have been a prerequisite for the movement's enormously successful mobilization – sometimes illogically while simultaneously stoking fears of conspiracies. In the *Anonimalle Chronicle* the rebels flee into the woods after attacking the commission in Brentwood and only come out when they are half-starved. Organizing the revolt is not their choice, but their last resort. And again, it is John Ball who 'counsels' them.[85]

The importance attributed to John Ball in the chronicles, I would argue, is primarily a result of the ideological bias that seeks to present the peasants as antithetical to the sphere of politics and thereby implicitly refutes the entire basis on which the movement rested, namely their capability of self-organization.[86]

This distortion was exacerbated by fears of heresy that gripped many who were writing from positions within the church. Walsingham claims that John Ball was a follower of John Wyclif, the famous theologian from Oxford, who at the time questioned central tenets of the catholic church – ironically Wyclif was under the protection of the rebels' mortal enemy, the Duke of Lancaster. Henry Knighton says that Wyclif at least paved the way for John Ball.[87] Wyclif was forced to denounce the uprising later and a forged confession of John Ball was designed to portray him as an ardent student of Wyclif's teachings.[88] The belief in the 'power of the priest' who preaches falseness evidently was not only a rhetorical strategy to the elites: To them the link between heresy and popular insurrection was strong post-1381.[89]

The idea that the power of the priest could sow discord in a society that depended on the harmony of the three orders was common at the time. But this betrays more of the ideological assumptions of the chroniclers than constituting a faithful documenta-

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83 The Online Froissart 2019, fol. 71r.

84 Dobson 1983, 372.

85 Namely to get rid of most of the clergy: "En quell temps les communes avoient a lour conseil une chaplain de male part, sire Johan Balle par noune, le quel sire Johan les conseulla de defair toutz les seignurs et lercevesqes et evesqes, abbes et priours [. . .]." AC 1927, 137.

86 Something the movement advocated quite forcefully, see below.

87 Knighton 1995, 242.

88 The *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, see Dobson 1983, 376–378.

89 Cohn/Aiton 2013, 296–297.

tion of the organizational efforts of priests that started the rising. Thomas Brinton, himself the most famous preacher in England at the time, formulated the fear of the susceptibility of commoners to the influence of the power of the priests in one of his sermons:

> the lower classes rather listen to the shouts of those who teach errors than to true preachers.[90]

This threatened the divinely ordained order, which he elsewhere describes as follows:

> Four estates were created by God, along with their tasks: First the prelates and ecclesiasts to praise God and for the guidance of the souls. Secondly, the kings and princes and other temporal lords to defend the land and for the guidance of the bodies. Thirdly, the honest merchants to govern for the common good. Fourthly, the faithful workers and artisans, who diligently undertake what they are born to, because man is born to labor.[91]

Here Brinton expands the traditional model of the three estates in order to be able adapt it to the political realities of his time, in which some non-noble members of the laity were represented in the parliaments, namely the rich urban oligarchs, while others remained unrepresented and forced to toil for their betters. Men like Thomas Brinton believed that 'patient poverty' was a great virtue and they abhorred unrest like the one started by the movement of 1381.[92] This makes the role he played – or rather: the one he was assigned – in the rising all the more interesting.

Stage-props: Thomas Brinton's encounter with the rebels

Herbert Eiden has found an indictment brought forward before the commission that was tasked with the legal repression of the revolt in Kent after the rising had collapsed. It states that

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90 Devlin 1954, 362 (= Sermon 80): "Immo mediocres et populares cicius audiunt clamores doencium errores quam veros predicatores". See also Wenzel 2005, 49.

91 Devlin 1954, 259–260 (= Sermon 56)*:* „Quattuor genera hominum a Deo ordinantur et eorum labores. Primo prelati et ecclesiastici ad laudandum Deum et ad regimen animarum. Secundo reges et principes et alii domini temporales ad defendendum terram et ad regimen corporum. Tercio fideles mercatores pro utilitate rei publice gubernanda. Quarto fideles operarii et laboratores, qui illud impent diligenter ad quod natu sunt, quia homo nascitur ad laborem." My translation. Brinton makes this point rather in passing, what he is actually getting at in this sermon is that there is a fifth estate created by the devil, the usurers (Devlin 1954, 260).

92 Rigby 2007, 28. This was common: On Piers Plowman, an enormously influential work of contemporary literature, see Knight 2000, 120.

> Richard Bocher from Rochester on the Wednesday before the feast of Corpus Christi [= June 12], between the village Deptford and the city of London harassed the Bishop of Rochester and, against the peace, restrained his horse.[93]

Nobody was hurt and Brinton got away unharmed. This minor incident corroborates a seemingly equally minor passage that appears in only one of the chronicle reports, written by a Franciscan in Canterbury around the year 1400.

> Jack Straw and Thomas Melro, returning to the field called Blackheath, and called on the bishop of Rochester to meet them. And when the bishop asked them, who was the leader who would speak to him, a tiler from Essex [almost certainly a reference to Wat Tyler_VG], a man of great eloquence, came forward and recounted to the bishop the many grievances of the ordinary people on account of the taxes and oppressions of the great, asking him to explain this to the king; their intention, so he said, was to return to their homes once a suitable remedy was provided.[94]

The chronicle continues with a curious jump to a later negotiation with the king, which Brinton – or any of the other persons involved here, for that matter – had nothing to do with. This is, however, in keeping with its clumsy overall writing style. In the paragraph quoted above we can almost see the chronicler, writing two decades after the events, desperately trying to string disparate bits of information into a coherent narrative. He fails to make sense of it, but what emerges quite clearly is that the rebels wanted Brinton to speak for them and that this has something to do with Blackheath – the place where John Ball was said to have delivered his sermon based on Adam and Eve the next day, June 12, the feast of Corpus Christi. Why? Possibly because Brinton was famous for sermons like the following, which he had preached to a large crowd at a procession in honor of the coronation of Richard II in 1377:

> For God from the beginning did not create one man of gold from whom sprang the rich and also the noble, and another of clay from whom are descended the poor and ragged because with a certain spade Adam dug the earth.[95]

This sermon became popular – Thomas Walsingham reports it in general terms in his narrative of the coronation.[96] The notion that Adam and Eve signified that there should be no other distinction between people than the one between man and woman was a

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93 "Ricardus Bocher de Rouchestre die Mercurii proxima ante festum Corporis Christi inter villam de Depeford et civitatem Londini insultum fecit Episcopo Roffensi et refrenavit equum suum contra pacem." (my translation). The Latin original cited here is printed in Eiden 1995, 220.

94 Continuatio Eulogii 2019, 39, for the Latin original see Continuatio Eulogii 2019, 38.

95 Devlin 1954, xxvii. The sermon was obviously delivered in English, otherwise it would have had very little effect. What survives, however, are Brinton's notes in Latin. We do not know what exactly he said (and even less, what people heard). Cf. Rigby 1995, 311.

96 Walsingham 2003, 154: Brinton exhorted the people and the lords to be peaceful because discord in society displeased God. The lords should not agree to taxation without a reason: "In progressu autem processionis concionatus est ad populum Episcopus Roffensis, hortans ut dissensiones set discordae, ortae et diu continuatae, inter plebem et Dominos, sopirentur, probans per multa argument huiuscemodi dissensiones Deo plurimum displicere. Hortatus est insuper Dominos, ne tantis de cetero sine causa taxationibus populum apporiarent." Brinton, according to Walsingham, went on to say that

commonplace at the time, albeit one that sat uncomfortably with the established order.[97] Therefore John Ball's sermon on the same theme was not necessarily inspired by Brinton,[98] even if we do not assume that Walsingham made up the entire thing.[99] It is worth noting, however, that John Ball and Thomas Brinton were two preachers who lived in close proximity to each other for many years.[100] What is more, if we believe the indictment, we have to assume that Richard Bocher, hailing from Rochester, knew what the bishop of his hometown was preaching on a regular basis. When he grabbed the reins of his horse, we may suspect that he did not want him to speak with the king on the rebels behalf – nothing in their later behavior suggests that they were about letting only priests do this – but rather to deliver the sermon for Corpus Christi at Blackheath the next day.

Who was Thomas Brinton? What made him so attractive to the rebels? Brinton was a Benedictine monk of humble origins,[101] who had worked his way up in the church hierarchy to become the Bishop of Rochester – his diocese would have been one of the centers of the revolt. In his sermons he habitually lamented the vices of the people but especially of the rich. At the procession for Richard's coronation he also criticized the way in which taxes were levied:

> I preach against the injustice of certain rich men who show less compassion towards the poor than do the Jews or Saracens. The leaders of the Jews collect from the rich that the poor may be fed. The princes of the Christians indeed collect from the poor that the rich may be supported in their pride. [. . .] Even the Saracens are scandalized because we treat so unmercifully the poor whom we call the servants of Christ.[102]

It is not hard to see what must have motivated Richard Bocher to approach Brinton: Clerics of the time never tired of denouncing the abuses of the rich and the powerful, so much so, that these laments had become sufficiently well-known clichés for the broadsides (i.e. 'John Ball's letters'). These slips of parchment or paper worked as shorthand for a predominantly illiterate audience, whose oral culture is mostly lost to us, but who were apparently familiar with these tropes and ideas. Mostly through listening to sermons, we may suspect. This goes to illustrate John Arnold's point that orthodox Christianity offered a lot of material that could be used to question the

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if there was a rational reason for taxation, everyone should do what needed to be done, "patiently, without complaint or hint of discord." Walsingham 2003, 155.

97 But see Devlin 1954, 195. The proverb „when adam delfe and eve span, whare was than the pride of man" dates back to c. 1340. Contrary to Töpfer's speculation (see Töpfer 1994, 350–351) that Ball's turning the rhyme into a call for revolution depended on the context, it was also not in itself new in 1381, cf. Friedman 1974 and Arnold 2009, 152.

98 Although Devlin 1954, 196 suspected as much and I concur.

99 Unlikely: see Justice 1994, 101–103.

100 Owst 1933, 291.

101 Devlin 1954, xvii remarks that it is noteworthy that Brinton seems to have taken the ideal of poverty seriously: We can tell from his will that he died fairly poor in comparison to other church prelates.

102 Devlin 1954, xxvii for the Latin version see Devlin 1954, 196.

existing social order without crossing the line into heresy.[103] In the 1370s and 1380s Thomas Brinton was certainly the most famous of the many priests criticizing the ruling elite's sins, particularly in and around his diocese.

It is worth noting that while the rebels tried to win Brinton over, they never even mention once his theological adversary, the – arguably – much more radical John Wyclif, whose teachings were later blamed for the revolt. While the relationship between the movement of 1381 and Wyclif is debatable, but tenuous at best,[104] the rebels' attempt at recruiting Brinton, a highly regarded prelate, suggests autonomy on behalf of the insurgents and demonstrates their capability of making rational, tactical decisions – they were not merely being preached at, they were consciously selecting the preachers whose sermons they wanted to hear and who they believed would be helpful to their mobilizing efforts.

Brinton's critique was, however, essentially moralistic and therefore conservative in its outlook.[105] His moral criticism was inoculated against its broader social implications by the belief that all hierarchies were divinely ordained and therefore any rebellion against them meant to commit the deadly sin of pride for questioning God's will.[106] The poor, though closer to Christ, were supposed to endure their poverty and subjugation with patience.[107] Consequently, Brinton did not only *not* take the rebels' side, but even took part in one of the commissions that persecuted them legally in the uprising's aftermath. Months and years later he still preached against the insurgents, scolding them for murdering an archbishop and proclaiming them to be beyond savior.[108] So why should the rebels have tried to convince Brinton? Was it merely naivety on the part of Richard Bocher or the rebels more generally, a terrible miscalculation? This would certainly fit with the chroniclers' views of their strategic capabilities.

There is, however, an argument to be made that the rebels had a very rational reason to try to get Brinton to preach at Blackheath on the feast of Corpus Christi, even if they did not harbor any illusions about his likely stance on their movement and it tells us much about how we should interpret the role the power of the priest played from their perspective and with regard to their strategy of mobilization. On the one hand it is worth pointing out that the documentary evidence reports some kind of altercation, albeit a minor one. At least the indictment suggests some kind of

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103 Arnold 2009, 152.

104 Justice 2007.

105 Eiden 1995, 220. But see Rigby 1995, 313 who argues that this label makes little sense for medieval preachers, because they were sincere in condemning the status quo, not defending it, as the term 'conservative' might be taken to mean.

106 Rigby 2007, 28.

107 See Rigby 1995, 313–314 and Rigby 2007, 28.

108 Devlin 1954, 454–458 (= Sermon 99).

attempt to coerce the bishop.[109] More importantly, however, what Thomas Brinton was arguably most famous for had a direct connection to the political logic that undergirded their mobilization, a connection that has mostly been underestimated or overlooked: A main reason for Brinton's fame was not the sermon at Richard's coronation, but his role in parliament, especially during a long stand-off in 1376 that became famous under the name 'Good Parliament'.

It took place at the very end of the reign of Edward III, when the revered war-hero had become senile and the government was under the influence of his brother, the Duke of Lancaster and – many critics thought – his mistress, Alice Perrers.[110] The confrontation was sparked by the government's demand for a subsidy and constitutes a well-known milestone in the development of the English parliament. It saw the first time the Commons – i.e. the rich burghers and those members of the gentry who did not receive an individual summon, as did the 'Peers', the great magnates of the realm – acted as an independent body. It was also the first time they elected a 'speaker', Sir Peter de la Mare.

The many parallels between the movement of 1381 and this organized rebellion of the rural gentry and urban oligarchies only a few years earlier are quite striking, but have so far only been commented on briefly.[111] Both started out by refusing taxation and quickly morphed into movements that attacked royal advisers in a crusade against a perceived reign of corruption surrounding the king – all while constantly proclaiming their loyalty to his person. If the Good Parliament and the movement of 1381 are connected by scholars at all, it is usually by noting in passing the similarities in the rhetoric that was employed, which centered on concepts of virtue and corruption.[112] The mainstream interpretation is that both movements are manifestations of a pervasive sense of demise and frustration with the status quo in two different strata of English society. This is correct, of course, but there is more to it: It is possible to interpret the relationship between the two events in a more causal manner. I would contend that the move-

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109 Froissart also reports that the rebels recruited – by force – Sir John Newton (of Rochester!) to "come with [them] and be [their] commander-in-chief, and do [their] bidding" and that this was done in other counties as well. This may be interpreted as an attempt at recruiting knights of the shire as MPs although this may be too far-fetched. The Online Froissart 2019, fol. 71v.

110 The standard monograph is Holmes 1975.

111 Dodd 2006, 41 "Although the rebels' solutions to their grievances were often extreme and unconstitutional (as one would expect in a rebellion), a remarkable number of their complaints paralleled precisely the themes which had been raised in parliament over the previous decade, and especially in the Good Parliament of 1376 the extent of concurrence is truly remarkable, and is a point that has been surprisingly overlooked in modern scholarship".

112 Fletcher 2010.

ment of 1381 drew quite consciously on the 'script'[113] that was provided by the aristo-cratic-bourgeois alliance of 1376.[114]

The well-informed French *Anonimalle Chronicle* famously reports the movement's 'watchword':

> And the said commons had a watchword in English among themselves, 'With whom haldes yow?', to which the reply was, 'Wyth kynge Richarde and with the trew communes'; and those who did not know how to reply or would not do so were beheaded and put to death.[115]

This should perhaps be taken more literally than previously thought, namely as a reference to the body of the Commons in Parliament. Perhaps Gwilym Dodd has it backwards when he writes: "There were, of course, some serious and irreconcilable divergences between the rebels and Commons – not least their respective views on the issue of labour and taxation".[116] After all, at a closer look, they are rather the reverse side of the same coin: While the Commons in Parliament demanded a strict enforcement of the wage caps that had been introduced as a response to the labor shortage wrought by the Black Death of 1349, the rebels in 1381 demanded freedom of contracts and a cap on rents.

Of course, Dodd is right to point out that the rebels cannot possibly have thought that their behavior was legal,[117] but this is somewhat beside the point, which is rather that the 'Good Parliament' provided them with a sense of what the political project they were participating in actually was, enabling collective action. Quite similar to the letters attributed to John Ball, it was a shorthand for the discursive logic they wanted their political project to be located in. That the chroniclers deliberately misunderstand their actions and refuse to entertain the possibility of something like a broader logic behind the rising has been shown by Paul Strohm and Steven Justice.[118] This explains quite satisfactorily the absence of any direct mention of this political argument on the part of the rebels by the chroniclers.[119]

If I am right about the core movement of Kent and Essex being mobilized within a framework that essentially consisted of hijacking the political logic that had informed the 'Good Parliament' a few years earlier, the little episode with Brinton falls into place. Brinton had become famous with a sermon he delivered probably on May 18, 1376

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113 A term borrowed from Charles Tilly 2008, xi.

114 I will develop this argument in more detail in my dissertation on the strategies of mobilization of large-scale popular movements in late medieval Germany and England.

115 Dobson 1983, 130. For the Anglo-Norman original see AC, 1927, 139: "Et les ditz communes avoient entre eux une wache worde en Engleys, 'With whom haldes yow?' et le respouns fuist, 'Wyth kynge Richarde and wyth the trew communes': et ceux qe ne savoient ne vodroient respondre, furont decolles et mys a la mort".

116 Dodd 2006, 43.

117 Dodd 2006, 44.

118 Strohm 1992, 36–42 and Justice 1994 passim.

119 Bush 1999 and Watts 2015.

while the 'Good Parliament' was in session. He took as his theme James 1:25, "the doer of the work shall be blessed" and the sermon can indeed only be described as a call to action.

> Now, among the institutions that were established in England in the past, one practice of great renown and excellence is still in use: the Lords and Commons are called together to Parliament to discuss and legislate for the good state of the country. But of what use is it to discuss affairs in Parliament and publicly denounce transgressors of the law, if such denunciation is not followed by due correction? Laws are worthless unless they are correctly enforced. But is it not known, and almost everywhere publicly acknowledged, that it is not people who incline to virtue but those who lead vicious and scandalous lives who have long had the chief share in the government of this kingdom? We universally grumble and protest against the rule of such men, yet we do not have the courage to speak the truth as to the proper remedy.[120]

The ideological proximity to the rebels is self-evident, but what was even more desirable from their perspective was the public demonstration of having Thomas Brinton preach in a similar fashion on Corpus Christi, before they confronted the king and the government. It would have been a symbol hard to misinterpret for anyone: The political program of cleansing the royal court had been taken up by the *'true Commons'* ("*trewe communes*") – a name that implied that they replaced the false ones. After all, "falsness reigns in every flock"[121] as they proclaimed in one of their surviving letters.[122] The power of the priest, in this instance, was a means to play political theater, and it is quite possible that the Kentish rebels saw in the famous bishop of Rochester not so much an actor, but a mere stage-prop. In any event, it was not at all naive of them to try to cast him for the part.

In one notorious episode of the rising, a little further north in Bury St. Edmunds (Suffolk),[123] the rebels took this approach of using a priest as a stage-prop quite literally: The chief Justice of the king's bench, John Cavendish, after he had been hounded for days, was decapitated and his head propped up on a spike.[124] After the prior of the local abbey, John de Cambridge, had also been beheaded, a grotesque play unfolded at the town's pillory:

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120 Wenzel 2008, 244.

121 Knighton 1995, 222–223.

122 Bishop Brinton, just a year before the revolt, was also part of a commission with the following appointment: "March 2 Archbishop of York, Bishops of Winchester, Hereford, **Rochester**, Earl of Arundel, and others appointed to a commission upon complaint of the kings subject in the present parliament that the commons of the realm have fallen into utter destitution by reason of the multiplied payments of tenths fifteenths and other subsidies and from other causes. They are to enquire into the condition of the realm, the conduct of the king's officers and ministers, the state of his revenues, the fees paid to the king's officers at the beginning of the late reign, the annuities granted, the expenses of the household etc. and report to the king and council thereon." Cal.Pat. Rolls, 3 R II, 459. My emphasis. See also Cohn/Aiton 2013, 171.

123 The leader of the rebels there, John Wrawe, was also a priest from Essex.

124 Eiden 2001, 216. Steven Justice has speculated that the rebels' script for their actions was derived from vernacular passion plays. See Justice 2007.

> They turned the prior's head towards the head of the judge, than to his ear, as if asking for ad-
> vice, than to his mouth, as if demonstrating friendship, wanting to mock the friendship and ad-
> vice which the two had had between themselves all their lives.[125]

This ghastly show makes use of a priest as stage-prop, but he needed to be killed first.[126] This goes to show that the idea of using the power of the priest for political theater meant that the rebels often had to deprive the priests of their agency to use their power. Perhaps the rebels' attitude towards priests is condensed in the indict-ment of a John Shirle of Nottinghamshire, who, sitting in a tavern after the rising had been crushed, lamented the death of John Ball, who he said:

> had been condemned to death falsely, unjustly and for envy [. . .] because he was a true and
> worthy man, prophesying things **useful** to the commons of the kingdom.[127]

Maybe the fact that he was talking about John Ball in terms of usefulness is telling us something. But so should the fact that on July 16 Shirle was hanged for this very statement.

Conclusion

In late 14th century England, the power of the priest could be the voice of virtue and legitimacy in political interactions.[128] This authority could be harnessed by popular movements to make a political point and establish themselves in the discourse of the politics of virtue. This is certainly the reason for John Ball's prominent role. But as Thomas Brinton shows us, these political resources had a will of their own and were usually tied to an institution that was primarily concerned with upholding authority – the church.

Bishop Brinton preached extensively against the rebels after the revolt had con-cluded, taking them to task for attacking the natural order of authority in general, but more specifically for killing England's highest ranking priest, Archbishop Simon Sud-bury. Brinton likened the rebels to the Jews, who he says had no sense of guilt when they witnessed the crucifixion of Christ.[129] The power of the priest, which the rebels

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125 Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey 1896, 127. "Capitibus igitur illudentes, caput prioris applicue-runt ad caput justiciarii [i.e. Cavendish's], nunc at auriculam, quasi consilium postulendo, nunc ad os ejus, quasi amicitias ostendendo, volentes pro hoc eis improperare de amicitiis et consiliis quae inter se invicem vita comite habuerunt." For Walsingham's version see Walsingham 2003, 482. Cf. Justice 2007, 213–215.

126 For background concerning the episode see Rigby 1995, 166–169 and Eiden 2001.

127 Dobson 1982, xxviii.

128 Which is not to say that there was no permanent strand of anti-clericalism.

129 Devlin 1954, 457 (= Sermon 99): Disobedience required open confession: "Quantum ad secundum. Si anima peccatrix recesserit a gremio ecclesie per inobedienciam, oportet quod erumpat et clamet

had planned to use for their mobilization, was now turned against them in Brinton's famously powerful sermons: Rebellion was always wrong for two reasons, Brinton said: For one thing, did the Bible not say

> Slaves, submit yourselves to your masters with all respect, not only to those who are good and considerate, but also to those who are harsh?[130]

Nevertheless, the second reason Brinton gave suggests clearly that he had understood the parliamentary script of the rebels quite well and aimed to undermine it, now that the elites were back in control: "Secondly, servants made lords do not know how to govern".[131]

The power of the priest, as far as it played a role in the rising of 1381, cannot be reduced to one of the three concepts of priests as ideologists, instigators or stage-props. All these approaches suffer from denying agency, either to the rebels or to the priests. The rebels of 1381 were not the recipients of a radical ideology invented by clerics like John Wyclif or John Ball, let alone did the latter's personal theology become their world-view. Nor did the priests assume leadership of simple-minded peasants, instructing them with respect to sensible strategies, as Froissart would have us believe. This does not mean that by using the capabilities of priests in their ranks, or listening to the many sermons lamenting the state of the realm, the people who rose up in 1381 did not gain access to thoughts and ideas they otherwise would not have had and that the religious discourses were merely ornaments on what was a fundamentally secular ideology, quite the contrary: It is very likely that their interaction with ideas from outside their social world influenced them considerably, but the notion that it was priests who developed the ideas and the rebels just carried them out clearly needs to be rejected in favor of a more interactional model. Popular movements and priests were independent interlocutors vying for control over what the power of the priest would be used for.

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per humilem confessionem. Que quidem confessio debet esse voluntaria sine coactione, nuda et aperta sine celacione, integra sine divisione, gestina sine dilacione. Non quod peccator occultet peccatum ut Caym. Non quod excuset ut Adam, sed pocious se accuset clamans cum David, Ego sum qui peccavi". We can see Brinton working in an implicit refutation of one of the rebels' arguments in mentioning the biblical Adam in this context. Afterwards he cuts to the chase: "Et hoc est contra eos, qui licet ecclesie et proximo manifestas iniurias intulerunt sine causa, ecclesias encendendo, personas ecclesiasticas et precipue patrem suum archiepiscopum crudeliter occidendo, proximas forte innocentes decapitando, eorum bona depredando, et domos subuertende, et tamen dicunt se non habe conscienciam super isto. Et es racio eorundem. Quia cum quilibet iudicabitur secundum suam consciencam, et sua consciencia eos non arguit in presenti, igutur nec infideles iudicarentur de infidelitate, nec Iudei de Christi crucifixione, quia non habuerunt conscienciam."

130 1 Peter 2:18. For Brinton's quotation see Devlin 1954, 458 (= Sermon 99).
131 Devlin 1954, 458 (= Sermon 99): "Secundo servi facti domini nescierunt gubernare ut patuit per eorum facta".

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Etka Liebowitz

Gender, Politics and Religion in Antiquity: The Challenge of the Reign of Queen Alexandra

Abstract: The Hasmonean dynasty in Judaea (143/2–63 BC) was based upon theocratic rule – every Hasmonean king also served as the high priest. This interplay of politics and religion was challenged when for the first time a woman, queen Shelamzion Alexandra, inherited the throne upon the death of her husband, Alexander Jannaeus, in 76 BC. Such a transfer of power from a male to a female ruler ran counter tot he traditional (male) political and religious structure in Judaea since, according tot he Bible, the priesthood was limited to males (Numbers 8:19). Queen Alexandra's ascent to the throne therefore created a new political situation in Judaea – the separation of religious and political authority.

A variety of sources – including the writings of Josephus, Qumran documents, rabbinic literature, and Hellenistic historiographic texts – may provide an answer the intriguing question of how queen Alexandra managed to reign independently and successfully for nine years in a patriarchal society, despite the limitations imposed upon her by religious law.

Keywords: Hasmoneans, Alexandra, rabbinic literature, Judaea, Hellenistic queens

The interaction of religion and politics has characterized ancient Israel from its inception as a political entity in the 11th century BC until the end of its political structure in 70 AD.[1] Interaction between these two realms often involved hostility. In fact, a major clash involving religion and politics in Judaea occurred in 167 BC. In reaction to the prohibition of the Temple cult, the Hasmonean family led a revolt of the Jewish people against the Seleucid ruler of Judaea, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, in order to achieve freedom of religion and the restoration of Mosaic law. In 164 BC the Hasmoneans succeeded in liberating Jerusalem and the Temple. This religious struggle evolved into a war for political independence. The revolt continued until 143/2 BC when Simon the

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1 Starting with the biblical story of the anointment of the first king, Saul (usually dated c. 11th c. BC) by the prophet Samuel (I Sam 10:1), the political-religious interplay was between kings and prophets. On the historicity of the biblical story of the Saul dynasty and its time period, see Finkelstein 2006, 171–188. For a general classical study on this topic, see Frankfort 1948. For more contemporary studies, see Talmon 1986; Belnkinsopp 1996. This interplay changed in the middle of the fifth century BC with the end of the age of prophecy. Thereafter the high priest replaced the prophet and he then played a central religious and political role. For an overview of the postbiblical period, see Bickerman 1970.

Hasmonean achieved independence from the Seleucids and became the first ruler/eth-narch and simultaneously the high priest of the Hasmonean dynasty.

The Hasmonean dynasty in Judaea (143/2–63 BC) was based upon theocratic rule – every Hasmonean king also served as the high priest. Following three more male rulers of the Hasmonean dynasty after Simon, who also functioned both as the ruler/king and high priest, queen Shelamzion Alexandra[2] inherited the throne upon the death of her husband, king Alexander Jannaeus in 76 BC. She ruled for nine years, ushering in a period of peace and prosperity, until her peaceful death at the age of 73.[3]

Queen Shelamzion Alexandra's reign represents a major turning point in Jewish history. It marks the final stage of Jewish sovereignty in the land of Israel in ancient times – following her death, the Hasmonean kingdom started to disintegrate in the wake of a war of succession between her sons, causing the conquest of Judaea by the Roman Republic in 63 BC. It is also the only successful case of a woman succeeding to the throne in Jewish society in antiquity. Most important for our topic, the ascent of queen Shelamzion Alexandra to the throne challenged the previous interplay of politics and religion. Such a transfer of power from a male to a female ruler ran counter to the traditional (male) political and religious structure in Judaea since the priesthood was given only to males through inheritance as it is written.

> And I have given the Levites–they are given to Aaron and to his sons from among the children of Israel, to do the service of the children of Israel [. . .].[4]

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2 She is also known as Salome Alexandra. Josephus only uses her Greek name, Alexandra, in Jos. b. Iud. 1 and Jos. ant. 13 but her Hebrew name remained a mystery until modern times. Over one hundred years ago, Clermont-Ganneau deduced (correctly) that the queen's original Hebrew name was, in fact, Shelamzion, (שְׁלַמְצִיון) see Clermont-Ganneau 1899, 385–392. Gustaf Dalman notes that Shelamzion is an Aramaic name meaning "the salvation of Zion," see Dalman 1929, 14. About fifty years after Clermont-Ganneau, Joseph Klausner claimed that Alexandra's Hebrew name was Shelomziyyon / שְׁלוֹמְצִיון – the name by which she is popularly known today, see Klausner 1972, 242. Yet in 1993, Tal Ilan challenged this assumption, positing that Alexandra's Hebrew name was Salamzion. In light of Qumran discoveries, Ilan later modified the spelling of the queen's name to Shelamzion (שְׁלַמְצִיון) and this has been accepted by scholars as her correct Hebrew/Aramaic name. See Ilan, 1993; Ilan 2000, 872–874.

3 The main sources for most of our knowledge of queen Alexandra are Flavius Jos. b. Iud.1.107–119 and Jos. ant. 13.403–432, along with Qumran Calendrical documents 4Q331 and 4Q322. For recent studies on queen Alexandra, see Liebowitz 2018a; Liebowitz 2018b, 41–65; Liebowitz 2015; Liebowitz 2013; Liebowitz 2012; Ilan 2006; Ilan 1999, 127–153; Ilan 1993, 181–190; Ilan 1996, 221–262; Knauf 2009; Lambers-Petry 2002, 65–77; Patterson 2002; Baltrusch 2001, 163–179; Stern 1999; Wise 1994, 186–221; Mason 1991, 82–115; Sievers 1989, 132–46. The fact that a popular book was recently published on queen Alexandra attests to her growing popularity, see Atkinson 2012.

4 Numbers 8:19. Interestingly, the opposition to a woman fulfilling sacral and monarchic positions continued throughout the centuries. An early modern example is the reign of Elizabeth I who "fulfilled the sacral role of monarchy and functioned as the Governor of the Church, despite Archbishop Heath's assertion in the 1559 Parliament that 'Her Highnes, being a woman by birthe and nature, is

Hence, since queen Alexandra was prohibited from serving as the high priest, her reign created a new political situation in Judaea – the separation of religious and political authority. This paper will address the conundrum: how was a woman able to achieve legitimacy as a political leader if she was not permitted to serve as the high priest? Moreover, how did queen Alexandra manage to reign independently and successfully for nine years in a patriarchal society, despite the limitations imposed upon her by religious law?

First of all, one explanation for queen Alexandra's success in ruling the country was her piety and consequent ability to gain support for her rule, as written in Flavius Josephus' *Judean War*:

> And he [Alexander] left the kingdom to his wife Alexandra, convinced the Judaeans would most of all listen to her, since her utmost lack of savagery and **her opposition to transgressions of the law** brought the people to bear good-will towards her.[5]

In other words, queen Alexandra's commitment to Mosaic law, expressed by her opposition to transgressions of that law, engendered popular support for her rule. In the next passage, Josephus emphasizes her piety and writes:

> And he was not wrong in these expectations, for this woman took over the kingdom on account of **her reputation for piety** (δόξαν εὐσεβείας). For she was indeed **very strict about her people's ancestral laws** (customs), and the offenders of the divine laws she used to throw out of office.[6]

Indeed, Josephus scholar Steve Mason concludes that queen Alexandra "came to power easily because of a (well-founded) reputation for piety."[7]

Now we come to another interrelated factor: the *Weltanschauung* of both Jewish and non-Jewish cultures towards women and authority and the interplay between the two. The interweaving of politics and religion in antiquity was not unique to the monarchy in Judaea, in fact, it was also a common feature of the surrounding cultures. For example, the Hellenistic monarchic tradition maintained that a king should be pious towards the gods even if he was also worshipped as a god.[8] Likewise, Macedonian royal women, who at times reigned as queens, were often viewed as goddesses.

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not qualified by God's words to feede the flocke of Christe.' Whereas the Roman Catholic Archbishop of York had no difficulty in recognizing a woman as a legitimate secular ruler, he used Elizabeth's gender as an argument against her assuming the Supreme Headship of the Church, since women could not act as priests." See Doran 2018, 42. Therefore Elizabeth was titled "Supreme Governor" and not "Head" of the Church (Doran 2018, 44).

5 Jos. b. Iud. 1.107.

6 My translation of Jos. b. Iud. 1.108. All subsequent translations of Josephus are my own unless otherwise stated.

7 Mason 1991, 109–110.

8 Roy 1988, 111.

One of the most well-known Macedonian queens, Arsinoë II (ca. 316-270/268 BC), received the title of θεοὶ ἀδελφοί (Divine Siblings) together with her co-ruler and husband-brother Ptolemy II.[9] A gold coin portrays Arsinoë II as a Greek goddess. This identification is based upon the style of her headdress – she wears a diadem and veil which symbolized divinity. On the obverse side there is a double cornucopia bound with a royal diadem symbolizing Ptolemaic and Egyptian concepts of kingship as the source of bounty, fertility and renewal.[10] An image of the royal couple Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II, engraved on the Mendes Stele, emphasizes the divinity of Arsinoë by identifying her with the goddess Isis.[11] Cleopatra I was given divine royal titles such as *Eucharistos* (beneficent god) and *Theos Epiphanes* (god made manifest).[12] Cleopatra III, who reigned from 116–101 BC, obtained the position of priest in the royal cult in 105 BC, which was usually only held by a king.[13] Postdating queen Alexandra, Cleopatra VII, the last (and independent) queen of the Ptolemaic dynasty, who succeeded her father in 51 BC, was identified with the goddess Isis.[14]

We can therefore establish that Ptolemaic rulers, both male and female, were almost always associated with divinity and with the religious cult. Sarah Pomeroy notes that "religion was the only state-supported activity that reserved an official place for women" (as priestesses) and that it "was an area of particular interest to women."[15] The latter was also true for many aristocratic Jewish women who felt an intense attachment to religion.[16]

Jewish law could not allow Alexandra to be a deity, as was the case with Hellenistic queens such as Arsinoë II, or a priestess, as was the case with aristocratic Hellenis-

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9 They reigned together from 275–270 BC. See Carney 1995, 367–391.

10 Thus, this coin indicates both Arsinoë's religious and political authority. For a description of the coin and its provenance, see Lorber 2010, 45.

11 See Quaegebeur 1969, 206.

12 These titles were granted even before the death of her husband, Ptolemy V: Whitehorne 2001, 85.

13 See Macurdy 1932, 161–170; Pomeroy 1984, 24; Whitehorne 2001, 121–131; 132–148.

14 Though dated, Macurdy's analysis of Cleopatra VII still remains relevant in its insightful analysis of her reign and the double standard through which historians have judged her, see Macurdy 1932, 184–223. See also Pomeroy 1984, 24–28. The tradition of Ptolemaic widowed queens ruling until minor sons came of age goes back to Pharaonic times when Hatshepsut, the widowed queen of the pharaoh Thutmose II, was made regent after his death in c. 1479 BC. Although she was supposed to only rule for her stepson, Thutmose III until he came of age, Hatshepsut took on the role of king as the sixth pharaoh of the 18th dynasty even before she was crowned as the king, and did not step down after her co-regent came of age. See Roehrig et al. 2005, esp. 12–14. Other later examples of queens inheriting the throne include: the (unnamed) widow of Mithridates Eupator who received the throne together with her son following Mithridates V's assassination circa 120 BC (Jacoby 1950, no. 494, 351); Cleopatra III who inherited the throne from Ptolemy VIII in 116 BC (see Iust, 39.3.1).

15 Pomeroy 1984, 59.

16 See Ilan 1999, 11–42.

tic women.[17] Nevertheless, devoutness was certainly viewed as the proper virtue for a Jewish queen[18] and Alexandra did, in fact, display great piety. This enabled her to achieve the support of certain factions, in particular, the Pharisees, whom we will now discuss.

First of all, who were the Pharisees? The identity of the group termed 'Pharisees' has been a topic of fervent scholarly debate and the answers range from a small religious sect, to an influential political party and to a mass movement. Based upon the Josephan passages connected to queen Alexandra, Morton Smith maintains that the Pharisees were merely a small inconsequential sect up until 70 AD.[19] This study launched a discussion on this issue. Subsequently, other scholars either supported or contested this theory. Daniel Schwartz posits that Josephus' earlier work, *War*, reflects an attempt to show that the Pharisees were only an innocuous religious group and uninvolved in politics.[20] Steve Mason views them as a devious group.[21] Martin Goodman asserts that the Pharisees' "endorsement of ancestral tradition gave them great popularity."[22] Jacob Neusner views the Pharisees as only one of many political parties during the Hasmonean era (a party of "philosophical politicians").[23] Be that as it may, a comprehensive examination of the Pharisees is beyond the scope of this article and our discussion of the Pharisees in connection to queen Alexandra.

Why did queen Alexandra support the Pharisees and vice versa? Tal Ilan points out that, in particular, aristocratic women were attracted to Pharisaism.[24] This may provide one explanation.

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17 Similarly, Jewish male kings were not deified in Judaism due to its monotheistic structure.

18 Josephus also describes queen Esther as pious, see Liebowitz 2012, 4–5.

19 See Smith 1956, 67–81. On Josephus' opinion of the Pharisees, see Ilan 1996, 221–262.

20 Schwartz 1983, 169.

21 Mason 1991.

22 Goodman 1999, 20.

23 Neusner 2003, 45–66.

24 See Ilan 1999,11–42. Based on a rabbinic story in *bBerakhot* 48a, several 19th century scholars believed that the Pharisaic sage Shimeon ben Shetah and queen Alexandra were siblings (see Derenbourg 1867, 96; Derenbourg 1891, 48). Nevertheless, modern historians cast doubts upon a family connection between Alexandra and ben Shetah. Joshua Ephron believes that this mistaken relationship was due to a scribal error, see Ephron 1970, 74 (in Hebrew). Shmuel Safrai points out that only the Babylonian Talmud makes Alexandra and ben Shetah sister and brother due to its tendency "of connecting prominent historical personalities by family ties, see Safrai 1971, 229. Likewise Isaiah Gafni notes that later Babylonian sources created a family connection between the two, see Gafni 1995, 261–276 (in Hebrew). Perhaps Alexandra's affinity for Pharisaism, as Tal Ilan has noted, is why rabbinic literature linked these two figures. In any case, although Shimeon ben Shetah is frequently mentioned in rabbinic sources Josephus does not mention him even once hence we have no historical source for any connection between the two, see Cohen 1986, 7. For one of the most recent studies on Josephus and rabbinic literature, see Ilan/Noam 2017 (in Hebrew).

The account of queen Alexandra's ascent to the throne in Josephus' *Judean Antiquities* may provide another explanation. Josephus relates that upon his deathbed, king Alexander Jannaeus provided his wife, Alexandra, with the following political guidance.

> Then, she should go as from a brilliant victory to Jerusalem, support the Pharisees, [and] grant them some power, for they, by giving her approval in exchange for these honours, would render the people well-disposed to her, and he said, these [Pharisees] have much power among the Judaeans – both hurting those that they hate while helping those with whom they are friendly. For they are highly trusted by the people, even when they speak harshly of someone due to envy, and he himself had come into conflict with the people due to these [Pharisees] [. . .].[25]

Alexandra accepted her husband's advice and delegated religious authority to the Pharisees:

> So, after Alexandra had taken the citadel, she talked with the Pharisees as her husband had counselled, and offered them all matters connected to his corpse and the kingdom, and their wrath against Alexander ceased, and she made them well-disposed and friendly.[26]

Subsequently, Alexandra placates the Pharisees even further by reinstating previous cultic laws promulgated by the Pharisees which had been rescinded:

> Thus, even any minor regulation which had been introduced by the Pharisees and revoked by her father-in-law Hyrcanus, even that she once again restored.[27]

The above description of king Alexander's deathbed bequest in Josephus' *Antiquities* shows that the Pharisees did indeed possess much political power and were a force to be reckoned with.

Why then was there a fierce enmity between king Alexander and the Pharisees, as expressed in Josephus' statement that "he himself had come into conflict with the people due to these [Pharisees] [. . .]?"[28]

Pharisaic opposition to the Hasmoneans in general, and to king Alexander Jannaeus in particular, was due to the fact that they "held it was not legitimate to join priesthood and monarchy."[29] In fact, the Pharisees rebelled against king Alexander and, at the end of the rebellion, circa 88 BC, king Alexander punished the Pharisees by cruelly crucifying eight hundred of them while they watched the execution of their wives and children.[30]

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25 Jos. ant. 13.401–402. For an up to date study on Jannaeus' deathbed bequest in Josephus and rabbinic literature, see Ilan/Noam 2017, 308–317.

26 Jos. ant. 13.405.

27 Jos. ant. 13.408.

28 Jos. ant. 13.402.

29 See Schwartz 1992, 53. For an analysis of the accounts in Josephus and rabbinic literature concerning Pharisaic opposition to a king who is also a high priest, see Ilan/Noam 2017, 255–285.

30 As related in Jos. ant. 13.380–383; Jos. b. Iud. 1.97. This killing is referred to later in Jos. b. Iud. 1.113: "Thus they themselves [the Pharisees] slew a certain Diogenes, a notable person, a friend of Alexan-

Nevertheless, upon his deathbed, king Alexander realized that the Pharisees were too powerful a group to fight against and advised his wife, queen Alexandra, to make peace with them, which she did. Moreover, as Josephus also reports, she also reintroduced Pharisaic laws, gaining even more support from the Pharisees and cultivating an excellent relationship with them. This liaison between the Pharisees and Alexandra can be attributed, among other factors, to her gender. As a woman, queen Alexandra could not serve as a high priest; hence she decided to focus upon the secular political arena, in particular foreign affairs, while delegating religious authority, the priesthood, to her eldest son Hyrcanus II. Nevertheless, it appears that, according to Josephus, Hyrcanus II was more of a figurehead and the real power behind the throne in religious matters was held by the Pharisees.

This division of religious and political power helped queen Alexandra gain the support of the Pharisees. In fact, the Pharisees' support gave an aura of religious legitimacy to her reign.[31] In other words, cordial relations between the Pharisees and Alexandra were in the interests of both parties – Alexandra required the Pharisees' backing in order to acquire legitimacy for her reign, and the Pharisees endorsed Alexandra in order to gain control of religious affairs.[32]

Still, if the Pharisees mainly opposed the Hasmonean king Alexander Jannaeus, another group opposed all Hasmonean rulers, including queen Alexandra. Dead Sea Scroll documents reveal the opposition of the Qumran sect to the Hasmoneans as well as the Pharisees. We can observe this hostility, or even hatred, of both the Pharisees and Hasmoneans in the Qumran text of *Pesher Nahum* (4Q169), which connects verses in the biblical book of Nahum with historical events from the first century BC.[33] The *Pesher* first quotes a verse from Nahum and then gives the contemporary interpretation or *pesher* of the verse. This text has been dated from the end of the Hasmonean to the beginning of the Herodian period[34] and, it is presumed to describe the reigns of Alexander Jannaeus and Alexandra.[35]

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der, having charged him with being an advisor concerning the 800 (men) who had been crucified by the king. They urged Alexandra to destroy the others too who had incited Alexander against them; and she yielded, being superstitious, and they killed whomever they wished." Josephus' account is confirmed by Pesher Nahum (See Allegro/Anderson 1968). Based on these two accounts, Josephus and Pesher Nahum, we know that the Pharisees were said to have invited Demetrius III to attack Jerusalem and defeat their enemy. When this plan failed, king Alexander crucified 800 Pharisees for encouraging this attack, and to make their punishment even crueller, he made them watch the massacre of their wives and children while being crucified (See Vermes 2013; see also Vanderkam/Flint 2005, 279).

31 See Goodblatt 1994, 26.

32 For a discussion of the initial rift between the Pharisees and the Hasmoneans, see Schalit 1983, 182–186 (in Hebrew).

33 See Berrin 2004, 1–10.

34 Strugnell 1970, 205.

35 Strugnell 1970, 196.

Let us examine some lines of *Pesher Nahum* in Shani Berrin Tzoref's translation of the text:

> **4** 'and flash of spear! And a multitude of slain and a mass of corpses! And there is no end of (dead) bodi(es) and they will stumble over their bodies' (Nahum 3:3). Its pesher: concerning the **domain** [rule – E.L.] **of the Seekers-after-Smooth Things** [my emphasis].[36]

The pesher or interpretation of Nahum 3:3, referring to the "rule of the seekers after smooth things" coincides with Josephus' description of queen Alexandra delegating political authority to the Pharisees in Jos. b. Iud. 1.112 and Jos. ant. 13.408–410, which we have already mentioned.[37] This is based upon an identification of the Pharisees as דורשי החלקו-Seekers-after-Smooth-Things.[38] Scholars therefore believe that this line refers to the reign of queen Alexandra.[39]

The continuation of the *Pesher*, which describes "captivity, plunder, *and corpses*" apparently refers to the Pharisees' persecution of their opponents during queen Alexandra's reign.[40] This could parallel Josephus' description of the Pharisees killing Diogenes as well as the others who had incited Alexander against them in Jos. b. Iud. 1.113 and Jos. ant. 13.411.

Now let us move on to parts of the Pesher that yield a gender bias. The citation from Nahum 3:4 in line 7 of *Pesher Nahum* refers to Nineveh's might in terms of its seductive powers:

> Because of the many harlotries of the harlot, charmingly pleasing, and mistress of sorceries, who betrays nations through her harlotries and families through her sor[ce]ries.[41]

Who (or what) is the subject of this allegory? The harlot (זונה) is most probably someone (or a group) that the Qumranites despised since the enemies of the Qumran community are often accused of 'fornication'.[42] Due to the subsequent interpretation of this verse (line 8):

> Its pesher: concer[ning] the misleaders of Ephraim, who mislead many by their false teaching, and their lying tongue and their wily lip

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36 Berrin 2004, 196.

37 See Amussine 1963, 392.

38 Berrin 2004, 91–99; Amusin 1977, 135, 143; Flusser 2007, 218–220. Anthony Salderini was one of the few who disputed this identification (see Salderini 2001, 277–297) but James Vanderkam refutes Salderini's argument, see Vanderkam 2004, 299–311.

39 Flusser 2007, 220; Amusin 1977, 143; Ilan 2001, 58–59.

40 Berrin 2004, 196. Flusser notes that "the dark description of the 'rule of those looking for smooth interpretations' is not substantially different from Josephus' description of that period." (Flusser 2007, 220).

41 Berrin 2004, 196.

42 Berrin 2004, 245.

most scholars have interpreted this phrase as referring to the Pharisees. In particular, Shanni Berrin Tzoref defines Ephraim as both the Pharisaic leadership and those Jews who supported the Pharisees.[43] In opposition to the scholarly consensus, Tal Ilan offers an innovative proposal. She argues that the negative female imagery of a 'harlot' alludes to a woman in power, queen Shelamzion Alexandra. This hypothesis is based upon the verse's position in the text, immediately after the passage describing the rule of the Pharisees. Ilan points out that "just as the sect disliked the Pharisees, it similarly disliked the new Hasmonean ruler" since "all Hasmoneans were bad."[44] Likewise, the term '*sorceries*' *(כשפי)* in line 7, which is often coupled with sexual offences (זנונים) in biblical and apocryphal literature,[45] can also be connected to queen Alexandra. Ilan notes that the text in the Jerusalem Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin[46] referring to the hanging of eighty witches by Shimon ben Shetah has some historical basis.[47] In fact, Ilan believes that due to her opposition to witchcraft, queen Alexandra was instrumental in executing the accused witches.[48] Yet the Qumranites held the opposite view – in this text they connect queen Alexandra's reign with witchcraft! Finally, line 9 refers to

> kings, princes, priests and populace together with the resident alien. Cities and clans will perish through their counsel [. . .].

The word 'kings' (מלכים) would also include queen Alexandra as well as other Hasmonean monarchs.[49]

Although *Pesher Nahum* does not add concrete historical data it does provide us with "tools for reconstructing the *Weltanschauung* of ancient Judaism."[50] The above analysis strongly indicates that *Pesher Nahum* alludes to queen Alexandra. The passages convey a hostile image of both queen Alexandra and the Pharisees whom she

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43 Berrin 2004, 199.

44 Ilan 2001, 60. Schuller and Wassen note that "the type of abstract misogynous statements found in Josephus and Philo about the 'nature' of women [. . .] finds little parallel in the scrolls" (Schiffman/ Vanderkam 2000, 2, s.v. "Women," 981).

45 Mal 3:5, II Kings 9:22, the Book of Watchers in Enoch 7. See Berrin 2004, 246.

46 YSan 6:8, based on MSan 6:4.

47 Ilan 2006, 241, 214–241. Ilan's claim of the historicity of this event is based upon the contradiction of the *halakhah* in the Mishnah (one does not hang two people in a single day), which the rabbis did not deny, the numerous rabbinic accusations against women of practicing magic, the biblical injunction to kill witches, and the story's similarity to other witch-hunts in history. Klausner, Schürer and many others do not accept this story as historically true, see Klausner 1972, 249; Schürer 1973, 310.

48 Ilan 2006, 223.

49 Berrin 2004, 253, however, believes that this line lists Pharisaic supporters. Still this would not exclude queen Alexandra, for she was indeed a Pharisaic supporter. Schiffman's interpretation is that the Pharisaic leadership had "led others astray with false interpretations" (Schiffman 2000, 282). In such a case, it would also include queen Alexandra as a Pharisaic supporter and one who followed their practices.

50 Schiffman 2000, 306.

supported, embodied in metaphors of sexual promiscuity. Thus, the Qumranites opposed both the secular political authority as well as the religious leaders of Judaea, which is not surprising since they viewed everyone outside of the sect as impure and corrupt.

Let us now return to queen Alexandra's son, Hyrcanus II. As mentioned above, queen Alexandra could not serve as a high priest yet the tradition of the Hasmonean dynasty was that the high priesthood and kingship were always united. Moreover, according to the custom of primogeniture in antiquity, the first-born son would usually inherit the throne. So here we have a clash of values – usually the first-born son, in this case Hyrcanus II, would inherit the throne and become high priest. Nevertheless, queen Alexandra's husband bequeathed her the throne. So, as a consolation prize, queen Alexandra appointed Hyrcanus as the high priest:

> [. . .] the elder, Hyrcanus she appointed high priest because of both his suitable age (ἡλικίαν) and moreover because of his being too lazy/stupid (νωθέστερν) to be troubled about all things (connected to the state), while the younger, Aristobulus, due to his passion she kept under [her] control as a private person.[51]

The fact that Josephus uses the term ἡλικίαν, defined as "to be of fit age for doing,"[52] demonstrates that Hyrcanus, as the first-born, was the correct son to appoint as high priest, and he would have been the king if not for Alexander Jannaeus' bequest. The description of Hyrcanus' personality indicates that he posed no danger to Alexandra since he was νωθέστερον – either lazy or stupid.[53] Aristobulus, on the other hand, was not entitled to be the king or high priest but he was viewed as a threat to Alexandra's reign, and his actions later on proved this. His depiction as a θερμότητα, a metaphor for heat or passion, which is rarely used by Josephus, immediately calls attention to the threat of this "hothead."[54] Consequently, Alexandra's actions – solidifying her rule as the sole monarch and eliminating any threat from her sons – ensured her country's stability. In Antiquity, challenges to royal power would often lead to chaos. That is exactly what happened later on – when the struggle for the throne between queen Alexandra's sons led to the collapse of the Hasmonean state in 63 BC.[55]

To conclude, one would suppose that the constraints of a patriarchal religion, such as that of ancient Judaism, would preclude a woman obtaining supreme political power. Yet in the case of queen Alexandra, by separating political and religious authority, she circumvented cultic restrictions owing to her gender. She placed a figure-

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51 Jos. b. Iud. 1.109. See also Jos. ant. 13.408, 20.242.

52 Liddell, 1945, s.v. ἡλικία, def. 2, 350.

53 Liddell, 1945, s.v. νωθής def. 1 and 2, 537–538. D. Schwartz however believes that that this is not a historical description but a rhetorical one invented by Nicolaus of Damascus, so as to justify Herod's assent to the throne. See Schwartz 1994, 210–232.

54 θερμότητα only occurs two other times in Jos. b. Iud. 1.117 (where it also describes Aristobulus' temperament) and in Jos. ant. 2.316 (which details how the unleavened bread was heated).

55 Jos. ant. 14.77.

head as the high priest while obtaining cooperation and support from a powerful religious group, the Pharisees. She wisely used her devoutness in order to achieve popular support by the people. Despite the cultural milieu of female Hellenistic rulers, queen Alexandra's rule was unprecedented – she was the only woman in her era who ruled as an independent queen while she had two adult sons.[56] The one group that opposed her reign, the Qumran sect, did so because they opposed all Hasmonean rulers in general, whom they regarded as illegitimate and immoral, along with queen Alexandra's allies, the Pharisees. Nevertheless, the Qumran sect was a small and insignificant group living in the desert, far away from the capital city of Jerusalem, and hence we can assume that their opinion had little effect upon Alexandra's reign.[57]

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56 For an in-depth analysis of this phenomenon, see Liebowitz 2018a.

57 I would like to thank Rivkah Duker-Fishman for reviewing this article and for her helpful comments and suggestions.

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Michel Summer

'Vassal' or 'political player'? Towards a re-assessment of Willibrord's political activity in Merovingian Francia (AD 690–739)

Abstract: The activity of Insular clerics in the Frankish kingdom during the late seventh and early eighth centuries has long been portrayed as the first systematic cooperation between religious and political powers in early medieval Europe. Focusing on the Northumbrian missionary Willibrord (658–739), the chapter reassesses the way in which he was able to exercise political influence. The study reconsiders the two master narratives that have guided modern historians in their analysis of Willibrord's activity on the continent: The impact of the 'Anglo-Saxon' missions on the Frankish kingdom and the rise of the Carolingian dynasty in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. Firstly, the chapter reconsiders the reliability of the the so-called *Liber aureus* compiled at Echternach between 1191 and 1231. Secondly, by analizing the geographical range of the donations made to Willibrord and the political standing of the persons involved, the article considers Willibrord not as a straightforward supporter of the 'Christianisation' of Frisia led by the Carolingians, but as a more independent political actor able to establish networks which reached beyond the Pippinids' sphere of influence.

Keywords: Willibrord, Liber aureus, Echternach, Carolingians, mission

According to Alcuin's (d. 804) *Vita Willibrordi*, the Northumbrian cleric Willibrord baptised Pippin, the son of Charles Martel (d. 741), and foretold that the child would become greater than all the *duces* ('leaders') of the Franks before him.[1] Alcuin adds that the truth of Willibrord's words was proven in his own time: the entire *populus* ('nation') of the Franks, now led by Charlemagne (d. 814), knew how his father Pippin (III, d. 768) had expanded the borders of the *imperium* ('empire'), propagated Christianity in his realm and overseen the defence of the Church among the foreign *gentes* ('nations').[2] This passage mirrors an earlier chapter of the *Vita*, in which Alcuin refers to Charles

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1 Alcuin, *VW*, 23 (ed. Levison, 133–134); for Pippin III's baptism and Willibrord's involvement see Gerberding 1994, 210–211; this chapter was originally intended as a preliminary sketch of my PhD thesis which I completed in 2021. The project was funded by the Luxembourg National Research Fund (project code: Will 17). I thank Carlo Cedro, Alexander Kelleher, Sihong Lin and Immo Warntjes for their helpful comments.

2 Alcuin, *VW*, 23 (ed. Levison, 133–134); see Moesch 2019, 101–103. Alcuin used the term *gens*, which was associated with non-Christian groups, to distinguish the pagan Frisians from the Christian *populus* of the Franks.

Martel's rise to power. After the death of his father Pippin II in 714, Charles defeated
the Frisian leader Radbod and added Frisia to the paternal *imperium* ('empire'). Willi-
brord, who had arrived on the continent in 690 after a 12-year-stay in Ireland at the
monastery of Rath Melsigi, was placed as a preacher among the Frisians and received
the fort of Utrecht as his episcopal base, from where he began to "cleanse", through
baptism, the *gens* "[which had been] conquered by the sword".[3]

In accordance with Alcuin's depiction, historians have argued that the progress of
Willibrord's continental career was directly tied to the fortunes of the family which
would later be known as the Carolingians and who, in 751, seized the royal title from
the Merovingians. The political dimension of Willibrord's activity on the continent
was reduced to his role as a "harbinger of Frankish expansion" to the Frisians.[4] Al-
though the problems associated with Alcuin's hagiographical reconstruction of Willi-
brord's life have been studied in detail, Alcuin's underlying suggestion that Willibrord
played a crucial role in the rise to power of Charlemagne's ancestors persists in mod-
ern scholarship.[5] At the same time, the question of to what extent his actions were
driven by a Pippinid agenda has been raised.[6] The persistency of the traditional per-
spective on Willibrord's relationship with the Pippinids is partly due to its integration
into a wider historiographical narrative: Willibrord's activity apparently initiated a
new era of missionary activity on the continent. In contrast to his predecessors from
Ireland and Francia, he adopted a more 'effective' strategy which consisted in seeking
the military support of Pippin II. Willibrord's ordination as archbishop of the Frisians
by Pope Sergius I (d. 701) in 695 set the foundation for the Carolingians' later alliance
with the papacy, which was developed through the efforts of the West Saxon Boniface
(d. 754) and ultimately paved the way for Pippin III's coronation in 751.[7]

This approach to Willibrord's political role on the continent received its most dis-
tinct shape in Arnold Angenendt's suggestion that the relationship between Willibrord
and the family of Pippin II was of "feudal nature" (*vasallitischer Natur*).[8] This position

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3 Alcuin, *VW*, 13 (ed. Levison, 127); for the translation see Veyrard-Cosme 2003, 55.
4 Angenendt 1973, 109: "Jede Grenzüberschreitung musste ihn [Willibrord] fortan als Boten nicht nur
des Christentums, sondern auch der fränkischen Machtentfaltung erscheinen lassen"; see also Dier-
kens 1996, 463; Story 2003, 44–45. 50.
5 See Fischer 2012, 154–156, who takes up Angenendt's suggestion that Pippin II and Charles Martel
tried to prevent the development of a Frisian Church independent of Frankish political influence;
Nelson 2020, 41–50; on Alcuin's narration see Schäferdiek 1994, 181–187.
6 Costambeys 1994, 58–62; Palmer 2009, 6. 16.
7 Levison 1946, 50–59; Angenendt 1990, 17–18; Gerberding 1994, 209; Padberg 1998, 81–82; Weinfurter
2013, 63. 70; see also Schieffer 1972, 98–102; Honée 2000, 17–18; Goosmann 2019, 345–346, suggests that
Pippin III's alliance with the papacy was not predetermined before 754.
8 Angenendt 1973, 65–66. 68–69. 76–78, diverges from the narrative set out by Levison by arguing that
Willibrord neglected his role as archbishop of Utrecht because of his personal commitment to the Pip-
pinids. Willibrord, therefore, apparently lacked the "Roman-canonical" (*römisch-kanonisch*) attitude
of Boniface; Gerberding 1987, 135–136, follows Angenendt; for a critique of Angenendt's 'feudal' termi-

contrasts with more recent depictions of Willibrord as an independent political 'agent' or 'player'.[9] With the exception of Marios Costambeys' article on the donations made to Willibrord in Toxandria, however, references to Willibrord's own agency outside of Frisia have remained on the sideline and have so far not been extended into a detailed case study.[10] The lack of such a re-assessment of Willibrord's political role in Merovingian Francia accounts for the paradoxical situation that it continues to be fixed within the framework of the rise of the Carolingians, when at the same time it has also been described as "unclear".[11] The present chapter argues that the above-mentioned discrepancy is due to an imbalance between a fragmented corpus of contemporary sources for Willibrord's political role itself and a long-standing historiographical narrative that primarily relies on later sources.

Alcuin probably composed the *Vita Willibrordi* around 796, shortly after he had left the court of Charlemagne to become abbot of St Martin's at Tours.[12] From his point of view as a (former) member of the Carolingian court, he reduced the political development within the Frankish kingdom in Willibrord's time to the continuous triumphs of Pippin II and his descendants.[13] Throughout the *Vita*, he refers to Pippin II and Charles Martel as *duces*, while their contemporary title under the Merovingian kings was *maior domus* ('mayor of the palace'). Alcuin shortened the transition from Pippin II to Charles Martel to a single sentence and decided to sidestep the opposition which Charles faced from various parties between 714 and 718, including his stepmother Plectrude (d. after 718), the Neustrian elite and their short-term allies from Frisia.[14]

Alcuin's omission of the political conflicts surrounding Charles' struggle for political domination was not simply the symptom of a *damnatio memoriae* towards the Merovingians, for the *Vita Willibrordi* was composed at a time when Alcuin reflected

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nology see Fouracre 2000, 126–127, who nonetheless characterises Willibrord as a "dependant" of the Pippinids.

9 Wood 1994, 271; Hen 2010, 194–195, follows Levison's position but stresses Willibrord's ambition to "further his own goals"; see also Costambeys/Innes/MacLean 2011, 101–112.

10 Costambeys 1994, 39–42.

11 Palmer 2009, 109: "The precise nature of Willibrord's political role here [in the period between 709–17] is unclear".

12 Reischmann 1989, 7; Wood 2001, 89; Rambridge 2003, 377.

13 This has already been noted by Fritze 1971, 117. 132–139, although he contrasts Alcuin's "hagiography" with Bede's "historical" (and allegedly more reliable) account.

14 Alcuin, *VW*, 13 (ed. Levison, 127); Wood 1994, 317–318; Alcuin's diction contrasts with that of the *AMP*. Here, Pippin II and Charles Martel are referred to as *principes*, whereas their opponents are called *duces*. Both words can be translated as 'leader', but as Fouracre/Gerberding 1996, 342, have noted, *princeps* carries a more "imperial" connotation in this context; the so-called *Continuations of the Chronicle of Fredegar* (compiled between 727 and 768), on which the first part of the *AMP* is based, alternate between *dux* and *princeps*; see for example *AMP*, s.a. 725. 731 (ed. von Simson, 26–27); *Continuations,* 11. 13 (ed. Krusch, 174–175); for the political conflicts following the death of Pippin II see Fischer 2012, 50–66.

on the Carolingian approach to the spread of Christianity to the Franks' military opponents, namely the Saxons and the Avars. The hagiographical engagement with Willibrord provided him with an occasion to outline his concept of an ideal religious policy towards the territories conquered by the Franks and to highlight the necessity of baptism and religious education to ensure the successful establishment of the Christian faith. Alcuin thus retrospectively modelled Pippin II and Charles Martel's conflict with Radbod on the campaigns of Charlemagne.[15] In the *Vita*, the beginning of Charles Martel's career and the submission of Frisia are chronologically condensed. Thereby, Alcuin not only omitted Charles' struggle against his political rivals *within* Francia but also the chronological gap between Radbod's death in 719 and Charles' decisive victory against the Frisians, which was only realised through a renewed military effort in 734.[16] Instead, the period after 714 is portrayed as the gradual expansion of early Carolingian power over the adjacent *gentes*.

Alcuin based his *Vita* on the *Historia ecclesiastica* of the Northumbrian scholar Bede (d. 735), which contains the earliest account of Willibrord's career.[17] Although Bede completed his work in 731 and thus during Willibrord's lifetime, the chronological gap between its composition and Willibrord's departure from Ireland in 690 needs to be considered.[18] Like Alcuin, Bede approached the topic retrospectively and adapted his knowledge of Willibrord, which he probably received from Acca of Hexham (d. *c.* 742), to the larger hagiographical framework of his work.[19] In the *Historia*, Willibrord's appearance is subordinated to the life of the Northumbrian exile Ecgberct of Rath Melsigi (d. 729). Book Five, which contains the two chapters on Willibrord's career, reaches it narrative climax with the conversion of the monastic community of Iona to the Dionysiac reckoning of Easter after 716 through the effort of Ecgberct. In the penultimate chapter of the *Historia*, Bede presents the 'correction' (*correcti sunt per eum*) of the monks of Iona through Ecgberct as the fulfilment of the role played by the Northumbrian *Angli* in the spread of a Rome-centred Christianity. According to Bede, Ecgberct was only able to assume his role as the Northumbrian champion of the Roman reckoning of Easter because he abandoned his earlier plan to travel to the continent and to preach to the *gentes* there.[20]

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15 Wood 2001, 84–89; Rambridge 2003, 371–373; Story 2003, 50–51.

16 *Continuations*, 17 (ed. Krusch, 176); Annales Alamannici, s.a. 719. 734; Annales Laureshamenses, s.a. 719. 734; Annales Nazariani, s.a. 719. 734 (ed. Pertz, 3–4); Annales Petaviani, s.a. 719. 734; Annales Sancti Amandi, s.a. 719. 734 (ed. Pertz, 6–8); Fouracre 2000, 80; Fischer 2012, 78–79.

17 Bede, *HE*, V 10. 11 (ed. Plummer, 298–303).

18 On the date of Willibrord's departure from Ireland see Warntjes 2011, 191–196.

19 Higham 2006, 120–122; Thacker 2010, 178–179; on Acca's role as Bede's informant see Bede, *HE*, III 13. IV 14 (ed. Plummer, 152. 233).

20 Bede, HE, III 4. V 22 (ed. Plummer, 133–135. 346–348); for Ecgberct and Rath Melsigi see Ó Cróinín 1984, 21–25.

It is in this context, after the first unsuccessful attempt of the community of Rath Melsigi to gain a foothold in Frisia, that Bede introduces Willibrord as the member of Ecgberct's group who finally accomplished the original plan. Willibrord's mission to Frisia represents a 'spin-off' of Ecgberct's vocation within the *Historia.* Bede concludes his episodical account of Willibrord's continental career after two chapters and emphasises that his work in Frisia was completed by 731.[21] Bede's description of Willibrord matches that of Ecgberct. In both cases, Bede characterises their activity as *praedicare* ('preaching') aimed at the correction of what he considered to be erroneous religious behaviour: rather than to differentiate between the instruction of 'pagans' and communities that were already Christian, Bede suggested that both undertakings were two sides of the same coin, namely the contribution of the *Angli* to salvation history in his own age.[22]

Any reconstruction of Willibrord's political activity on the Continent depends to a large extent on Alcuin and Bede's works. From the perspective of both authors, Willibrord's enterprise was primarily supported by Pippin II and Sergius I, whose political and ecclesiastical ambitions seem to have complemented one another with regard to Frisia. Taken together, the accounts of the *Vita Willibrordi* and the *Historia ecclesiastica* seemingly reflect the pathbreaking cooperation between the Northumbrian missionaries represented by Willibrord, the Pippinids and the papacy, which, according to the traditional scholarly narrative, marked a decisive turning-point in the development of early medieval Europe.[23] Willibrord's arrival in Frisia in 690 has often been perceived as a dividing line between the activities of Insular clerics on the continent and later missionaries because it closely followed Pippin II's defeat of the Merovingian King Theuderic III (d. 691) at Tertry in 687. According to the pro-Carolingian *Annales Mettenses priores*, written in the early 9th century, Pippin took over the *singularem Francorum principatum* ('the sole leadership of the Franks') a year later.[24] Although Pippin's descendants would not usurp the royal title from the Merovingians until 64 years later, historians have generally followed the notion of the Carolingian sources that the battle of Tertry initiated the dynasty's rise to power. From a historiographical perspective, Alcuin and Bede's depictions of Willibrord's close relationship with Pippin II can easily support the assumption that the political domination of the

21 Bede, HE, V 19 (ed. Plummer, 326). Here, Bede follows the phrasing of Stephen's *Vita Wilfridi*, 26 (ed. Colgrave, 52) but, contrary to the latter author, he asserts that Willibrord completed what Wilfrid of York (d. 710) had only begun.

22 Bede, HE, III 4. V 10. V 22 (ed. Plummer, 135. 298–299. 347); Higham 2006, 175–177; Wood 2015, 186–187.

23 See McKitterick 1995, 66–70; Busch 2011, 5–6; Bührer-Thierry/Mériaux 2019, 276–278.

24 LHF, 48 (ed. Krusch, 322–323); Continuations, 5 (ed. Krusch, 171); AMP, s.a. 690. 691 (ed. von Simson, 7–12); the author of the *AMP* dated the battle to 690; on the dating see Weidemann 1998, 194, who concludes that the battle could also have taken place earlier than 687; for the translation of *principatus* see Fouracre/Gerberding 1996, 340–342.

Pippinids (and ultimately the Carolingians) over the Frankish kingdom was already predetermined at the end of the 7th century.[25]

Ultimately, the depiction of Willibrord as a 'vassal' of the Pippinids and as a mere predecessor of Boniface follows a line of thought that anticipates the ecclesiastical and political developments under Pippin III and Charlemagne. Such an approach leaves little room for an open assessment of his own agency which considers the complex political and religious situation in Francia between his arrival and the consolidation of Charles Martel's position after 718. A comparison between the *Vita Willibrordi* and the *Historia ecclesiastica* with other sources for the late Merovingian period shows that both Bede and Alcuin simplified the context of Willibrord's activity. Both authors omit any reference to the Merovingians or to the political turmoil that broke out after Pippin II's death in 714. The resistance which Plectrude and Charles Martel faced from their Neustrian opponents, as they were both competing for the succession to Pippin's position, shows that the family's status remained contested over 25 years after the battle of Tertry.[26] While Pippin extended his family's influence over the court after 687, his position as *maior domus* was still defined by its integration into the Merovingian royal administration.[27] In contrast to the account of the *Annales Mettenses priores*, the note on Pippin's death in the *Liber historiae Francorum*, composed around 727, foregrounds the anonymous author's perception that the Merovingians had still exercised sovereignty in 714.[28]

The same author also records that Charles Martel was defeated in battle by the Frisians under Radbod. The author of the *Annales Mettenses*, in contrast, sidestepped this piece of information.[29] Radbod's involvement in the conflict raises the question of to what extent Frisia was simply a peripheral region to the Pippinids' expanding sphere of influence as suggested by Bede and Alcuin. The sources record that the Neustrian faction led by King Dagobert III (d. 715) and his mayor of the palace Raganfred entered an alliance with Radbod after Pippin had died. Although Radbod is still depicted as a non-Christian leader, his ability to side with Charles Martel's enemies suggests that the relationship between the Frankish and Frisian polities was more complex than Bede and Alcuin's accounts of a confrontation between 'Christians' and 'pagans' postulate.[30] Finally, Pippin's son Grimoald had married Radbod's daughter before his assassination

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25 Levison 1946, 56–57; Wampach 1953, 197–198; Schieffer 1972, 28. 98–102, links Pippin II's victory to Willibrord's mission but nevertheless highlights the opposition which Charles Martel later faced; Gerberding 1987, 92–93 and Fischer 2012, 204–205, have argued against the importance of Tertry as a historical turning-point.

26 LHF, 51–53 (ed. Krusch, 325–328); Continuations, 8–11 (ed. Krusch, 173–175).

27 Scholz 2015, 256–258; see also Bührer-Thierry/Mériaux 2019, 263–266.

28 LHF, 51 (ed. Krusch, 325): Eo tempore Pippinus febre valida correptus, mortuus est obtenuitque principatum sub suprascriptos reges annis 27 et dimidio.

29 LHF, 52 (ed. Krusch, 325–326); Continuations, 9 (ed. Krusch, 173–174); compare the latter accounts with the one in the AMP, s.a. 714 (ed. von Simson, 21); see also Fouracre/Gerberding 1996, 366.

30 LHF, 51 (ed. Krusch, 325); Continuations, 8 (ed. Krusch, 173); AMP, s.a. 714 (ed. von Simson, 21).

in 714.[31] All this implies that Radbod was, despite his religious stance, a significant player in the Merovingian political landscape, while the dominance of the Pippinids over Frisia was anything but secure before the former's death in 719. At least until Radbod's death, the relationship between the Frankish kingdom and the Frisian territories differed from Charlemagne's campaigns against the Saxons and the Avars. In contrast to the hagiographical and pro-Carolingian narrative, Pippin did not consistently lead a unified Frankish realm against its pagan periphery.[32] By considering the complexity of the political situation before the consolidation of Charles Martel's power, Willibrord's position between Francia and Frisia becomes more enigmatic. If the larger context of his activity was not one of early Carolingian military expansion and Frisian religious submission, how can his role as a political actor be defined?

When Charles Martel assured his position in 718, Willibrord had already spent 28 years on the continent. One of the most prominent events of his career, namely the foundation of the monastery of Echternach (in modern-day Luxembourg) in 697/8, took place within the first decade of his Continental activity.[33] Throughout his time on the continent, Willibrord received donations of property (either addressed to himself or to churches under his authority) by different landholders situated mainly in northeastern Austrasia.[34] Significantly, both Bede and Alcuin ignore this important aspect of Willibrord's career. The *Historia ecclesiastica* does not even allude to the foundation of Echternach, while Alcuin only mentions the construction of the monastery in passing.[35] The silence of both authors regarding Willibrord's wider network is especially problematic since the traditional depiction of Willibrord as a dependant of the Pippinids rests primarily on the surviving evidence for the foundation of Echternach and the other donations he received.[36] However, none of the early medieval charters survive. Besides two charters issued by Charles Martel for Willibrord's church and

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31 LHF, 50 (ed. Krusch, 324); Continuations, 7 (ed. Krusch, 172–173).

32 Fouracre/Gerberding 1996, 95; Palmer 2009, 106–107; Costambeys/Innes/MacLean 2011, 42–43. 48–49; it also remains unclear if Charles Martell pursued any distinctive "missionary policy" as questioned by Fouracre 2000, 127.

33 Trauffler 1999, 48–52.

34 Wampach 1929–1930, I 2, nos. 1–42; see also van Berkum 1989; Bijsterveld/Noomen/Thissen 1999.

35 Alcuin, VW, 21. 24 (ed. Levison, 132. 134); Alcuin, VW, 15 (ed. Levison, 128–129), mentions that Willibrord visited a *cellula* named *Suestra*. This is the same place in Toxandria where Willibrord received a chapel and a monastery by Pippin II and Plectrude in 714 and where the monk Ansbald issued a charter to Willibrord in 718 (Wampach 1929–1930, I 2, nos. 24. 28).

36 See Wampach 1929–1930, I 1, 118–141; Wampach 1954, 246–257; Gerberding 1987, 129; Anton 1989, 115–121; Parsons 1999, 136–138; Werner 1980, 139–158, disagrees with the then prevailing opinion that the Toxandrian donors were direct supporters of the Pippinids' political and cultural takeover of the region, but he nonetheless assumes that Toxandria was still a "missionary field" (*Missionsgebiet*); Theuws 2010, 49–50 (note 57), disagrees with Costambeys 1994.

monastery in Utrecht,[37] the only extant source is the so-called *Liber aureus Epterna-censis*, compiled between 1191 and 1231 at Echternach.[38]

The *Liber aureus* begins with two books by the monk Theoderic, the so-called *Chronicon*. Although historians have traditionally referred to the *Liber aureus* as a 'cartulary', Ingrid Heidrich has argued that the compilation should be considered as a historiographical work.[39] The first book of the *Chronicon* begins with a prologue, followed by a history of the Frankish kingdom up to the time of Willibrord's arrival on the Continent.[40] The second book starts with a chronology of the rulers from Pippin II to Emperor Henry VI (d. 1197). Theoderic then announces that he will now turn towards the foundation of Echternach and the *testamenta* for the property collected by the monastery from the death of Willibrord until "the introduction of the canons" in the 9th century.[41] However, the text breaks off on folio 43[v] with the summary of a donation dated to 726/7.[42] Theoderic's work was finished by a second hand between 1222 and 1231. Theoderic probably abandoned the *Chronicon* because of an ensuing conflict between the community of Echternach and the archbishop of Trier, John I (d. 1212), who tried to incorporate the monastery into his jurisdiction. At the end of the 12th century, Echternach faced the loss of its *libertas ecclesiae* and thus its direct subordination to Emperor Henry VI In 1192, Theoderic addressed the emperor in a letter[43] which was later copied into the *Liber aureus*. By referring to the charters recorded in the *Chronicon*, Theoderic argued for the independence of Echternach from Trier based on its close ties to the kings and emperors since the time of Pippin II.[44] Theoderic consulted the monastery's archive, but it is unclear if he still had access to original

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37 Heidrich 2011, nos. 12. 13.

38 Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Memb. I 71; the digitised manuscript can be accessed under: https://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ufb/receive/ufb_cbu_00011822 (accessed 30 January 2020); note that the online numbering of the folios does not correspond to the pagination within the manuscript. The author's references follow the latter numbering which was also used by Wampach; the part which contains the charters is only partially edited as Theoderic, Chronicon Epternacense (ed. Weiland, 39–64); Ferrari 1994, 76–78; Margue 1999, 241–243; Heidrich 2000, 455–458; Falmagne/Deitz 2009, 19. 27; Schneider 2010, 134–137.

39 Heidrich 2000, 455–456.

40 Theoderic, Chronicon, fol. 4[r]–20[v] (ed. Weiland, 38–47).

41 On the canons see Margue 1999, 234–235.

42 Theoderic, Chronicon, fol. 21[r]–22[v] (ed. Weiland, 47–48).

43 Theoderic, Libellus de libertate Epternacensi propugnata, fols. 111[r]–120[r] (ed. Weiland, 66–72); Wampach 1929–1930, I 2, no. 215.

44 Theoderic, *Chronicon*, fol. 29[r] (ed. Weiland, 53): Sed ut ad describendam propositam seriem testamentorum redeamus, quid idem Pippinus cum inclyta et legitima coniuge sua Plectruda sancto Willibrordo in Epternaco vel alibi contulerit ex ipso tenore testamentorum suorum diligenter inspiciamus. Quorum descriptionem ipsimet anno 12. Childeberti gloriosi regis Francorum, qui est annus incarnationis Domini 706, competenter ordinaverunt, et ut ipsum monasterium Epternacense in sua et heredum suorum dominatione et defensione semper esset, sicut perspicue ex ipsis verbis eorum potest videri, diligenter hoc modo confirmaverunt; Margue 1999, 241–245; see also Heidrich 2000, 456–457.

documents or if he relied on later copies or notes.[45] He gathered further information from two *Lives* written by Thiofrid, abbot of Echternach from 1081 to 1110. Before 1081, Thiofrid composed a *Vita* of Irmina, abbess of the monastery of Oeren in Trier, who allegedly donated her property in Echternach to Willibrord for the establishment of his monastery. A *Life* of Willibrord, based on Alcuin's text, was written between 1104 and 1105 in both prose and verse form.[46] Thiofrid inserted summaries of donations made to Willibrord into both Lives and indicated that he still had access to original charters but that he was unable to read all of them.[47] The donations recorded in the *Liber aureus* were edited and published by the Luxembourgish historian Henri-Camille Wampach (1884–1958) in two volumes between 1929 and 1930. For Willibrord's time on the Continent, Wampach lists 41 legal acts, dating the earliest donation to the year 692/3.[48] Wampach's extensive reconstruction differs greatly from the structure of the *Liber aureus* and the fragmented evidence contained within it. Of the 41 legal acts listed by Wampach, nine are only recorded in the form of short summaries in the manuscript.[49] Wampach added two[50] donations mentioned only in Thiofrid's *Vita Willibrordi* to his list and reconstructed another six[51] from internal evidence contained within the *Liber aureus*, while no. 39 represents the 'testament' of Willibrord, dated to 726.[52] Wampach's method accounts for his vague dating of some of the donations.[53] Nevertheless, he organised all the donations according to his own chronological order, thereby partially inverting their order in the manuscript.[54] Ulti-

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45 Schneider 2010, 139–140.

46 Thiofrid, Vita s. Willibrordi (ed. Poncelet, 459–483); Thiofrid's *Life* of Irmina is edited as part of Theoderic, Chronicon (ed. Weiland, 48–50); the copy made by Theoderic is the earliest extant copy of this text; Ferrari 1994, 49–61. 63–68.

47 Thiofrid, VW, 12. 22 (ed. Poncelet, 468, 472–473); the donations mentioned by Thiofrid are Wampach, 1929–1930, I 2, nos. 4. 6. 11. 13. 14. a combination of 16 and 20. 21. 24. 31. 34. 37. 38. and a donation by Charles Martel mentioned in the introduction to no. 41; the donations mentioned in the *Vita Irminae* are nos. 4. 6; Heidrich 2000, 455–456; Schneider 2010, 132–140, assumes that more charters were lost between the early 12th century and the compilation of the *Chronicon* because Theoderic did not include all the donations mentioned by Thiofrid.

48 See note 34; for the debate about the dating of the earliest charters, conducted especially in Dutch and Belgian historiography, see Honée 1996, 103–113. I thank Jelle Visser for pointing out this aspect to me.

49 Wampach 1929–1930, I 2, nos. 1. 2. 5. 7. 12. 19. 29. 32. 40.

50 Wampach, 1929–1930, I 2, nos. 13. 22.

51 Wampach, 1929–1930, I 2, nos 18. 23. 36. 37. 38. 41; no. 18 is based on a donation mentioned in no. 19; nos. 36. 37. 38 are based on no. 39.

52 For the 'testament' see Poncelet 1906, 163–166, who has defended the document's authenticity; Wampach 1929–1930, I 2, 85 dismisses the designation 'testament'; Heidrich 2000, 455–456, note 3, lists it as "ge- oder verfälscht".

53 See for example Wampach, 1929–1930, I 2, nos. 36. 37. 38.

54 See note 72.

mately, his edition partially conceals the *Liber aureus*' nature as a complex compilation of the late 12th century.

Wampach's approach to the edition was tied to his interpretation of the charters: the donations recorded by Thiofrid and Theoderic allegedly support the notion that Willibrord was a close ally of the Pippinids and that the foundation of Echternach, which was to become an important abbey during the time of Pippin III, was an early 'Carolingian' project.[55] Wampach tried to harmonise the content of the *Liber aureus* with the narrative established by Bede and Alcuin, as the example of the donor Irmina demonstrates. In the first part of the *Liber aureus*, Theoderic recorded four donations and a testament issued by the *abbatissa* Irmina.[56] In the latter document, dated to 1 December 697/8, she donates her inherited property at the *villa* of Echternach to the church and the monastery held by Willibrord.[57] Wampach expanded on the assumption that the Irmina in question was the abbess of Oeren and the mother of Plectrude, the wife of Pippin II. Following this line of thought, Irmina was also the mother of Adela of Pfalzel (d. after 732/3) and Bertrada (d. after 721), the foundress of the monastery of Prüm. Bertrada's granddaughter of the same name later married Pippin III. According to Wampach's influential argumentation, Irmina's role in the foundation of Echternach expressed the alliance of two of the leading Austrasian families, thereby setting the foundation for the Carolingians' rise to power.[58]

A critical examination of the evidence for Irmina of Oeren's relation to Willibrord, however, shows that the *Liber aureus* cannot readily be fitted into the narrative of earlier sources. First, the Irmina mentioned in the *Chronicon* is never referred to as the abbess *of Oeren* in the text of the charters, only by Theoderic.[59] However, he never identifies her as the mother of Plectrude. The argument for a possible relation between Irmina and Plectrude rests largely on onomastic evidence.[60] Secondly, no

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55 Wampach, 1929–1930, I 1, 114–124; repeated in Wampach 1953, 258–259.
56 Wampach 1929–1930, I 2, nos. 3. 4. 6. 9. 10.
57 Wampach 1929–30, I 2, no. 4.
58 Wampach 1929–1930, I 1, 129–135; Werner 1982, 11–34, summarises this narrative; Werner's conclusion, namely that there is not enough evidence to suggest a relation between Irmina of Oeren, Adela of Pfalzel and the Pippinids, was criticised by Hlawitschka 1985. Since then, the discussion has ebbed off; for the lasting impact of this narrative see Palmer 2009, 91–93; Fischer 2012, 155; Nelson 2020, 39.
59 The titles recorded in Wampach 1929–1930, I 2, nos. 3. 4. 6. 9. 10, are *in Christo Deo sacrata abbatissa* (3), *in Christo nomine Deo sacrata acsi indigna gratia Domini abbatissa* (4), *in Christo Deo sacrata abbatissa* (9. 10) and *abbatissa* (6).
60 The *Liber aureus* contains the summary of a donation, dated to 704, made by a certain Ymena and her daughters Crodelind and Attala to Willibrord. Scholars have equated Ymena with Irmina of Oeren, Crodelind with Betrada the elder and Attala with Adela of Pfalzel. A donation by Adela of Pfalzel, recorded as part of a compilation made between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, mentions her sister (*germana*) Regentrude alongside Plectrude. Despite the fact that only the former is clearly identified as Adela's sister, historians have combined both sources to suggest that Adela, Plectrude and Bertrada were daughters of Irmina of Oeren; Wampach 1929–1930, I 2, no. 12; Wampach 1935, no. 19 Werner 1982, 27. 99–120, has shown that the evidence is insufficient to equate Ymena with the

contemporary source mentions Irmina of Oeren (or her involvement with Willibrord). The earliest surviving text which links the abbess of Oeren with Echternach is Thio-frid's *Vita Irminae*.[61] Thiofrid wrote the text for the nuns of Oeren, who had begun to venerate an Irmina as the monastery's patron by the second half of the 10th century. Modesta, Irmina, Anastasia and Basilissa are, however, not recorded as Oeren's first abbesses until the 12th century.[62] The lack of early medieval sources for Irmina of Oeren is aggravated by the fact that the names of Modesta and Anastasia are recorded in sources from Willibrord's lifetime.[63] Olaf Schneider has argued that Thiofrid's basis for his association of Irmina of Oeren with Echternach is a chapter in Alcuin's *Vita Willibrordi*, in which Willibrord fends off a plague at a nunnery in Trier. Alcuin, how-ever, does not mention the name of the nunnery's leader.[64] According to Schneider, Thiofrid was aware of the reference to an *abbatissa* Irmina among the records pre-served in the monastery's archive. When he composed his *Life* of Irmina, he adapted his knowledge of Alcuin's text to the contemporary cult of Irmina of Oeren and to the history of Echternach. Thiofrid inserted the donations made to Willibrord by the *ab-batissa* into his *Life*, which Theoderic then used to compile the *Chronicon*.[65]

According to Wampach, the *Liber aureus* proves the interconnectedness between Willibrord, Irmina of Oeren and Pippin's II family. In contrast to this assumption, a reassessment of the evidence suggests that by the 12th century, the monks of Echter-nach did not possess any tradition that linked Irmina of Oeren back to Willibrord's time. Rather, they re-imagined the figure of the *abbatissa* Irmina according to their own needs. After the chronology of rulers in the second book of the *Chronicon*, Theo-deric's narrative shifts to Irmina, Pippin and Willibrord.[66] He then inserts Thiofrid's *Vita Irminae*, followed by the testament and her donations.[67] The other donations are only recorded after the Irmina-section, starting with two charters by Pippin II and Plectrude.[68] Although Theoderic copied Thiofrid's *Vita Irminae*, he greatly expanded the role of Irmina in the foundation of Echternach. Whereas Thiofrid mentions Irmi-

abbatissa Irmina; Hlawitschka 1985, 19–26 defends the reconstruction of the relation; see also Anton 1989, 122.

61 See note 46 and Schneider 2010, 132–133.

62 Irmina was wrongly remembered by the community of Oeren as the monastery's foundress and as a daughter of the Merovingian king Dagobert I (d. 639); Werner 1982, 36–37.

63 For Modesta (*abbatissa in monasterio Treverense*) see De Virtutibus Sanctae Geretrudis, 2 (ed. Krusch, 465); for Anastasia (*abbatissa puellarum in Horreo*) see Wampach 1929–1930, I 2, no. 19; Anas-tasia's name is also recorded in a marginal note under 9 December in the so-called *Calendar* of Willi-brord, compiled between 703 and 728 at Echternach, BnF Lat. 10837, fol. 40r (Wilson 1918, 44): https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001113z/f14.image (accessed 30 January 2020).

64 Alcuin, VW, 21 (ed. Levison, 132).

65 Schneider 2010, 174–179.

66 Theoderic, Chronicon, fols. 21r–22v (ed. Weiland, 47–48).

67 Theoderic, Chronicon, fols. 26r–28v (ed. Weiland, 48–53).

68 Theoderic, Chronicon, fol. 29r (ed. Weiland, 53).

na's support for Willibrord, but (like Alcuin) asserts that Willibrord founded Echternach by himself,[69] Theoderic characterises Echternach as a joint foundation by Irmina, Pippin, Plectrude and Willibrord.[70]

The structure of the *Liber aureus* reflects the new role attributed to Irmina of Oeren by Theoderic. Wampach did not ignore the political dimension of Theoderic's interest in the abbess of Oeren, but his focus on the supposed link between Irmina and the Carolingians overrode the former aspect: by listing the donations in chronological order, Wampach's edition sidestepped the problem associated with Theoderic's arrangement of his material.[71] In the *Vita Willibrordi*, Thiofrid states that Willibrord withdrew Echternach from the influence of the bishopric of Trier by putting the monastery under the Pippinids' protection.[72] Irmina's charter, dated to 1 November 697/8 and traditionally interpreted as a specification of the later testament, lists the bishops Basin and Liutwin of Trier both as witnesses and as initiators of the decision to donate her property to Willibrord.[73] Regardless of the question of the charter's authenticity, which cannot be discussed here in detail,[74] it seems probable that both Thiofrid and Theoderic were interested in the figure of Irmina of Oeren because of their monastery's continuous struggle against the territorial ambitions of the archbishop of Trier. By establishing Irmina's role in the foundation of Echternach, apparently in accordance with two bishops and Pippin II, Theoderic provided the monks with a historical argument for Echternach's independence from Trier and its closeness to the emperor.[75] Theoderic did not suggest a relation between Irmina of Oeren and Plectrude. Rather, his narrative anticipated Pippin and Plectrude's connection to Echternach, whereas the charters *after* the monastery's foundation.[76]

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69 Thiofrid, Vita s. Irminae, 5 (ed. Weiland, 49): Huic sanctissimo viro [Willibrord] beata virgo [Irmina] dedit medietatem fisci Epternacensis cum omnibus suis appendiciis [. . .] Qui construxit ibi aecclesiam et imposuit viros qui vitam exercerent monachicam.

70 Theoderic, Chronicon, fol. 31^v (ed. Weiland, 55): Ipse quippe anno ordinationis suae tercio monasterium Epternacense inchoavit et, cooperantibus sicut dictum est Irmina, Pippino et Plectrude aliisque quam plurimis nobilibus, feliciter consummavit; Schneider 2010, 136.

71 Wampach 1929–1930, I 2, nos. 1. 2 are recorded on fol. 31; nos. 3. 4 (Irmina's first charter and the testament) are recorded on fols. 25–26 and thus precede the other donations. Wampach also inverts the position of nos. 3 (fols. 26^r–27^r) and 4 (fols. 25^r–26^r) to comply with his chronological sequence.

72 Thiofrid, VW, 22 (ed. Poncelet, 473): [. . .] sed rata concessione ac firma testamenti conscriptione et astipulatione tradidit in ius et mundiburdium regum et imperatorum in ordine sibi legali iure succedentium.

73 Wampach 1929–1930, I 2, no. 3; the testament (no. 4) only lists Basin and Liutwin among the witnesses.

74 See the analysis by Schneider 2010, 128–182.

75 Schneider 2010, 152–153. 186.

76 Wampach 1929–1930, I 2, no. 14; Theoderic, Chronicon, fols. 29^v–30^v (ed. Weiland, 53–54); the transition between Irmina's charters and the first two charters by Pippin II and Plectrude contains Theoderic's statement that Echternach passed into the Pippinids' and their heirs' *dominatione et defensione* (see note 44). The second charter is followed by the statement that Echternach was a joint foundation

A promising approach could be to consider the *abbatissa* Irmina as a more independent political actor against whom the Pippinids were competing for influence in the region around Echternach. Pippin and Plectrude's first charter for Echternach indicates that, between 697/8 and 706, several parties were involved in the monastery's establishment.[77] Echternach was thus not a 'Carolingian' monastery from the start; Pippin's family needed to assert itself against other landholders first. Consequently, Irmina was marginalised in the institution's memory after 706. Thiofrid and Theoderic, therefore, did not 'rediscover' the link between Irmina and the Pippinids. They needed to create this link because none had previously existed: the analysis of the *Liber aureus*' composition suggests that the groups involved in the establishment of Echternach were competitors rather than allies investing in a common project.

In his extensive study of the evidence for Irmina of Oeren's relation to the Pippinids, Matthias Werner suggests that Pippin and Plectrude's claim to the ownership of Echternach led to a conflict with Irmina. However, Werner still identifies Irmina as the abbess of Oeren and assumes that the transition of Echternach to the Pippinids happened against the ambitions of the Trier episcopacy represented by Basin and Liutwin. According to Werner, Echternach became 'Carolingian' property in 706 as part of Pippin's *Klosterpolitik*.[78] Werner thus follows the narrative of the *Liber aureus* by assuming that, by 706, Echternach was firmly in 'Carolingian' hands and removed from the influence of Trier. In contrast, Olaf Schneider has argued that the Irmina in question was not the abbess of Oeren but an otherwise unknown nun (*deo sacrata*), whose titles and donations were modified in such a way by Thiofrid and Theoderic as to fit their narrative of Echternach's origin.[79] Even if Schneider's hypothesis is rejected and Irmina is identified as the abbess of Oeren in accordance with the established scholarly hypothesis, a reassessment of the evidence for Irmina's relation to the Pippinids shows that the identification of the *abbatissa* as the mother of Plectrude rests on Thiofrid and Theoderic's carefully constructed narratives. Consequently, by removing Irmina from the Pippinid family tree, it can be argued that Willibrord's political affiliations were neither restricted to one network of supporters nor predetermined from the beginning of his continental activities.

By carefully disentangling the different narratives, from Bede and Alcuin to the *Liber aureus* and finally to its modern reception, a more complex picture emerges. According to Wampach's edition, only seven of the 41 legal acts dated to Willibrord's

by Irmina, Pippin and Plectrude (see note 70); a drawing on folio 29^v stresses the link between Irmina and the Pippinids: it introduces the charters by Pippin II and Plectrude yet shows the *maior domus* and the abbess of Oeren holding the monastery; see also Werner 1982, 88.

77 Wampach 1929–1930, I 2, no. 14, relates that Pippin II and Plectrude received their share of Echternach from Theodard, son of the *dux* Theotar; Werner 1982, 126–155, concludes that a relation between Irmina and Theotar is probable; see also Devroey/Schroeder 2012, 52–58.

78 Werner 1982, 90–98; see also Trauffler 1999, 50–51.

79 Schneider 2010, 147. 171–182.

lifetime were issued by a member of Pippin II's family.[80] In contrast, the remaining charters and summaries record the names of many other landholders, witnesses and scribes, most of whom are otherwise unknown. Their possessions and the property which they donated to Willibrord were mostly located in Austrasia, especially in the *pagus* Toxandria, which formed part of the Meuse area. This region is not mentioned by Bede or Alcuin but probably played a central role in the conflicts between Charles Martel, the Neustrian elite and Radbod.[81] In the 7th century, churchmen from within the Frankish kingdom, such as Amandus of Maastricht (d. 679) and Eligius of Noyon (d. 659/660), had already been active here.[82] Within the material of the *Liber aureus*, the significance of Toxandria (and the areas around the Lower Rhine and the Moselle), where Christian communities appear to have been firmly established before Willibrord's arrival, does not only conflict with the focus of the hagiography on Frisia; it also contrasts with Bede and Alcuin's depiction of Willibrord as solely a missionary in the wake of Pippinid expansion.

As the example of Irmina shows, earlier studies have tried to reconcile the *Liber aureus* with the framework established by the hagiography. In contrast, this brief analysis suggests that the discrepancy between the sources' political and geographical foci should be emphasised. In this context, the concept of political 'player' or 'actor' represents a helpful approach to reconcile the conflicting aspects within the surviving evidence. It acknowledges Willibrord's potential to attract the support of different groups besides the Pippinids across Merovingian Austrasia. It also highlights the agency of both Willibrord and Christian landholders in their decision to seek each other's support, thus avoiding a fixation on a 'Carolingian' framework for Willibrord's choices. Finally, such an approach raises new questions regarding the role of figures like Willibrord within Merovingian society: if he primarily interacted with Christian communities, to what extent does the concept of 'missionary' still apply to him? To what extent did conflicts *within* Christian communities shape his activities? In contrast to the perspective of the hagiographical sources, recent studies on the Christianisation of early medieval Europe have revised the importance of military expeditions and 'top-down' approaches for religious and social change.[83] A different approach to Willibrord's political activity, which acknowledges his far-reaching network, the possible conflicts he was involved in and the diversity of his religious role, allows for a

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80 Wampach 1929–1930, I 2, nos. 14. 15. 24. 25. 27. 29. 41; see also Heidrich 2000, 456–457.

81 For Toxandria see Werner 1980, 139–58; Costambeys 1994; Theuws 2010.

82 Vita Amandi prima, 13 (ed. Krusch, 436–438); Vita Eligii Episcopi Noviomagensis, II 2 (ed. Krusch, 695–696); Esders 2016, 278–280; see also S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae, no. 109 (ed. Dümmler, 395–396), in which Boniface complains to Pope Stephen II about the archbishop of Cologne's claim to the see of Utrecht on the basis that King Dagobert I (d. 639) had apparently entrusted the conversion of the Frisians to his diocese.

83 Nancy/Ní Mhaonaigh 2017, 2–7.

more complex picture of the process of Christianisation and the Insular missions to the continent that has emerged in the past decades.

Abbreviations

AASS	Acta sanctorum
AMP	Annales Mettenses priores
Continuations	Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici libri IV cum continuationibus
HE	Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum
LHF	Liber Historiae Francorum
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MGH Epp.	Epistolae
MGH SRG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi
MGH SRM	Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
MGH SS	Scriptores
VW	Vita Willibrordi

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Control of Knowledge: Documenting Priestly Power

Reuven Kiperwasser

The Power of the Rabbis: Reading Urban Stories of Late Antiquity

Abstract: The rabbis living in the cities of Late Antique Palestine were a sort of local intellectual elite devoted to certain religious practices and learning the traditional disciplines of the rabbinic Judaism. In the complexity of the political life of Roman Palestine the rabbis probably were not a leading group, but a significant minority which often played the role of mediators between jewish people widely defined, non-oriented from the religious point of view and others, i.e. various sectarians, including Christians, as well as Roman pagans, and rabbinic jews. As a minority and an intellectual group, or – in Bryan Stock's words – at textual community the rabbis were led by the need to express their identity in their literary creation through a constant dialogue with their sacred text. In a series of short concise accounts, they expressed a typological religious use of the figure of God of Israel in the formation of their own identity and in determining the identity of the others. Looking closely at the others, in order to determine their own identity, they composed stories in which the atmosphere of the Mediterranean cities, staured with religious inquires finds expression. The paper will analyse these stories behalf of Pierre Bordieu's concept of symbolic violence and symbolic capital.

Keywords: Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi, Rabbi Aphas, Babylonian, Palestine scholars

There is a proverbial problem that everything we know about the ancient world is based on evidence that is both incomplete and difficult to interpret.[1] The history of the Jews during the first centuries is a case of this problem. Rabbinic literature, for all its vast dimensions, its preoccupation with the realia of social and economic life, and its immense cast of named characters, is notoriously unhelpful for writing a history of the Jews during the centuries when the rabbis flourished and when the literature associated with them was set down. Given the lack of other sources, the history of the Jews during the second through fifth centuries mostly must be painted with a very broad brush. However, I believe, it might provide the basis for a sociology of the rabbinic movement, as it would be explained further.

The Rabbis lived in the cities of Late Ancient Roman Palestine and they were a sort of local intellectual elite devoted to certain religious practices and to the learning of the traditional disciplines of the rabbinic Judaism. In the complexity of the political life of

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Roman Palestine the rabbis were, probably, not a leading group,[2] but a significant minority. They often played the role of mediator between a Jewish people widely defined, non-oriented from the religious point of view, vis-a vis others, i.e. various sectarians, including Christians, as well as Roman pagans, and rabbinic Jews. As a minority, and an intellectual group, or, in Bryan Stock's language, a textual community, the rabbis were led by the need to express their identity in their literary creation through a constant dialogue with their sacred text.[3] In a series of short concise accounts, they expressed a typological religious use of the figure of God of Israel in the formation of their own identity and in determining the identity of the others.[4] Looking closely at the others, in order to determine their own identity, they composed stories in which the climate of the Mediterranean cities, saturated with religious inquires, finds expression. In this article I analyse these stories with the help of Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic violence and symbolic capital. Bourdieu sees symbolic capital (e.g., prestige, honour, attention) as a crucial source of power. When holders of symbolic capital use it against agents who hold less power of this sort, and seek thereby to alter their actions, they exercise symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is fundamentally the imposition of categories of thought and perception upon dominated social agents, who then take the social order to be just. It is the incorporation of unconscious structures that tend to perpetuate the structures of action of the dominant agent. Symbolic violence is in some senses much more powerful than physical violence in that it is embedded in the very modes of action and structures of cognition of individuals.

Bourdieu contends that the relations of "domination" are rarely solely secured and legitimated through overt physical violence and uses the concept of 'symbolic power' to refer to the capacity of individuals, groups, and institutions to shape social life.[5] Symbolic power is "the power to make the world by imposing instruments for the cognitive construction of the world".[6] The efficacy of symbolic power, according to Bourdieu, reflects the tendency for particular modes of vision to be so deeply rooted within both the individual habitus, and surrounding social fields, that they are no longer understood as patterns of domination. Instead, these models of domination are rarely formally articulated but come to reflect a "preverbal," taken for-granted, understanding of the world that "flows from practical sense".[7]

Bourdieu is quite sceptical about the politically progressive nature of marginalized social groups,[8] and there is, in his analysis, a consistent tendency to examine

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2 See Schwartz 2002.

3 See Stock 1983. Stock emphasizes that the community could also base itself on texts in the plural, if they shared one interpretation of those texts.

4 For the problematics of other and otherness in Rabbinic texts, see Hayes 2007, 243–269.

5 Bourdieu 1989, 18–19.

6 Bourdieu 2002, 170.

7 Bourdieu 1990a, 68.

8 See Bohman 1997; Adams, 2006, 514.

how relations of domination are naturalized. I want to show, however, how the employer of symbolic violence can marginalize himself and how the marginalization could be used as a tool for gaining power.

In the framework of this paper, I want to analyse several stories, trying to answer the question: for which purpose was the political influence of the rabbis used and what do they want to achieve by it? It is crucial for me to use rabbinic narratives for this purpose. Across cultures, we find narrative used as a tool for making sense of experience. When a narrative is simultaneously born of and gives shape to experience, self and narrative become inseparably entwined.[9] Narrative activity allows tellers to impose order on otherwise disconnected events and to create continuity between past, present, and future. Moreover, narrative interfaces self and society, constituting a crucial resource for socializing identities, developing interpersonal relationships, and establishing membership in a community. In this way, narratives bring multiple, partial selves to life.[10]

Obtaining Power

Late Antique Palestinian Rabbis did not take a very active part in municipal affairs. Moreover, they were quite often critical towards their brethren who had ambitions to make a career of dealing with the social needs of the city. Thus, for example, in the following story they are expressing their disdain towards these who preoccupied themselves with political activities. In Ecclesiastes Rabbah 7:7 we find a short story about Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, who forgot the halakhic learning he had acquired from Rabbi Judah bar Pedayah, because he had become too involved in providing for community needs.

Ecclesiastes Rabbah 7:7[11]

> Surely oppression turns a wise man into a fool (Eccl 7:7).

R. Joshua b. Levi said: Eighty halakhot did I learn from Judah b. Pedayah concerning a grave that has been ploughed over, but through being occupied with the needs of the community, I forgot them all.

The rabbi's knowledge was lost because he prioritised the public realm of active deeds to the quiet solitude of academia. We don't know what kind of community needs (literally "needs of the majority") this socially active rabbi attended to, but clearly his behaviour was not entirely admirable for a rabbinic student, according to

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9 See Ochs/Capps 1996, 25–43.

10 See Levinson 2014, 81–107.

11 For the text and its textual parallels, see Kiperwasser, 2021, 30–40. See as well Kiperwasser 2010, 257–277.

the narrator's perspective. No one mishnaic treatise includes so many laws concerning a grave. Seemingly this knowledge was lost forever. One can see so much irony here. Preserving the laws of graves would have been a great service to the community, for the "needs of the majority" through the ages. That opportunity to serve the greater good is what he lost, through his social activism. The narrator intends to tell a didactic story in which the borders of the appropriate and inappropriate behaviour of sages are represented with their outcomes. The ideal sage is someone not overly involved in the political life of his city and loyal and respectful to members of his class. Memory, which is a lion's share of his wisdom, was taken from him, by the Divine will, as a sort of punishment.[12]

However, preaching to their students not to preoccupy themselves with mundane needs of their communities, they did not abstain from desiring political power of a certain kind; the power to influence or outright control the behaviour of people was what they wanted. Let us try to understand why, with the help of some other stories.

yMoed Qatan 3:1, 71c[13]

> A priest came to Rabbi Ḥanina. He said to him: What is the law as to going to Tyre to perform a religious duty (mitsvah), to perform the rite of halistah or to enter into levirate marriage? He said to him: Your brother went abroad. Blessed is the Omnipresent, who has smitten him. And now you want to do the same thing?
>
> There are those who wish to say that this is what he said to him: Your brother left the bosom of his mother, and embraced the bosom of a foreign woman, and blessed be He who smote him! And now you wish to do the same thing?
>
> Simeon bar Va came to Rabbi Ḥanina. He said to him: Write me a letter of recommendation since I am going abroad to make a living. He said to him: "Tomorrow I will go to your ancestors, and they will say to me: That single precious planting that we had in the Land of Israel you have permitted to go forth from the Land?

These stories occur in the context of a discussion about the permissibility for Israelites and priests to have their hair cut during a festival and pertains to priests leaving the Land of Israel for a given period.[14] Two cases are discussed, one of which has two different versions of its punch line.[15] In both of them, Rabbi Ḥanina, a former Babylonian who, not without drama, became an exemplary Palestinian sage,[16] warns one priest and one rabbi, questioning their motivation for leaving the Holy Land. In the second variant of the rabbi's warning to the priest the "mother/stepmother" metaphor appears. The priest is represented as a stupid child who does not want to be nursed by his own mother, looking instead for nourishment in the bosom of a "strange-woman." To leave

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12 I deal with this theme in great detail in: Kiperwasser 2020, 119–142.

13 Academia ed., 809.

14 The passage is linked to the previous discussion by this sentence: "If so, then if a priest goes abroad, since he has gone forth from the Land [not with] without the approval of the sages, he should be forbidden to get a haircut [when he comes home]."

the mother for a strange woman is evil, according to R. Ḥanina. The Land of Israel symbolizes the real mother and any other land is always "the other" woman. Therefore, a son of the Promised Land must always obey his natural mother, whatever her caretaking may be like, and no matter how welcoming he finds his stepmother.[17]

In the second case, which does not use the mother/stepmother metaphor, Shimon ben Va is a Babylonian immigrant,[18] whose assimilation in the Promised Land has not worked out and now he seeks out his Palestinian master, asking for assistance in making a new life abroad; presumably, he wants to go back to Babylonia, with a letter of recommendation from his master. The master's answer, while showing his appreciation of his student's qualities, is a politely formulated refusal. The narrator had his highly honoured hero express in words the ideal behaviour of the Babylonian Other: he should embrace the bosom of his real mother, even if he suffers in her house.

These stories belong to a known type of stories about students asking their masters' permission to leave the Land of Israel and usually getting a refusal, because almost every reason for leaving the land was not important enough. Not to leave the Land of Israel is a rabbinic norm, with the clear political message. They want the people of their own kind in the Land of their ancestors; thus, they are eager to employ their power to keep their people there. Naturally this power could only be used only by mutual consent of the parties. Students were obedient to their masters due to the structures of power in the academy. From this point of view, the first story is much more important: here the person who is obedient to rabbinic instruction is a priest, meaning someone of the ancient Jewish religious elite group that has its own power, due to its genealogy. The Rabbis where ready to employ the power of religious instruction to ensure the population of promised land by people of the desirable origin and appropriate range.

Delayed Ordination

At the head of rabbinic hierarchy during the first half of the 3nd century, we find Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi (ca. 165–220), who was a high Roman official in Galilee and a prominent figure and leader in the Rabbinic milieu. As is well-known, the descendants of Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi, headed the rabbinic hierarchy for almost three hun-

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17 Therefore, it is typical for the "folkloristic" approach that the real mother is always better than the stepmother. The opposition of mother/stepmother also appears in bTa'an 20a: "People say: Better are the lashes of a mother than the kisses of the father's wife." The saying appears only in one of the manuscripts, see Malter 1930, 79, n. 20. The concept of the wicked stepmother is a well-known motif, see Ilan 2008, 194–195. For the usage of it in rabbinic rhetoric see Kiperwasser 2015.
18 Albeck 1969, 268.

dred years,[19] and they claimed to be descendants of Hillel the Elder.[20] Concentrating in his hands political and economic power given to him by the Roman rulers in order to control the inhabitants of Galilee, he also exercised control over the learned class of the rabbis. To be a rabbi, one had to be ordained by his old and experienced masters (the term is *minuy*, the appointment as rabbi).[21] Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi usurped this prerogative for himself. In his days, to become a rabbi one had to receive the title from him personally and, as is well known, some prominent sages were deprived of it. The title rabbi, gave honour, recognition and some economic benefits, as for example exemptions in the payment of some taxes.[22]

yTa'anit 4:2, 78a[23]

Rabbi used to confer two ordinations.[24] If they proved worthy, they remained, if not – they were removed. When he was about to die, he instructed his son, saying: Do not act so, but appoint them all one after another and Rabbi Ḥama bar Ḥanina first.

But why did he not do so himself? Said Rabbi Derosa:[25] It was because the people of Sepphoris cried out against him. And because of the crying out they did so?

Said Rabbi Lazar bar Rabbi Jose: It was because he publicly corrected what Rabbi had said. Rabbi was sitting and expounding the homily:[26] "Then those of you who escape will remember me" (Ezek 6:9) "But those who escape from them at all, shall be on the mountains like doves of the valley, all of them moaning (homiyot)" (Ezek 7:16).

Rabbi Ḥanina said to him: The proper reading of the last word is "homot."

He said to him: Where did you study Scripture? He said to him: With Rav Hamnuna of Babylonia. He said: When you go back there, tell him that I appoint you a sage. So, Rabbi Ḥanina knew that he would never be appointed in Rabbi's time.

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19 According to the relatively new approach of scholars, the title Nasi and the patriarchate as a form of socio-religious leadership, only began with Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi, see Goodman 2000, 111–118, and Jacobs 1995, 99–123. About the portrait of this prominent figure in rabbinic literature see Meir 1999), For an attempt to reconstruct the historical figure from the literary traditions see Oppenheimer 2017).

20 This genealogical claim was questioned by modern scholars. The claim is based on the assumption that Simeon ben Gamliel, the father of Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi, was a descendant of a noble Jerusalemite family, which stemmed from Hillel the Elder. Stern 2003, 193–215 argues that Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi was not a son of Simeon b. Gamliel, as it was customary to think, but came from a different family of Galilean aristocracy.

21 מינוי is a term used in Palestinian rabbinic literature to denote ordination as a "licensed" sage, someone entitled to an exemption from fees and taxes specified by Roman law. See Lieberman 1945/6), 329–370, and Lieberman 1946/7, 31–54. See also Lieberman 1955–1988, 729, n. 40. See also Hezser 1997, 425–427.

22 See in the Lieberman and Hezser quoted in previous footnote.

23 See Academia ed., 728.

24 "Rabbi" without a name refers to Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi.

25 Derosa is not a common name. It could be a corruption of "Dosa," the name of a well-known Palestinian Amora; see Albeck 1969, 232. However, considering the parallel version, we can hypothesize that the Yerushalmi here also had "Rabbi Jose," which because of copyists' errors became "Derosa" (דר׳ יוסא=דרוסא or ר׳ יוסא=דוסא).

26 See the explanation below.

This is a story about the competition between the learned foreigner and the local head of the academic hierarchy. The Babylonian newcomer is well-educated and re-nowned for his knowledge, and he naturally expects to be ordained as a rabbi. The story about the long road which led Rabbi Ḥanina bar Ḥama[27] to his *minuy*,[28] begins with a description of the situation before the appointment took place. According to the *Yerushalmi*, Rabbi would ordain two candidates; on the basis of the parallel ver-sion in *Kohelet Rabbah*, we know that this took place annually.[29] If the new appoint-ees' performances were in order, he would permit them to remain in their positions, but if not, the unsuccessful sages would have to depart (מסתלקין) and the vacancies would then be opened to other candidates. Before his death, Rabbi asked one of his sons to change the appointment procedure: rather than confer both appointments at once, he should ordain the new sages one after the other, probably because of the declining number of candidates.[30]

In this story we find two explanations why Rabbi Ḥanina was ordained very late. According to the first, attributed in *Yerushalmi* to Rabbi Dosa, the people of Sepphoris opposed Rabbi Ḥanina's appointment.[31] This tradition is preserved in *Kohelet Rabbah* in a longer version and attributed to Rabbi Jose bar Zebid.[32] In this version, Rabbi Ḥanina wonders why the demand of the Sepphorians was taken into consideration, and Rabbi answers that if you consider someone's opinion in a situation which is favourable to yourself, then you must equally consider it in negative situations. This is a benign expla-nation for Rabbi's behaviour; on his deathbed, though, he felt sorry for the Babylonian. This narrative tradition clearly wants to hint that the society of local Sepphorians was against the Babylonian emigre, but not the head of rabbinic hierarchy.

Yet the story continues with another explanation for Rabbi Ḥanina's misfortune. The latter had once insulted the Nasi. Rabbi had delivered a sermon based on two verses from Ezekiel, and Rabbi Ḥanina corrected his reading in public. Rabbi's mis-

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27 The Yerushalmi at the beginning mentions Rabbi Ḥama bar Ḥanina, and then Rabbi Ḥanina; clearly the first version is a scribal error. The proper reading is Rabbi Ḥanina bar Ḥama.

28 See above n. 21.

29 It is not very clear to what position and with what responsibilities they were appointed, but it must have given them some power and possibly some financial freedom.

30 See Lieberman 1974, 144. Unlike the Yerushalmi, Kohelet Rabbah tells us that Rabbi would ordain two sages every year; if their work was not acceptable, they would die (דמכין). Strikingly, the later for-mulator made a mistake in interpreting the word מסתלקין which could be understood literally as "leav-ing" and, more metaphorically, as "leaving this world, dying." Both usages occur in Yerushalmi. I would suggest, following Lieberman's note on this, that our narrator implied the first meaning (see Lieberman 1974, 144, n. 230). Thus, the version in Kohelet Rabbah is less reliable than the one in Yerushalmi.

31 According to Buchler 1909, 53–57, and Lieberman 1974, 144, n. 230 the expression "people of Sep-phoris" refers to the Sepphorian mob, but Miller 1992, 175–200 claims that this is a group of Sepphor-ian sages who, for political reasons, wished to prevent Rabbi Hanina's appointment. See Miller 2006, 63–100 as well.

32 A Palestinian Amora of the 4th generation (320–350 C.E); see Albeck 1969, 334.

take did not alter the meaning of the verse. The word הומות is the plural form of הומה; the word הומיות is plural of הומיה; both actually mean the same.[33] To correct mistakes made by the head of the rabbinic hierarchy, however slight, was considered inappropriate, and not very wise. Our Babylonian, however, thought that the words of a prophet were more important than polite considerations; moreover, perhaps in his culture it was appropriate for advanced students to correct their masters' mistakes.[34] At least this was the narrator's assumption.[35] Both to be alien and to have this annoying alien custom of correcting everyone, even your master, is reason enough not to be appointed to any eminent position. Rabbi's decision not to ordain him was immediately expressed in his ironic question: Who is the teacher of the problematic scholar? The teacher was in fact Rav Hamnuna, famous for his biblical erudition and his pedantic attitude to quoted passages.[36] To mention him is meaningful. The name of a pedantic erudite is a marker of Babylonian identity in the eyes of the Palestinian narrator. These Babylonians were extremely well versed in the Bible; they knew all the verses by heart. Therefore, they were dangerous in the house of study. The hegemony of the host was threatened by their presence.

The answer of the Babylonian at first appears naïve, as the Babylonian did not detect the menacing undertone in Rabbi's voice. However, it is quite possible that here the Babylonian was just proclaiming his right to do as he pleased, for he declared that he had been educated by a person with superb biblical knowledge. As his student, he therefore had every right to correct the errors of Palestinian scholars.[37] The unlucky sage received from Rabbi the ironical advice to go from Palestine to Babylonia, to meet his teacher there in order to be ordained as a Palestinian sage, something impossible, of course. Rabbi Ḥanina took this as implying that he would never be or-

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33 These are two different forms of the same root – the relatively rare הומיה is an active participle. This form is sometimes found in poetry; for example, Prov 1:21; 7:11; 9:13; Isa 22:2 and see Koehler/Baumgartner/Stamm/Richardson 1994, 250. The form הומיות was known to Rabbi from other biblical verses, such as Prov 1:21, but the misreading was probably due to the phonetic influence of the preceding word גאיות.

34 See Averbach 1983, 76–79. There he proposes that Rabbi was angry with the Babylonian student, because he corrected his mistake, which is less important than making a mistake in Halakhic instruction.

35 Even though in the Babylonian Talmud itself we can find some restrictions about public questionings of rabbis, in order to eliminate shaming, see Rubenstein 2003, 73–77 and 86.

36 On the term ספרא, see Fraenkel 1922/1923, 118a; for the category of sages famous for their pedantic approach to the Bible, see Rosenthal 1983, 395–398.

37 Rabbi Hanina bar Hama as a representative of the Babylonian sages to Palestine is discussed in Schwartz 1980, 89; Schwartz 1998, 118–131.

dained as long as Rabbi remained in office.[38] This account of Rabbi Ḥanina's rejection clearly implies his non-acceptance as the Other. The story then continues:

> After he died, his son wished to appoint him, but he declined, saying: I shall not accept the appointment until you have first appointed Rabbi Aphas of Daroma.
>
> There was an old man present who said: If R. Ḥanina is appointed first, I am second, and if Rabbi Aphas of Daroma is first, I am second. Rabbi Ḥanina agreed to be appointed third and merited a long life.
>
> He said: I do not know why I have been worthy of living many years, whether it is because of this incident, or whether it is because of what [happened] when coming up from Tiberias to Sepphoris, I took a roundabout route in order to greet Rabbi Simeon ben Ḥalafta at Ayn Te'enah. I do not know.

The story continues: the leader of the Palestinian rabbis dies, and it falls to his son to reward the Babylonian scholar. Yet, when Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi's son wishes to appoint our Babylonian, he declines, because, according to his perceptions of honor and justice, his older college Rabbi Aphas (or Pas) deserves to be appointed first.[39] However, in the world of rabbinic academies of the time there were other scholars who had been disgraced by Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi. We do not know much about Rabbi Aphas, except some his teachings and the fact that he came from Daroma, in Judea, far from the Galilee where most of our narrative traditions took place.[40] The narrative tradition we are looking at is Galilean, but apparently critical of Sepphoris society and quite critical of Rabbi and his son. Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi could not suppress his anger towards non-compliant outsiders and thwarted their careers. He regretted some of his misdeeds, but even when he ordered his son to rectify the situation, he could do nothing in the face of local politics and human ambitions. A certain, nameless, candidate for ordination, simply called "one old man," did not want to have his appointment postponed for anyone else, so our hero agreed to be appointed third, and was forced to wait years for a vacancy. Now that we are nearing the punchline, the readers' expectations are probably focusing on Rabbi Ḥanina's self-restraint. However, the actual message of the story is more profound. It turns out that our hero was still alive long after the events described above. Longevity is undoubtedly a sign of a God-given blessing in rabbinic thought, a reward for righteousness, virtuous deeds.[41] Thus, in the epilogue to the story, the hero, in his old age, meditates on his virtuous deeds that merited him a long life. He posits

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38 The part of the verse cited to clinch the plot is not found in the Kohelet Rabbah version. There is a lacuna in the first half of the story, which is nonetheless still attributed to R. Abun, unlike the attribution in the Yerushalmi.

39 For the analyses of the Babylonian parallel see Tropper 2013, 179–183.

40 About the ties between Judea and Galilea and their respective relationships to the Babylonian Diaspora I will write in another place. However, here I refer to previous discussions, first of all to Lieberman 1935, 458; Goldberg 1975–1976, 82; Schwartz 1982, 188–197; Sussman 1989–1990, 55–133; 96, n. 170.

41 See Schofer 2010, 151–165.

two explanations for it: his first good deed may have been his refusal of the rabbinical appointment. His second good deed may have been his custom, whenever he returned from Tiberias to his newly-acquired hometown Sepphoris, to take a roundabout route and visit Rabbi Simeon ben Ḥalafta, who lived out of his way in the village of Ayn Te'enah in the Sepphoris area.[42] He does not know which of these actions gave him longevity. Professing ignorance in this situation means admitting that they were both, more or less, equal in value. Rabbi Simeon ben Ḥalafta, an outsider living apart from the rabbinic establishment of his period,[43] must have been very old by then. To visit an old sage living in solitude in a small village is certainly a good deed, albeit insignificant. However, it expresses a certain ideal. To visit a sage with no political influence is no less important than to be recognized by an academic institution or to receive a title from the Nasi with real political clout. The final musing is subversive, for it expresses the longing for alternative-style leadership, not based on political power or money, but on moral dignity and spiritual force.

Thus, the story has showed us the force and the limits of symbolic power. The power of symbolic capital is that it is deeply rooted in a kind of collective convention of a social group in which it is used. The right to symbolic violence, given in the hands of the leader of the intellectual community, is something that goes without saying and is not questioned. Doubt in the values usually associated with the image of the owners of symbolic capital, however, inevitably appears and then the symbolic capital becomes less valuable. Perhaps after some time, symbolic capital of a different kind will become the property of those who were earlier on the periphery of the distribution of symbolic forces. Thus, on this battlefield radical change will not take place. But still there is probably room for some hope for a better social order.

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42 About this extraordinary sage and his place in rabbinic narratives, see Kiperwasser 2009, 3–24. Regarding the village see Reeg 1989, 483–484. According to this identification, the village was approximately 7 km east to Sepphoris. However, see the recent proposition of Leibner 2016, 1–6, 120 n. 350, identifying the place with a former Arab village north-east to Sepphoris which is much closer.
43 See Kiperwasser 2009.

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Katharina Knäpper

"Domination through Knowledge": The Sacred Dimension of Bureaucracy in the Oracular Sanctuary of Dodona

Abstract: The debate on ancient Greek divination has received new impetus in the last decade with two main approaches: first, the political use of divination in general and oracles in particular has got a lot of attention. This keyword is connected to the variety of the different uses, the Greeks made of divination within the political field. It has been shown that the integration of oracles into the explanation of more or less political decisions had an important legitimating impact within the Greek oecumene. The second current approach centres on the completely renewed source situation for oracular consultations since the expansion of the known corpus of oracular inscriptions on lead tablets from Dodona by around 4000 new inscriptions. Questions of political communities or kings are a rarity within this material group. The majority of the texts are private oracular questions on daily life topics as marriage, progeny, well-being or economical decisions. The paper focus on whether and how the religious agents at the oracular sanctuary exerted power by the construction of (social) consesus.

Keywords: Dodona, sacred bureaucracy, Delphi, Siwa, tablets, cleromancy

Introduction

A copper engraving in an illustrated edition of Blaise de Vigenère's French translation of Philostratus' *Eikones* shows a daytime scene at the sanctuary of Dodona, as it was imagined in the early 17th century.[1] The oracular oak, decorated with ornamented rings or crowns, dominates the centre of the picture; young women and men wearing

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1 Vigenère 1615, 546.

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oak crowns and sashes dance around the tree. Three different groups of people – elderly men wearing oak leaves around their heads, barely vested young women waiting in a position reminiscent of Renaissance ballet and young men playing flutes and leading two oxen – gaze at the dancers. In the background one can see a round temple with a smoking altar and a female statue; far behind the horizon line shows a contemporary 17th century city skyline. The engraving corresponds with the text of Philostratus' description of Dodona only in parts.

Under the almost full-page illustration an epigram of Thomas Artus, sieur d'Embry, reveals the interpretation of oracles, priests and their relation to political entities in early modern France. The text reads as follows:

> Lequel semble plus grand miracle,
> Ou qu'vn cheſne ait dit quelque oracle,
> Ou qu'vn homme ait peu en ce lieu,
> Tenir vn cheſne pour vn Dieu?
> Ceux cy veulent vne couronne,
> Des mains des preſtres de Dodone,
> Qui au lieu de les faire Roys,
> Les rendent eſclaues d'vn boys.
> Car leur ame toute charmée,
> Par cette choſe inanimée,
> Ils en font leur deuotion,
> Leur Dieu & leur religion.[2]

D'Embry starts with a ridicule of the idea of the Dodonean oak being part of the divinatory process or even claiming some form of holiness. He continues describing Dodona in the same spirit in the second stanza, where he, at least in the context of this paper, reaches the essentials: D'Embry points out, that those, who like to be crowned by the priests of Dodona, will not achieve what they desire, as the priests make them to slaves of a piece of wood. In the last stanza the author explains the misfortune of the petitioners at Dodona with the priestly devotion to an inanimate thing. On the one hand, d'Embry thus delegitimises the pre-Christian ritual practice at Dodona as a form of idolatry. On the other hand, the wit of the epigram works, because in the monarchic and Christian world of the author's priests, or rather bishops, could 'make' kings – they could crown them, but also enable them to be kings in a more figurative sense of the phrase; their actions were justified by their position as intermediaries between god and the mankind.

Within the context of this paper I aim to shed some light on the historical situation at the oracular sanctuary of Dodona. My central question is therefore: Did the priests hold a position which enabled them to influence the political situation? Or are there any markers for the priestly exertion of power or influence into other spheres

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2 Vigenère 1615, 546. I thank Prof. Dr. Peter Cichon (Vienna) for his support with the interpretation of the historical writings of this epigram.

of society? And if so, how did they manage to exert their power and how can we describe its character?

The material group I aim to focus on in this matters for the major part consists of oracular enquiries of individual consultants and answers of the oracle, both written on lead tablets, from Dodona.

Depending on the topic of this volume, the power of the priests, this paper consists of the following sections: As a first step the categories 'priests' and 'power' will be recapitulated. Therefore, the modern debate on priesthood in ancient Greece will be delineated very briefly, concentrating on aspects of ritual performance and religious expertise; this section will be followed by a discussion of the term 'power' and its cognates in significance 'influence', 'domination' and 'authority'. Subsequently I will proceed with a concise introduction on the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona, the oracular tablets and the main lines of the current debate on divination. Thereupon I will outline some functions of primarily private oracular consultations, as we can reconstruct them from the known enquiries and responses. In this context I will focus on the role the priestly committees played in ritual practice at Dodona and the reasons for the enquirers' decision for the consultation of the Dodonean oracle.

Knowledge is Power

The nexus between power and knowledge is a commonplace in western civilisations at least since the Age of Reason. In his *Meditationes Sacrae* Francis Bacon coins the phrase "for knowledge itself is a power" or "*nam et ipsa scientia potestas est*"[3] in the Latin version of the text. In this passage the (absolute) power of god is characterised within the wider discussion of heresy and atheism,[4] while talking of human power Bacon uses "*potentia*".[5] Two decades later Bacon even strengthens the connection between human power and knowledge in his famous *Novum Organum scientiarum* explaining that "scientia et potentia humana in idem coincidunt, quia ignoratio causae destituit effectum".[6] Since then Bacon's equation of knowledge and power inspired political and scientific theories as well as cultural interpretations from – to name but a few examples – Thomas Hobbes to Michel Foucault, from Wilhelm Liebknecht to

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3 Bacon 1597.

4 On the religious context of Bacon's knowledge/power concept cf. Briggs 1996, esp. 183.

5 Rossi 1996, 15.

6 Bacon 1620, I 3: "knowledge and power fall into one, for where the cause is not known the effect cannot be produced".

anonymous *Sponti*-poets or from the Soviet popular scientific journal *Знание–сила* to the HBO-series *Game of Thrones*.[7]

Taking Bacon's equation into account power can be exerted within the sphere of politics – as for him human power acts *in politicis* – based on knowledge, that is expertise in a special field. Defining this field as the religious, we will not be able to avoid the question, whether religious experts could gain an amount of power within the political life. For Egypt or Near Eastern civilisations a positive answer has been given.[8] Piotr Steinkeller for instance defines the cultic elite in Babylonia as a "managerial class" with an own political agenda and enormous economic resources.[9] Moreover, in a paper comparing Greece and the Near East Johannes Renger asserts that Mesopotamian divination was a result of professional expertise based on rational criteria. Their actions allowed the religious experts to gain independence face to face with the ruling elite and thus to gather a certain amount of power. In Greece, he states making up a stark contrast, the Pythia prophesied in trance.[10]

Priests?

Without opening the secondary theatre of war of trance-divination,[11] further attention should be given to the questions whether and to which degree Greek priests could be seen as religious experts and what kind of power or influence they could gather. The

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7 Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* I 10 (London 1688): "scientia potentia est". Hobbes, who has been secretary to Bacon in his early years, diminishes the equation by the apposition "*sed parva*". Michel Foucault develops the concept of "knowledge-power-relations" in *Naissance de la prison. Surveiller et punir* (Paris 1975, engl. translation by Alan Sheridan, New York 1977). He assumes "that power produces knowledge [. . .]; that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations." (Foucault 1977, 27). For the interpretation of the knowledge/power-equation in the scientific debate of the 20th century cf. Rodríguez García 2001.

Wilhelm Liebknecht's speech "Wissen ist Macht – Macht ist Wissen" in Dresden 1872 stands for the socialist emphasis of the importance of national education, its variation "Wissen ist Macht, nichts Wissen macht nichts" etc. in West-German left wing student circles of the 1970ies for protest.

The journal *Знание–сила* (knowledge–power) goes back to 1926 and cites Bacon *in extenso* in its statutes; in episode *The Night Lands* (01/02) of HBO series *Game of Thrones* a comparison is made between the actions of power through knowledge and power through power.

8 For the Egyptian conception of priesthood cf. *e.g.* already Hall 1913, 279–285; Kees 1933, 242–257; Conde 2006, esp. 12–21; for the role of priests in Near Eastern societies cf. Maul 1999; Tsumura 1999; Zamora López 2006, 27–30; Watts 2009, esp. 41–44, 58–59. See also the papers of S. Kubisch and N. Marković in this volume.

9 Steinkeller 2017, 50–57.

10 Renger 2008, 26–27.

11 On the Pythia's trance-divination cf. now Trampedach 2015, 179–199.

answers to these questions have differed throughout the scientific debate. Even the term 'priest' in pre-Christian religious contexts has been challenged for very good reasons.[12] As there is no exhaustive treatment of an old problem, I would like to highlight two opposite positions: Martin P. Nilsson points out in his epochal *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* that priests gained expertise through their service and thus turned to guardians of the religious traditions[13] and on the other end of the scale Walter Burkert comments that "Greek religion might almost be called a religion without priests", as there was no exclusive priestly group with an own, to use modern terms, group identity.[14] Burkert's almost-aphorism refers to the idea, slowly evolving to form the *communis opinio*, of priestly service in Greece being part of the social and political life and not demanding special expertise evolving from other sources then passive attendance in rituals.[15]

In 2008 this debate has been revitalised by Kai Trampedach's and Beate Dignas' edited volume "Practitioners of the Divine. Greek Priests and Religious Figures from Homer to Heliodorus".[16] In eleven chapters scholars carry out the state of research and open up new perspectives on different aspects of priesthood in chronologically and geographically varying *environments* of the Greek oecumene. Furthermore, the editors attempt to establish the expression "practitioners of the divine" as a superordinate and inclusive term for the different types of religious personnel from *hiereus* to *mantis*.[17]

Within the scope of this paper Angelos Chaniotis' contribution entitled "Priests as Ritual Experts in the Greek World" deserves closer attention. Based on predominantly epigraphic sources the author defines priests as "performers of rituals" and underlines the manifold occasions for Greek citizens to fulfil priestly duties.[18] But, he points out in agreement with the already mentioned *communis opinio*, for the majority of ritual functions expertise was not indispensable. Exceptions of this rule refer particularly to mystery cults, magic, divination and purification, as there special and partly secret knowledge is central. Furthermore, Chaniotis stresses out that magic or divina-

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12 Extensively treated in Henrichs 2008, who reassembles the different scholarly positions on ancient priesthood and points out that a "widespread approach to the concept of Greek priests is the *via negativa* that defines them in terms of how the Greek evidence frustrates our Christianizing expectations of what priests and priesthoods should be" (Henrichs 2008, 4); cf. also the substantial discussion in Bremmer 2012, 220–225; cf. further North–Beard 1990, 3; North 1996, 1245; Hedrick 2007, 289–290, 295; Osborne 2009, 118–119; Bremmer 2013, esp. 160–161.
13 Nilsson 1967, 54–55; cf. Bruit-Zaidmann/Schmitt Pantell/Cartledge 1992, 54: "guardians of sacred law during their term of office, ensuring that the laws were respected and thereby guaranteeing the perpetuation of ancestral tradition."
For the sake of convenience, I will use the term priest in the sense of *hiereus.*
14 Burkert 1985, 95.
15 Stengel 1920, 33; Garland 1984, 75–76; Bremmer 1994, 6–8; Gschnitzer 2003a, 149; Gschnitzer 2003b, 36; cf. further Henrichs 2008, 9–14.
16 Dignas/Trampedach 2008.
17 Dignas/Trampedach 2008, 231–233.
18 Chaniotis 2008, 17–19.

tory rituals could have been performed by non-specialists, as long as they had access to some form of tutoring *e.g.* through a book or personal instruction; but this did not mean, he proceeds, that ritual experts lost their legitimacy.[19]

In any case, at least in particular ritual fields, some form of expertise was necessary divination being one of them. Thus, *manteis* and *chresmologoi* as 'practitioners of the divine' were experts with focus on ritual communication with the divine sphere.[20] With Michael Flower *manteis* even acted as skilled and charismatic religious experts, gaining a level of authority through their deeds.[21] The author separates the 'seers' from the 'priests' explicating that the priestly authority depended on the office and the mantic on the parentage and personal charisma of the seer.[22]

But how does that observation fit the situation in oracular sanctuaries? What degree of expertise can assume for oracular priests? Where is the difference between priests and prophets and how can we separate their duties? And last but not least, is there a form of power or authority adhering to all of them?

The state of research is quite complicated in these matters. Priests and prophets in oracular sanctuaries seem to differ as well from 'regular' priests as from *manteis* and *chresmologoi*, at the same time having a partly common ground with both groups. Concerning the articles on manifold ancient religious performers collected in the comparative volume "Priests and Prophets among Pagans, Jews and Christians" Robert Parker underlines in his introduction that in oracular sanctuaries the differences between priests and prophets were obscure.[23] Focussing on Imperial Asia Minor Nicole Belayche illustrates very convincingly that and why it is not possible to draw a clean line between the two groups in many contexts. According to her, priests perceived divination as a part of their genuine religious duties, acted as diviners and were thus able to strengthen their social position.[24]

Also beyond the idea of priests extending their socio-political status using their expertise in divination, there are strong arguments to assume that they gained some

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19 Chaniotis 2008, 19.

20 Dignas/Trampedach 2008, 239–241; Trampedach 2008, 227; cf. further Trampedach 2015, 480–497; Johnston 2008, 5–30, 118–119.

21 Flower 2008b, 188–190; Flower 2008a, esp. 58–60; Flower 2015; cf. Trampedach 2008, 226.

22 Flower 2008b, 190–191, 193; cf. further Chaniotis 2008, 29–31, where the author concentrates on the purchase of priesthoods in cults requiring expertise and figures out, that next to the purchaser an expert could be called in.

23 Belayche 2013, 120–122, 135.

24 Parker 2013, 13; he further denotes: "We are, however, learning to avoid easy generalisations about ancient priests, and priests who have more on their minds than just looking after good order in the sanctuaries of which they have charge. Both also show that Scheid's critique, in relation to Roman religion, of the opposition between priest and prophet, can be extended to the Greek world: even in the great oracular sanctuaries of the west coast of Asia Minor, where one might have expected a clear differentiation between different honourable functions, the lines between the roles can be blurred." (Parker 2013, 3–4).

sort of power or authority through genuine priestly characteristics and functions. The religious practitioners could acquire prestige through their office, just to name one possible explanation for the purchase of priesthoods or the pursuit of a "priestly *cursus honorum*",[25] and use it as 'symbolic capital' in the sense of Pierre Bourdieu to improve their own position within the socio-political sphere.[26] On the other hand, priests were also the ones to ensure that traditional sacred laws were followed during their term of office.[27] Doing this, they were able to control the economics of the sanctuary, the access to the sanctuary and the performance of the rituals within the sanctuary; all three factors might have enlarged their ability to exert influence, at least into the social sphere.

Accepting the idea of blurred lines between the ritual performers and religious experts in divination (to an even higher degree in oracular sanctuaries) and beyond that, acknowledging the fact that the particular practitioners of the divine could gather some form of standing through their expertise and office, light should be shed on the second part of the aforementioned equation: power.

Power

Before plunging *in medias res*, there is a need to consider, how to imagine, and even more important, how to describe the form of power, influence and/or authority[28] religious practitioners held – with respect to their expertise or performance – in the special surrounding of a Greek oracular sanctuary. The general problem to describe power from a sociological point of view has been seen already by Max Weber. For him 'power' (Macht) is the "Chance, innerhalb einer sozialen Beziehung den eigenen Willen auch gegen Widerstreben durchzusetzen, gleichviel worauf diese Chance beruht."[29] Besides, 'power' is "sociologically amorphous" for it is based on coercion and

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25 On the *cursus honorum* cf. Dignas 2003. The problem of the purchase of priesthoods is more complex; we know from epigraphical sources that sometimes volunteers were not that easy to find, cf. Dignas 2002, 250–270; Chaniotis 2008, 24–25, with a connection to honorary inscriptions for priests; Chaniotis 2013, 98.

26 For the "habitus-field-theory" cf. Bourdieu 1983; Bourdieu 1987; in matters of religion cf. Bourdieu 1985; cf. further Müller 2005; Jurt 2010; for a summary with connection to the religious and political field in ancient Greece, cf. Knäpper 2014, esp. 30–32.

27 Bruit-Zaidmann/Schmitt Pantell/Cartledge 1992, 54.

28 Imbusch 2012, 9, stresses out, dealing with power in scientific context we encounter "eine unendliche Vieldeutigkeit der mit Macht und Herrschaft bezeichneten Phänomene (etwa Autorität, Einfluss, Zwang, Gewalt, etc.)" and, additionally, partly synonymous, hardly differentiated parlance.

29 Weber 1980, 28. Out of the high and still increasing number of translations of Weber's classic definition of power and domination (authority), see the translation of the phrase in the English version of Weber's *Economy and Society* edited by Günther Roth and Claus Wittich, Weber 1978, 53: "'Power' (Macht) is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in the position to carry

incidental reasons, as personality or external conditions, can fortify its effects.[30] Petra Neuenhaus-Luciano points out, that with Weber individuals are able to exert power in social relationships but not necessarily within a social order.[31] In contrast to that Weber defines 'authority' or 'domination' (in German both 'Herrschaft')[32] as the "Chance, für einen Befehl bestimmten Inhalts bei angebbaren Personen Gehorsam zu finden"[33] and thus as a special facet of power in context of a 'legitimate social order'. Hence the key difference between the exercise of power and authority lies in the presence or absence of a legitimate social order. Stephen Kalberg puts it in a nutshell:

> In essence, authorities seek to convince themselves of their right to exercise authority and attempt to implant the view, in demarcated groups of people, that this right is deserved. If they succeed, a willingness to obey arises, in the form of patterned social action, that secures their authority far more effectively than would sheer coercion.[34]

Legitimate order always arises from "convention" and "law",[35] causing "belief in legitimacy" and "claim to legitimacy".[36] The analysis of these two, belief in and claim to legitimacy, allows Weber to classify types of authority in a second step. He assumes three ideal types of legitimation of authority, to be specific a 'rational-legal', a 'traditional' and a 'charismatic' type. He further denotes that these types usually occurred in mixed forms.[37]

Characterising the ideal types of legitimation of authority Weber figures out that 'traditional authority' refers to the belief in the legitimacy of ancestral traditions, 'charismatic authority' is linked to the extraordinary charisma of a leader and, last but not least, 'rational-legal authority' depends on "a belief in the legality of enacted rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands".[38] These rules may be as well written laws as norms. The apparatus of power

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out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests"; on the translations cf. Wallimann/Tatsis/Zito 1977, 231.

30 Weber 1978, 53.

31 Neuenhaus-Luciano 2012, 97.

32 The classic translation of Weber's 'Herrschaft' used in *Economy and Society* (Weber 1978) is 'domination', but also 'rulership' and 'authority' are frequent in the scholarly debate, cf. Kalberg 2005, 173, 177 *adn.* 1. For Weber's concept of 'Herrschaftstypen' the phrase 'types of authority'" is the most frequent translation in modern research, spreading from there into other contexts. For the sake of convenience, I will use 'authority' for Weber's 'Herrschaft'.

33 Weber 1980, 28; Weber 1978, 53: "'Domination' (Herrschaft) is the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a specific group of persons."

34 Kalberg 2005, 174. On state of research on Weber's concept of power and authority cf. the essays in Imbusch 2012; cf. further Kalberg 2005, 173–193.

35 Weber 1978, 33–38; in German "Konvention" and "Recht", see Weber 1980, 17–20.

36 Weber 1978, 213; in German "Legitimitätsglaube" and "Legitimitätsanspruch": Weber 1980, 122.

37 Weber 1978, 215–300; German version: Weber 1980, 122–180.

38 Weber 1978, 215; Weber 1980, 124: "auf dem Glauben an die Legitimität gesatzter Ordnungen und des Anweisungsrechts der durch sie zur Ausübung Berufenen ruhen".

connected with 'rational-legal authority' is constituted as an "agency" (Behörde), where the "organisation of offices follows the principle of hierarchy" and the "members of the administrative staff should be completely separated from ownership of the means of production or administration".[39] Thus, the setting of the exertion of 'rational-legal authority' can be described as a modern 'bureau', the 'rational-legal authority' itself as "bureaucracy": the officials hold positions because of their certified expertise and act impartially on the basis of binding rules.[40] The rational character of bureaucratic administration lies in the simple formula "Herrschaft kraft Wissen"; because of that feature bureaucratic organisations tend to accumulate more power by increasing their knowledge during the exercise of their office.[41]

Wishing to examine the oracular performance at Dodona in accordance with Weber's ideas of bureaucracy and rational-legal authority, the time has come to turn to Dodona.

Oracular Sanctuary of Zeus Naios at Dodona

Placed on the north-western edge of the Greek world Dodona is home to one of the most important as well as famous oracular sanctuaries.[42] Herodotus claims the oracle of Zeus Naios to be the eldest of its kind in Greece.[43] Within the literary tradition attestations of Dodonean divination start with Homer and last beyond antiquity, as the mentioned poem of Thomas d'Embry might show. This literary tradition, treated famously by H.W. Parke in his book on "The Oracles of Zeus", provided the main source for the scientific debate on Dodona for long time.[44]

In contrast to the easily accessible literary tradition Dodona's archaeological remains were localised quite late. Furthermore, in the late 19th century the first excavations were affected by a long-lasting conflict between the excavators Zigmunt Mineyko and Konstantinos Karapanos. The latter published a book entitled "Dodone et ses ruines" in 1878[45] drawing a first overview of the archaeological remains of Dodona.

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39 Weber 1978, 218–219. German version: Weber 1980, 125–126.
40 Weber 1978, 219–220. German version: Weber 1980, 126–127.
41 Weber 1980, 129; Weber 1978, 225: "Bureaucratic administration means fundamentally domination through knowledge. This is the feature of it that makes it specifically rational."
42 For a general introduction on Dodona and the oracle of Zeus Naios cf. Threadwell 1970, 6–56; Dieterle 2007, 15–24, with a discussion of the scientific debate; cf. further Moustakis 2006, 15–32, 60–76; Trampedach 2015; Piccinini 2017, 17–44.
43 Hdt. 2, 54–57; cf. also Bichler 2001, 172–178; Nesselrath 1999.
44 The literary evidence is collected in Dieterle 2007, 275–341; De Gennaro/Santoriello 1994, 384–391; for a discussion of the literary evidence on the sanctuary of Dodona cf. Dieterle 2007, 25–69; Parke 1967, 1–93, 129–163; cf. further Moustakis 2006, 27–32.
45 Karapanos 1878.

In the 1920ies the Greek Archaeological Society started undertaking excavations at Dodona at a regular basis and publishing reports in archaeological journals.[46] With the exception of an archaeological guide to the site and a quasi-monographic treatment of the *hiera oikia*, both written by Sotiris Dakaris,[47] the archaeological material was not assembled and contextualised with the literary and epigraphic sources until Marina Dieterle's 1999 dissertation.[48] This book seems to have stimulated research a lot, as in the early 21st century several monographs on Dodona were written almost simultaneously. Nikola Moustakis interpreted the role of the sanctuary within the Greek world, while Eric Lhôte and Esther Eidinow focussed on the edition and analysis of the oracular tablets;[49] only somewhat later Tomoko Emmerling challenged the *communis opinio* starting a new debate on the dating and interpretation of main archaeological structures at Dodona.[50]

However, from archaeological point of view Dodona seems to have been the place of cult practice since at least the Iron Age,[51] whereas the eldest major structures go back to classical times.[52] The archaeological findings, besides, do not allow a certain definition of the main divinity or its gender.

The assumption of divination prior to classical times relies on the literary tradition, where divination at Dodona, as mentioned above, is attested already by Homer. He tells us about the holy oak of Zeus and *Selloí*, male and uncultivated priests, sleep-

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46 On the rediscovery and excavation history of the sanctuary cf. Dieterle 2007, 7–15; exhaustively Emmerling 2012, 12–20; cf. further Moustakis 2006, 18; Piccinini 2017, 18–21.

47 Dakaris 1971; Evangelidis/Dakaris 1959.

48 Dieterle 1999 (https://ediss.sub.uni-hamburg.de/handle/ediss/86 [accessed 11 August 2023]) = Dieterle 2007.

49 Moustakis 2006; Lhôte 2006; Eidinow 2007.

50 Emmerling 2012; cf. also the positive reviews Dieterle 2013; Moustakis 2014; in contrast Mancini 2013; Piccinini 2017, 24; cf. further Chapinal Heras 2017.

51 There are some hints to Dodona as a cult place already before the Iron Age. Mylonopoulos 2006, 197–199, discusses the main arguments in this context: On the one hand smaller archaeological findings beginning with the Early Bronze Age may be interpreted as cult objects. Dieterle 2007, 235–262, lengthily discusses the question of cultic or domestic use of these objects and prefers to assume cultic use at least for the Early and Middle Helladic Periods; Mylonopoulos 2006, 198–199 follows her; cf. contrasting, but extremely brief Piccinini 2017, 40–41.

On the other hand, the mention of an oracle of Zeus at Dodona in Homer (Hom. Il. 225–250; Hom. Od. 14, 327–330; Hom. Od. 19, 296–299) is interpreted as a marker of an early beginning of cult practice at Dodona. Besides, the exclusive epiclesis of Zeus of Dodona, Naios, as an *-io*-derevation to *ναϝος ,dwelling' with Catherine Trümpy (1986, 169–170) goes back to the second millenium BC; cf. further Mylonopoulos 2006, 198, adn. 83, with the citation of a letter of Trümpy, where she explains her interpretation closer; other etymological explanations are listed in Mylonopoulos 2006, 198, adn. 80 and 81; cf. now Zolotnikova 2019a.

52 Evangelidis/Dakaris 1959, 34–35; Dakaris 1963, 35; within the younger discussion Dieterle 2007, 105–110; Mylonopoulos 2006, 188–191 and Piccinini 2017, 40–41 keep the date; Emmerling 2012, 95–115, dates the eldest buildung down to the late 4th century and disputes the interpretation as temple of Zeus.

ing on the ground with unwashed feet,[53] with no further explanation of the modes of divination. We might assume that these priests have been specialised to some degree, as they are known only from this very specific context.

In classical times we get to know a second tradition about Dodonean divination through Herodotus' report on its aetiological myth. Two black doves, coming from Thebes in Egypt, initiated the oracles of Zeus at Siwa and Dodona, where one dove sat down on the on the holy oak and articulated the first oracle ever given in Greece. Herodotus explains that the doves are to be understood as priestesses speaking a foreign language and were still called *péleiai* in his times.[54]

These two main stories on the early divination at Dodona have been interpreted a lot as well in antiquity as in research. Already Arthur Bernard Cook collected the sources very precisely in his book on Zeus, while Parke discussed in even more detail.[55] Without taking up the whole debate on the *aition* and the modes of divination at Dodona, I wish to summarize the main information given within the literary tradition relevant to this article: we hear of priestesses and priests of the oracular sanctuary of Dodona, a holy oak or even a sacred grove, divination via interpretation of the rustling of the oak and later via lot. But it is unclear whether our sources mirror different rituals in the course of time, a development, or different traditions leading into a kind of 'syncretism'. There may also be literary inventions or anachronisms. When it comes to the priests – their gender, their functions and the mode of their articulation of the god's will – we have furthermore to deal with adaptations leaned on the Delphic model.[56]

Thus, since the literary sources are as well manifold as to some degree contradictory, it seems hazardous to delineate a tenable long-term model for the divination practice at Dodona within the scope of this article. Furthermore, from archaeological point of view, the sanctuary gained importance in later classical times, as it got extended in the 4th and 3rd centuries, what coincides with the growing number of oracular consultations on lead lamellae.

To sum up, concerning the modes of divination, the role and functions of the priests at Dodona we should act on the assumption of collegia of male and female priests taking up different duties and presumably using differing divination methods within the course of time. At least from the Classical period onwards we have to deal

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53 Hom. Il. 16, 225–250.

54 Hdt. 2, 53–57. A fragment of Hesiod (Frg. MW 240) might, but not necessarily as the respective verse is incomplete, refer to doves also. If the doves are complemented rightly, the fragment (derived from a scholion on Sophocles' *Trachiniae*) would show that the story of the oracle spreading doves of Dodona has been considered old in Herodotus' age; for the discussion on this passage cf. the brief commentary of Marg 1970, 529–530; Parke 1967, 63–67.

55 Cook 1914, esp. 363–370; Parke 1967, esp. 20–45; 69–76; Johnston 2008, 60–66; cf. further Threadwell 1970, 36–44; Zolotnikova 2019b.

56 Johnston 2008, 82; Trampedach 2015, 194–195.

with consultation of the oracle via lot, but also the parallel use of other oracular techniques – both mirrored through the oracular enquiries found on thousands of lead lamellae.

Oracular questions on lead tablets

In a nutshell, the scientific audience knows of questions to the oracle written on lead tablets since the early days of excavations at Dodona. But, Dodonean oracular lead tablets did not gain much scientific attention in the course of 20th century. A lot of them have been sold on the art market and can now be seen at the British Museum, the Louvre, the Berlin Antiquities Collection or due to a donation of Karapanos at the Athenian National Museum. Already Karapanos himself published a bulk of oracular inscriptions in his aforementioned book on Dodona[57] and different single pieces were published by the later excavators.

Due to Éric Lhôte the major part of those widely scattered publications is now collected and the inscriptions were reedited following standardised guidelines in one volume.[58] The added translations and commentaries may have helped to open the discussion on Dodona tablets within the scientific community. One year later Esther Eidinow's historical analysis of the Dodona tablets set another starting point for the newer discussion on divination, by the way completing the re-collection of the known texts.[59]

In 2013, after many years of work, a publication of the biggest part of Dodonean oracular lamellae from Ioannina entitled with "Ta christiria elasmata tis Dodonis ton anaskaphon Evangelidi" was finally released. As the main editors of this corpus Sotiris Dakaris, Ioulia Vokotopoulou and Athanasios-Phoivos Christidis died, a team under the aegis of Sotiris Tselikas finished the book. This publication raised the number of known oracular inscriptions from Dodona by over 4000.[60]

The Berlin collection of Dodonean lead tablets counts 96 lamellae and, as far as we know, belongs to the first archaeological campaign at Dodona of Karapanos and/or Mineyko. Parke describes this excavation in his book on the oracles of Zeus as a slightly controlled plundering.[61] Without going into detail, the Berlin Museums seem to have bought their collection of Dodonean lead tablets from Mineyko somewhen in the last decades of the 19th century.[62] In the early 20th century the tablets have been

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57 Karapanos 1878, 68–82.

58 Lhôte 2006.

59 Eidinow 2007.

60 Dakaris/Vokotopoulou/Christidis 2013 (further DVC); cf. Souref/Vasileiou 2017; for statistics cf. Bonnechère 2017.

61 Parke 1967, 94–95.

62 For the history of the collection cf. Greifenhagen 1981.

prepared for publication,[63] but due to the course of World history this plan has ever been realised.

In the post-war period the Berlin tablets seem to have been supposed not exploitable, as Lhôte reports in his book. He cites a letter of Pierre Cabanes, who – without specification of time or involved persons – states that one of his students has been to (still divided) Berlin to see the tablets and declared to have found them in an enormously bad condition.[64] This opinion about the Berlin collection of oracular lamellae reflected in this comment is not tenable. In fact, the condition of the Berlin collection is very comparable to that of the tablets published within the DVC, where also only a few tablets have been preserved as a whole; some have been folded or rolled; most tablets have been reused, some even several times and last, but not least, the inscriptions show a variety of scripts and dialects. From the point of view of the oracular lead lamellae the oracle of Dodona has been frequented by different groups and individuals from around the Greek world between the sixth century BC and first century AD.[65]

'Sacred Bureaucracy' at Dodona?

But, who were the people seeking for advice at Dodona and why did they go there? Were the Dodonean priestly collegia able to 'make kings' as the early modern highbrow Thomas d'Embry imagined the ancient people to believe? Or what other kind of influence could they generate within the social and political sphere? And if there was a form of priestly power or authority, what mode of divination would have been connected to her?

Within the scientific debate the political importance of oracles has been disputed for a long time. This concentration on politically important questions of public enti-

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63 Cf. Kekulé von Stradonitz/Winnefeld 1909. The preparation of a publication is further documented by photographs of the most promising lamellae, which have been ordered by "Dr Dörner" in 1936 and are still in the possession of the Berlin Antiquities Collection.

64 Lhôte 2006, 7.

65 Lhôte 2017, 41, Lhôte 2006, 11–21, sets a *terminus ante quem* for oracular practice (and thus all oracular inscriptions) at Dodona with the destruction of the sanctuary by L. Aemilius Paullus in 167 BC. But the historical picture seems to be more complicated. As Frank Daubner (Daubner 2018, 152–153, 166, *adn.* 94, 237–238) shows with a hint to Mithridates' pillage in 88 BC (Cass. Dio. 30–35, 102, 2), the sources rather point to a plundering of the sanctuary than to a destruction under Pain 167 BC. He denotes that the sanctuary might have lost importance for the benefit of Butrint, but even the *Naia* have been celebrated again soon after 167 BC; in 64/63, with Daubner, L. Manlius Torquatus (Dion Hal. 1,19,3, Λεύκιος Μάλλιος) has visited the sanctuary and written down oracular responses. Jessica Piccinini (Piccinini 2013a, 181–185) also questions the 'traditional' date of the destruction of Dodona extensively. She figures out that the evidence for Dodona has even grown in Latin sources later than 88 BC and she further strengthens the importance of the sanctuary in Augustan times by connecting a group of eight identical statue bases with an inscription honouring Livia.

ties, such as kings, *poleis* or *ethne*, results from the tradition of oracular records within the sources: For a long time the biggest amount of oracular consultations was attested for Delphi and through the literary tradition via ancient collections of so called *chresmologoi* and historiography; by far the most oracular enquiries transmitted this way dealt with political questions and went back to public consultants;[66] the few epigraphically preserved oracular responses, which have been known for a long time, fitted the bill.[67] Thus, oracles have been seen as places of big politics and attestations of private concerns being brought up in oracular sanctuaries, as attested *e.g.* in Plutarch,[68] analogously have been interpreted as markers of decline.

A milestone of the more elaborate discussion of political importance of oracles can be found in Robert Parker's 1985 article *Greek States and Greek Oracles*, where the author emphasises the role of oracles within decision making processes as well as in connection to the legitimation of decisions;[69] although referring to individual consultants and political communities in his introduction, Parker's attention shifts to the political *modi operandi* of oracles. Furthermore, the author claims that powerful entities would never have stopped their plans because of negative oracles[70] and thus points to the tension between the acceptance of oracles within the political field on the one hand and the will to pursue the own political agenda on the other.

Within the current debate, the role of oracles *in politicis* has been underlined very much – to name but a few – by Pierre Bonnechère, who shows how the Greeks used to embed the consultation of oracles into their political long term considerations, Julia Kindt and Nino Luraghi, who discuss the narrative strategies of oracular stories within historiography,[71] or Kai Trampedach, who treats the different aspects of divination within the political sphere *in extenso*.[72] One of his essential objections for this article is to delineate within the framework of a case study on democratic Athens, how special circumstances could change the way oracles have been treated in political contexts: to a certain point in time the Athenians stopped using oracles for the legitimation of decisions in favour of disputing them within the *ekklesia*.[73]

The Dodonean lead tablets do not fit very well into this 'traditional' interpretation of oracles as political hotspots, as only 8% of the material known before 2013 is of

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66 Bonnechère 2017 collects and evaluates the statistical data on oracular consultations.

67 Oracular responses, considered to be authentic: Fontenrose 1978, 244–267 (Delphi); Fontenrose 1988, 179–208 (Didyma); Stauber/Merkelbach 1996 (Klaros).

68 Plut., de Pyth. or.; de E; de def. or.

69 Parker 1985.

70 Parker 1985, 325.

71 Cf. Kindt 2016; Luraghi 2014.

72 Cf. Bonnechère 2009; Bonnechère 2012; Bonnechère 2013; Trampedach 2015.
   For the newer discussion on divination cf. further Rosenberger 2001; Rosenberger 2013; Johnston/Struck 2005; Motte/Pirenne-Delforge 2013; Bowden 2013; Johnston 2008; Eidinow 2007, esp. 10–41; Eidinow 2013; Eidinow 2014.

73 Trampedach 2015, 277–294, 468–470.

public origin[74] and the majority of the lamellae points to an intense use of the oracle on the part of individuals dealing with private matters. Even the younger debate on the role of oracles within the Greek world has been led considering their private use exceptional, until Esther Eidinow clearly revealed the commonness of private frequentation of oracles by individuals and their significance for the daily life in antiquity in her book.[75]

The increase of evidence for oracular consultations at Dodona with the publication of the DVC in 2013 confirmed the hypothesis of the first and foremost individual and private consultation of the oracle listing, as Pierre Bonnechère works out evaluating the material statistically, only 2% of public consultations among the exploitable inscriptions.[76]

Within the Berlin material no public consultation can be made up for sure. Thus, the tendency is obvious: The Dodonean oracle had a solid basis of private consultation. With regard to contents the Berlin collection can be used for demonstration of the spectrum of oracular enquiries at Dodona: First of all, a lot of names or parts of names are stated; secondly, typical oracular vocabulary – that is the invocation formula, the naming of Zeus Naios or Dione (to some degree also of other gods or goddesses), verbs indicating the communication with the gods (such as ἐπικοινόω, ἐρωτάω, αἰτέω), the formula to which god or hero should be prayed or offered to succeed (τυγχάνω) or to be good or better (αγαθός, λωίων, ἀμείνων) – is used. But, and this is third, the subject of the questions often stays dark, albeit there are some hints, as the denomination of family members (mostly γυνή, but also θυγάτηρ, παῖς) or the concentration on issues as health, rescue, well-being or substinence. The analysis of the texts of the DVC allows us to add questions about work, travel, emigration, law, slaves, money etc. To sum up, the Dodonean lamellae mirror the very own fears and problems of the daily life of oracular consultants and offer by far the most authentic oracular enquiries by individuals from antiquity.

Accepting such a predominance of individual oracular consultations on lead lamellae from Dodona, the question arises, how to integrate this conclusion into the framework of Greek divination. Do ritual practice and *raison d'être* at Dodona severely differ from the model developed along with other oracular sanctuaries, especially Delphi? Should we think of entirely distinct oracular systems in Delphi and Dodona, the first being a place of 'big' politics, the latter of 'small' private concerns? And if so, what would that mean for the position of the Dodonean priests and their ability to exert power or influence?

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74 Bonnechère 2017, 73.

75 Eidinow 2007, esp. 42–138; cf. further Eidinow 2013; Eidinow 2014.

76 Bonnechère 2017, 75.

Well, obviously the lead tablets contain oracular enquiries differing from the 'politico-centric' norm, transmitted within literary sources and inscriptions on stone;[77] but this does not mean that they show a completely other phenomenon. The difference in the nature of evidence seems important, too. Because Dodona allows us to listen to the many voices of oracular consultants, not only to those who were more or less politically important and/or could afford to publish the answer, and thus to contextualize and remember it in public,[78] the Dodonean lamellae might simply display another facet of the reality of divinatory practice.

Regarding the religious agents at Dodona, the Weberian concept of 'rational-legal authority' seems to open an approach for the interpretation of their role. Based on the outlined observation that divination, in the way it took place in oracular sanctuaries, was characterised by some form of special knowledge,[79] the priestly collegia at Dodona may be considered as officials in the sense of a Weberian 'bureau'. Their expertise within the field of divination could then be interpreted as mirrored in the sources by the 'foreign' language of the *péleiai* or the strange habits of the *Selloí* and related to the different modes of divination, as the interpretation of the rustling of the oak and later the lot; this special knowledge, furthermore, qualified these religious experts for their duties within the sanctuary.

The consultants, on the other hand, were the specific group, which, in Weber's words, 'obeyed their command' and hereby accepted the priestly authority. On the basis of this assumption, the role of the Dodonean priests within society and politics could be contextualised even better by shedding light on the methods and manners of ritual communication – of asking and answering – at Dodona.

My first point in this context is, how to imagine the ritual communication between the human and the divine at Dodona, practically: The variation of the used scripts, the rare use of the local Dodonean alphabet, the syntactically diverging formulae, the different dialects and last but not least the unequal abilities in writing suggest that the questions have been written down on lead by the consultants themselves. The reason why 'ordinary' people, who might have needed help, wrote by themselves, is not easy to envisage. Depending on an interpretation of the oracular scenes of Sophocles' *Trachiniai* Piccinini proposes, that our tablets must have been some kind of bearers of memory on the occasion of the oracular consultation.[80] If this was the case, the lamellae would have had nothing to do with the rituals performed at Dodona, what would explain, why the priests did not write the questions down. Although this is thought-provoking hypothesis, the fact that many tablets have been reused, seems to speak against an exclusive memory-scripuality. Another explanation for the

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77 Cf. Bonnechère 2017, 69–70, for statistics on way of tradition, findspots and topic of non-Dodonean oracular consultations.

78 Eidinow 2013, esp. 36.

79 See 4–6.

80 Piccinini 2013b.

hand written questions to the oracle could lie in the idea of ritual necessity:[81] If the lead tablets would have been part of the ritual act, the consultants needed to write them down. The oral markers, which Piccinini finds within the inscriptions, could then reflect the performative character of the tablets. Moreover, choice of lead as writing material seems to favour this interpretation, as lead had a magical significance in antiquity.

Second, I wish to focus on the *modi* of ritual communication Dodona. These also have been discussed primarily on the basis of ancient literature.[82] This means, revealing of aetiological myths – the oak and the doves – and adaptations along the Delphic model – as the insertion of the idea of trance-related divination – played an important role. Apart from that, lot, used in many parts of Greek everyday life, has been presented to be a divination technique at Dodona already by Cicero whose source was Callisthenes.[83] The DVC lamellae confirm that fact. Cleromancy can be derived from positive and negative decision questions (DVC 1124 A: ἒ τύχοιμί κα τὰν hοδὸν τούταν; 'Will I be successful this way?'; DVC 2089 A: ἦ νικάσω [- - -] ἐν Ἀμπρα[κίαι - - -]; 'Will I win at Ambrakia?'; DVC 2169A: αἴ μοι [μένοντ]ι εν τ[ῆ]ι οἰκίαι ἦι νύν [οἰκ]έω; 'Should I stay in the house I live in now?'), short possible answers (DVC 1509 B: ἐνγενεῖται. 'It will happen.'), or the hint for the god, which tablet to draw (DVC 2229: τούταν ἄνελε. 'Take this one!'; DVC 2475: αἰ δὲ μή, οὗτος. 'If not, take this one!'), on the lamellae, as Parker and Chaniotis point out.[84] Folding and labelling the lamellae with signs, names and parts of names seems also to belong to this divination technique.

But as cleromancy cannot give answers to any questions formulated at Dodona, divination there is not to be characterised by the lot-oracle alone. This can be seen within the problematic complex around legal issues, even more if capital crimes are involved;[85] and moreover, in the use of a very frequent formula 'τίνι κα θεῶν εὐχόμενος;' 'to which god should one pray?' to be good, better or to succeed (αγαθός, λωίων, ἀμείνων, τυγχάνω). This formula can be extended, so that goddesses (θέαι) or heroes (ἥρωι) accompany the gods, sacrificing (θύω) accompanies the praying. Sometimes a more or less complex asking formula can be added, the phrase can be gendered or varied dialectally.[86] Not a small amount of oracular enquiries follows such free formulae. This makes them inconvenient for cleromancy, but already gives a hint to the mode of the prospective oracular responses: the questions at least suggest the execution of ritual acts.

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81 The interpretation of 'killing with one's own hand' for αὐτοφόνος (*Lex Sacra* from Kyrene) αὐτορέκτας (*Lex Sacra* from Selinous) could show the same idea, for editions and literature cf. Knäpper 2018, 60–62.

82 Graf 1997 collects the sources and the interpretations in very concise way; Trampedach 2015, 179–199; but cf. Johnston 2008, 74–75; Rosenberger 2001, 32–33.

83 Callisthenes FGrH 124 F 22 = Cic. div. 1,76; 2,69.

84 Parker 2015; Chaniotis 2017, 55–58, both with examples.

85 Parker 2015, 114 outlines the importance of such questions for the understanding of the oracle of Dodona; Chaniotis 2017, 58–63, where the author collects DVC texts connected to legal diputes.

86 Instances for this formula are legion, cf. e.g. DVC 20 A; 352 A; 436 A; 558 B; 1864 A.

That answers to such questions are a type of their own, even if there is a clear disproportion in numbers and hundreds of questions face only few answers, has been shown by Jean-Mathieu Carbon, whose collection of five, more elaborate oracular answers prescribing ritual acts outlines the importance of these consultations for our understanding of the oracle of Zeus Naios.[87]

Within the scope of this paper, I aim to concentrate on two of the texts, Carbon treats.[88] One of them belongs to the Berlin collection and has been presented by Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz and Herrmann Winnefeld to the Emperor William II. in a splendid coffee table book on occasion of his 50th anniversary in 1909. Showing another tablet – dealing with the very aristocratic issue of successful marriage – in more detail, the oracular answer with the Berlin Collection number 10755,32 has only been translated into German briefly. Thus, its approximate design has been known for quite a long time, when Lhôte retranslated it into Greek.[89]

The oracular answer is placed on an opistographic tablet; broken on the left side. On side A an inscription of three lines is curved. It shows a usual oracle consultation of a certain Philotas. Due to the fragmentary state of the lamella the topic of his question stays unclear, but it seems plausible to expect the question to which gods or heroes should be offered to achieve a special goal. The script is constant and belongs to the end of fourth century BC.

On side B an answer of the oracle is written. There is no need that the inscriptions belong together, but there is also no hard contra-argument. The inscription also belongs to the end of the fourth century BC and consists of a list of gods. As the inscription is still inedited I can only give a brief abstract of the original text I currently prepare for publication.[90]

Ineditum; Berl. Coll. No. 10755, 32 (Kekulé von Stradonitz–Winnefeld 1909, 52–53; Lhôte 2006, 142; SEG 56,662; Carbon 2015, No. 1).

To Zeus Naios a bowl/ a table (ἄβαξ).
To Zeus Olympios a piglet (ἀπαλίον).　　　　To Zeus Bronta[- - -]
To Zeus Eukles a piglet.　　　　　　　　　　　a piglet (?).
To Zeus Bouleus a libation.
To Kora a piglet.
To Artemis Agemona a statue(ette).
To the Heros Archagetas a libation.

This answer of Zeus illuminates the *modus operandi* of the oracle. First of all, the patterns and mechanisms of oracular answers transmissed through literature or epigra-

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87 Carbon 2015.

88 Carbon 2015, no. 1–2.

89 Kekulé von Stradonitz/Winnefeld 1909, 52–53, only translation; Lhôte 2006, no. 142, retranslation into Greek (SEG 56, 662).

90 For an edition and commentary of the text cf. Knäpper (forthcoming).

phy on stone are not effective here. The inscription is neither ambiguous nor is it constructing a special relationship between the god and the consultant. This oracular response is a sober ritual instruction. The god communicates through his priestly committee that a series of rituals should be to fulfilled, no verse, no riddles.

Carbon, who discusses the inscription thoroughly on the basis of Lhôte's translation, outlines that the list of gods moves from general to particular – starting with "the local and the lofty sky, to agricultural concerns, and, in turn, to leadership".[91] For this reason and because of the sum of the offerings, he prefers to interpret this oracular answer as referring to a public consultant. Diego Chapinal Heras goes a step further and connects this inscription with a dedication to (Artemis) Hagemona at Rodotopi,[92] the extraurban sanctuary of ancient Passaron, capital of the Molossians, proposing an additional cult of the goddess at this sanctuary, usually associated with Zeus Areios.[93] Although this hypothesis is partly speculative at the current state of debate, it discloses an interesting aspect of Dodonean ritual communication: if he is right, the oracular responses, handed out by the priestly collegia, would take the geographical/cultural origin of the consultant into account.

Under the half dozen more elaborate oracular responses prescribing ritual actions from Dodona another inscription bears the same logic.[94] Considering its date, mixed dialect and content already Lhôte pleas for an Athenian-Dorian origin.[95] What is interesting about this tablet is that there might be a relationship between the question on side A and the answer on side B. Both inscriptions belong to fourth century BC. The consultant is an Athenian woman, Nike, who asks a question dealing with juridical adversaries (ll. 5–6: τὸς ἀντιδίκος καὶ τὰς ϝοικίας) on behalf of her husband. The response given by Zeus and transmitted by the priests of Dodona reads as follows:

Ed.: Evangelidis 1952, 305, No. 22; Lhôte 2006, No. 141 (SEG 15, 391); Carbon 2015, no 2:

B a θεός.	God!
Διὶ Πατρό ͞ιωι ΠΕΡΙ···ΙΟ[96]	To Zeus Patroios [a special offering].
Τύχαι λοιβάν,	To Tyche a libation.
Ἡρακλεῖ, Ἐρεχθε(ῖ),	To Heracles, to Erechtheus,
5 Ἀθάναι Πατρό ͞ια(ι).	To Athena Patroia [other offernigs?].

91 Carbon 2015, 77.

92 AE 1914, 239, no. 20.

93 Chapinal Heras 2018, esp. 64–65; problematic is the epithet Bronta[ios] in l. 2, as it is only attested in Asia Minor, cf. Carbon 2015, 76, *adn.* 13; but as the epithet is connected to a core attribute of Zeus, it might be formed spontaneously, for Zeus Bront- cf. Cook 1925, 839–841.

94 Carbon 2015, no 2; Lhôte 2006, no. 141 (SEG 15, 391).

95 Lhôte 2006, 293, thinks of an Athenian woman married to a Dorain man.

96 The alternative offerings are ἱερεῖον or περιβώμιον, cf. Carbon 2015, 78; Matuszewski 2020, 9, analysing offerings, which have been sacrified without an altar, insists to chose the latter.

The list of gods refers to Athens (Erechtheus, Zeus Patroios and Athena Patroia) and the situation of the consultant (Heracles stands for the overcoming of struggles, Tyche for success). The mentioned two cases are not isolated; several other examples of rituals in connection to traditional deities can be found within the DVC.[97] It seems very likely that the ritual acts evolving from this and analogous oracular responses were to be performed at home, in this case in Athens. Thus, the prescribed rituals could construct a form of ritual publicity for the consultant's problems for a second time (the first being at Dodona) and spotlight their solution in accordance with the Dodonean oracle within the respective political and social community.

Thereby the ritual acts evolving from oracular enquiries could help to arrange a social consensus for the problems of the consultant: If the god accepts the consultant's way of solving problems, what could his fellow citizens criticise? The consultant has shown that he/she deliberated long term considerations, problems or fears in an interaction process with the divine sphere, got a religious backstop for his/her issues and finally brought certainty into the imponderables of life.[98]

With view to the religious agents at Dodona, oracular responses prescribing ritual instructions show how the priestly committees at Dodona developed authority: they obtained special expertise within the strict rules and procedures of the oracular practice and thus created a matrix of actions which enabled them to communicate the god's will to the consultants. The rituals evolving from oracular responses announced the priest's ability to create consensus on controversial matters in all corners of the Greek oecumene and confirmed their authority. The legitimation of their authority originated from the functioning of the oracular system and thus from the sacral sphere; hence the oracular consultations allow to extrapolate a 'sacred dimension' of bureaucracy à la Weber.

In her treatment of the epigraphic evidence for religious authority in Greece Claire Taylor sums up that this form of authority was not configured through dogma, sacred scripts or a generally exceptional position of priests. One of the many ways of representing authority was "through monumentalizing of decisions, processes, and religious practice through epigraphic display",[99] another might have been through prescribing rituals in the course of oracular consultation and thus legitimating consensus as well as social peace.

Within this bureaucratically functioning system the priests could exert influence into society and under certain circumstances – when public entities consulted the oracle – even into the world of politics. Although only a smaller part of oracular lead lamellae from Dodona refers to political entities, in these cases the priestly authority

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97 Carbon 2015, no. 3–5, treats three further inscriptions: DVC 2393 A; 2035 A; 1122 B; cf. further DVC 274 A; ritual actions for other gods or heroes: DVC 1299 B; 2430 (?).
98 Rosenberger 2001, 68, denotes comparable motivation for oracular consultations in Context of African cultures.
99 Taylor 2016, 102.

could even reach the political sector and in very special cases, when kings consulted the oracle,[100] the priests were able to 'make kings'. They could legitimate the kings' decisions and create a publicity to their enterprises in the same way as they created consensus for the concerns of common people, although the fascinating question, whether the priestly committees had an own political agenda, should be discussed elsewhere.

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100 For consultations of kings or at least dealing with their issues cf. DVC 41 A; 191 A; 2111 A; 2148 A; 3160 A.

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Behind the Scene: Religion at the Service of Politics in Ancient Egypt: Views from Philae Island

Abstract: The Philae Island witnessed successive political and religious debates between different people: Ptolemies, Romans, Meroites, Nobades, Blemmyes and Christians. When the Ptolemies decided to extend the southern borders of Egypt to include the Dodecaschoinus (Lower Nubia), and then Diocletian ordered to move back to Elephantine, a new political situation was created. The Meroites, then the Nobades and Blemmyes were allowed to have control on the island. In this new and combined political atmosphere, religion was used to reflect power, control, as well as diverse cultural connections between different ethnic groups.

In the ancient Egyptian society, religion was perfectly used to strengthen the political situation of the sovereigns. For example, the cult of Isis and Osiris was used as tool to attract visitors to the island, and thus, praising the Ptolemies. In addition, the Meroites had defended their right to access the temple of Isis and borrowed the statue of Isis for ten days to accomplish religious rituals. Moreover, they established "The Meroitic Chamber" which includes important scenes of the Meroite delegations. Meanwhile, when Christianity was acknowledged as the official religion of the Roman Empire, the Christians were keen to use this official and political recognition to close the pagan temples and to build new churches on the island.

Keywords: Philae, Nobades, Blemmyes, Meroites, Romans, Dodecaschoinus, Diocletian, Philae, Roman Egypt, Nubia

Introduction

In ancient Egyptian society, religion was ideally suited to strengthen the political situation of the sovereigns, and thus, it became a backdoor tool for rulers to help retain their grip on the state's economic and political affairs. At Philae Island, the cult of Isis and Osiris was used a tool to attract visitors to the island from different destinations, which in turn brought praise for the Ptolemies. In the meantime, the Nobades and Blemmyes had defended their rights to access the temple of Isis in order to borrow a statue of Isis for a period of ten days, in order to accomplish religious rituals in their

homelands. Moreover, the Meroites established 'The Meroitic Chamber' which includes important scenes of the Meroite delegations who visited the island to negotiate politics with the Roman ambassadors. Then, when Christianity was introduced as the official religion of the Roman Empire, the Christians were keen to use such political recognition either to transform the pagan temples on Philae Island into churches or to build new churches on the island.

Because of this, Philae Island witnessed successive political and religious conflicts between different groups of people. These included political rulers such as the Ptolemies, the Romans, and their political rivals, including Meroites, Nobades and Blemmyes. When the Ptolemies decided to extend the southern borders of Egypt to include the Dodecaschoinus (Lower Nubia), and then Diocletian ordered it moved back to Elephantine, a new political situation was created. The Meroites, followed by the Nobades and Blemmyes, were allowed to have control on the island. In this new and combined political atmosphere, religion was used to reflect power and control, as well as the diverse cultural connections between different ethnic groups.

The purpose of this paper is to help understand how religion served politics on Philae Island, through shedding light on the different groups of people who took control of the Island.

Part One: Historical Overview

Seven kilometers to the south of the Aswan Dam lies the most important island of the ancient Egyptian religion. Philae was revered as the location which received the first indication of the Nile flood.[1]

Since Philae was said to be one of the burying-places of Osiris, it was held in high reverence all the Egyptians from north to the south, and on it, the Ptolemies started to build a series of temples first dedicated mainly to Isis, and then to other deities. Also, Philae Island included the last pagan temples in ancient Egypt, which were later closed and transformed into churches in the sixth century AD. Indeed, the present island is not actually the original site, since Philae Island became submerged after the construction of the High Dam in the 1960s; therefore, the Philae complex was dismantled and relocated to the nearby Agilkia Island, as part of a wider UNESCO project (Fig. 1).

During the late period (712–323 BC), Philae Island became a sacred land, but the priests of Isis were in conflict with the priests of Khnum, though they eventually took control of the island for the worship of Isis.[2] Subsequently, the Ptolemies began an extensive campaign of building on Philae. They also chose to extend the southern bor-

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1 Beness/Hillard 2003, 206.

2 Cauville/Ali 2013, 3.
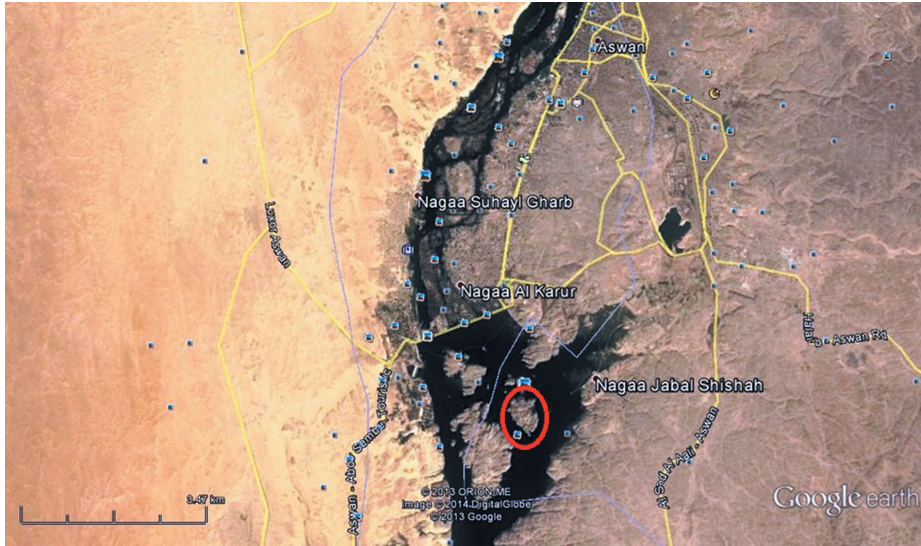
Fig. 1: A General View of the First Cataract Area, where it shows the Philae Island. Photo: © 2023 Google, adapted by A. Mansour.

ders of Egypt by 75 miles/120.7 km (12 *schoenoi*), and thus the Dodecaschoinus became an Egyptian nome. Ptolemy V (Epiphanes) dedicated the Dodecaschoinus[3] to Isis in an attempt to legitimize Ptolemaic rule over the region. The land extension had trifold benefits: religious, political and economic. In addition, Ptolemy VI (Philometor) is represented, in the Dodecaschoinus stela (29 July 157 BC = year 24 of Ptolemy VI), as making an offering to Osiris and Isis of the territory of Dodecaschoinus (Fig. 2).[4]

Ptolemy VI (Philometor) was keen to strengthen his political-religious authority, and thus, the economic dominance through the donation of the land to the priests of Osiris and Isis. When Egypt became a Roman province, the Roman emperors started to construct important buildings on Philae, such as the 'Gate of Hadrian'.[5] The gate was important as it faces Biga Island and served as a departure point for the procession bark of Isis to visit Osiris at the Abaton.

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3 Dodecascoinus extends from Aswan to El-Maharraqa city, and it is probable that the city El-Maharraqa corresponds to the ancient toponym of Takompso. See: Cauville/Ali 2013, 186.

4 The (symbolic) donation act of Dodecaschoinus to Isis by the conquerors of Egypt highlighted the politic power granted to the temple institution in Philae (Török 2009, 400–401). A decree of Ptolemy VI (Philometor) (180-145 BC) donating the region was carved in 157 BC on a stela set in front of the eastern tower of the second pylon of the temple, and later englobed inside a chapel built around it. Augustus was represented while donating Dodecaschoinus to Isis in a relief on the eastern exterior wall of the temple (Hölbl 2004, 147–150).

5 Cf. Haeny 1985, 215–216.
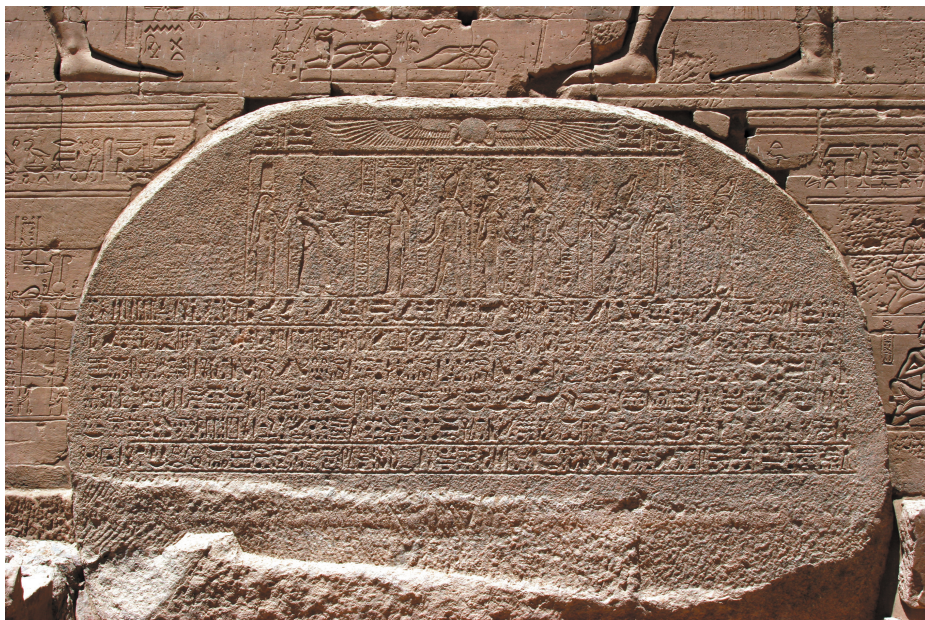
Fig. 2: The Dodecaschoinus stela. Photo: © A. Mansour.

The Roman policy with the southern neighbors of Egypt was not peaceful, and after a series of serious wars with the Kingdom of Meroe, Diocletian ordered in 298 AD to move back the borders of Egypt to Elephantine rather than the Dodecaschoinus.[6] Thus the region fell to the Meroites until the beginning of the fourth century,[7] and then it was controlled by the indigenous Nobades (a branch of the Nubian people) and the Blemmyes from the Eastern Desert. These two groups of peoples filled the space left by the Romans and the Meroites.[8] By the fourth and fifth centuries Christianity started to extend to different parts of Egypt. Thus, Philae received the first Christians who then began to convert some parts of the island into cultic places for the new religion.

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6 Procop. 1.19.27–37; Cauville/Ali 2013, 6.

7 *FHN* 1998, 1188–1193.

8 Dijkstra 2004, 150.

Part Two: Struggle for Political and Religious Dominance

As mentioned above, the political situation of Philae changed over the centuries and as a consequence different religious factors came to the surface, each playing a role in the control of the island.[9] Because of this, it would be beneficial for the sake of this paper to have a general understanding of the various communities who lived, accessed or controlled the island, behind the official scene. The approach to contextualize this view is to answer the following questions (4W) Who, When, Why, and What? – Who were allowed to access or control the island? When did they access the island? Why? And what evidence remains of their presence?

The Meroites

The political presence of the Meroites began in the second century and culminated in the third century AD when Meroe itself began to fall into decline. Their presence was distinguished by the range of languages used in their inscriptions, the number of graffiti, the status of the titles held, and the involvement of Meroitic royalty. The Meroites served as intermediaries between Roman Egypt and Africa, and provided Egypt with exotic African goods. In turn they imported goods from Egypt such as wine and jewelry. Thus, the Meroitic rulers were keen to control Lower Nubia as a province in order to maintain control of such lucrative trade with Roman Egypt.[10] When in 298 AD, Diocletian ordered a move back to Egypt's old borders at Elephantine rather than the Dodecaschoinus, the Egyptian temples were no longer supported by the Roman rulers and increasingly abandoned by Egyptian worshippers. Meroitic rulers sought to expand their control of Meroitic Nubia by gaining ritual control over the temples of Lower Nubia.[11] In this regard, we can examine the Wayekiye family of priests, who frequently used the same name for its members; they were either priests or civil administrators, and served as the local representatives for the Meroitic ruler in his dealings with the Egyptian temples of Lower Nubia. They left behind them a wealth of inscriptions, in Demotic, Greek, and Meroitic, during eight generations in which they are attested in the Dodecaschoinus.[12]

As usual in ancient Egypt, religion and politics are two sides of the same coin. When the Meroites had their access to the island, their religious activities at the Isis temple reflected a twofold, behind-the-scenes political statement, as they practiced their rites in the Egyptian tradition, specifically the funerary rites for Osiris in the

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9 Dijkstra 2004, 150.

10 Ashby 2016, 165.

11 Ashby 2016, 115.

12 To read more aboutthe Wayekiye family, see: Ashby 2016, 115–120.

Khoiak festival.[13] Moreover, through offering financial support for the Isis temple, particularly when Roman Emperors neglected to support Egyptian religious institutions, they in fact sought to curb their power.[14]

Behind the scene, it seems the Meroites were aware of the significance of the Khoiak festival and made certain that their kings were celebrated at Philae by their representatives on that day. As noted, the Dodecaschoinus served as a buffer zone between Meroe and Roman Egypt, and because Philae had the dominant temple of that region, the temple complex served as an appropriate meeting place for the representatives of Roman Egypt and Meroe to discuss political issues. Three high official delegations from Meroe to Roman Egypt are represented in the graffiti of Philae: Sasan (253 AD),[15] Manitawawi and Bekemete in the Meroitic Chamber (c. 260 AD),[16] and Abratoye and Tami (c. 261 AD).[17] Indeed, the inscriptions[18] of the three diplomatic missions from Meroe contained embedded religious as well as political messages: pious statements, descriptions of religious rituals, and donations of gold.

In this regard, it should be emphasized that the longest Demotic inscription on the island is Ph 416. It is twenty-six lines in length, covering an entire block of stone.[19] It was incised on the 10th of April 253 AD and relates to historical events that happened over a period of two years. This inscription tells us that Sasan,[20] son of Paesis, was sent from the side of the King of Meroe to Philae to give homage to Isis in order to help faraway people. Sasan brought 10 talents of silver (about 273 kg, see Fig. 3).

Moreover, there are two important inscriptions at the Gate of Hadrian: REM 0119, which belongs to the king Yesbokhe-Amani (Fig. 4) and REM 0121 by a certain Yeby (Fig. 5).[21]

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13 The month of Khoiak, lasting from 27th November to 26th December, marked the end of the Nile flood; at this time the resurrection of Osiris, of whom the cult being intimately linked with the fertility of the land, was celebrated in order to assure the continued richness of the soils. During Khoiak, and in other boat processions, Nubian deities visited the Isis temple, strengthening the connection of the Meroitic society with Philae and its goddess.

14 Ashby 2016, 170. Solange mentioned that, during the month of Khoiak, the annual arrival of the Nubian priests as representatives of the Meroitic ruler, confirmed the that Kushite kings arrived with the Inundation, to associate themselves with the life-giving forces of the flood as well as with Osiris.

15 Sasan is identified by the title of Meroe's "Great Envoy to Rome". Pope 2014, 577–582.

16 The Meroitic chamber contains Meroitic inscriptions and pictures dating to the third century AD and shows a procession of Meroitic officials. It seems that the influence of the Meroites in the third century AD was so great that they were allowed to have a separate cultic room on the island. Bumbaugh 2011, 66–69.

17 Török 1978, 217–222.

18 The Meroitic inscriptions are concentrated in three areas of the temple complex of Philae: the Birth House (Mammisi), the Meroitic chamber and the Gate of Hadrian. The inscriptions which are written in both Demotic and Meroitic are concentrated in the Birth House and on the Gate of Hadrian.

19 Griffith 1935, 112–119, Ph. 416.

20 See Pope 2009, 74, note a.

21 Leclant *et al.* 2000, 269.
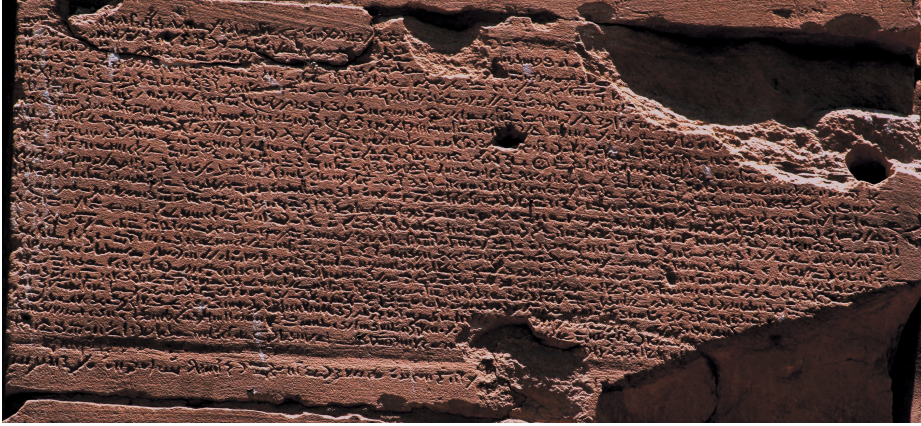
Fig. 3: The Ph. 416 which commemorates the visit of Pasan, messenger of the King of Meroe to Philae. Photo: © A. Mansour.

REM 0121 is an adoration inscription dedicated to Isi by a certain Yebye, who is ascribed as the messenger of Wepwawet. According to its paleography the inscription dates back to the fourth century AD.[22]

Behind the scenes, the entire event is of supreme importance for the visiting Meroites as it represents the transmission of power from the deceased king Osiris to his legitimate successor Horus. Therefore, the Meroitic king Yesbokhe-Amani (circa 300 AD)

Fig. 4: King Yesbokhe-Amani's inscription, Philae Island. (REM 0119). Photo: © A. Mansour.

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22 Leclant *et al.* 2000, 271.
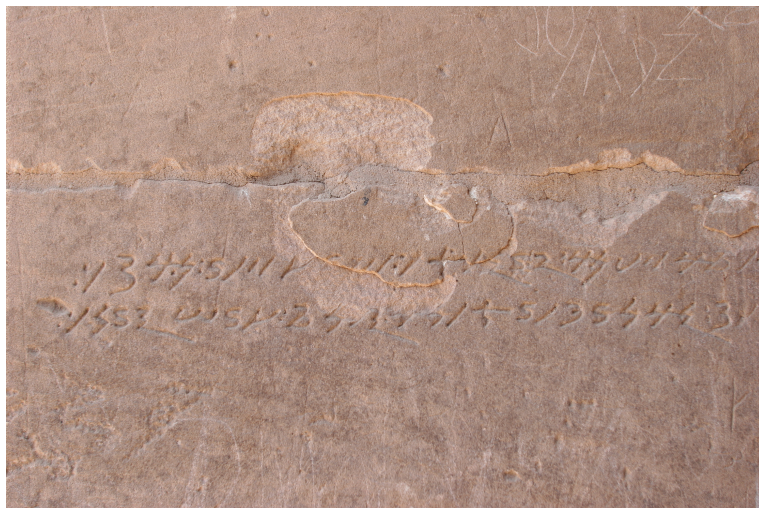
Fig. 5: An adoration inscription dedicated to Isis, by a certain named Yebye, Philae Island. (REM 0121). Photo: © A. Mansour.

usurped the image of the Egyptian king and left his Meroitic-language *proskynema* above it. Through this act, the Meroitic king received the legitimacy of his rule from the Egyptian deity, i.e. Osiris.[23] According to Ashby, the Meroites were concerned to perform suitable rites to ensure the revivification of their deceased king, and since Osiris and Isis were considered as their divine parents, they were careful to provide the appropriate funerary rites for Osiris during the visit to Philae,[24] thus they dedicated two preferred graffiti areas to the revivification of their king and its relation to Osiris Wennefer: the southwest corner of the Pronaos and the Gate of Hadrian.

Finally, according to Dijkstra the study of the demotic inscriptions has defined a group of thirty-six graffiti left by Meroites. They are pilgrimage inscriptions and are distinguished by the Meroite names. These inscriptions are longer and contain extra personal and religious feelings, such as appeasing prayers.[25] The inscriptions mention the festivals in which the Meroites participated as well as the rich gifts of gold that they brought from their king. The principal festivals mentioned, were occurred in the month of Khoiak, the celebration of Osiris' resurrection, as well as Isis' Feast of Entry.[26] The Festival of Entry held great importance for the Meroites. The festival in-

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23 Ashby 2016, 186–187; Ritner 2003, 374.

24 Ashby 2016, 173–173; Ritner 2003, 374.

25 Dijkstra 2005, 65–66; Griffith 1912, nos. 95–6, 121–5 = REM 0095–6, 0121–5.

26 Philae was closely linked with the Abaton: Isis was the deity in charge of reviving Osiris, she was the giver of life, the protectress of Osiris, and therefore she was worshipped in order to expect a good yield in return. In the Gateway of Hadrian on Philae, two Ptolemaic decrees have been recorded in hieroglyphs which give us a clear impression of the cult. One of the most important rituals was the

cluded a visit by Isis to the Abaton on Biga Island in order to pour milk and water libations for her husband Osiris.[27]

The Blemmyes

There are two reliable ancient sources that inform us about the Blemmyes: the reports of the Egyptian diplomat Olympiodorus who visited Lower Nubia around 420 AD, and the historian Procopius who described the Roman retreat from the Dodecaschoinus by Emperor Diocletian in 298 AD. Olympiodorus mentioned that he met with the chiefs and priests of the Blemmyes in Talmis (Kalabsha), who convinced him that they controlled the area as far as Prima (Qurta or Qasr Ibrim) as well as the emerald mines (Mons Smaragdus) in the vicinity.[28] Meanwhile, Procopius reported that Diocletian (284–305 AD) ordered the Roman troops to retreat from Dodecaschoinus in Lower Nubia, while asking the Nobades to control the area in order to prevent further attacks from the Blemmyes.[29] A result of this new political situation on the southern Egyptian frontier was an invasion of the Blemmyan tribes into Egypt. They also began to play a more effective role in the socio-political scene, because they gradually settled in the area during the fourth century AD.[30]

Blemmyan incursions into Egypt were on the model of wavy attacks. The earliest attacks on Egypt by these tribesmen occurred during the reign of Emperor Decius in 249–251 AD.

Around 394 AD, the Blemmyes dominated the Dodecaschoinus until about the middle of the fifth century AD, when they were defeated decisively by the Nobatian king Silko.[31] The Blemmyan control of Lower Nubia (394–453 AD) caused the Blemmyan kings to appoint cult presidents at Kalabsha. A Greek graffito states, "The king named these presidents (*klinarkhos*) and chairmen (*epistates*)."[32] This provides evidence for the remarkable integration of Blemmyan cults into the traditional Romanized urban cult life of the former Dodecaschoinus as well as for the Blemmyan policy to leave intact the existing social and administrative structures in Lower Nubia.

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ferrying of Isis across the Nile from the gateway to the Abaton every ten days (the Egyptian week) to unite her symbolically with her husband and to perform the customary rites. Milk and water libations were poured and food was laid down for the deity. Although access to the Abaton was prohibited for pilgrims, they could watch the scene of the crossing of Isis from the colonnade that had been built in the reign of Augustus. See: Žabkar 1988, 51.

27 Bumbaugh 2011, 66.

28 *FHN* 1998, 1127.

29 Procop. 1.19.

30 Dijkstra 2004, 252.

31 *FHN* 1998, 317.

32 Hägg 1986, 281–286; *FHN* 1998, 313, 1136.

However, a new behind-the-scene situation came to surface, when a political confrontation started between the Blemmyes and the Nobades. During a period of increasingly persuasive Byzantine enforcement of the predominance of Christianity, the Blemmyan kings and their prophets militarily defended their traditional access to the temple at Philae. The development of a Christian community on the holy island of the goddess Isis brought the two groups of worshippers into an escalating series of clashes over their shared sacred space.[33] Behind the scene, the Blemmyes would not waive their right of access to the temple at Philae or the borrowing of the divine statue of Isis. The image of the Isis statue was of high importance for the sake of Blemmyan worship in Lower Nubia.

The allocation of land, appointment of prophets and cult association presidents were the main means through which tribal kings administered their territory and showed their control in Lower Nubia. Therefore, the loss of access to Philae would have destroyed the symbolic control of Lower Nubia. Indeed, the conflict was between the dominant religions to be practiced in Lower Nubia: traditional pharaonic religion as practiced by the Blemmyes versus the emergent Nubian Christianity practiced by the Nobadian tribes.

When Emperor Justinian ordered that the temples of Philae be closed, the Roman military carried out his order sometime between 535 and 537 AD, seizing the divine statues and arresting the last priests. While the Blemmyes continued to be attested in administrative papyri and in religious contexts from the sixth century, they never regained control of Lower Nubia.[34]

The Nobades

After the withdrawal of the Roman legions, the Meroe Kingdom had to control Dodecaschoinus and consequently the southern borders of Egypt, protecting it from the Blemmyan menace. The fall of Meroe in around 300 AD led to a new political situation which needed a rearrangement of powers in Lower Nubia as well. In addition, after the collapse, Nubian local rulers apparently become independent rulers in their provinces.[35] However, this fragmentation of power obviously made them vulnerable to raids or infiltration by nomad tribes, a change that caused a redistribution of power. The Nobades appeared to control the political entities formed by post-Meroitic local rulers in southern Lower Nubia.[36] During the course of the fifth century, the indigenous Nobadian tribes gradually attained the upper hand in the region, and they were united into a kingdom which became christianized in the course of the sixth century.

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33 Ashby 2016, 263; Ritner 2003, 374.

34 Ashby 2016, 263–264; Ritner 2003, 374.

35 Török 1977, 38–41.

36 Zacharopoulou 2016, 232–233.

A confirmation of the equation between Nubians and Nobades is provided by a Demotic graffito from Philae dated to 373 AD.[37] In this inscription the scribe, a priest from Philae, has added the remark that the Blemmyes and Nubians had been in conflict with each other, as a result of which the processional boat (or bark) of Isis had been away from Philae for two years, but that the bark had been returned in the year in question. At the same time, the account of Priscus, which was written in the fifth century AD, describes the Blemmyes and the Nobades as bringing a statue "to their own country," which is clearly northern Lower Nubia, in 452 or 453 AD; this evidence confirms that the indigenous Nubians were later called *Nobadae.* The graffito in Philae may also be the first indication of Blemmyan settlement in the Dodecaschoinus.[38]

Part Three: Commentary

Philae has a long history of multi-facet conflicts. In Ptolemaic Egypt, the area of Dodecaschoinus was annexed to the benefice of Isis temple and its clergy. The Isis temple, and thus, Philae Island kept its traditional attraction to the southern peoples from upper Nubia, the Blemmyes and Nobades. Indeed, the Isis temple managed to stay open for much longer than any other major Egyptian temple. As a result, a great flow of pilgrims came to Philae from Egypt and Nubia. The inscriptions left on the walls communicate the behind-the-scene religious sentiments, describing a way of worship that preserved Egyptian traditions but also expressed typically African forms of piety; requesting prophecies for example were common.

The political situation in the region of Lower Nubia was not stable enough to constitute a centralized political state. The political nature of Blemmyan tribes and Nobadian societies was tribal, and this resulted in many minor kingdoms controlling small territories. Thus, it was not strong enough to have a unified royal policy toward the temples of Lower Nubia, and particularly the Isis temple at Philae. The tribal political nature of such societies changed in the late fourth and first half of the fifth century by the emergence of a unified state in the early to mid-sixth century AD. The Nobadae converted to Christianity and established three Christian kingdoms (Nobadia, Makuria, and Alwa, see Fig. 6).[39]

Moreover, studies of the Philae graffiti have shown that the priesthood of the Isis temple era were actually appointed from distant Meroe at the southernmost fringe of Upper Nubia during the final centuries of the Roman. Indeed, Philae seems to have been as important to Upper Nubia and vice-versa to Rome: analysis of Meroitic policy has concluded that patronage of Philae was essential to the sacred legitimation of

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37 Griffith 1937, 104–105; *FHN* 1998, 1110–1112.

38 Dijkstra 2012, 242.

39 Gardberg 1970, 14–16.

Fig. 6: The freestanding churches erected on the northern part of the island. Photo: © A. Mansour.

Meroitic kings. This link may well be echoed in Maximinus's later insistence that his treaty with the Nubians farther south be ratified in Isis's temple at Philae.[40]

The original contribution of this study to scholarship is that there are important details behind the scenes that reflect differing angles of views. It is widely noted that Philae is an attractive sacred place for people. Many provincial officials visited Philae and left their names on the walls of temples.[41] The conflicts had risen between different ethnic, religious and political groups to declare their dominance on the island, not only for religious purposes, but, also for political reasons. Once more, for a behind-the-scenes conclusion, the capable Nubian priests learned the Egyptian sacred scripts: hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic. Thus, they were able to hold the highest positions in the temple administration for the service of Meroitic kings, who employed Nubian priests to perform the funerary rites of Osiris on behalf of the Meroitic ruler. Finally, this paper affirms the expansion of the cult of Isis beyond the borders of Egypt, which made her temple at Philae Island an arena for behind-the-scene debates between different groups of people who wished to control it.

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40 Emberling/Davis 2019, 72.
41 Foertmeyer 1989, 68.

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In the Field of Power: Priests and Legitimization

Mariano Barbato

Power through Pilgrimage: The Making of the Papacy

Abstract: Focusing on the papacy's beginning in the mist of history, the papal institution is discussed as an example of a powerful priesthood in the making. Key for the emergence of a supreme centre of religious decision were pilgrims that boosted by venerating the tombs of the Apostles the authority of the Roman priests within a network of writing travellers. Under pressure by recurrent persecution, later invasions and internal quarrels, the sinuously growing papal power projection was possible because Peter's Roman resting place was beyond dispute and an established tradition of veneration was carefully managed. The Constantinian shift started to turn the previously hidden pilgrim sites into a public landscape. The coronation of Charlemagne indicated the successful integration of the new elite into the Roman pilgrimage. By establishing the sacred ground as a nodal point of an entangled web of religious, social, and political fabrics, the leaders of the resident priesthood of Rome became the Roman Popes.

Keywords: Papacy, Pope, Pilgrimage, St. Peter, Early Catholicism, Rome

Introduction: How priests became popes

The ritual of pilgrimage forms part of many religions and is usually based on a sacred journey to a holy ground.[1] The journey to a place under priestly control has a double implication for the political power of priests:

1.) with the flow of pilgrims, resources of any kind (ground, human recourses, money) leave the profane space under the control of economic and political elites and enter the sacred sphere under the control of religious elites.
2.) the pilgrims, attracted by religious narratives in the first place, are possibly further influenced by the priests at the holy site, whose ideas travel back with the pilgrims and may challenge or support political elites back home.

While the first implication is always a consequence of pilgrimage, the degree to which religious elites can rely on the second implication varies. Due to the direct effect on resources, already the first effect increases the priestly power status. If the second ef-

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1 Turner 1974; Turner/Turner 1978; Eade/Sallnow 1991; Coleman/Elsner 1995. The first Christian account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land is the Pilgrimage of Egeria, presumably from the 4th century. For a new edition see: McGowan 2018. For an overview of early Christian pilgrimage see: Dietz 2005.

fect occurs consistently and with noticeable impact, the social, political, and economical influence of the religious elite begins to increase, sometimes so extraordinarily that political elites have to choose between linking the legitimacy of their power to the status of the priestly community or seeking to challenge and reduce the power of the priests. While this mechanism is part of any pilgrimage, few religious elites manage to build a durable status of political power upon it.[2]

A precondition for a stable praxis of pilgrimage depends on memory. First of all, memory is necessary to get a pilgrimage started. An event, a person, miracles, any kind of religious experiences and narratives have to be kept present in a social process of practice at a certain site. Communicated memories of returning pilgrims about their journey spark new departures which spill over incrementally into a stable tradition of pilgrimage. While oral communication is certainly foundational, written reports come with higher costs, and this was even more the case in earlier times of emerging pilgrimage. The existence of written reports depends on resources which the pilgrims had to provide and into which the resident priesthood or political elite had to be able and motivated to invest in. Particularly expensive are monuments and buildings erected to support the narratives. They need a solid basis of interest and proper resources. If monuments related to the pilgrimage are not only erected at the sacred site but spark such a high interest that the pilgrims want to transform their homeland after the model, a particularly powerful praxis of pilgrimage has been established. Despite a difficult beginning, contestations and set-backs, the Roman clergy succeeded particularly well in this respect.

Embedded in a broader perspective on the papal pilgrim mechanism, the contribution focuses on the contested beginning of the papacy. Are there hints within the limited data that are available that pilgrimage had an effect on the birth of the papacy, or is pilgrimage part of a later development only?

As the process of beginning a pilgrimage and not a settled praxis is in focus, a narrow concept of pilgrimage is not applicable. Pilgrimage is understood in the broadest sense as a journey with a religious motivation sparking a new interest in the visited site by communicating the experiences and thus spilling over into a stable ritualized praxis that transforms the narratives and claims of the site into a widely shared and stable tradition.[3]

The claim here is that such journeys turned the cosmopolitan Roman capital into a low-key gathering place of earlier Christianity. Albeit informal due to the recurrent pressure of persecution, the flow of pilgrims supported the Roman clergy's claim of supremacy. The communication by letters and literal texts was based, so the argu-

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2 Cluny's position on the Camino de Santiago would be another example of the Christian orbit. See Dietz 2005, 215–216. For other religions see for example Maclean 2008 on Kumbh Mela or Bianchi 2004 on the Hajj. On pilgrimage and power see also: Barbato 2012, Pazos 2012, and Merback 2012.
3 For pilgrimage as a widespread ritual practice in the Roman Empire see Knapp 2017. For the Christian Pilgrimage to Rome see Birch 1998.

ment here, on a communication by travellers and pilgrims that were attracted by the transformation of the fading imperial capital into a Christian landscape centred on the memories and tombs of the Apostles and the martyrs. The reframing of the Roman Empire after the Constantinian shift, the export of relics and the coronation of Charlemagne transformed the low-key pilgrimage of the early days into a foundational ritual of Medieval Europe.

The argument is developed in the following steps: First the power mechanism of pilgrimage has to be expounded. Briefly, the basic argument that Peter made it to Rome has to be demonstrated. His journey to Rome has then to be integrated into an emerging web of writing travellers and their followers that formed the community that Augustine of Hippo later labelled the pilgrim church. Key for the narrower sense of the pilgrimage to Rome that supported the papal claim of the Roman clergy is the veneration of martyrs at their tombs. Recurrent persecution hindered the development of a pilgrim's landscape around the Roman tombs but, as the next step will demonstrate, the Constantinian shift could reckon with a dynamic flow of pilgrims into the newly erected landscape, as such a flow was alive even under recurrent persecution. Finally, the coronation of Charlemagne gave a new impulse to expand the pilgrim networks and landscape beyond the Alps and established a stable praxis of political pilgrimage, also based on the export of Roman relics.

The power mechanism of pilgrimage

In order to grasp the possible impact of pilgrimage on the power of a religious authority, some basic concepts of ritual, salvation, and religion have to be recalled briefly. My starting point for understanding the power of pilgrimage is Martin Riesebrodt's concept of religion as a ritual practice with a transcendent promise of salvation.[4] Doctrinal, ethical and pastoral teachings frame develop and transform the ritual. But it is the ritual and its transcendent orientation which constitute religion in contrast to a non-religious world view and doctrine. A pilgrimage can be a sacrifice in itself or enables the pilgrims to make sacrifices at a shrine on a holy ground. The gathering in a sacred space also constitutes the opportunity of listening to the doctrines preached there.

Victor Turner stressed the impact the practice of pilgrimage as a joint experience has on individual and collective identity formation. Pilgrimage is a *rite de passage* as the pilgrims embarks on a journey that is intended to allow the crossing of a threshold, transcending the border of the previous identity. Beyond the threshold, a new communal identity is evoked. Turner's terms for that process are *liminality* and *communitas*. "Betwixt and between" the given old and the possible new order, a free

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4 Riesebrodt 2010, 108–135.

space of communal creativity evolves.[5] Eade and Sallnow criticized Turner for being too optimistic about the possibilities of freely creating a new *communitas*. Contestations arise always around the sacred space.[6] As pilgrimage is a rite of passage that can be repeated by an individual, not a single moment but the institutionalized practice becomes more important. Thus, pilgrimage is less about revolutionary changes over night and more about gradual changes over long-lasting periods of time.

Benedict Anderson draws on Turner's concept of pilgrimage for his argument about imagined communities.[7] Focusing on the question of power, Anderson highlights an important aspect of how the pilgrim community is held together and how the experience and the imagination are deliberately orchestrated:

> There was, to be sure, always a double aspect to the choreography of the great religious pilgrimage: a vast horde of illiterate vernacular-speakers provided the dense, physical reality of the ceremonial passage; while a small segment of literate bilingual adepts drawn from each vernacular community performed the unifying rites, interpreting to their respective following the meaning of their collective motion.[8]

In this perspective, Turner's concept of a communal identity construction turns into a class-based separation of an illiterate mass from a literate elite. The religious experts, the priests, have the power to form a community and to inform the community about the doctrine that shapes their identity. The mechanism might be, however, rather a mutual constitutive praxis in which masses and elites develop a contested common identity nourished by the memorized joint experience that creates a network of elites and masses. Nevertheless, the question about the power of the priest is central. How much influence do priests have on the memory of the masses and to what extent can the pilgrim masses support and influence the power position of the priests? To elaborate on the power mechanism of pilgrimage that forms a stable institution through common memory, at least three aspects of power have to be considered:

Power has a material base and a material purpose: the command and control of resources. Resources do not flow freely. A flow of resources depends on a communication and transport infrastructure. Such an infrastructure has to be created or resumed, which is also a costly enterprise. In addition, it has to be protected and defended against other claims. Finally, the resources have to be invested in a way that further supports and does not disrupt the flow of resources. The crucial question for the flow of resources transcends thus the scope of the materialist focus and sparks into the ideational issue of legitimacy and prospects. Recurrent persecution made this aspect very problematic for the early Roman Christians. The popularity of Lawrence, the martyred deacon of the also martyred Pope Sixtus II in the Valerian persecution,

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5 Turner 1974, 166–271.

6 Eade/Sallnow 1991.

7 Anderson 1983, 53.

8 Anderson 1983, 54.

who is famous for giving the fortune of the Church to the poor instead of delivering it to emperor, may echo the endurance and relief of a community that was recurrently close to extinction and stripped of all resources.

The (re)flow of resources is generated and stabilized by the ability to offer compelling narratives. In exchange for material resources a compelling narrative has to be offered that is so attractive that it not only legitimizes willy-nilly revenues of the elites but sparks such a high interest in the masses that they are eager to invest their resources and are happy to take goods, words, and advisory narratives in return; blessing and doctrines, as well as relics, are of particular importance in the case of papal Rome. Generally speaking, political scientists called such phenomena soft power.[9] To foster soft power, the resources cannot only be spent on the elite consumption but have to be invested in symbolic power, as Pierre Bourdieu calls it.[10] In the case of pilgrim sites, shrines, and sacred spaces, the religious elite has to invest in a sacral landscape of symbolic power that supports the feeling that the pilgrims have indeed passed a threshold that brings them closer to the divine.

After all, material and ideational structures do not direct the flow of resources alone. Human agency is a necessary third factor that invents material and ideational structures, keeps them going and adjusts them when necessary. Power is thus a relational capacity that constitutes, commands, and controls social fabrics.

The configuration of the model's social strata consists of a more or less illiterate mass that has resources and a literate elite that offers narratives. They are bound together by the institutionalized memory of the pilgrimage and the surrounding narratives, doctrines, and teachings. However, the model would be far too simplistic if both sides would be conceptualized as uniform blocs.

The pilgrims are not the only ones who represent the masses, the sacred site is also inhabited by masses, particularly in the case of Rome. In addition, the masses that embark on a pilgrimage bringing resources to a sacred space are not only the illiterate *hoi polloi*. Although poorer strata of the population are part of the story, in order to enable a flow of resources, the pilgrim masses are not on the same footing as the proletarians of Rome but generally more prosperous. That, however, does not imply a separation of the two strata of masses. *Urbs et orbis* are closely bound together. The masses of the city perform similar rituals as the pilgrims and thus serve as guidance and role models. In addition, the Roman masses also profit from the revenues.

The elite is not uniform, either. Initially, Rome is certainly not ruled by the newly settled Christian priests with papal aspirations. Those who claim being Pope in these early years died all as martyrs on the hand of the imperial elite. Recurrent persecution is the major obstacle for the organization of any pilgrimage. Later, also the lead-

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9 Nye 2004. See also Troy 2010 and Byrnes 2017 for the soft power of the papacy.
10 Bourdieu 1991, 163–170.

ers of the warrior tribes that threatened and sacked Rome during the Age of Migration were not keen on sending resources to Rome but tried to inherit the flow of resources that imperial Rome once commanded. In addition, when these tribes finally became Christians, they opted for the Arian version of the Christian faith, which was condemned by the Roman clerics. Also, the pagan philosophers and priests in Rome and the whole empire were certainly not keen on sharing resources with the Christian newcomers. Even among Christian clerics, support for a Roman pilgrimage has not to be taken as given. They were also competitors. As far as biblical sources tell us, Jerusalem initially received money from the Christian flock of Rome. Thus, Eade and Sallnow's point about the contestation of the sacred site[11] is key to understanding the rise of the Roman papacy. There had to be a strong movement that turned the biblical promise given to the Apostle Peter, namely that he will be the rock on which the Church is built, into the social reality of the Roman papacy. The Roman priests needed a strong ally against various competing elites. My claim is that the pilgrim movement to Rome, triggered by the deliberately staged and cultivated thresholds of the Apostle, figured as a prominent factor in these developments. Confronted with that social movement, the competing elites, other Christian clerics, but also the warrior kings had to decide whether they ally with the emerging papacy, and support the further rise of the popes, or if they preferred to sideline the ambitious Roman clerics and do everything in their power to stop their claim to power.

Peter as the first pilgrim to Rome

Within the debate about Roman supremacy, the question if it was a historical fact that Peter made it to Rome, reigned there as Bishop of Rome and became martyred and buried there, was raised very late in the Medieval Ages by the Valdensians and Marsilius of Padua. The continuation of the debate,[12] shows how high the Roman stakes for the institutional narrative about the papacy still are. Undoubtedly, the dispute about what kind of role and authority the New Testament (Joh 21, 16–17; Mat 16, 18–19) describes to Peter comes logically first. Peter's life and afterlife in Rome are, however, foundational for the institutional narrative that the Roman priests are his legitimate heirs. Those who own Peter's tomb, possess his key to heaven.[13]

While the biblical acts of the Apostle report Paul's journey to Rome, they are silent about Peter after his miraculous escape from his Jerusalem prison. However, the tradition of the Church passed on also other written sources as authentic and shared also a

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11 Eade/Sallnow 1991.

12 Dasmann 2011.

13 In *Pastor Aeternus* the First Vatican Council was outspoken on this linkage. See Burkardt 2011. For a comprehensive account of the debate on Peter in Rome see Heid 2011.

biographical memory with otherwise side-lined approaches. The summary of Hierony-mus that passed on the basic knowledge of the Church about Peter is in fundamental aspects of Peter's life and death not much different from the apocryphal literature, like the recovered fragments of the acts of St. Peter. The traditional knowledge about Peter's journey to Rome, maybe in order to stop his adversary Simon Magnus,[14] has to be un-derstood as an orally kept knowledge about someone whose fate was of interest for a widely spread community of people. That does not rule out mistakes, misunderstand-ings and manipulation in details. Massive errors in the story would, however, likely have been corrected by a network of Christians who knew each other. The written frag-ments also confirm Peter's preaching in Rome, his attempt to escape persecution, the famous q*uo vadis*-episode, and his upside-down crucifixion in Rome. As reliable as an-cient sources can be, it is safe to say that Peter went to Rome, was martyred there around Nero's Great Fire in 64 AD and is buried there.[15]

The Petrine journey sparked an interest that resulted in a romance attributed to Clemence from which the metaphor for the Church as the "boat of Peter" emerged. This evolving tradition created a landscape of shrines and churches associated with Peter's embarking in Leuca and his way through Apulia to Rome.[16]

If the basic concept of pilgrimage is in the tradition of Abraham the departure into the unknown in the following of God's calling, the sojourner Peter can count as one of the first pilgrims to Rome. He was certainly not the first Christian there, as already Paul addressed Roman Christians in his Epistle to the Romans and Paul might have been brought to Rome as a captive before. Nevertheless, Peter's journey to Rome, from the "boat of Peter" to the "quo-vadis" event, marks him as a traveller in the Abrahamic tradition of a free departure for the unknown in order to follow the divine promise to be a foundational figure in God's plan. As such he was part of a traveller network which spread the Christian faith. Those who narrated his life's jour-ney embarked on similar trips. Maybe some of them followed him for the sake of see-ing his tomb and backed thereby the claim of his successors that his authority should lead the Church.

Peter among travellers: authority in the writing travellers' network

Peter's journey and death in Rome is one thing, his position in a line of Roman bishops that due to Jesus' promise to Peter became popes is quite a different story. As the chro-

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14 Stefan Heid explains the theme of Simon Magnus in the Petrine tradition as taken from late an-tique theater which has been used to attract a mass audience for Christian interest: Heid 2018.
15 Duffy 2014, 7. For an extended discussion see Bockmuehl 2007; Heid 2011.
16 Olivia 2015.

nologically first source for that claim, the First Epistle of Clemence addressed to the Corinthians is usually presented, and a certain consensus exists for the year 96 as the year of its origin. Irenaeus of Lyon, originally from Smyrna where he heard Polycarp who had known the Apostles' generation, names Clemence in his treaties 'Against Heresies' as the fourth Roman Bishop after Peter, Linus, and Anaclet.[17] Irenaeus knows Clemence's successors until Eleutherius, who reigned between 174–189, giving thus an overview of names of the roughly first 100 years of an arguably nucleus papacy in the succession of Peter.[18]

Concerning the question of the papal claim, these two texts have in common that the reference to Peter, Paul or the Roman clergy is made in order to make an authorized proof for controversial claims. The long elaborate First Epistle of Clemence was almost treated like being part of the canonical scriptures, and Irenaeus' argument against the Gnostics received high attention. Their standing backed the later frequent but often also challenged claim of Roman interlocution in disputes. Were here only some theologians backing each other for the sake of criticizing third parties?

Two additional sources are of interest in the debate about a specific authority: Ignatius of Antioch wrote, probably between 110 and 130 AD, a letter to the Roman Christians during his journey. He distinguishes between his plea and the authoritative command of Peter and Paul; and Dionysius of Corinth is quoted addressing Soter of Rome as the heir of Peter and Paul's founding in Rome. During the pontificate of Zephryrinus (199–217), Gaius, a Roman cleric, wrote a letter in a theologian controversy in which he backed up his claim to traditional orthodoxy by an explicit reference to the trophy of the Apostles which were superior to other shrines.[19]

Much ink has been spilled on arguing whether these sources are valid enough to back papal claims based on the New Testament scriptures or not. To move on in this debate, the social fabric behind the discourse of these letters has to be considered. The early Christian were not entitled to use the *cursus publicus*, the imperial courier service, they had to use their own network of travellers. Looking on the mentioned writers and epistles, we see a lot of movement among the correspondence. Ignatius is like St. Paul in custody to be set on trial in Rome. Irenaeus coming from Smyrna made it to Lyon via a tour to Rome. The names of popes he mentioned tell the story of the Christians of Rome as a migrant community, rather Greek than Roman.[20] The Latin word for pilgrim – *peregrinus* is the same term as for stranger. Apparently, the experience of being a stranger in the melting-pot of the Roman capital and travelling for

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17 If there was already a monarchically unified structure of the Roman clergy or if Clemence was more a representative of the Roman elders as the Shepherd of Hermas suggests is not the point of question here: See Duffy 2014, 10–11.

18 For a comprehensive account of the earlier sources see Shortwell/Ropes Loomis 1927/1991. See also for short enumerative list and introduction Klausnitzer 2004, 129–138.

19 Klauser 1956, 17–21.

20 Reinhardt 2017, 30.

the sake of the gospel through the Roman world while being spiritually on the way to heaven seems to form the social fabric as well as the imaginary of the Christian community. Travelling was obviously not a rare phenomenon among early Christians. It certainly fits to the mission to bring the gospel to the end of the world but it also builds an "imagined community" of pilgrimage, to use Anderson's term. Being on the way is not a privilege of an elite or a single individual, like Paul as the most famous among the Christian travellers. Travelling, movement, and migration constitute a mass phenomenon of being on the way in the Roman Empire. The travelling network did not only link single figures like Irenaeus and Polycarp who met the Apostles in Asia Minor or to Clemence and his successor who Irenaeus met in Rome where they might have already lived when Peter and Paul were martyred there. The written relics indicate a much broader network of travellers and the writers among them might be a small minority. Within these movements the focus has to be on hints of Christians ready to embark on a journey that entangles them with the Roman clergy for the sake of the Roman role as custodes of the tombs of the Apostles. They would be the pilgrims who backed as a mass movement the papal claim of supremacy.

Urbs et Orbis: persecution and veneration

Scholars' consensus it that the report of Polycarp of Smyrna's martyrdom in the year 156/157 constitutes the first source that explicitly depicts the veneration of relics and tombs of a martyr.[21] The Greek culture of Asia Minor and its hero worship offers, according the *opinio communis*, the background that explains the alleged Christian innovation of a cult around tombs and martyrs. As Polycarp died almost a century after the presumable death of Peter and Paul in Rome, continuous veneration of their Roman tombs is thought unlikely. Otto Zwirlein even denied any veneration of Polycarp's relics.[22]

Following Stefan Heid's argument against Zwirlein,[23] a closer look at the sources concerning veneration of holy men's tombs suggests quite a different view. Albeit the term "martyr" is of newer origin,[24] the veneration of holy men who were killed due to their testimony was a widespread Jewish tradition already among Pharisees during the life time of Jesus. The problem of the corpse as a source for ritual uncleanness as

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21 For an extended debate see Heid 2015, 116–117. For the classical approach on relics and holy men see Brown 1981.
22 Zwirlein 2014.
23 Heid 2015.
24 Bowersock 1998, 1, 21.

a problem for Jewish cult was solved by covering the graves with a monument that forecloses any contact with the relicts themselves.[25]

Linking that missed tradition to the report of Polycarp's death allows a fresh look on one issue of the story. The Jewish community of Smyrna was reported to ask the authorities to burn Polycarp in a way that the flames would consume his body completely in order to avoid the cult around his relics. This, however, was not done by the authorities. Thus, the Christians were able to rescue the treasured relics. Apparently, the Jewish and Christian community of Smyrna knew already before Polycarp's death about the practice of veneration. The very source that seemed to prove the innovative character of a cult around martyrs shows instead that a well-established practice was the issue. Based on these insights, a Christian veneration of the tombs of martyrs is not an invention of the mid of the second century influenced by a Greek cult but the continuation of a Pharisee tradition. Taking the veneration of martyrs serious and rereading the sources carefully sheds also a new light on the veneration of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The temporal loss of Jerusalem in 70 AD created a vacuum, which might have boosted the veneration of the Roman tombs of the Apostle, martyred a few years before.

Already following the Great Commission to preach the Gospel and baptize followers of all nations created a new kind of taking leave and embarking on a holy journey. A mobile network of missionaries and venerated men and their adherents was constituted through these journeys. The succession of one of these saintly founders, an Apostle in person or someone apostolically installed, was the guarantee for being an heir and thus a representative of the orthodox tradition. The Pharisee tradition to venerate holy men and prophets at their tombs could offer the missing link for how the veneration of the Apostles and their successors could develop without break and innovation but incrementally out of a given Jewish tradition.

An early-on veneration of the tombs of the Apostle in Rome is thus an option that cannot be ruled out but rather suggests itself.

Written sources of Roman pilgrims exist already for the second century.[26] The archaeological excavations under St. Sebastiano (1917) and under St. Peter (1950) confirmed the veneration of Peter at the Vatican and of Peter and Paul at the site of what is now San Sebastiano. Finding two sites for St. Peter's veneration generated hot debates where, when and how Peter was venerated at these two places and why the date of his martyrium – Nero's Great Fire of Rome was in July 64 – is hidden behind two days of remembrance – 22 February and 29 June.[27]

The contrast between a rich tradition backed by excavations and obvious lacunas and flaws might fit together if a stable outside network generating flows of pilgrims is assumed that stands in contrast to a recurrently persecuted centre regularly close to

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25 Heid 2015, 123–126.

26 Birch 1998, 6.

27 Klausner 1956.

extinction. The pressure of recurrent persecution explains why the First letter of Clemence is not signed and has an enigmatic reference to the more anonymous sojourner community in Rome. What is taken as a sign for an egalitarian structure could be nothing but a politically wise way to obstruct the monarchical leadership of a community whose leaders had regularly been killed as criminals by the authorities. Apparently, it is also a good idea to be vague about the fate of the founding leaders and their burial site, especially if the burial site is held in high esteem. It had to be kept on a rather low profile in order to prevent the intervention by the authorities at these places.

Based on the flow of pilgrims and resources to the tombs of the Apostles, Christianity could not only recover in "Babylon"[28] but managed to reclaim Roman supreme authority. When the centre recurrently collapsed, the periphery became central insofar as the memory of the Roman tombs and their authority, however vague, remained there. The venerating *orbis* rebuilt the persecuted *urbs*.[29]

Coming to the threshold of the Apostles: creating a landscape for pilgrims

Pope Damasus (366–384) established a full-fledged concept of the threshold or limen of the Apostles: "For him the *limen* of a saint was an actual physical place. It was the area around the tomb of a saint or martyr in a cemetery where the faithful gathered for veneration and prayer."[30] Damasus was, apart from being of ruthless efficiency in establishing his reign as pope against a competitor, also a literate man and writer who decorated Rome's holy sites erected by Constantine with epigraphs.[31] Emperor Constantine (307–337) and Pope Damasus (366–384) recollected the memories of the earlier Roman Christians and turned them into the religious landscape that pilgrims to Rome, *Romei* of the Medieval Ages or modern papal pilgrims of today, visit.

Creating St. Peter at a very unsuitable spot, a steep hill that had to be flattened, for a major building, is one of the most persuasive arguments for the authenticity of Peter's tomb at the Vatican. The majestic basilica boosted the attractivity of the Petrine pilgrim site. The Constantinian erection of St. Peter, together with the donation of the Lateran palace to become the first church, and other donations started to turn Rome into a Christian landscape for pilgrims. Before Constantine, the Christian Rome was a network of more or less hidden places of a regularly persecuted community. With the Constantinian shift, Christianity conquered the public square of Rome. The

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28 For Babylon as a name for Rome see Baum 2011.

29 For a broader discussion of the memory of *urbs* and *orbis* see also Sproll 2011.

30 Birch 1998, 6.

31 Schimmelpfennig 1996, 16–58.

popes were not immediately able to deal with the new situation. It took some decades before Pope Damasus managed to turn the emerging Christian Rome into a landscape of Christian memories dominated by the pope. A Roman discourse in stone arose that guided the Roman masses as well as the incoming pilgrims through the newly erected and decorated landscape of the Christian metropolis, at least of the Western orbit of the declining empire. While the Eastern patriarchs had their problem to accept the papal Rome, westwards no Apostolic seat could match Rome and the Roman pope's pilgrim landscape and authority.

Constantine left Rome in order to build his own, second Rome. Now the issue was no longer to survive persecution but to survive the decline of the imperial city during the Age of Migration. Pope Leo I the Great, was able to stop Attila to sack Rome, but Gregor I the Great, had to be satisfied to negotiate only the sacking and not the burning of Rome, sparing also some major churches. These two events were only the tip of the iceberg of the incoming waves of new, if Christian then Arian, lords, harassing the pope and his Catholic flock.[32]

However, not only the Barbarians from outside but also Roman "Barbarian" insiders challenged the rule of the papal monarch. Leo III had been severely injured in an attack by the family of his predecessor in order to prevent him from reigning as pope. He made it to Paderborn at the Court of Charlemagne and negotiated a mutual support that finally led to the coronation of Charlemagne at Christmas 800. A new chapter of Roman pilgrimage began, when a new political elite of Northern Europe had to come to Rome in order to legitimize their rule over other elites.[33] The Frankish King became the guard protecting the pope, Peter's Tomb, and Christianity against Roman feuds of a city in decay.

An important part of the new chapter was the reverse flow of Roman martyrs' relics: the pilgrim's flow to Rome was combined with the exports of relics.[34] Gregor the Great's appreciation of Benedict of Nursia, whose monastic rule had become obligatory for all monasteries under Charlemagne's protection, was key of this new Roman melange of Christianity, including the veneration of Benedict's relics (Fleury Abby) and the spread of relics from the Catacombs all over Europe organized jointly, sometimes in competition by the monks and the warriors. The great Roman Benedict who left Rome for its decay was the ideal herald of the new Christian time which was nevertheless deeply dependent on the cultural background of Rome. When Charlemagne finally managed to overthrow the Saxons, a major transfer of Roman relics to the Saxon lands began. Roman relics, like those of the martyr Alexander, made it almost to the North Sea.[35] The Roman power of the Franks, and, subsequently, the power of the baptised Saxons' elite, were legitimized by a similar mechanism like the papal

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32 For the emergence of the papal state between the late 7th and early 9th century see Noble 1991.

33 Classen 1985; Heather 2013, 207–209.

34 For an overview see Angenendt 2007.

35 On Benedict of Nursia see Hallinger 1980, on Alexander see Pabst 2001.

power in Rome. The Roman pilgrim landscape expanded from the city into the increasingly papal orbit. However, the rise of the papacy was certainly not linear as the catastrophe of 846 showed, when the Saracens, allured by the pilgrim's treasures, sacked St. Peter.[36]

Conclusion: The mass base for the making of the papacy

The network of writing travellers and a Roman community under the pressure of recurrent persecution is the baseline for the argument of a living memory of the tombs of the Apostles in Rome. The writing travellers' network spread and backed the Roman traditions of the two leading figures of the emerging Christian community. The much-debated question of succession and orthodoxy was first and foremost a question of personal connection, memories and opinions of these networks. As the emerging Church rested on the preaching of the Apostles, their interpreters, and disciples, a living memory of their teaching, not necessarily of the details of their *curriculum vitae*, was crucial. It was a question of who was *in* and who was *out*. The questions of belonging and believing, go always hand in hand. Reducing controversies and plurality is the recurrent theme that runs through the story of these early Christians writing travellers' networks.

While the settlement of disputes between different opinions in an imperial Roman legal tradition is apparently more likely to be carried out by a monarchical judge with the final appeal to the emperor, things do not run so smoothly towards papal supremacy in these networks of scribes. While the argument of belonging to Peter and Paul might certainly trump other Apostolic lines of succession, scholars and intellectuals prefer an ongoing dispute only temporarily settled by collegial synods. The Fathers of the East, albeit learned readers of the bible, had apparently their problems to accept the papal interpretation of the pertinent Petrine references.

In order to explain sociologically why the biblical references and a certain practice among the writing travellers, to accept Peter's successors as an important clearing authority, turned into a full-fledged papal system, an additional perspective is needed. The doom of Jerusalem's destruction in AD 70 and the lack of Apostolic seats in the West (Antioch, Alexandria, later Constantinople were all located further East) created certainly the geopolitical room for the papal claim, but it would also need a social basis for the room to be inhabited.

The pilgrims are the mass base of whom the writing travellers' network is just the tip of the ice-berg. Beyond dispute, the early Christians' majority, including Peter

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36 Leo IV successfully contained the Sarazene threat. See Herbers 1996, 105–134.

himself, were ordinary men and women, not intellectuals like Paul. They were part of the travelling and migrating networks and inhabited the traffic junctions and metropolises that became Apostolic seats. They constitute the pilgrim church wandering the earth as strangers. But they were also pilgrims in the narrower sense of taking leave in order to visit a sacred site. Given the finding of the Pharisee tradition of the veneration of tombs, masses were apparently integrated into the cult of venerating martyrs at the burial places. Rome gave the best opportunity for a mass base of the veneration of Peter and Paul.

The recurrent persecution explains why these pilgrimages had to be done discreetly and why sources at the site have their lacunae and flows. But the importance ascribed to Peter and Paul and the early-on evidence of mass pilgrims' veneration like the graffiti at the catacombs, supports the claim that mass pilgrimage also from beyond the city was always part of the practice. Indeed, that mass base was able to rebuild the persecuted Roman clergy that had been recurrently close to extinction.

Credence to such a mass basis is given by the later building programme of Constantine. An esoteric ritual of a hidden sect might certainly not boost an expensive building program of an emperor whose ambitions long for a memorial landscape that could integrate not only Rome, still under the influence of the pagan dominated senate, but the whole empire. From that perspective, the pilgrim masses from beyond the walls of Rome play early-on a major part in the flock coming to the threshold of the Apostle. Coming to the threshold of the Apostle constituted the liminal but repeatable *rite de passage* of pilgrimage that created an ever-closer union of belonging to the See of Peter.

Constantine's building programme transformed the previous landscape almost in a Hegelian sense of "Aufheben". Damasus' pontificate showed that new power had to be cultivated by turning the Christian shrines and catacombs into the ideational foundation of Rome.

Again, under pressure from outside and inside papal Rome was not a flourishing site but the declining former capital of a now imploding empire. Attracting pilgrims, instead of invaders, and keeping the internal strives to a minimum, was the main task of the popes in the coming centuries.

The endeavour that established, despite many set-backs, Rome as the centre of western Christianity, was again a journey, the papal journey to an emerging court, that of Charlemagne at Paderborn. The coronation of Charlemagne in Rome as the new emperor depending on the blessing of the pope turned the public into a political pilgrimage. A prominent way to legitimize power in Europa was now to come to the Roman threshold of the Apostles and their custodian, the popes. But the pilgrimage to the Roman relics of Peter and Paul was not a one-way direction. The pilgrims took relics of other Roman martyrs with them. While Peter and Paul were kept safe in Rome, the Roman clergy had no problems to donate other relics to the pilgrims from the Northern forests. Migrating relics and pilgrims played a foundational role in the creation of the new social fabric. Finally, a new term became fashionable for the

mass movement to Rome: *Romani,* the Romans, were complemented by *Romei,* the pilgrims to Rome that constituted the mass basis for the papacy of the Medieval Ages.

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Eleni Krikona

A New Political Order in the Late Sixth Century BC Athens Powered by the Delphic Oracle

Abstract: After the murder of Hipparchus, the exiled Alcmaionids try unsuccessfully to overrule Hippias. A year later, Cleisthenes the Alcmaionid decides to finance the completion of the new temple of Apollo at Delphi, and the Pythia, in return, gives ultimatums to the Spartans that they should first free Athens from the tyranny before attempting further military enterprises. Moreover, Apollo decided on the new Athenian constitutional order in 508/7.[1] Through his priestess, the god confirms the new tribal reform by choosing the ten eponymous heroes- protectors of the new subdivisions of the Athenian political body. In return, Athens constructs in the Delphic sanctuary a superb new treasury. As a case study of the political role of oracles in antiquity, the present paper addresses the decisive role of the Delphic oracle in the fall of tyranny as well as in the establishment of a new democratic constitution in Athens, following the narrative of Herodotus, and by also examining the archaeological material of the period from the Delphic sanctuary.

Keywords: Pythia, Delphi, Apollo's temple, Cleisthenes, tribal reform, eponymous heroes, isonomia, Athenian treasury

Introductory remarks

In 508/7, the Athenian demos decided -in a sovereign way- to establish a new regime in its state, *isonomia*,[2] according to the political suggestions of Cleisthenes,[3] the leader

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1 All provided dates are BC.

2 See my forthcoming article (Krikona forthcoming b) on isonomia as a constitution.

3 Hdt, 5.66; *AP*, 20.1. On the Cleisthenic reforms in general see Lévêque/Vidal-Naquet 1964; Lewis 1963, 22–40; Pleket 1972, 63–81; Bicknell 1972, 1–53; Andrewes 1977; Meier 1980, 93–142; Ober 1989; Ruzé 1997, 369–387; Anderson 2000. On the time of Cleisthenes in Athens see in general Hansen 1994; Pritchard 2004; Raaflaub/Ober/Wallace 2007; Osborne 2010; Azoulay/Ismard 2011; Cartledge 2016, with further references in p. 318.

of the Alcmaionids.[4] But how did the political Athenian stage become available to Cleisthenes and his *hetairoi* to put forward some laws[5] that would change the constitutional order in Athens, which remained unchanged since the early sixth century? And how did the reforms of 508/7 become a political reality as early as the late sixth century? Would the ratification of these reforms by the Athenian assembly be enough for a new constitutional order to be accepted and not questioned, as it was established solely by the Athenian citizenry for the first time, without the help of a reformer or a tyrant, as the common practice until then dictated in the Greek world? The Delphic oracle here is pivotal in establishing the first democratic constitution in history.

The Delphic Sanctuary of Apollo

In the second half of the 7th century, the Delphic sanctuary (Fig. 1) received its first (known) monumental dedications and gradually became a Panhellenic sanctuary. Apollo spoke through his oracle, the Pythia.[6] The growing reputation of Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi for dealing with public matters from the 7th century onwards is due to its decisive role in the early stages of Greek colonization. By the fifth century, the Delphic sanctuary had proven itself the most flexible and 'international' stage of political influence in the ancient Greek world.

In 548/7, the temple of Apollo was destroyed by fire,[7] and the amphictyony of Delphi made a public plea throughout Greece and beyond for financial contributions by

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4 The 'manoeuvre' of Cleisthenes, shortly after the failed attempt at Leipsydrion, to finance the reconstruction of the Apollo temple at Delphi to exert a decisive influence, through which his main goal was going to be achieved, meaning the abolition of the tyranny in Athens, is a characteristic tactic of the political behavior of the reformer also from 510 onwards (on the demotic manoeuvre of the Alcmaionid in 508/7 see Camassa 2000 and also below). Here, it is also proven that Cleisthenes now holds the leadership of his clan. On the clan of the Alcmaionids see *AP* 20.1, 28.2; Hesychius a3097 (Harpokration): Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι·γένος Ἀθήνησιν, ἀπό Ἀλκμαίωνος τοῦ κατά Θησέα; Hdt, 6.125.1. On the fact that the family of the Alcmaionids was so rich and powerful that it gave its name to the whole clan of Alcmaionids, see Ferguson 1938, 43 fn. 3; Hignett 1952, 316.

5 On the laws of Cleisthenes, as written decisions possibly kept in the archives see *AP* 29.3. On the Athenian laws in the fourth century see Hansen 1978; Canevaro 2015.

6 His priestess had to be an older woman of blameless life chosen from among the peasants of the area. Alone in an enclosed inner sanctum (*adyton*), she sat on a tripod seat over an opening in the earth (*chasm*). According to legend, when Apollo slew Python, a serpent or a dragon that lived there and protected the navel of the Earth before the arrival of the god, its body fell into this fissure, and fumes arose from its decomposing body. Intoxicated by the vapors, the priestess would fall into a trance, allowing Apollo to possess her spirit. In this state, she prophesied. On the Delphic sanctuary of Apollo see in general Scott 2010; Scott 2014; and also Krikona 2018 regarding the Athenian dedications at Delphi.

7 Paus. 10.5.13.
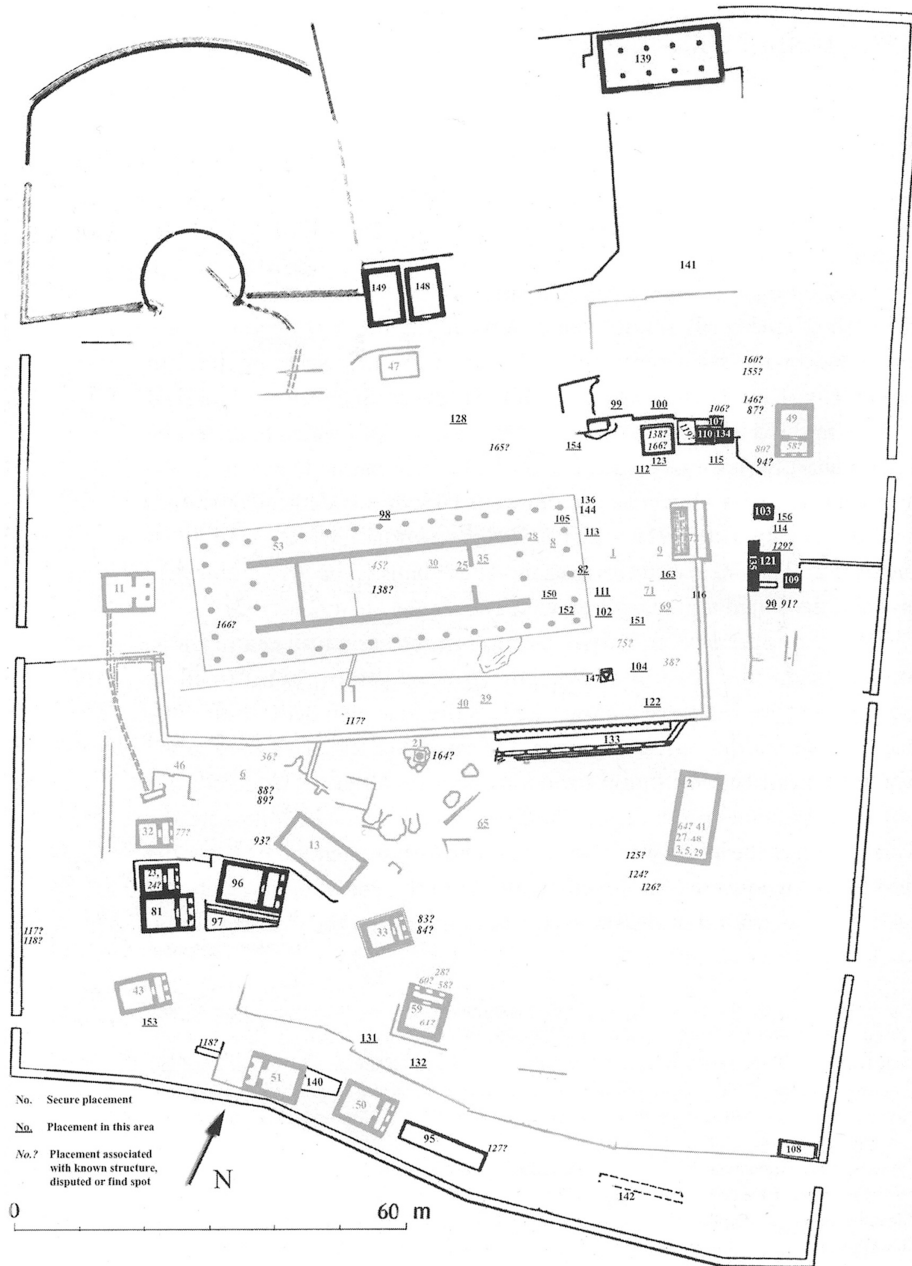
Fig. 1: Map of the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi 500-450 BC. Image: after Scott 2010, 76, fig. 4.1, courtesy of the author.

the Greek states and foreign kings to support the reconstruction of the temple. By 514, the temple was still under construction; the gathered funds did not suffice to complete the reconstruction by that time.

Cleisthenes, Delphi, and the fall of tyranny in Athens

After the tyrant Peisistratus's death, political control in Athens lies in the hands of Hippias and Hipparchus, who seem to maintain good relations with the most important Athenian aristocratic clans, including the Alcmaionids. After the death of Peisistratus in 527/6, Cleisthenes returned to Athens from exile, became the leader of his clan, and also an eponymous archon in the city in 525/4.[8] However, after the assassination of Hipparchus by Harmodius and Aristogeiton[9] during the Panathenaic procession of the year 514/3, the tyranny of Hippias becomes harsher.[10] The Alcmaionids decided to abandon the city once more[11] and attempted several times, however unsuccessfully, to overthrow Hippias, who enjoyed the support of the Athenian demos. The most significant attempt against Hippias led by Cleisthenes takes place in Leipsydrion in 513 but is a complete military failure.[12]

Who would be in a position to overthrow the tyrant of Athens? Sparta was the most potent military power of that time, but how and why would the Lacedaemonians decide to intervene in the political affairs of Athens, supporting the interests of Cleisthenes? The strongest ally of the Alcmaionids by that time was the Delphic oracle. The Alcmaionids maintained very close relations with Delphi since the time of Alcmaion, son of Megacles I, when around 594, he was the leader of the Athenian army during the first sacred war against Crisa.[13] Thanks to Megacles' participation in that war, the clan of the Alcmaionids gained significant power and wealth.

As mentioned above, Cleisthenes failed to overthrow Hippias's tyranny by his military force in 513, even with the support of his fellow aristocrats. He decides then to

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8 See Meritt 1939, 59–65; Meiggs/Lewis 1969, 9–12 regarding the fragment of the list with the names of the eponymous archons in Athens after the death of Peisistratus.

9 The Tyrannicides were members of the Gephyraioi clan (Hdt. 5.53–61). On the events of 514 and their different interpretations see *AP* 18; Thuc. 6.54–56.

10 *AP* 19.1; Hdt. 5.55, 5.62; Thuc. 6.59.

11 On the exile of the Alcmaionids after 514 see Hdt. 5.62; *AP* 19.3–4; Isocr. 15.232. See also Lévêque/Vidal-Naquet 1964, 149 fn. 30; Fornara/Samons 1991, 21; Anderson 2000. On the military efforts of the Alcmaionids against Hippias after 514 see *AP* 19.4 and 20.4–5.

12 Hdt. 5.62.2; *AP* 19.3.

13 We are informed by Plut. Solon, 11.3 that Alcmaion was the leader of the Athenian forces in the first Sacred War against Crisa, a city in the valley under the Delphic sanctuary. In the attack, also participated Eurylochus from Thessaly and Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. Alcmaion had already developed ties with Delphi, as the following passage indicates; that's why he was chosen as the leader of the Athenian troops: Hdt. 6.125.

plead with Delphi to support his political cause.[14] Only Delphi can convince the Spartans to interfere in Athenian political affairs, for who would dare to ignore the will of the god Apollo? The Alcmaionids decided to finance the completion of the reconstruction of the temple of Apollo,[15] made in limestone. Even though the contract between Cleisthenes and the Delphic amphictyony did not require anything more extravagant than that, Cleisthenes decided that the east façade of the temple would be made exclusively of Parian marble. He guarantees that the theme of the east pediment will honor this Athenian generosity (Fig. 2): the center of the pediment is occupied by Apollo's four-horse chariot framed by *kouroi* and *korai*.

In both corners, animal groups depict a lion mauling a gentle beast. The interpretation of the subject is based on the introductory verses of the Aeschylean *Eumenides*,[16] in which the Pythia stands before the temple of Apollo and narrates the god's arrival, his epiphany, at Delphi from Athens. Apollo was seen off by the Athenians and greeted with great honors by the people of Delphi and their king, Delphus. Moreover, interesting here

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14 The Alcmaionids signed a contract, as stressed below in the main text, to finance the reconstruction of the temple of Apollo to increase their political influence through the Delphi oracle, the most important Panhellenic sanctuary of the Greek world, politically speaking. We disagree with Jacoby's view (FGrHist, III b 2, 357 et seq., 454) that the Alcmaionids took advantage of the temple's rebuilding to increase their income. This view is mainly based on the passage of AP 19.4: ἀποτυγχάνοντες οὖν ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐμισθώσαντο τόν ἐν Δελφοῖς νεών οἰκοδομεῖν, ὅθεν εὐπόρησαν χρημάτων πρός τήν τῶν Λακώνων βοήθειαν, see also Philochorus or the scholiast of the seventh Pythionicus by Pindar, who stresses: Λέγεται γάρ ὅτι τον Πυθικόν νεών ἐμπρησθέντα, ὥς τινές φασίν τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν, οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι φυγαδευθέντες ὑπό τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ὑπέσχοντο ἀνοικοδομεῖν καί δεξάμενοι χρήματα καί συναγαγόντες δύναμιν ἐπέθεντο τοῖς Πεισιστρατίδαις, καί νικήσαντες μετ' εὐχαριστηρίων πλειόνων ἀνωικοδόμησαν τῶι θεῶι τό τέμενος, ὡς Φιλόχορος ἱστορεῖ, εὐξάμενοι πρότερον τῶι θεῶι; and: φιλοῦντες γάρ τήν δημοκρατίαν τοῖς Πεισιστρατίδαις ἀντέστησαν καί οὕτως ἐφυγαδεύθησαν, εἶτα δανεισάμενοι χρήματα αὐτοί οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι συνήγαγον δύναμιν καί ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς τυράννοις καθεῖλον καί ἠλευθέρωσαν τήν πόλιν (Dilts 1986, or. 21, 144, 498). See similarly the comment of Demosthenes, κατά Μειδίου 21.144: ὁ Μεγακλῆς τήν θυγατέρα ὀφείλκυσε καί ὤχετο αὐτός εἰς Δελφούς. Τότε δέ ἐμπρησθέντος τοῦ νεώ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκήρυξαν οἱ Δελφοί τόν βουλόμενον μισθώσασθαι πρός κατασκευήν τοῦ νεώ. ὁ Μεγακλῆς οὖν ἐδέξατο καί λαβών δέκα τάλαντα τρία μέν ἀνάλωσεν εἰς τήν κατασκευήν, ἐκ δέ τῶν ἑπτά δύναμίν τινα συνήθροισε, καί πείσας Λακεδαιμονίους βοηθεῖν ἐπί τάς Ἀθήνας Πεισίστρατον μέν οὐκέτι ζῶντα κατέλαβεν, Ἱππίαν δέ τόν ἐκείνου παῖδα τυραννοῦντο ἐξέβαλεν (Dilts 1986, 226, 11–18). We agree with Hdt. 5.66 and 6.123, who mentions that Cleisthenes merely persuaded Pythia to communicate to the Lacedaemonians the message of the liberation of Athens from the tyrants. The Alcmaionids must have maintained control over their property, part of which they should have been able to take with them, when they decided to flee from Athens in 514. Thanks to that fortune, they undertook the finance of the temple reconstruction at Delphi, which was completed in around 506, and in that way, they gained political control over other Greek city-states through the oracle. But "turning this game into a deceitful fraud against Apollo is a mere misinterpretation", as Lévêque/Vidal-Naquet 1964, 151 precisely observe.

15 Hdt. 5.62. On the archaic temple of Apollo at Delphi see Homolle 1902, 587–639; De la Coste-Messelière 1946, 271–287; Childs 1993, 399–441.

16 Aesch. Eum. 1–19.

Fig. 2: Sculptural decorations from the East Pediment of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, ca. 513 BC. Archaeological Museum of Delphi. Image: German Archaeological Institut at Athens (DAI Athen), D-DAI-ATH-Delphi 349 (Photo: Gösta Hellner), 1964. https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/94141. Archaeological Museum of Delphi (Courtesy of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports-Archaeological Resources Found).

is the fact that the sculptor of this last phase of construction of the temple, at least as far as the ornament of the east pediment is concerned, appears to be Antenor,[17] as the Athenian *korai* are similar to the so-called '*kore* of Antenor' from the Athenian Acropolis.[18] This very sculptor was soon to construct the first statue group of the Tyrannicides (Fig. 3), which stands probably in the Athenian Agora after the fall of tyranny.[19]

The sanctuary of Delphi has, thanks to Cleisthenes, not only a wholly reconstructed temple but also an impressive one. The Pythia, in return, starts giving ultimata to the Spartans that they should first free Athens from the tyranny of Hippias before they attempt any other military enterprises.[20] Sparta indeed obeys the god's

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17 It is believed that Antenor had the overall supervision, if not the whole construction of the pediments and the acroterial *Nike* of the temple. The head, face and hair of the acroterial *Nike* as well as of the *korai* from the east pediment of the temple show striking similarities to the head of Antenor's *kore*. On this basis, they are attributed to Antenor. Moreover, the Nike Acroterion with the wide paryphe and the spaced folds of her skirt (see Boardman 1978, fig. 204; Stewart 1990, fig. 204) are a characteristic technique used in the *korai* of the east pediment of the temple and in Antenor's *kore* on the Athenian Acropolis.
18 Childs 1993, 411.
19 On the dating of the statue group of the Tyrannicides see below fn. 26. Suffice here to say that we should underline the significance of the fact that Antenor, at around the same time as the completion of the reconstruction of the Apollo temple at Delphi (507/6), constructs the first statue group of the Tyrannicides, which stood in the heart of the Athenian state, the agora. This indicates that Antenor's employer, Cleisthenes, aimed at initiating and promoting an anti-tyrannical cult, that of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, among the Athenians, already from around 506. The promotion of this political cult soon after the political reforms of the Alcmaionid constitutes a focal point in understanding the promotion of cults of a mainly political character, which were strictly associated with the importance of the new constitutional order in Athens.
20 Hdt. 5.63–5; *AP* 19.4–6. See also Fontenrose1978, 121, 239, 309. For the political influence of the Alcmaionids on the Delphic oracle see Crahay 1956, 165, 280–289; Parke-Wormell 1956, 141–148; Forrest 1969, 277–286; Barrett 1972, 70. Therefore, the Alcmaionids indirectly, through the Lacedaemonians,
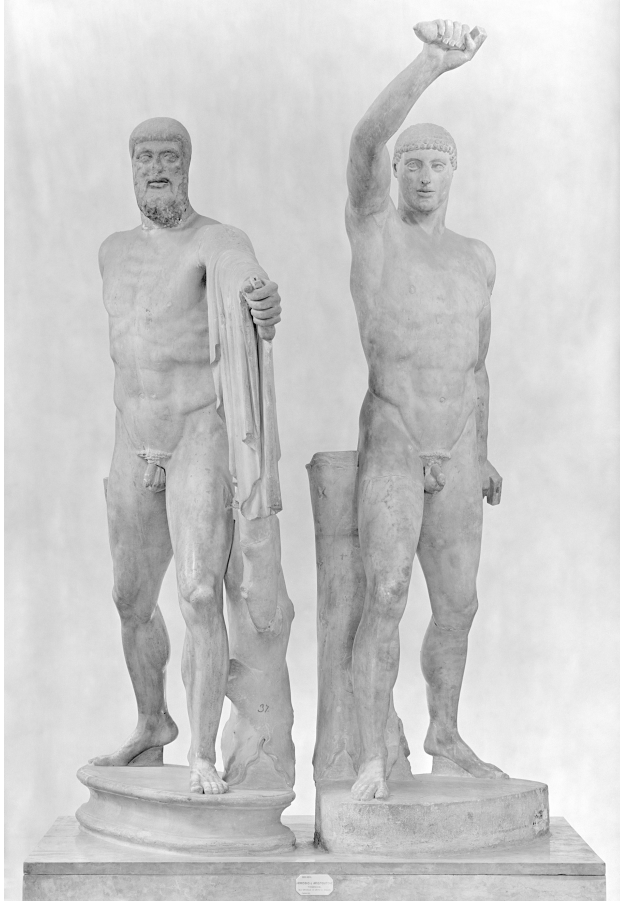
Fig. 3: Roman marble copies (2nd century AD) of statue-group of the Tyrannicides by Kritios and Nesiotes (477/6 BC), Archaeological Museum of Naples. Image: D-DAI-ROM-58.1789, Foto F.X. Bartl, https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/5569125.

will, and after two Spartan invasions into Attica, led by the Spartan king Cleomenes I and supported by Cleisthenes and the rest of the aristocrats, Hippias is forced to abandon Athens in 511/10.[21]

through the oracle of Delphi, will achieve the final abolition of the tyranny in Athens (Thuc. 6.59). On the role of the Alcmaionids in liberating Athens from the tyrannical governance see also Robinson 1994, 363–369.

21 Hdt. 5.62–65; AP 19; Thuc. 6.59.

Cleisthenes, the Athenian demos, and the introduction of a new political order in the Athenian state

Immediately after the fall of tyranny, two aristocrats fight each other over who will prevail on the political stage of Athens: Cleisthenes and Isagoras, the son of Teisandrus.[22] Isagoras succeeded in being elected as an eponymous archon of the year 508/7[23] and is now in a position to change the constitution, turning it into an oligarchy. It is not the first time that Cleisthenes has failed in his plans, but as he has previously proved, he always has an ally more potent than his enemy. This time, it is the Athenian demos. It is peculiar how he manages to gain the political favor of the Athenian demos that favored the tyrants until then.[24]

The complex tactic of Cleisthenes regarding the Athenian citizenry in the late sixth century could constitute the topic of an individual article that goes beyond the scope of the present study. However, it suffices here to be noticed that it has to do with the anti-tyrannical feelings that Cleisthenes managed to inspire in the Athenian demos through the initiation and promotion of the cult of the Tyrannicides,[25] whose statue-group made by Antenor stood in the heart of the Athenian state, possibly as early as 509.[26] Moreover, Cleisthenes's tactic is associated with the political promise of *isonomia*,[27] the slogan of the Alcmaionid, and his political suggestion in contrast to the politics of Isagoras.

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22 Hdt. 5.66.

23 Dionys. 1.74.6; 5.1.1.

24 In the most significant attack against the tyrant Hippias in Leipsydrion in 513 (Hdt. 5.62.2; AP 19.3), the Athenian demos did not participate in overthrowing the tyranny, which was purely an aristocratic initiative. In AP 19.3, it is stated that the exiles of Athens, whom the Alcmaionids were leading (Isocr. 16.26), were supported by τινες τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως. This is completely understood, given the tremendous influence the Alcmaionids exerted on the asty of the Athenian state. By no means do we imply the existence of an urban deme. After all, the comment on the *AP*, 19.3 speaks of ἀγαθούςτε καί εὐπατρίδας, which means that the battle at Leipsydrion was an aristocratic affair, in which the demos of the *asty*, which mainly consisted of poor Athenians, who were also in favor of the tyrants, was not so much involved.

25 See in detail Krikona 2019 with references.

26 According to Plin. nat. hist. 34.17), the statue group of the Tyrannicides, made by Critias and Nesiotes in 477/6 (Marmor Parium 54; Paus. 1.8.5), replaced the first statue group, which was made by Antenor and was standing in Athens *eodem anno quo et Romaereges pulsi*, meaning since 509. On the chronology of the construction of the first statue group see Raubitschek 1940, 58 fn. 2, who dates it after the battle of Marathon. See also Shapiro 1994, 124. On the earlier dating, immediately after the fall of tyranny see Fornara 1970, 157; Brunnsåker 1971, 13–14, 40–43. On the Tyrannicides' statue groups see also Anderson 2003, 198–206; 2007; Azoulay 2014.

27 On the watchword *isonomia* as a banner of Cleisthenes, aiming at taking the demos into his political side to defeat his opponent, Isagoras see Ostwald 1969, 155–157 with fn. 2; Ober 1989, 74; Sakellariou

Cleisthenes, having gained invaluable political experience, first as an eponymous archon and then as a member of the Areopagus, during his residency in Athens since 525 under the tyrants, noticed the formation of an undercurrent of political identity, especially in the citizens of the *asty*,[28] that was in progress, mainly through the maintenance of the Solonian constitutional order.[29] The tyrants must have often summoned the assembly to inform the Athenians of their political decisions or to submit them to the citizens' judgment, seeking their ratification and unwittingly shaping the Athenians' political consciousness. Consequently, the assembly (which took place in the agora from the mid-sixth century) and the centralized political power gained political significance, as the heart of the state, the *asty*, was reinforced. Finally, as the citizen body of Athens was enlarged because of the tyrants, who gradually conferred political rights on more and more of their foreign supporters, the significance of the citizenry was raised.

Moreover, we should remember that significant religious changes took place in Athens in the sixth century, pushing forward some cults as 'national' festivals. These "national" cults not only highlighted the importance of the *asty* but led to the formation of "ethnic" consciousness in the Athenian inhabitants. Firstly, in 566/5,[30] Athena's festival was reorganized from 'Athenaia' to 'Panathenaia',[31] meaning the festival of all the Athenians; however, no literary or archeological[32] source confirms that it happened under Peisistratus, except one.[33] It is, however, certain that the tyrants, especially Hippias and Hipparchus, broadened the existing festival and the worship of Athena.[34]

1999, 106, 323–328. *Isonomia* as a former aristocratic slogan against tyranny that is being reused by Cleisthenes see Ehrenberg 1950, 530–534; Vlastos 1953, 339–347, 363–365; Vlastos 1964, 257 fn. 43, 258–261; Larsen 1948, 8; Lévêque/Vidal-Naquet 1964, 48; Touloumakos 1979, 22 fn. 65. See however the doubts against this idea of *isonomia* as an aristocratic slogan, as expressed by Ehrenberg 1950, 531. On the democratic legislation of the struggle against tyranny see in general Teegarden 2014.

28 See Krikona 2016 in detail.

29 AP 16.2; Plut. Solon, 31.3; Thuc. 6.54.6.

30 On the chronology of the reorganization see Ziehen 1949, 459, s.v. Panathenaia; Hignett 1952, 113; Davison 1958, 26–29; Shapiro1989, 19–20.

31 E.g. Anderson 2003, 174–177. On the origins of the Panathenaia see also Davison 1958, 25–26; Robertson 1985, 266–267; Robertson 1992, 91–93. On the festival of the Panathenaia see in general Farnell1986, vol. I, 294–298; Deubner 1959, 22–35; Parke 1977, 33–50; Simon 1983, 55–72; Neils 1996.

32 Cf. Boersma 2000, 49–56.

33 Scholia on Aelius Aristeides 13.189.4–5 (3,323 Dindorf). It is much probable, but still contains a significant element of conjecture, that it was Lycurgus, the leader of the Plainsmen in the 560s (Hdt. 1.59), who took the initiative of the reorganization, and whose family, the Boutadai (later Eteoboutadai) controlled the cult of Athena Polias. See also Shapiro 1989, 20–21; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2000, 80 fn. 4; Anderson 2003, 162–163.

34 On the rhapsodic competitions at the Panathenaia under the Peisistratids see Plato, Hipparchus 228b. See also Davison 1958, 39–40; Shapiro 1989, 43–44; 1993, 92–107. On the building policy of the

Yet no matter how active a role Peisistratus had or had not in 566/5, the transformation of a modest festival to a major 'national' affair was a fact. The expansion of the Panathenaia as a supreme ceremonial expression of the collective identity in Athens not only raised 'ethnic' consciousness but lessened the importance of cults in local districts controlled by the elite. Through these local cults, the aristocrats used to force a great deal of political control over the citizens of the rural demes, but now their political power has gradually ceased.

As far as the establishment of the Great Dionysia, also known as the "Great (or "City") Dionysia",[35] is concerned, there is no specific indication that Peisistratus brought the cult of Dionysus to Athens.[36] It is probably more likely that the cult image from Eleutherai predated the tyranny of Peisistratus[37] and that the casual strategy of tyrants concerning the two above-mentioned major festivals of Athens was to "promote cults that had been firmly established in the first half of the sixth century, rather introduce new ones", as explicitly Shapiro underlines.[38]

Undoubtedly, while attempting to ensure their political rule, the tyrants' policy was the centralization of political power and the equation of the citizen body, as a whole, with the Athenian state. Towards these aims, Peisistratus and his sons extensively promoted the greatest two festivals, Panathenaia and Great Dionysia, as celebrations for the whole citizenry of Athens, lessening the political power of the aristocracy in the local districts. In this way, communal solidarity was emphasized, and the abstract notion of 'Athens' and 'the Athenians' was specified to the citizenry. Now, the Athenian citizens, equal with each other on this 'national' basis, could identify with this collective name "the Athenians" and the process of Attica's political unification had finally begun,[39] formulating the proper foundation for Athens to reach the ultimate stage of its unification at the end of the sixth century, through Cleisthenes' reorganization of the state.

The emerging 'ethnic' consciousness, shaped through constant tyrannical cult propaganda, would indirectly support the attachment of a greater meaning to Athenian citizenship; as Ober precisely indicates: "The Athenian masses were increasingly conscious of themselves not just in relation to inferior status groups within the state but

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Peisistratids, concerning the promotion of the Panathenaic festival (Old Propylon and Athena Polias temple ["*Archaios Neos*"]) see in general Boersma1970, 20–21; Shapiro 1989, 21–24.

35 On the festival of the Great Dionysia see in general Farnell 1909, vol. V, 224–230; Pickard-Cambridge 1953, 55–103; Deubner 1959, 138–142; Parke 1977, 125–135; Simon 1983, 101–104.

36 Cf. Kleine 1973, 26–28; Shapiro 1989, 86. For the contrary view see e.g. Parke 1977, 128–129; Simon 1983, 104. On the evidence associating Peisistratus with the City Dionysia or Dionysus Eleuthereus see Kolb 1977, 124–134.

37 But even if the cult of Dionysus was not introduced to the city by Peisistratus, this deity of popular appeal, and his festivals, was undoubtedly encouraged by the tyrants in an effort to deprive aristocrats of their political privileges, which derived from their rites in rural areas. Cf. Parke 1977, 129.

38 Shapiro 1989, 86.

39 On the cults and festivals as a fundamental part of Peisistratus' 'unification' of Athens: Frost 1990, 3–9.

in relation to other peoples and to the Athenian state itself".[40] Consequently, the formation of this political identity and self-consciousness in the Athenian Demos under the tyrants – even though still 'hypnotized' – would lead to the beginning of a new era for the city-state of Athens.

Defeated by Isagoras, Cleisthenes seeks a more potent political ally to promote his political vision. The Alcmaionid gains the political loyalty of the demos,[41] as he recognizes its political power, by underlining the political identity of the Athenian citizens and activating their political consciousness.[42] In other words, Cleisthenes recognized the absolute authority of the Demos, the majority of the Athenian citizens, in the political

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40 Ober 1989, 66–67.

41 Hdt. 5.66: ἐσσούμενος δέ ὁ Κλεισθένης τόν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται; AP 20.1: ἡττώμενος δέ ταῖς ἑταιρείαις ὁ Κλεισθένης προσηγάγετο τόν δῆμον. Cleisthenes incorporated into his hetaireia (his existing aristocratic allies), the Athenian demos, the poorest of citizens and also non-citizens. On the *hetaireia* of Cleisthenes and his relationship with the Athenian demos see Camassa 2000, 41–56. The so-called "ἑταιρεῖαι" are usually called the aristocratic political factions, through which political influence was exercised in the late 5th and the 4rth centuries (on a brief description of their role in classical Athens see Sealey 1960, 155–156; MacDowell 1962, 190–193). Even though the existence of such *hetaireiai* in the late 6th century Athens is doubted (see Wade-Gery 1958, 138), at least in the form they have in the late 5th (in the years 415, 411 and 404), the reference of the author of the AP on hetaireiai (20.1) can indicate the rivalry between the two aristocrats, Cleisthenes and Isagoras. In this debate about gaining political power and influence in Athens, they would have mainly supported their fellow aristocrats (*hetairoi*). Therefore, when Hdt. 5.66 writes ἐσσούμενος δέ ὁ Κλεισθένης τόν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται, he means that the demos took the place of Cleisthenes' older supporters (the aristocrats who belonged to this clan), as a greater power than his faction, and as *hetairoi* they supported each other. On the origins of the *hetaireiai* see Calhoun 1913.

42 The way Cleisthenes defeated Isagoras is stressed by the author of AP 20.1–2 as ἀποδιδούς τῷ πλήθει τήν πολιτείαν. On the vast debate concerning the meaning of this passage see Wade-Gery 1933, 21; Hignett 1952, 126 ff, 130, 393–394; Ostwald 1969, 155 ff; Lévêque/Vidal-Naquet 1964, 51–53; Rhodes 1993, 248. We do not know when exactly the political reforms, proposed by Cleisthenes, were ratified by the Athenian assembly. Based on the narrative of AP 20–21, it must have happened after the summer of 508, meaning after the election of Isagoras as an eponymous archon. We do not agree with Knight 1970, 18–20; Bicknell 1972, 41 fn. 158; Pleket 1972, 74–76 that Cleisthenes managed to pass his proposals between the election of Isagoras (spring of 508) and the time before he began his archonship the summer of that year, meaning while the president of the assembly was still Lysagoras. In regard to the interpretation of the above-mentioned reference ἀποδιδούς τῷ πλήθει τήν πολιτείαν, we will agree with Ober 1996, 50, who precisely notes that in 508/7: "the demos rejected the archon Isagoras as the legitimate public authority", as well as with Ostwald 1969, 157 that "the debate to the ecclesia was in effect the first application in practice in Athens of the principle of *ἰσονομία*". I believe that during the year 508/7, while Isagoras was the president of the Athenian assembly, the demos, and mainly the poorest Athenian citizens, but also those aristocrats in favor of Cleisthenes and the non-citizens as well, who wanted what the slogan of *isonomia* promised, ignores the sovereign power of the eponymous archon of that year. We do not know if Cleisthenes is in a position to submit his proposals to the assembly as laws (as he was *τοῦ πλήθους προεστηκώς*, AP 21.1), and if these laws are indeed ratified officially that year or the next one, as we believe and stress below. However, it seems highly likely that the majority of the people, who had been gathered at that time in the agora, eager to support the political promise for *isonomia*, claiming to decide in a sovereign way for the political future of their

decision-making process, using the slogan of *isonomia*, which the poor Athenians would probably interpret as a promise for political equality.[43]

The Athenian assembly urgently met in the agora in 508/7, while its president was Isagoras, as the eponymous archon of the year. Cleisthenes submits his proposals to the assembly, mainly the proposal for a tribal reform,[44] which by then must have been just an idea in favor of his promise for *isonomia* in the city rather than an actual complex plan, and the people, citizens, and non-citizens, especially those who had been deprived previously from their civil rights, because of the so-called '*diapsephismos*',[45] have been gathered in the agora, yelling, as we can assume, according to Lewis, "all the power to the ten tribes".[46] Isagoras, failing to control the Athenian masses, sent for help to the Spartan king Cleomenes, who expelled Cleisthenes and his whole clan from the city and attempted to dissolve the *boulē* (probably the council of Areopagus) and establish an oligarchy of 300.[47] However, the ordinary people, along with probably the councilors of the Areopagus, trapped Isagoras and his Spartan allies in the Akropolis for two days. On the third day, they made a truce, allowing Cleomenes and Isagoras to leave Athens for good.[48]

The constitutional change became a reality through the ratification of the laws by the Athenian assembly, which were submitted there by Cleisthenes after his return to Athens the following year, in 507/6, when the president in the assembly was some Alcmaion as the eponymous archon of the year.[49] The new constitutional order in Athens of the late sixth century was based mainly upon tribal reform, which led to integrating the citizenry and, consequently, to the reorganization of Attika. It maintains the division of Attika into three parts, the *asty*, the *paralia*, and the *Mesogeia*, and new demes are also created alongside the preexisting rural demes. Demes from all three

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state, threatened the political authority of Isagoras, who called immediately the Spartan king Cleomenes I soon for military help against Cleisthenes and his political allies.

43 On the notion of political equality in archaic and classical Athens see Cartledge 1996; Morris 1996; Morris 2004; Raaflaub/Wallace 2007.

44 On the tribal reform see Hdt. 5.66.2, 69; AP 21; Aristot., Polit. 6.1319b 23–29. Notably, Herodotus and the author of the AP differ on what aspects of the Cleisthenic reforms choose to highlight. Herodotus highlights the creation of ten new tribes, while the author of the AP discusses the importance of the demes that are nevertheless an essential part of the tribal reform. Perhaps this different approach of the author of the AP may be justified by the fact that the functioning of the later Athenian Democracy is based on the Cleisthenic demes.

45 AP 13.5.

46 Lewis 1963, 38.

47 Hdt. 5.72; AP 20.3. On the oligarchy as constitution see Simonton 2017.

48 See again Hdt. 5.72; AP 20.3. It is interesting here to notice that the Athenian demos, even though in favor of the tyrants until their fall in 511/0, only two years later, this *demos* decisively revolted against Isagoras and decided to change the state's constitution.

49 Pollux 8.110.

parts of Attica, through the so-called "*trittyes*", will, from now on, constitute the ten new tribes[50] (Fig. 4).

Cleisthenes also precisely defines the Athenian political identity. From 507 onwards, every existing citizen had to register in one of the ca. 140 demes throughout Attica. These demes constituted a self-defined body of citizens who would be politically equal and make the final decisions regarding local affairs. Via this critical role, the political consciousness of the Athenian citizens was emphasized and promoted, rendering the main archonship of the decision-making process, meaning the assembly, dominant.

Important here is the fact that each of the ten new tribes will be protected by an eponymous hero, and through the newly-introduced political cult of the 'Ten Eponymous Heroes', the Athenians will be worshiping the unification of Athens and its communal solidarity.[51] That cult is another significant hero cult of Athens, among that of the Tyrannicides and Theseus. It contributes to bringing the Athenian citizens closer to their democracy, alongside their military achievements and their protector-goddess Athena.[52]

According to this new tribal system, a new advisory council of 500, which would be responsible for preparing the agenda for all the assembly meetings, is created.[53] The delegates, chosen within the demes, had to cooperate with other citizens from all over Attica as equals. Moreover, the new tribal organization defined how the Athenians would fight their wars. On the one hand, united, but also separated according to the tribe to which each citizen belonged.

The sovereignty of the Athenian demos from the late sixth century on the political decision-making process is based upon a newly introduced political idea, *isēgoria*,[54] meaning the freedom of debate in the assembly and the 'Council of 500'. We can trace the importance of the newly-established constitution, which is based upon political equality, through Herodotus, who projects the democratic ideology of the fifth-century Athenian citizens, associating their political selves and their constitution with Athenian military might.[55] Herodotus[56] clarifies that Athens, meaning the Athenians themselves, who are at last identified with their state, are strong and conscious of their strength because of the newly-born constitution, which is closely associated with freedom.

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50 On the tribal reform see above fn. 44.

51 See Ober 1989, 66–67; Krikona 2016, 6.

52 On the matter see again Krikona 2019 with references.

53 On the existence of a council of 400 in the Archaic period, which could have been merely expanded by 100 more councilors after 508/7 in Athens, see Bartzoka 2012 with references. We agree with the author's arguments that doubt its existence in sixth-century Athens.

54 On the notion of *isēgoria* and the dating of its introduction see Forrest 1966, 268–269; Griffith 1966, 115–138; Lewis 1971, 129–140; Raaflaub 1980, 28–34; Ober 1989, 119. As a notion, introduced by Cleisthenes see Will 1967, 396–397; Loraux 1981, 415 fn. 22; Sakellariou 1999, 106, 323–328.

55 See in detail Krikona 2018b with references.

56 Hdt. 5.78.
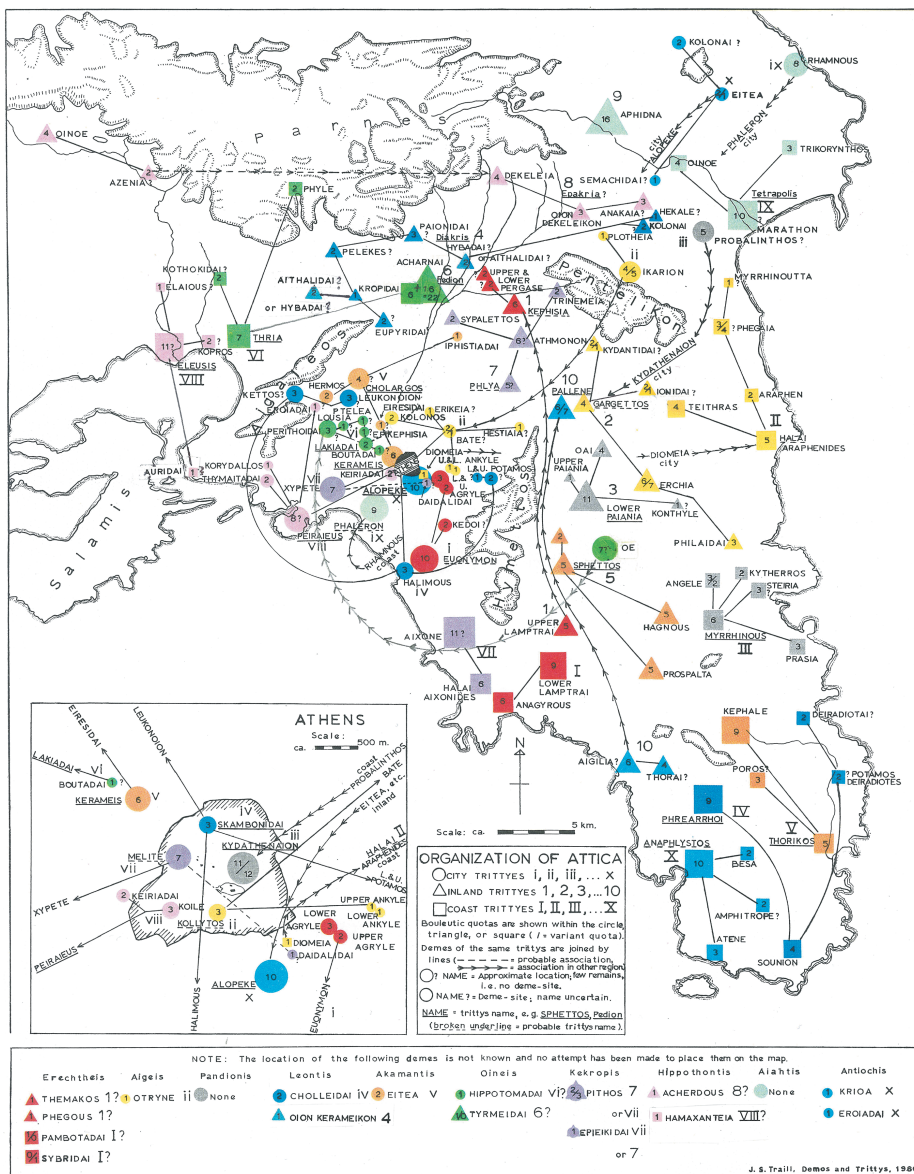
Fig. 4: The territory of Attica after the political reforms of Kleisthenes, showing tribal representation in the Athenian Boule. The figures within each circle indicate the number of representatives sent from that township or deme; lines between circles indicate tribal affiliations of the demes. (J.S. Traill, Demos and Trittys. Epigraphical and Topographical Studies in the Organization of Attica, Toronto, Athens 1986: color map, courtesy of the author).

The role of the Delphic oracle in the late sixth-century change of the Athenian constitution

Having analyzed the most striking aspects of this new Athenian constitution in the late sixth century and its importance for the political future of the Athenians that are going from now on to claim the hegemony of the Greek world, rivaling the Spartans, we should bear in mind that the political sovereignty of the masses in the decision-making process of the Athenian state is an entirely innovative and daring idea for the standards of the archaic era,[57] and not easily acceptable. We see that religion in Athens under the democracy in the fifth century served mainly political purposes, as the power of religious practices, along with the power of symbolism. Also, the basis of the imagined history became one of the most precious tools in the arsenal of the newly-born democracy, associating firmly a political reality, the emergence of the political sovereignty of the demos with military might, and the image Athens has for its military self-concept among the other Greeks. However, this was not the case of late sixth-century Athens before the Persian wars that changed everything concerning Athenian political identity and consciousness.

At the end of the sixth century, specifically in 507, the political sovereignty of the demos was based on a completely radical idea. The Athenians needed the blessings of the gods to dare to establish this innovative constitutional order[58] we described above, which would make them masters of their state and defenders of their political freedom and grant them political and military confidence. Cleisthenes appeals once

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57 *Isonomia*, as an autonomous type of constitution, appears in several Greek city-states (such as Chios, Eretria, Mantinea, Argos, Cyrene, Ambrakia, Megara etc.) of the period between 550 and 479; see in detail Birgalias 2009; Robinson 2011. However, only in the case of Athens do we possess more details on its most important aspect: the sovereignty of the demos in the decision-making process, especially when it is introduced as a notion and political promise and established as a constitution. Moreover, only in the case of Athens *isonomia* is transformed, constitutionally, into a democracy in the fourth century, even though the introduction of the term *dēmokratia* is happening in the first half of the fifth century; see Hansen 1986, Farrar 1988, Cartledge 2009. In all the other cases, *isonomia* is succeeded by a new tyranny or an oligarchy. In the case of Athens, although unique, we should still bear in mind that the newly-introduced notion of political equality of the late sixth century did not refer yet to all aspects of Athenian political life. In other words, the concepts of *isokratia* and *isonomia* would not become a political reality in Athens, not at least until the mid-fifth century or even later.

58 One of the most characteristic cases of constitutional change in a Greek state, after the blessings of the Delphic Apollo, is none other than Sparta, when in the early Archaic period, it confirmed the laws for the establishment of an oligarchy in Lacedaemon (the Great *rhētra*) with the help of the Delphic oracle. On the Spartan *rhētra* see Plut., Lycurgus 6.1–10; Diod. 7.12.6 (= Tyrtaeus 3a). Moreover, Aristotle quotes six lines of Tyrtaeus, probably deriving from the poem *"Eunomia"* by later authors, which referred to an oracle brought from Delphi (Tyrtaeus, fr. 1b GP. The poem was mentioned by Aristot. Polit. 1306b and Strabo 8.4.10). On the Spartan *rhētra* see in detail Beattie1951; Jones 1966; Forrest 1967; Lévy 1977; Cartledge 2001.

more to the Delphic oracle to overcome the political problem of ratifying laws that were not introduced by a reformer but by the citizenry itself. He submitted to the Pythia a list of one hundred names of Athenian heroes, and Apollo chose ten of them,[59] the ten eponymous heroes, as protectors of the new tribes. In this way, Apollo confirmed the decision of the Athenian demos to change the Solonian constitution of its state into *isonomia*, the foundation of the later democracy.

Once again, Delphi has helped Cleisthenes to make his political plans a reality. But what does Apollo receive in return as a token of the gratitude of the Athenian demos? We believe that the Athenians, after the political reforms proposed by the Alcmaionid Cleisthenes, decided to replace their older treasury at Delphi, probably dated in the time of the Peisistratids,[60] with an impressive new treasury[61] (Fig. 5).

This new marble treasury is constructed on the southwest side of Apollo's temple. On the treasury's south flank, a statue-group dedication mirrors the eponymous heroes of Athens. On this flank, the Athenians later lay Persian spoils from the battle of Marathon as dedications to Apollo, according to the inscription on the façade.[62] However, the most interesting here is its metopes, which express the new political reality of Athens after establishing a new democratic constitution in the polis and are easily associated with the later hegemonic claims of the Athenians after their victory at Marathon. The apparent balance of Theseus' and Heracles' forces (or of the Ionian and the Doric identity),[63] depicted on the sculptural decoration of the structure, seems to correspond to Athenian late sixth-century claims to be considered -in a Panhellenic scale- as an equal force to Sparta, which by then had established its power in the Peloponnese through its Peloponnesian League.

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59 *AP* 21.5–6. The ten names chosen by Apollo were Ἐρεχθηΐς, Αἰγηΐς, Πανδιονίς, Λεωντίς, Ἀκαμαντίς, Οἰνηΐς, Κεκροπίς, Ἱπποθωντίς, Αἰαντίς and Ἀντιοχίς (named after the mythical Antiochus, son of Heracles and Meda). See Aelius Aristeides 13.192 (and Scholia on it, Dindorf, p. 331), 46.215; Paus. 10.10.1; Pollux 8.110. See also Fontenrose 1978, 310.

60 On the older Athenian treasury at the same position in Delphi see Dinsmoor 1912, 488–492; Audiat 1933, 55–58; Jacquemin 1999, 57, 145, 246, 315 fn. 85.

61 On the early dating of the Athenian treasury see Dinsmoor 1912, 482, 492; Dinsmoor 1946, 86–121; Lippold 1950, 82; Alscher 1961, 234–236 fn. 117; Harrison 1965, 9–11; Kleine 1973, 94–97; Brommer 1982, 68 with fn. 8; Floren 1987, 247; Bankel 1993, 169–170; Rausch 1999, 129–132; Partida 2000, 50–70; Fittschen 2003; von den Hoff 2009, 96–104; von den Hoff 2010, 164–166, and the forthcoming article of mine (Krikona forthcoming a). On the construction and dedication dating after Marathon see De la Coste-Messelière 1957, iv. 4; Agard 1923; Cooper 1990, 317–318; Büsing 1994; Amandry 1998, 87; Neer 2004.

62 On the inscription see Meiggs/Lewis 1969, 35 fn. 19; Jacquemin 2012, 41–42.

63 See Neer 2004, 76; von den Hoff 2009, 100–101.

Fig. 5: The Athenian treasury at Delphi. Image: © Courtesy of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports-Archaeological Resources Found.

Conclusion

The role of the Delphic sanctuary and the political influence of its oracle in the establishment of the democratic constitution in Athens in the late sixth century and the progressive dominance of the Athenians in the Aegean in the fifth century have been more than pivotal. The Athenian democracy would not have been a political reality in the classical period without the support of the most influential religious center of the ancient Greek world, Delphi.

The domain of the god Apollo is often wrongly considered, from antiquity till nowadays, as nothing more than a political tool that operates exclusively according to social networking and bribery. However, the relationship between Athens and Delphi in the late Archaic period, which the present paper addressed, is one of the most characteristic cases of the Delphic oracle's decisive role in a Greek state's political affairs. The wealthy clan of the Alcmaionids, with its leader, Cleisthenes, finances the completion

of the new temple of Apollo at Delphi in around 513, and the oracle, in return, encourages the Spartans to intervene militarily in the political affairs of Athens, overthrowing the tyrannical governance of Hippias. Soon afterward, Apollo ratified the Athenian tribal reform, upon which the establishment of the new isonomic constitution was based, initiating a glorious new era for the Athenians, both politically and militarily. Athens, in return, dedicated an impressive treasury to Apollo in around 500, as well as other offerings in the early fifth century at the Delphic sanctuary.

It becomes evident, therefore, that the Delphic oracle supported specific political interests in exchange for funds, offerings-dedications, and helped to maintain its focal political influence worldwide throughout antiquity, but this does not mean that Delphi was not above all a religious center, and that the amphictyony, which operated this center just knew very well the art and the privileges of *δοῦναι καί λαβείν*.[64]

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Keepers of the Secrets of the Sky, the Earth, and the Underworld: The High Priests of Ptah at Memphis During the Kushite and the Saite-Persian Periods (c. 728–332 BC)

Abstract: The High Priests of Ptah at Memphis had been selected continuously for almost three thousand years and had always belonged to the social and political elites of ancient Egypt. However, the titleholders from the 25th to 30th Dynasties (c. 714–332 BC)[1] remain relatively unexplored among modern scholarship. The purpose of the present article is thus twofold. Firstly, after a careful review of seemingly disparate pieces of evidence, it proposes a new chronological list of officeholders for the same period. Secondly, the article explores the complex socio-political relations between the Memphite high priests and different royal houses, either of Egyptian ancestry or otherwise, in their historical context, highlighting their spiritual authority and ability to establish, whenever possible, family dynasties which would last for multiple generations. Indeed, royal support was essential for high priests' appointments and in turn, high priests provided kings with means towards their legitimacy, especially important for usurpers and foreign pharaohs. Consequently, the High Priests of Memphis were never completely independent from royal influence, but they were instrumental in validating royal power.

Keywords: priesthood, Memphis, first millennium BC, Ptah, socio-political history

Introduction

The highest hierarchical religious office at Memphis, one of Egypt's oldest royal, administrative, sacral, and intellectual centres,[2] is usually associated with the title 'Greatest of

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1 Absolute chronology is after Hornung et al. 2006, 490 with certain new interpretations.
2 On the central royal, historical, administrative, and religious position of Memphis throughout Egyptian history, see most recently Jurman 2020, 21–73.

the Directors of Craftsmen' (�??, *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t*),[3] commonly rendered in modern scholarship as the High Priest of Ptah or the High Priest of Memphis (henceforth, HPM). The earliest known attestation of the title is from the 3rd Dynasty (c. 2592−2544 BC).[4] Originally probably an administrative position connected to royal building activities and workshops during most of the Old Kingdom (c. 2543−2120 BC),[5] the office became socially exceptionally prestigious during the Middle Kingdom (c. 1980−1630 BC).[6] During the New Kingdom (c. 1539−1076 BC), the Ptah domain had become a major religious and political institution, led by some of the country's politically and socially most prominent individuals and members of the royal court.[7] The title remained the single most important marker of collective identity and source of social prestige within Memphite society during the 1st millennium BC, reaching the pinnacles of power, prestige, and influence twice during the same period: initially, under the 21st and 22nd Dynasties (c. 1076−746 BC), monopolized by a family line related by affinity and blood to both royal houses;[8] and finally, under Ptolemaic rule (323−30 BC), when the office was again transmitted within a single family whose members are usually referred to as the leaders of the indigenous elite,[9] largely due to their consistently close and good relations with the Hellenistic royal house at Alexandria until the Roman conquest.[10] The position still existed during the Roman era, likely as late as the early 3rd century AD, perpetuating much of the previous supreme influence over the indigenous priesthoods.[11]

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3 For this conventional analysis of the title, see Fischer 1976, 66−67; Freier 1976, 9−10; Fischer 1996, 238; Panov 2017a, 482−483; Broekman 2017a, 119; Cervelló Autuori 2018, 10–14; Jurman 2020, 105−108; for other interpretations, see De Meulenaere 1974, 183−184 (*ḥmww wr sḫm*); Devauchelle 1992, 207 (*wr ḥmww*); Osing 1998, 239b, Jansen-Winkeln 2005, 76 n. 76, and Jansen-Winkeln 2006a, 131 n. 29 (*wr ꜥꜣ ḥmw.t*); Colin 2002, 96 n. 190 and Klotz 2014a, 722 (*wr ꜥꜣ ḥmww*).

4 Surviving on a vase fragment found in the subterranean galleries beneath the Step Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara; cf. Kaplony 1963, 550; Lauer/Lacau 1965, 65 (No. 157), fig. 108.

5 Freier 1976, 5−34; Maystre 1992, 51−69, 105−119, 223−250. It should be noted that the study of Charles Maystre was submitted as a doctoral dissertation in 1948 and was only partly updated for final publication in 1992. A comprehensive study about the HPM based on up-to-date material is therefore a desideratum. Most recently, doubt has been raised regarding the association of the god Ptah with the title in the Old Kingdom and the title's religious meaning. See Nuzzolo/Krejčí 2017, 369. On the other hand, Josep Carvelló Autuori (2018, 37–38) insists on dual nature of the office since the beginning.

6 Wolfram Grajetzki (2013, 258) mentions the high social profile of the HPM. For the HPM during the Middle Kingdom in general, see Fischer 1976, 57−76; Bourriau 1982, 51−55; Maystre 1992, 121−125; el-Sharkawy 2008, 24−25.

7 For the HPM during the New Kingdom, see e.g. Maystre 1992, 71−81, 127−161, 257−349; Raedler 2011, 135−154; Dalino 2018, 52.

8 Cf. most recently Jurman 2009, 125−129; Broekman 2017a; Jurman 2020, 1169−1180.

9 E.g. Baines 2004, 57.

10 Numerous studies are dedicated to the family of the Ptolemaic HPMs. See e.g. Quaegebeur 1972; Quaegebeur 1974; Quaegebeur 1980; Reymond 1981; Gorre 2009, 605−622; Panov 2011, 101−103; Thompson 2012[2], 99−143; Marković 2015a; Panov 2017a; Prada 2019; Chauveau/Gorre 2020.

11 See most recently Marković 2020, 248−250.

Yet, the situation from the mid-8th to the mid-4th centuries BC, where the documentation is problematic at best, needs serious revision. Few modern authors devoted more than a passing reference to the topic. Dietrich Wildung's list contains *only* five individuals (his numbers 79–83) holding office during the four centuries in question.[12] Charles Maystre also identified five individuals, four of them oddly being different to those mentioned in Wildung's list.[13] In his pioneering work, Herman De Meulenaere listed six secure officeholders from the 26th to early 27th Dynasties (664–486 BC, i.e. 178 years),[14] a sequence that is more or less followed in the latest list of the HPM by Basem Samir el-Sharkawy, with some dubious additions (his numbers 96–104).[15] In stark contrast, 14 high priests are identified from the late 18th Dynasty to the end of the 20th Dynasty (c. 1336–1077 BC, i.e. c. 259 years),[16] 16 are documented during the 21st and 22nd Dynasties (c. 1076–746 BC, i.e. 330 years),[17] while at least 13 are attested from the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos until the Roman conquest of Egypt (c. 284–30 BC, i.e. c. 254 years).[18] The clear gaps with no officeholders are therefore proposed for the 25th Dynasty (c. 714–664 BC, i.e. 54 years),[19] and a politically unstable period between the deaths of the Persian king Darius I and the Hellenistic king Ptolemy I Soter (c. 486–284, i.e. 202 years).[20]

The purpose of this article is twofold. First, it reviews the available sources related to the HPM and proposes a new preliminary chronological list of the office holders from the Kushite, Saite, and Persian periods until the Ptolemaic era (c. 714–284 BC). Secondly, it aims to situate the HPM within a broader socio-political context of the era and offers several plausible interpretations of their complex relations with different rulers, either of Egyptian ancestry or otherwise, highlighting their spiritual authority and ability to establish, whenever possible, family dynasties which would last for multiple generations, significantly influencing the political climate at Mem-

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12 Wildung 1977, col. 1262.

13 Maystre 1992, 172–174. Their full names are systematically abbreviated in both Wildung's and Maystre's lists; cf. comments in De Meulenaere 1985, 265 n. 16.

14 De Meulenaere 1985, 263–266.

15 Cf. el-Sharkawy 2009, 79–80. Despite De Meulenaere (1985, 264) convincingly showed that there was only one HPM named Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj, El-Sharkawy still lists two (his numbers 101 and 102), following Wildung in that assertion (his numbers 80 and 81), while also erroneously identifying King Taharka as the HPM (his number 95). The names of the 26th Dynasty HPM are also systematically abbreviated by omitting the final element *m-jnb-ḥd*, similar to Wildung and Maystre. It seems that the author only combined the lists of Wildung, De Meulenaere and Maystre. Similarly, his number 104 never existed, being a misunderstanding of a special form of the god Thoth in a small temple at Qasr el-Aguz, near the temple of Medinet Habu in Western Thebes, built under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Tryphon (r. 170–163, 145–116 BC); cf. Volokhine 2002; Traunecker 2009.

16 Raedler 2011, 136–142; Dalino 2018, 52.

17 Kitchen 1996[3], 192–194, 487; Jurman 2009, 125–129; Jurman 2020, 1169–1180.

18 Thompson 2012[2], 99–143; Panov 2017a.

19 Cf. Jurman 2009, 128–129.

20 Cf. Vittmann 2009, 89–91; Monson 2015, 28; Gorre 2018, 146; Chauveau/Gorre 2020, 245, n. 38.

phis. The Ptah precinct certainly remained a powerful institution during proposed timeframe, having already been a major centre of traditional Egyptian beliefs and values for centuries, and an uppermost position within it would have given that position's bearer great economic wealth and political influence. Yet we must keep in mind that in ancient Egypt the king was always, ideologically speaking, the power supreme, the son and successor of the creator god, the only true intermediary between gods and humankind; performing temple rituals, honouring the gods. The restoration and construction of temples were among his main duties, at least in theory.[21] In reality, highest ranking priests acted as his deputies in major temples across country. As a consequence, no high priest was ever completely independent from royal influence. However, the political realities all over Egypt were rather complex throughout the 1st millennium BC, when the country experienced numerous socio-political reductions, raptures, and transformations, as well as recurring foreign invasions and administration, which ultimately caused the progressive decline of a centuries-old official culture and growing distance between political and priestly arenas of communication. The highest echelons within the temple administration were, in fact, wielding power on a local level instead of often distant, absent, or ephemeral rulers.[22]

In addition, a larger number of sources can be connected directly or indirectly to the HPM during the same period than was previously recognized. Remarkably, although all objects mentioned in this paper have been known to scholarship for decades, many of them still await full publication and study. Unfortunately, as is the case for almost all studies of past times, the paucity of sources, their chance nature of survival, uneven distribution and quality, the lack of secure archaeological contexts and further excavations, the existence of many undiscovered, unpublished, and understudied sources, and the difficulty in the dating of the material itself are only some of the problems that make difficult to discuss the HPM during this dynamic period in the history of Egypt. The general situation in Memphis is particularly opaque for all historical periods. The ancient city, together with its numerous known temples, was systematically quarried for building material since the Late Antiquity, especially over the course of the construction of medieval Cairo,[23] resulting in total destruction and misplacement of many monuments over the centuries. Also, large parts of the city ruins were left exposed to the annual Nile flood and were used for agriculture, while the strong growth of modern urban habitation in the last three decades poses a major treat for any future study.[24] Those monuments that ultimately survived tend to be in a fragmentary state and found in already disturbed contexts, now scattered in museums and private collections all over the world. The names and titles of the HPMs are

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21 For a recent general overview on Egyptian kingship, see Morris 2010.

22 For the position of temples between autonomy and state authority after the New Kingdom, see Muhs 2021.

23 Cf. Leclère 2008, 90 with earlier references.

24 For the landscape and environmental changes at Memphis, see Gonçalves 2019.

found in texts explicitly meant to be preserved for posterity, recorded on votive objects (statues and stelae) and funerary equipment. In the most cases, we do not have more than titles, names and incomplete filiations of the HPMs. In the worst cases, we know only the name of the HPM, but neither his origin nor background. Moreover, the absence of evidence, which can have various reasons, needs to be kept in mind at all times, especially since a lack of priests or priestly ancestors can be deduced simply from the dearth of sources.[25] Indeed, available epigraphic monuments that mention the HPMs are only a fraction of once excisting inscriptions and the burials of the HPMs active during this timeframe have not yet been discovered. We must therefore keep these obstacles in mind while constructing our interpretations and making assumptions regarding the HPM.

Owning to the nature of the material, which is mainly prosopographical, the discussion of their mutual interconnections is therefore limited at this stage to broad outlines. Hence, the results of this research must remain preliminary until more comprehensive work can be done. The study on complex Memphite priestly hierarchies during the 1st millennium BC is ongoing and needs to be explored further, but this preliminary analysis will, the author hopes, still be useful for any upcoming discussion.

The 25th (Kushite) Dynasty (c. 714–664 BC)

Claus Jurman is still correct to some extent when stating that "for the entire Kushite Period no person carrying the title *wr ḫrp ḥmw.t* is attested";[26] at least not attested by his personal name. This need not necessarily mean that no such priest was active then – a possibility rendered all the more plausible considering the small corpus of surviving, or better yet, identified, written sources from this era of Memphite history. Nonetheless, the title *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t* itself is attested in the inscriptions of two fragmentary statues, very likely from Memphis, tentatively dated to the 25th Dynasty:[27] a headless block statue,[28] and a fragment of a standing statuette.[29] The former bears a damaged inscription on the robe over the lower legs, invoking the title in plural (l. 3,𓎿𓏏𓎛𓂝), as a part of the so-called 'Appeal to the Living' text,[30] among typically Mem-

25 See the warnings of Jansen-Winkeln 2009a; Gee 2010. It is noteworthy that the works of many researchers is plagued by a reliance only on the preserved evidence.

26 Jurman 2009, 128; cf. Jurman 2020, 1172.

27 It should be noted that the precise dating of both statues is far from certain. They could have been somewhat later, therefore it would be wiser to propose a wider dating of "late 25th to early 26th Dynasty".

28 Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 659; cf. Jansen-Winkeln 2009b, 373.

29 Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität Leipzig D 14; cf. Krauspe 1997, 130–131 [284], Taf. 158; De Meulenaere/Vanlathem 2010, 60.

30 'Appeal to the Living' texts are intended for passers-by educated in reading and writing (usually scribes and different congregations of priests) in order to encourage them to recite the offering for-

phite priestly congregations such as the *stm*-priests (𓂝𓏥𓀀, *stm.w*),[31] divine fathers (𓇋𓏏𓀀, *jt.w-nṯr*),[32] god's servants (𓍛𓀀, *ḥm.w-nṯr*),[33] and inspectors of the *sm*-priests (𓇋𓏏𓏏𓏏𓀀, *sḥḏ sm.w*);[34] the title *stm* preceded the title *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t*.[35] The rest of the line is unfortunately gone. The latter monument has only one surviving column of inscription on the front of the garment containing the very beginning of the 'Appeal to the Living' text, mentioning "every Greatest of Directors of Craftsmen (𓍼𓎺𓀀, *wr ḫrp.w* [*ḥmw.t*] *nb*)". The inscriptions on both statues specifically asked for the *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t* to pronounce a simple voice offering for their owners. In addition, two statue heads, kept today at New York,[36] and Vienna,[37] have a short wig from which hangs the distinctive braided side lock attached to the right side of his head. The same type of side lock is usually represented specifically worn by the *Jwn-mw.t=f*-priest,[38] *stm n.j Ptḥ* and *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t*

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mula for the owners of the objects and their ancestors, and were inscribed in places that could easily gain their attention, such as walls at the entrance of the tomb, on the false doors, or on stelae and statues; cf. e.g. Bommas 2010, 164.

31 On the reading and meaning of this title, see most recently Jurman 2020, 108−109, 1170−1173.

32 On the meaning of this title, see Jurman 2020, 137−139.

33 The Egyptian word *ḥm-nṯr* is usually translated in modern historiography as "prophet" or simply "priest" (Wb III, 88, 19−90, 7), but it is better suited to be taken literally as "god's servant". This title is attested in the majority of Egyptian temples and is usually considered the highest sacerdotal position apart from high priest. Nevertheless, with a specific addition, it was a designation of high priest in some temples. For example, the High Priest of Amun at Thebes is termed *ḥm-nṯr tpj n Jmn-Rˁ* or first god's servant of Amun-Re. On Theban High Priests of Amun, see most recently Kubisch 2018. For an outline of the different categories of priests, see Spencer 2010, 256−260.

34 It should be also noted that the title *stm* of the god Ptah must not be confused with the title *sm* of the god Sokar, especially since the latter is far more often attested throughout the 1st millennium BC and represents a mid-rank priestly title; cf. De Meulenaere 1961, 289−290; Klotz 2014a, 723.

35 The sources strongly imply that there was only one holder of both titles at a time. The duties carried out by the title holders overlapped: both participated in the cult of Ptah at Memphis, probably being in charge of the clothing and the ornaments of the god, and in various funerary ceremonies, most often the 'Opening of the Mouth'. See the discussion in Jurman 2020, 108−109, 1170−1173. On the other hand, the title *stm* also denoted the chief priest of the royal memorial temples in Western Thebes during the New Kingdom (cf. Haring 1997, 214−220).

36 Metropolitan Museum of Art 66.99.64; see discussion in Jurman 2020, 474−475.

37 Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5789; the head is, on stylistic and iconographical grounds, tentatively dated under Taharka. See further Rogge 1992, 16−19; Jurman 2020, 1175.

38 Several HPM identified themselves as "an image of Iunmutef (*tj.t n(.t) Jwn-mw.t=f*)" or similar during the New Kingdom, despite the fact that the concept and subsequent office are not characteristic only for Memphis. The specific notion *Jwn-mw.t=f* ('pillar of his mother') is usually interpreted as the form of the god Horus in his role as the caring son, who helps his father Osiris to overcome his deceased status in order to enter his existence in the afterlife. He therefore protects the divine kingship, the essential element that constitutes world order. Also, this notion labeled a human officiant, who performed during certain royal rituals (providing to the royal Ka, making food offerings, revitalizing and rejuvenating the king during the coronation ritual, the Sed-Festival and the Opening of the Mouth). On this topic, see recently Rummel 2010 and Gregory 2013.

respectively. All of these elements lead us to believe that the officeholder may have existed at the time.

It is also useful to remind ourselves that these priestly positions were often held by the same person,[39] despite the evidence which implies that the usual title combination *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t* and *stm n.j Ptḥ* sometimes could have been held separately by different contemporary individuals, though in these cases they were often members of the same family.[40] Thereby, it follows that the predominant strategy of the HPM may have been that the same person and his family control not only a ritual practice and privileged knowledge, but also direct access to the god's statue hidden deep inside the temple complex. Notably, since the late Old Kingdom onwards, every *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t* had been also the *stm*-priest, but as we shall see, not every *stm*-priest was *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t* too.[41] The separation sometimes appears to have been politically motivated.[42] Still, another reason can be the lack of preserved or identified monuments. An excel-

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39 For example, a scene on the south side of an Apis bull's embalming table shows a cartouche of Shoshenq I (c. 943−923 BC), the founder of the 22nd Dynasty, and a figure of the HPM Shedsunefertem (A), son and successor of the HPM Ankhefensekhmet (A), wearing the leopard skin and side-lock, with the following label: "Doing the Opening of the Mouth for his father Osiris-Apis by the Pillar of his Mother, the Purifier of the Sanctuary (*jrj.t wpj(.t)-rꜣ n jt(=f) Wsjr-Ḥp jn Ꞽwn-mw.t=f wꜥb pr-wr*)". Besides the role of *Ꞽwn-mw.t=f wꜥb pr-wr*, Shedsunefertem (A) bears the titles *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t stm n.j Ptḥ*. On this monument, see most recently the discussion of Jurman 2020, 409−420.

40 The title *stm n.j Ptḥ* appears to have differentiated an intended successor of the HPM: for example, Sheshonq (C), son and successor of Shedsunefertem (A), and later Takeloth (D), son of Padiese (A) under Sheshonq III (c. 842−803 BC), who likely died prematurely before he could have succeeded his father as an HPM; cf. Jurman 2020, 1171−1172. In addition, an undated fragment from the ruins of the Ptah precinct shows a kneeling figure of a *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t* before a figure of likely king followed by a standing figure of a *stm*-priest (Engelbach 1915, 33, pl. LVIII, 32).

41 Commenting on the importance of this position, Jurman argues that "the title *stm* was often connected with a higher degree of prestige than *wr ḫrp ḥmw.wt*" during the late Libyan period, concluding that both titles were sometimes adopted "temporarily on the occasion of special religious ceremonies such as the burial or initiation of an Apis bull" (Jurman 2009, 129; this view is also maintained in Jurman 2020, 1172). This suggestion must be taken with reservation since a vast majority of the preserved written sources about the HPMs come from the Serapeum. The term 'Serapeum' designates the area of North Saqqara associated with the burials of the Apis bulls, located north-west of the Pyramid of Djoser, encompassing individual tombs, gallery tombs, and different temples. The first attested Apis burial in the area is a chamber tomb with freestanding aboveground chapel dating to the reign of Amenhotep III (r. c.1390−1353 BC). This type of tomb was abandoned in the second half of the reign of Ramesses II (r. c.1279−1213 BC) in favour of the so-called Lesser Vaults, a catacomb of galleries with side chambers containing coffins for the mummified bulls, while a second gallery of chambers, the so-called Greater Vaults, was excavated under Psamtik I and further expanded and remodelled with each bull continuously until the Roman conquest. On the archaeology of the Serapeum, see Mariette 1857; Mariette 1882; Malinine et al. 1968, vii−xvii; Dodson 2005, 72−91.

42 Michael Bányai (2017−2018, 35) proposed that the presence of the 25th Dynasty kings at Memphis may have been a reason for the absence of any known officeholder, believing that the HPM could have been potentially dangerous political competition for them. The political reasons are mentioned also in Jurman 2020, 1172.

lent example is the case of the HPM Imephor Impy Nikauptah, who probably lived between the end of the Old Kingdom and the beginning of the First Intermediate Period.[43] This individual has been known to modern historiography since 1891: his name and a sole title are recorded on a weight Berlin ÄM 8032,[44] however, his inclusion in the lists of the Memphite high priests was prevented by the absence of the *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t* title; instead, he has been known only as the *stm*-priest. This has been changed only recently when the inscriptions from his looted tomb at Kom el-Khamaseen in southwest Saqqara have been recovered: he is explicitly titled as *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t* in texts on the tomb's walls. Nevertheless, we need to be careful here. Although it is rather probable that not every known *stm*-priest was the HPM, there is a distinct possibility that some of them might have been.

Given that the private statues mentioned above were most certainly dedicated within the temple context,[45] the continuation of previous traditions and priestly hierarchies seems to have prevailed over any complex political situation after the Kushite conquest. Indeed, the Ptah domain remained an important institution under the 25th Dynasty, whose kings – Shabataka (r. c.714−705 BC), Shabaka (r. 705−690 BC),[46] and Taharka (r. 690−664 BC) – were actively involved in enlargements, embellishments, and enrichments of the temple enclosure,[47] meticulously following common and previously established sets of rules. Taharka was crowned at Memphis, and he also took up residence there.[48] As a consequence, the HPM was never completely independent from the influence of any ruling kings and their actions were inseparable. Previously, the kings of the 22nd (Libyan) Dynasty were not only related to the family of the HPM and ruled, at least in part, through their cooperation, but were also dependent on them and their communication with the king-god Ptah. We know that the HPMs installed and buried several divine Apis bulls, regarded as heralds and sons of Ptah,[49] under the successive Libyan kings (Sheshonq I, Osorkon II, Sheshonq III, Pami, Sheshonq V).[50] The main events in the life of the Apis bull incorporated into the temple-

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43 On this individual and his monuments, see Cervelló Autuori 2016; Carvelló Autuori 2018, 7–9, 61–62.

44 Cf. Brugsch 1891, 1451–1452 [82]; Cervelló Autuori 2016, 18, 26–27, Fig. 1.

45 Cf. e.g. Bothmer et al. 1960; Klotz 2014b; Jansen-Winkeln 2016; Price 2019.

46 In recent years, the ongoing discussion about the exact order of the Kushite kings (Bányai 2013; Payraudeau 2015; Bányai 2015; Broekman 2015; Broekman 2017b; Broekman 2017c; Broekman 2017d; Jansen-Winkeln 2017; Jurman 2017; Bányai 2017−2018; Kahn 2020) has yielded more arguments for the order Shabataka – Shabaka over those in favour of the conventional order, therefore suggesting Shabataka as the founder of the 25th Dynasty, which is accepted in this article as better matching the chronology of the period.

47 For an overview of their building activities in Memphis, see Pope 2014, 263−264.

48 Cf. Pope 2014, 264.

49 There is no recent monograph or in-depth study of the Apis bulls. Still useful, but slightly outdated, is Otto 1938, 10–35. See also Jurman 2010a; Marković 2015b; Marković 2017; Devauchelle 2020.

50 See examples in Jurman 2010a, 230−231.

based performances – birth, installation, death, and burial – and recorded on stelae commemorating the individual bulls had been a result of a close collaboration of kings and the Ptah priesthood established already during the New Kingdom, repeated over and over again, and were highly political in nature.[51] At least three divine Apis bulls were installed at Memphis and buried at the Serapeum under the 25th Dynasty.[52]

Moreover, the prominence of Ptah was paramount in Lower Egypt since the New Kingdom. The so-called Memphite theology, which incorporated the Heliopolitan tradition of creation into the Memphite religious system and elevated Ptah to the position of the ultimate creator god probably during the Ramesside period,[53] is said to have been inscribed on a stela and preserved under Shabaka (London BM EA 498).[54] Furthermore, a strong Memphite influence may be deduced from their throne names that had been borrowed from the Old Kingdom kings buried at South Saqqara (Djedkare-Isesi for Shabataka, Pepy II for Shabaka).[55] On the other hand, Taharka supported and endowned the temple of Amun-Re – the state god of the 25th Dynasty – within the Ptah precinct, but an anonymous god's servant of Ptah was responsible for the maintenance of the cult itself.[56] The tradition that reached Herodotus of Halicarnassus in the mid-5th century BC of a priest of Ptah (ὁ ἱερεύς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου) who became the king named Sethōs (Σεθῶν) is a good illustration of the high prominence and political power of the priesthood of Ptah during the same period, no matter who this enigmatic person might have been historically.[57] Therefore, by mentioning the HPM in their votive inscriptions, the major importance of this institution in the religious and socio-political life of Memphis had been directly maintained among the ancient priestly elite from the mid-8th to the mid-7th centuries BC, although the evidence is certainly elusive.

The last known HPM before the military actions of the Kushite king Piye is usually identified with Ankhefensekhmet (B), who was active perhaps during most of the reign of Shoshenq V (r. c.783−746 BC).[58] The disappearance of Ankhefensekhmet (B) – or alternatively Takeloth (H) – and his influential family from preserved records might have

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51 On various people involved in the ceremonies concerning the Apis bulls, see Jurman 2010a, 235−239; Frood 2016; Marković 2017; Devauchelle 2017; Devauchelle 2020.

52 Cf. Dodson 2005, 83; see also Depuydt 1994.

53 Accordingly, Ptah created the world through the heart and the tongue, while his teeth and lips were equated with the semen and hands of Atum, the instruments through which Atum brought creation into being. On the Memphite Theology, see most recently Ockinga 2010; Sousa 2017.

54 Jansen-Winkeln 2009b, 2.

55 Cf. Blöbaum 2006, 369−370.

56 Cf. Meeks 1979, 255; Pope 2014, 264.

57 Discussion is still ongoing. See most recently Bányai 2017−2018, 36−38.

58 Cf. Jurman 2009, 127−128 with older literature. See, however, now Jurman 2020, 336−348, 1005−1007, who proposed a different individual, Takeloth (H), as the last known HPM from this family, whom he identifies with a like-named son of the HPM Harsiese (H), himself active under Pami (r. c.789−783 BC) and probably his successor Sheshonq V. This identification is based on a several credible assumptions,

coincided with the rise of the Great Chief of the West Tefnakhte (I) during the last three years of Shoshenq V, rather than being a consequence of gaps in surviving material.[59] Himself a grandson of Basa, who was god's servant of Amun at Tanis (*ḥm-nṯr Ỉmn njsw.t nṯr.w*) and the northern vizier probably under the mid-22nd Dynasty,[60] Tefnakhte (I) is attested as *stm n.j Ptḥ* and at least a temporary ruler of Memphis on the so-called triumphal stela of Piye, found at Gebel Barkal in Nubia.[61] Tefnakhte (I) appears in Lower Egyptian inscriptions for the first known time towards the end of the reign of Shoshenq V as the ruler of all western provinces (*ḥḳꜣ spꜣ.wt jmnt.t*), i.e. the entire western Nile Delta.[62] He certainly attained the position of *stm n.j Ptḥ* sometimes after the death of Shoshenq V in c.746 BC, but certainly before Piye's conquest in c.728 BC,[63] and was no stranger to priestly duties: Tefnakhte (I) also held important priestly positions in the cults of Neith at Sais, Wadjit at Buto, Hathor at Kom el-Hisn, and Sekhmet probably at Kom Firin, all geographically close towns in the western Delta; later on, these goddesses were worshipped within their cult places at Sais, too.[64] Like other similar priestly titles elsewhere, the position of *stm n.j Ptḥ* seems to be his principal socio-political point of reference at Memphis. Tefnakhte (I)'s adoption of this important priestly position may have been more significant and had a more wide-ranging impact within the Memphite community than previously believed.

However, the reasons for Tefnakhte (I) adopting only the title *stm n.j Ptḥ* needs further study, but in the meantime we may at least permit a possibility that some other currently unknown individual held the title *wr ḫrp ḥmw.t* at the same time, perhaps represented by the New York and Vienna statue heads, although the remainings of the statues are gone or still unidentified.[65] Regardless, it seems possible that the title *stm* had been transferred to a Memphite priestly family soon after Tefnakhte (I) ascended the throne, probably following Piye's retreat to Nubia.[66] The title itself is at-

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but there is still room for different scenarios, largely due to the fragmentary nature of the source material at our disposal.

59 For the debate for and against distinguishing Tefnakht 'I' and 'II', see Gozzoli 2017, ch. 1.

60 Cf. Koch 2019, 121 with further bibliography. For the cult of Amun at Tanis, see Guermeur 2005, 265−301.

61 Grimal 1981, 36. The most recent re-evaluation of Piye's campaign is Spalinger 2020, 201−241.

62 Cf. Moje 2014, 256−259.

63 At present, various modern scholars are assigning different absolute dates for Piye's conquest of Egypt: for example, c. 728 BC (Kitchen 1996, 362), c. 734−726 BC (Jansen-Winkeln 2006b, 263), c. 732 BC (Bányai 2013, 115), 723 BC (Payraudeau 2015, 13), or c. 727 BC (Fitzenreiter 2018).

64 For the deities worshipped at Sais during the 26th Dynasty, see most recently Wilson 2019, 343−345 with previous references. It is important to note that the priestly elite in Lower Egypt in the following centuries seem to emulate the careers of Tefnakhte (I) and his likely predecessor Osorkon (C) (for him, see Moje 2014, 59, 93−94, 153) by linking together the priestly duties in Sais, Buto, Kom el-Hisn, Kom Firin, and Memphis respectively.

65 See also curatorial interpretation on https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545931 (accessed 15 November 2020).

66 For the reign of Tefnakhte (I), see most recently Forshaw 2019, 18 with older references.

tested on a Serapeum stela of a certain Senebef (A) dedicated likely under Tefnakhte (I)'s successor and presumed son Bakenrenef (r. c.720−714 BC).[67] His family, represented in three generations, held important priestly offices at Memphis and Letopolis apparently under the same king: his grandfather Ptahhotep (A) was the *stm*-priest, his father Ankhsheshonq is referred to as divine father and inspector of the *sm*-priests,[68] while Senebef (A) himself is attested with a specific title sequence 'divine father, inspector of the *sm*-priests, High Priest of Letopolis (*wnr n Sḫm*),[69] lector priest and chief (*ḥrj-ḥb ḥrj-dp*)'.[70] While the reasons behind the rise of this family still are unknown at present, it is within the realms of the possiblity that Ptahhotep (A) officiated at the interment of the Apis bull at the Serapeum in regnal year 6 of Bakenrenef as his title implies.[71]

Another major change within a pre-existing social structure at Memphis must have occurred with Shabataka's conquest of Lower Egypt after the war against Bakenref.[72] Different priestly families were apparently favoured under new kings. Although only a few individuals held the title *stm* during the 25th Dynasty, they were some of the highest-ranking Kushite state officials: the northern vizier Harsiese (R), father-in-law of the future king Psamtik I (r. 664−610 BC);[73] Senebef (B), under whose auspices the burial of the Apis bull in regnal year 24 of Taharqa was conducted;[74] and another northern vizier Bakenrenef, the owner of the largest and best decorated rock-cut Saite private tomb at Saqqara (LS 24). An additional northern vizier, Djedkare, himself son of Harsiese (R), also held sev-

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67 Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 5947; Jansen-Winkeln 2007, 380. The exact absolute chronology of Bakenrenef is still uncertain. For an incomplete list of contemporary monuments documenting Bakenrenef, see Moje 2014, 260−261. Bányai (2015, 128 n. 18; 2017/2018, 34 n. 13) proposes that this king was the HPM too. This suggestion is erroneously based on the suggested identification of the king with the owner of two shabti figurines kept at Berlin (ÄM 5829 and now lost 7997; cf. Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 81), which in fact belonged to the homonymous northern vizier discussed below. Bányai follows el-Sharkawy (2009, 78), who in his own right quoted Maystre 1992, 172, n. 1−2.

68 His name indicates his birth under a king named Sheshonq, likely Sheshonq V; cf. Leahy 1992, 149.

69 For the reading of the title and discussion, see most recently Klotz 2014a, 724−725. In modern scholarship, the title is conventionally rendered as 'High Priest of Letopolis' (see most recently Chauveau/ Gorre 2020, 238), although the translation is perhaps misleading and seems to represent a rank rather than an office, keeping in mind how frequently it is attested throughout the Saite-Persian era divided among the members of several priestly families at Memphis. This topic needs more research.

70 For this important title, see recently Vittmann 2009, 92−94.

71 For this Apis burial, see Dodson 2005, 83.

72 On the war, see most recently Forshaw 2019, 18−19 with older references.

73 The discussion on Harsiese (R) has been extensive over the years. See Vittmann 1978, 39−43; De Meulenaere 1982a; Bierbrier 1982, 153−154; Bierbrier et al. 1982, 225−227; Kitchen 1996[3], 567−568; Payraudeau 2003, 204; Koch 2019, 123. Harsiese (R) also held important administrative positions in the 8th and 12th nomes of Upper Egypt.

74 Cf. Jansen-Winkeln 2009b, 193−194; Ritner 2009, 555−556. Despite being seldom mentioned among modern scholarship (cf. Jurman 2009, 128; Jurman 2020, 1172; not mentioned for instance in Pope 2014), the same individual could possibly be attested on a scribe statue bearing the cartouche of Psamtik I in a private collection at Bryn Athyn (Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 264).

eral titles related to Memphis and Letopolis.[75] None of them was given the title *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t*, at least not in surviving records (Tab. 1), but "one should not rule out the possibility that the contemporary officiating *stm*-priests of Ptah fulfilled the highest duties of the Memphite clergy" as Jurman put it.[76]

Tab. 1: The titles of the officials associated with Memphis during the 25th Dynasty.

Individual	Monuments	Titles
Harsiese (R)	Philadelphia E.16025[77]	*ḫrj-tp ꜥꜣ ꜣtft jmj-rꜣ ḥm.w-nṯr m Tꜣ-wr stm n.j Ptḥ ḥm-nṯr n.j Ptḥ tꜣjtj sꜣb ṯꜣ.tj*
	Cairo TN 21/11/16/10[78]	*jrj-pꜥt ḥꜣtj-ꜥ ḥm Jmn wr mꜣꜣ.w wnr n Sḫm stm m ḥw.t-kꜣ-Ptḥ jmj-rꜣ njw.t ṯꜣ.tj*
	Cairo TN 27/1/25/17[79]	*ḥm Jmn wr mꜣꜣ.w wnr n Sḫm stm m ḥw.t-kꜣ-Ptḥ jmj-rꜣ njw.t ṯꜣ.tj*
	Private collection[80]	*stm n.j Ptḥ m Jnb-ḥd wnr n Sḫm jmj-rꜣ njw.t ṯꜣ.tj*
	Chapel of Nitocris (A) at Medinet Habu[81]	*jrj-pꜥt ḥꜣtj-ꜥ wr mꜣꜣ.w n Jwnw*
Senebef (B)	Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 2640[82]	*jrj-pꜥt ḥꜣtj-ꜥ stm ḫrp šndj.t nb.t ḥm-nṯr jt-nṯr Ptḥ*
	Private collection at Bryn Athyn (?)[83]	*jrj-pꜥt ḥꜣtj-ꜥ ḫtmtj-bjtj smḥr-wꜥtj n mr.t*

75 For the monuments of the vizier Djedkare, see most recently Koch 2019, 123.

76 Jurman 2009, 129.

77 Jansen-Winkeln 2009b, 374.

78 Jansen-Winkeln 2009b, 429–430.

79 Jansen-Winkeln 2009b, 429–430.

80 Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 1016.

81 Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 28–33.

82 Jansen-Winkeln 2009b, 193–194; Ritner 2009, 555–556.

83 Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 264.

Tab. 1 (continued)

Individual	Monuments	Titles
Djedkare	Vienna 3580–3583[84]	ḫꜣ.tj n ꜣtft ḥꜣtj-ꜥ Tꜣ-wr jmj-jst Šw Tfnwt nb ꜣw.t-jb ḥsk m ꜣbḏw ḫrp sm.w n.j ḫꜣb Rꜥ ḥrj-sštꜣ n ḥw.t-nbw jt-nṯr sm wnr n Sḫm jmj-rꜣ njw.t ꜣ.tj
	Private collection[85]	jmj-rꜣ njw.t ꜣ.tj
Bakenrenef	Boston 1970.495[86]	stm ḫrp šndj.t nb.t ḥm-nṯr jt-nṯr Skr Ptḥ ḫrp ḥw.wt ḥm Ḥr wr wꜣḏ.tj rnp ḥm Jmn m Jwnw mḥw ꜣ.tj
	Brooklyn 82.23 + Brussels E.7049[87]	stm jt-nṯr sm ḥm-nṯr Ɪwn-mw.t=f wꜥb pr-wr
	Private collection[88]	jrj-pꜥt ḥꜣtj-ꜥ wr m Nṯr.t ḥm Jmn n Wꜣs.t mḥ.t ḫrp ḥw.wt ḥm Ḥr wr wꜣḏ.tj rnp ꜣ.tj
	Florence 2182 (1705)[89]	ḥꜣtj-ꜥ ḥm Jmn n Wꜣs.t mḥ.t ḫrp ḥw.wt ḥm Ḥr wr wꜣḏ.tj jmj-rꜣ ḥm.w-nṯr jmj-rꜣ njw.t ꜣ.tj
	Saqqara, tomb LS 24[90]	jrj-pꜥt ḥꜣtj-ꜥ ḥtmtj-bjtj smḥr-wꜥtj n mr.t ḫrp ꜥḥ stm ḫrp šndj.t nb.t jt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr Ptḥ wnr n Sḫm sm n ḥw.t Skr ḥrj-sštꜣ m Rꜣ-stꜣw ḫrp ḥw.wt ḥm Ḥr wr wꜣḏ.tj ḥm Jmn n Wꜣs.t mḥ.t / m Jwnw mḥw rnp n.j ḫꜣb Rꜥ n.j ḫꜣb Skr jmj-rꜣ sš.w njsw.t ꜣjtj sꜣb jmj-rꜣ njw.t ꜣ.tj

The high social standing of these officials finds further confirmation in the presence of two of the highest and most prestigious ranking court titles of previous times, hereditary prince (jrj-pꜥt) and count (ḥꜣ.tj-ꜥ),[91] among their predominantly priestly offices.[92] Furthermore, several upper-level positions and epithets previously associated solely

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84 Jansen-Winkeln 2009b, 564; Koch 2019, 123. Four canopic jars were offered for sale on a controversial auction by the German auction house Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung GmbH on 22 July 2020, lot 278. They were ultimately sold (https://auktionen.gmcoinart.de/Auktion/Katalo gArchiv?intAuktionsId=876&los=1667528 [accessed 15 November 2020]). See coverage at https://art-crime.blogspot.com/2020/07/auction-alert-gorny-mosch-gorny-four.html (accessed 15 November 2020).
85 Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 1016.
86 Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 264.
87 Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 76.
88 Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 76.
89 Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 82−87.
90 Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 76−81.
91 The ranking titles seem to announce a high social status at the royal court and were restricted to a small number of people at the royal court and in the provinces; cf. Franke 1984, 13.
92 Another vizier Mentuhotep, who was son-in-law of an unknown Kushite king, is given the same ranking titles. For his monuments, see Jansen-Winkeln 2009b, 564−565, and Dorion-Peyronnet 2009, 201−202. For discussion about his career and family, see Habachi 1977, 165−170; Pope 2014, 266.

with the HPM (re)appeared suddenly in our sources and were held by this selected group of individuals and their closest relatives. Apart from being the vizier and the *stm*-priest, Harsiese (R) was also god's servant of Ptah (*ḥm-nṯr n.j Ptḥ*), High Priest of Heliopolis (*wr mȝȝ.w n Jwnw*) and Letopolis respectively.[93] His son Djedkare is referred to as divine-father, the *sm*-priest, one who belongs to the festival of Re (*n.j ḥȝb Rꜥ*),[94] director of the *sm*-priests of Sokar (*ḥrp sm.w*),[95] and High Priest of Letopolis. Senebef (B) was god's servant of Ptah and director of every kilt (*ḥrp šndj.t nb.t*).[96] His father Ankh-wennefer and brother Ptahhotep (B) respectively held the epithet *n.j ḥȝb Rꜥ* and were inspectors of the sm-priests of Sokar, giving an indirect hint for a grandfather-grandson relationship with Senebef (A). Except for the position of High Priest at Letopolis, which was apparently transferred initially to Harsiese (R) and later to his son, the family of Senebef (A) discussed above might have regained royal trust and titles towards the end of Taharka's reign, occupying offices they might have lost after the fall of the 24th Dynasty.

Since Djedkare was the throne name of Shabataka,[97] now recognized as the first king of the 25th Dynasty,[98] this official may have been born sometime during the reign of this king or slightly later, strongly indicating the loyalty of his father, Harsiese (R), towards the royal house from Kush. Precise dates for Harsiese (R)'s career are unknown,[99] but it seems likely that the family's rise to prominence began with his accession to the vizierate,[100] and that this was connected to the assertion of Kushite authority in Lower Egypt under Shabataka. At the same time, by choosing the throne name of Shabataka for the personal name of his son and successor, Harsiese (R) could have expressed his gratitude to the Kushites for many of his offices, mainly those at

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93 On the position of High Priest at Heliopolis, see most recently Nuzzolo/Krejčí 2017, 366−369; Nuzzolo 2018, 482−487.

94 See the discussion in Nuzzolo/Krejčí 2017, 368−369.

95 For this title, see De Meulenaere 1961, 287−288.

96 It should be noted that this title became an integral feature of the vizier's titulary under Teti (c. 2305−2279 BC) and has been associated with the HPM in the second half of Pepy II's reign (c. 2216−2153 BC). Later on, it is again attested among the additional titles held by viziers, the earliest known example being the famous Rekhmire under Thutmose III (c. 1479−1425 BC) and early Amenhotep II (c. 1425−1400 BC), who belonged to one of the most influential Theban family circles during the early New Kingdom (cf. Shirley 2010). During the early Ramesside era (c. 1279−1198 BC), it is always attested among the titles of the HPM, although some of them were viziers too. See further Helck 1954, 35; Baud 1999, 173; Fisher 2001, 100−101; Raedler 2004, 363 (Q 5.24), 366 (Q 5.34), 388 (Q 7.5); Gnirs 2013, 645 n. 26. Before Senebef (B), it is attested only with the HPM Harsiese (H) under Pami (cf. Jurman 2020, 948, 950). Senebef (B) is not attested as vizier in any preserved source.

97 Cf. Blöbaum 2006, 373.

98 See n. 46.

99 Kitchen (1996, 567−568) assumes c. 675−660 BC, followed by Koch 2019, 123.

100 Once the position of the second in power to the king, the viziers continued to denote a person of high executive power, predominately associated with temples during the 1st millennium BC. See recently an overview of Koch 2019.

Memphis, Letopolis and Heliopolis. A similar strategy may be noticed later with the family of the HPM during the 26th Dynasty, whose onomastics are closely linked to the royal names of the ruling dynasty. Djedkare was probably appointed as his father's successor under Shabaka or more likely under Taharka.[101] He also held another specific title, *ḥrj-sštꜣ n ḥw.t-nbw* ('keeper of the secrets of the mansion of gold'), that might refer to the ritual centre of the Ptah temple where cult statues underwent the Opening of the Mouth ritual and were consecrated for liturgical use,[102] a principal duty that is associated with the HPM during the Old and Middle Kingdoms.[103] Furthermore, Harsiese (R) famously married one of his daughters, Mehitenweskhet, to the future king Psamtik I, another Kushite ally and later the founder of the 26th Dynasty.[104] Nevertheless, it is a reasonable proposition that Djedkare did not inherit the position of *stm n.j Ptḥ* after the death of his father, instead losing out to Senebef (B), whose titles and activities indicate strong connections to Taharka and his court, mentioned above. Djedkare's descendants are attested as active in Middle Egypt as late as the end of the 26th Dynasty,[105] but they apparently lost their previous professional connections with Lower Egypt.

Almost all Memphite priestly titles noted above are present in the titulary of the northern vizier Bakenrenef, who also adopted a specific title *Ꞽwn-mw.t=f wꜥb pr-wr*, attested solely in the case of the HPM Shedsunefertem under Sheshonq I.[106] He also held two upper-level managerial administrative positions: overseer of god's servants (*jmj-rꜣ ḥm.w-nṯr*) and overseer of royal scribes (*jmj-rꜣ sš.w nsw.t*); the former was also held by his father Padineith. At present, the chronology of the titles accumulated by Bakenrenef during his career and his family background is impossible to determine precisely, but one can assume that he reached a peak under Psamtik I.[107] He may have been somehow related to the 24th Dynasty, not only because he is named after

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101 His career was previously tentatively dated to 660s BC (cf. Kitchen 1996, 568; Koch 2019, 123).

102 Cf. Traunecker 1989.

103 Maystre 1992, 35–36; Arnold 2007, 14.

104 See most recently Pope 2014, 267. Another daughter of his, Naneferheres, was married to a member of the powerful Theban family of Besenmut (Vittmann 1978, 43; De Meulenaere 1982a; Bierbrier 1982; Bierbrier et al. 1982). Probably around the same time, the royal princess Meresamun, likely a daughter of Nekau I and a sibling of Psamtik I, was sent to Thebes to become the 'Songstress in the interior of the temple of Amun' (*ḥs.t n.t ẖnw n Jmn*) under the Kushite God's Wife of Amun Shepenupet II, sister of Piye (cf. Coulon/Payraudeau 2015; Jansen-Winkeln 2018; for the 'Songstresses in the interior of the temple of Amun', see Koch 2012; Li 2017, 32–35). Mehitenweskhet was the mother of Nitocris I, who was famously adopted by Shepenupet II in 656 BC as her successor (cf. Ayad 2009, 23–27).

105 The genealogy of Djedkare is preserved on the coffin of his great-great-granddaughter Iretru today kept in a private collection (cf. Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 1016).

106 See n. 39.

107 His tomb is dated to the reign of Psamtik I since cartouches of this king has been found on the ceiling of the entrance hall (Stammers 2009, 122). The detailed study of Bakenrenef is however still lacking. See also comments in Price 2019, 28.

its last king killed by Shabataka and was able to build his magnificent tomb into the steep rocks at the eastern desert edge of Saqqara. His relation to the 24th Dynasty is also obvious because of the sequence of priestly titles belonging to the temples across the western Nile Delta, including Sais (*ḫrp ḥw.wt*),[108] Buto (*ḥm Ḥr wr wꜣḏ.tj*),[109] Sais/Tanis (*ḥm Jmn n Wꜣs.t mḥ.t / m Jwnw mḥw*),[110] and Kom el-Hisn (*rnp*),[111] which strongly resemble the career paths of Tefnakhte (I) and his grandfather Basa, himself a northern vizier as previously noted. In other words, including Memphis and Letopolis, Bakenrenef held titles of seven separate cults located in some of the most important temples in Lower Egypt.

A summary of his Memphite titles is:

(1) the title *stm* is always attested together with the title *ꜣ.tj* on all of his monuments,[112] perhaps because he felt these were his most important and prestigious functions;

(2) a specific title *Jwn-mw.t=f wꜥb pr-wr* is only attested on the Brooklyn/Brussels statue and perhaps was adopted for the burial of the Apis bull in regnal year 21 of Psamtik I (644 BC),[113] the successor of a bull whose burial had been officiated by Senebef (B) under Taharka;

(3) the title *ḫrp šndj.t nb.t* appears on his Boston statue given between the title stm and the sequence *jt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr Ptḥ [ḥm-nṯr] Skr*, while the title sequence *stm ḫrp šndj.t nb.t jt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr Ptḥ* is attested only on the western and southern wall of the entrance hall to his tomb;[114]

(4) the epithet *n.j ḥꜣb Rꜥ* is attested on eastern and southern wall of the Room C in his tomb, while a similar epithet, *n.j ḥꜣb Skr* (the one who belongs to the festival of Sokar), is found on the western wall of Room B, indicating his privileged positions during the festivals of Re and Sokar;

(5) The title *ḫrj-sštꜣ m Rꜣ-sṯꜣw* ('keeper of the secrets of Rosetjau') emphasizes a privileged knowledge and free access to the gateways of the underworld.[115]

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108 Cf. Jelínková 1958; el-Sayed 1976; Wilson 2006, 217; Klotz 2014a, 729−730.

109 Cf. De Meulenaere 1964, 165−166; el-Sayed 1982, 149−150; Redford 1983, 87; Perdu 1988, 148−149; Traunecker 1998, 1215−1216, 1226−1229.

110 Cf. Guermeur 2005, 106–116; Guermeur 2011, 165−174.

111 Cf. Tiribilli 2018; Perdu 2020.

112 Usually translated as 'vizier'. See the most recent discussion in Dulíková 2011.

113 For this burial, see Devauchelle 1994, 99−100; Devauchelle 2011, 139.

114 LD III, 260 a, b. Similarly, on the sarcophagus of Nesptah (B), son of the well-known Theban official Montuemhat, who served at Thebes under Taharqa and Psamtik I, the sequence *stm ḫrp šndj.t nb.t* appears only among the offices related to the cult of Ptah (*jt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr Ptḥ*), probably within his small chapel at Karnak. Given that Nesptah (B) is not attested as vizier, the same titles sequence must be recognized as the part of the Ptah priesthood in this context. For the career of Montuemhat, his family, and his role, see e.g. Leclant 1961; Naunton 2011, 97−114; Coulon 2016; Lohwasser et al. 2018.

115 For the meanings of Rosetjau, the vast desert stretching between Saqqara and Giza, see most recently Staring 2015, 171−172; Jurman 2020, 69−70.

The complexity of his titulary and number of positions and epithet attested for him strongly suggest that Bakenrenef was a senior official at that time.

The 26th (Saite) to 27th (Persian) Dynasties (664–404 BC)

Padipep

The situation seems to become somewhat clearer under Psamtik I and the unification of Egypt under the royal house of Sais in 664 BC,[116] when the holders of the title *wr ḥrp.w ḥmw.t* become known by their names. A few epigraphic sources – a fragmentary scribe statuette,[117] a torso of a kneeling statue,[118] and perhaps a headless block statue,[119] – commemorate the career of the HPM named Padipep (Tab. 2). Cairo CG 525 was found near the southern entrance to the temple of Ptah and is usually dated to the reign of Psamtik I,[120] while the same locality and date has been proposed for an otherwise unrecorded provenance of the Aberdeen statue.[121] Cairo CG 595 was also found somewhere within the ruins of the Ptah precinct.[122]

Tab. 2: Monuments and titles of Padipep.

Monuments	Titles
Aberdeen ABDUA:21473	*ḥ3tj-ˤ wr ḥrp.w ḥmw.t ḥm-nṯr B3st.t nb.t ˤnḫ-t3.wj ḥm-nṯr Mwt ḫntj.t ˤb.wj nṯr.w wr ḥrp ḥmw.t m pr.wj jrj nfr-ḫ3.t*
Cairo CG 525	*jrj-pˤt ḥ3tj-ˤ stm ḥrp šndj.t nb.t ḥm-nṯr Ptḥ ḥm-nṯr B3st.t nb.t ˤnḫ-t3.wj ḥm-nṯr ˤ3.t Šsmtt [. . .] rḫ njsw.t jmj-r3 pr*
Cairo CG 595	*jt-nṯr sm*

It is quite conceivable that these statues were produced at three different stages in Padipep's career: (1) the initiation as a simple priest at the Ptah precinct (Cairo CG 595), (2)

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116 The most recent work on the 26th Dynasty is Forshaw 2019.

117 Aberdeen, University of Aberdeen, Human Culture Collection ABDUA:21473; cf. Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 940 with further bibliography. The statue is essentially unpublished. Special thanks are due to Neil Curtis and Caroline Mary Dempsey (Aberdeen) for providing me with high resolution images of the statue and additional information.

118 Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 525; Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 940.

119 Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 595; Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 940.

120 Cf. Málek 1986, 107–108.

121 Cf. Málek 1986, 108 n. 56.

122 Both Cairo statues were last published almost a century ago and need re-editing.

the first promotion to senior priestly positions (Cairo CG 525) and (3) the final promotion to the HPM (Aberdeen ABDUA:21473). Padipep is associated with five specific priestly positions of the Memphite region, serving the cults of Ptah (*wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t stm ḫrp šndj.t nb.t jt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr Ptḥ*), Sokar (*sm*), and Shesemtet (*ḥm-nṯr ꜥꜣ.t Šsmtt*) at Memphis,[123] Mut at Hutshedabed (*ḥm-nṯr Mwt ḫntj.t ꜥb.wj nṯr.w*),[124] and Bastet in North Saqqara (*ḥm-nṯr Bꜣst.t nb.t ꜥnḫ-tꜣ.wj*), most likely within a cultic enclosure known in later Greek sources as the Bubastieion.[125] This seems to be the earliest known time that the HPM served other gods at Memphis besides Ptah, Osiris or Sokar.[126] The Aberdeen statue also bears two distinctive titles associated with the HPM during the Old Kingdom: 'greatest of directors of craftsmen in the double chamber' (*wr ḫrp ḥmw.wt m pr.wj*),[127] and 'keeper of the head-dress' (*jrj nfr-ḥꜣ.t*).[128] Also, it is important to note that Padipep is titled as the *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t* on the Aberdeen statue, while the same title is absent from Cairo CG 525, where he is identified solely as the *stm*-priest.

Surprisingly, Padipep held almost all titles associated with the institution of the HPM – *stm ḫrp šndj.t nb.t jt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr Ptḥ wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t/wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t m pr.wj jrj nfr-ḥꜣ.t* – that were previously divided among several individuals and, excluding the titles *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t* and *jrj nfr-ḥꜣ.t*, all already present in the titulary of the vizier Bakenrenef on his statuary and several places in his tomb. Unfortunately, nothing is securely

123 Shesemtet was a leonine goddess closely connected with Bastet and Sakhmet at Memphis since the 4th Dynasty; cf. most recently Lange 2016, 308–310.

124 For this location and its priesthood in the Memphite area, somewhere to the north of the Giza plateau, see Yoyotte 1972, 7; Zivie-Coche 1976, 299–300; Zivie-Coche 1991, 217 n. 645; Jurman 2020, 863. This position is attested only for a few priests during the 1st millennium BC: Nesptah (H), one of numerous sons of the HPM Shedsunefertem (A) (Paris, Musée du Louvre N.436; Jurman 2020, 854–864), in the mid-22nd Dynasty; Ptahirdisu in the early 26th Dynasty, who also served several cults at Giza and Letopolis (for the various monuments of this individual, see Zivie-Coche 1991, 214); an anonymous priest under the 27th Dynasty (Paris, Musée du Louvre N 421/665; unpublished, but see https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010021549 [accessed 15 August 2021]); an anonymous priest under the 30th Dynasty (Verona, Museo Lapidario Maffeiano 664/583; Yoyotte 1954, 96; Clère 1973, 99); and several successive High Priests of Letopolis during the Ptolemaic era: Ahmose (died 183 BC; Panov 2017a, 271, 285); Heru II (214–164 BC; Panov 2017a, 271); and Pehemnetjer-Petehoremhab (167/66–97/96 BC; Panov 2017a, 309).

125 Cf. Pasquali 2011, 81 n. 258, with references.

126 The HPM Iyiri, whose pontificate is dated between the reigns of Sety II and Tausert (c. 1202–1191 BC; cf. Yoyotte 1962, 464–465; Roehrig 2012, 59–60), was also High Priest of Osiris, the lord of Rosetjau (*ḥm-nṯr tpj n Wsjr nb Rꜣ-sṯꜣw*), at Giza. For the cult of Osiris at Giza, see Zivie-Coche 1991, 259–260; Jurman 2020, 770, 1023. Strangely, no known HPM during the New Kingdom is attested with the title *ḥm-nṯr n.j Ptḥ*. During the 21st and 22nd Dynasties, the role of the HPM seems to be restricted to the cult of Ptah, however, their secondary sons and their families are attested as priests of several other divinities. For example, four sons of the HPM Shedsunefertem (A) were priests of Sakhmet, Amon-Re, and Mut (cf. Jurman 2020, 1061, 1063, 1078, 1088).

127 For this title form, attested for the HPMs during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, see Maystre 1992, 35, 55–56, 63, 71, 117, 121, 226–227, 231, 237, 238, 241, 243–244, 246, 249, 250–251.

128 For the full name of this title, the keeper of the Ptah's ornaments (*jrj nfr-ḥꜣ.t m ḫkr.w Ptḥ*), see below.

known about Padipep's exact chronology, origins, social background, his activities as the HPM and ultimate fate. Broadly dated under Psamtik I, he might well have started his priestly career during the later years of Taharka. The presence of two distinct priestly positions provides indirect hints for his familial background, therefore enabling us to group together people who are otherwise not directly connected. On the statue Cairo CG 595, Padipep is referred as son of Padiptah, who is titled *ḥm-nṯr Bȝst.t nb.t ʿnḫ-tȝ.wj*,[129] which may explain the presence of the same title in the HPM's titulary, apparently inherited directly from his father, thus confirming this identification. The family of the god's servants of Bastet is known from two Serapeum stelae and two block statues from Memphis,[130] spanning for six generations probably from the late 22nd to the early 26th Dynasties. Pasherenptah, who belongs to the first known generation of the family under the late 22nd Dynasty, is referred to as steward of the domain manager of the domain of Ptah (*jmj-rȝ pr jdnw n pr Ptḥ*) and in that capacity probably managed the agricultural estates of the temple of Ptah,[131] which may be a full version of the title held by Padipep himself on Cairo CG 525, abbreviated there to *jmj-rȝ pr*. The same family held the position of the god's servant of Shesemtet for generations too. While it is not clear to which branch Padipep and his father might have belonged, it remains a distinct possibility that they were members of this family.[132]

Given the presence of the title sequence *stm ḫrp šndj.t nb.t ḥm-nṯr Ptḥ* together with the positions in the cults of Bastet and Shesemtet, it is conceivable that these titles were transferred to Padipep not only after his father's death, but also after the demise of Bakenrenef. The shabti figurines of Padiptah are numerous worldwide and, so far have received little attention as a group. A comparison of several shabtis of Padiptah and Bakenrenef kept today in the British Museum shows striking similarities (material, design, style of execution, size, and text position),[133] strongly indicating that they were manufactured in the same workshop, thus permitting us to propose that they were close contemporaries, and therefore a similar timeframe for their deaths. The third shabti group corresponding to those of Padiptah and Bakenrenef is of a cer-

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129 Padiptah is known for his numerous shabti figurines distributed over many museums and private collections worldwide (cf. Aubert/Aubert 1974, 216; Schneider 1977, 230). See also the listing in *Shabtis de Basse Époque (XXVIe dynastie – période lagide)* (https://www.segweb.ch/index-shabtis [accessed 18 October 2020]).

130 Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 3745 (Jansen-Winkeln 2007, 395–396); Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 3024 (Jansen-Winkeln 2007, 396); private collection in Cairo (Jansen-Winkeln 2009b, 372–373); Turin, Museo Egizio 3063 (Jansen-Winkeln 2009b, 373–374). For this family, see preliminarily Vercoutter 1962, 1–15; Vernus 1976, 2–3.

131 For the translation of the term *jdnw*, see Dalino 2019.

132 The prosopography of these families is a separate question and a project for another day.

133 Bakenrenef: BM EA 13685; Padiptah: BM EA 33969, EA 33970, EA 33971, EA 33972, and EA 33973. All are unpublished but accessible at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection (accessed 19 October 2020).

tain Senebef, who is titled as *jt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr*,[134] probably identical to Senebef (B).[135] On the British Museum shabtis, besides the main title *ḥm-nṯr Bꜣst.t nb.t ꜥnḫ-tꜣ.wj*, Padiptah is referred as *jt-nṯr sm* (EA 33970, EA 33971) and *ḥrj-sštꜣ m Rꜣ-sṯꜣw* (EA 33969, EA 33972, EA 33973), making him a contemporary colleague to Bakenrenef, who also held the title *ḥrj-sštꜣ m Rꜣ-sṯꜣw*. If this interpretation is correct, the accumulation of the titles associated with the HPM could be dated more precisely to the second half of the long reign of Psamtik I, maybe during his fourth and/or fifth decade on the throne, keeping in mind that the construction of the vaulting in the tomb of Bakenrenef was probably finished sometime after regnal year 21 of the same king,[136] permitting a possibility that he could have been alive at least a decade after the tomb's completion. Padipep therefore may have been installed in the Ptah precinct after the death of Bakenrenef and could have lost his position under Nekau II in favour of a king's close friend as will be discussed below. Finally, his tomb may have already been discovered somewhere to the west of the Pyramid of Teti at Saqqara; the exact location of the tomb is now lost.[137] Unfortunately, preserved funerary equipment (canopic jars Cairo CG 4266–4269 and numerous shabtis in museum and private collections worldwide), datable to the early 26th Dynasty,[138] reveals the name of the owner without any title. Nevertheless, it was not so uncommon that both shabtis and canopic jars mention no titles of the deceased officials buried at Saqqara during the 26th Dynasty,[139] making this identification probable.

Nekau-men-(em)-ineb-hedj

Another officeholder is attested on a canopic jar (Berlin ÄM 11641), said to have been found in a tomb somewhere at Abusir.[140] The deceased's name is Nekau-men-(em)-ineb-hedj (*Nkꜣw-mn-m-jnb-ḥḏ*) and he is mentioned only with two titles: great overlord in every city (*ḥr.j-tp ꜥꜣ m njw.t nb.wt*) and *wr ḥrp.w ḥmw.t*. His basilophorous name liter-

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134 Cf. Aubert 1988, 2.

135 The descendants of Senebef (B) and his brother Ptahhotep very likely continued to flourish at Memphis under the later part of the 26th Dynasty. Their families will be discussed elsewhere.

136 El-Nagger 1986, 17; Stammers 2009, 121.

137 Cf. PM III/2, 565, map LI (E-4). His family may have been further attested on several Serapeum inscriptions, but their prosopography will be discussed elsewhere.

138 Aubert/Aubert 1974, 217; Schneider 1977, 227. See also the listing in *Shabtis de Basse Époque (XXVIe dynastie – période lagide)* (https://www.segweb.ch/index-shabtis [accessed 18 October 2020]).

139 Good examples are Padineith, whose tomb has been found within the mortuary temple in front of the Unas Pyramid at Saqqara (Stammers 2009, 108), and Neferibresaneith, whose tomb has been found within the mortuary temple in front of the Userkaf Pyramid at Saqqara (Stammers 2009, 104–106). The inscriptions in their tombs give numerous titles for both Padineith and Neferibresaneith.

140 Müller 1974, 189; De Meulenaere 1985, 264; Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 946.

ally means "Nekau is established in Memphis".[141] This unique name is usually taken as evidence for an assumption that this individual was contemporaneous to Nekau II (r. 610−595 BC), the second king of the 26th Dynasty,[142] though it is not necessarily evident that he was born under his rule. The king's name is written as a part of the personal name within a cartouche, implying that he may have been at least active under this king.[143] Another homonymous royal candidate is Nekau I (r. 672−664 BC), Nekau II's paternal grandfather,[144] making it possible that this individual belongs more or less to the same generation as Nekau II himself,[145] although a slightly younger contemporary would be preferable given the evidence about his probable family discussed below. Nothing is otherwise known about his social and familial background, but by bearing the king's or rather future king's name (or both), Nekau-men-(em)-ineb-hedj would have probably belonged to the uppermost echelons of Lower Egyptian society, perhaps to the inner elite circles close to the royal house of Sais. If this is correct, he probably would have succeeded (or replaced) Padipep as the HPM after the accession of Nekau II.

His other title is similar in form to two past high-ranking state appointments. The first, *ḥrj-tp ꜥ3 n.j* + [specific nome name], was the usual designation of the governor of certain nomes from the late Old Kingdom to the reigns of Senwosret III/Amenemhat III during the Middle Kingdom (c. 2305–1800 BC).[146] The second, *ḥrj-tp t3.wj* (great overlord of Two Lands), was borne by the male members of the royal family, the vi-

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141 PN II, 301, 22. For the diffusion of the basilophorous name types in the Saite-Persian times, see Vittmann 2002, 97−99.

142 Cf. De Meulenaere 1985, 265–266; Leahy 2011, 553; De Meulenaere 2015, 13.

143 Nekau II as a prince is attested on a statue dedicated to the goddess Neith in private possession in Paris sold at auction in 2012 (Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 37−38 with older literature). His name is written without a cartouche there, which is consistent with naming practices of the royal sons during the 26th Dynasty. Bernard Bothmer (1960, 68) believed that the writing of the king's name as a part of the personal name within a cartouche was not permissible during his lifetime, a theory criticized by De Meulenaere (1966, 33−34).

144 For the reign of Nekau I, see most recently Ryholt 2011, 123−128; Moje 2014, 19, 135−140, 262−265; Gozzoli 2017, 7−8.

145 Nekau II was likely born during the long reign of his father. On the other hand, the identity of his mother is highly problematic. According to the common opinion, she is identified with Mehitenweskhet, daughter of Harsiese (R) and mother of the God's Wife of Nitocris (A) (cf. Vittmann 1975, 376−377; see recently Dodson/Hilton 2010, 244). However, the evidence is not as straightforward as it seems. Mehitenweskhet is nowhere called the king's mother and was probably sent to Thebes with her daughter, where she died and was probably buried at Medinet Habu. For the discussion, see Leahy 1996, 162; Gozzoli 2017, 18−19. Günter Vittmann (1975, 386; 1976, 146−147; cf. Gozzoli 2017, 18−19) proposes another candidate. The present author is currently working on a re-evaluation of this question.

146 For the most recent discussion of the titles of local governors in Old and Middle Kingdom administrations, see Willems 2013; Willems 2014, 28−58. For the notion of the nomarch, see most recently Tomkins 2018.

ziers, and the HPMs from Ramesses II to Ramesses XI (1279−1077 BC).[147] His position as some kind of royal relative therefore cannot be completely ruled out. He may have also been a personal friend of the future king. According to the title's literal meaning, the HPM could have held the highest administrative position in every town. However, since this specific distinction is probably only a revival of a long-forgotten title in a slightly different form and is, to the present author's knowledge, only attested for Nekau-men-(em)-ineb-hedj, it seems plausible that it would have been created specifically for him most likely as an honorific distinction of the favoured state official, close to the royal court,[148] conveying the high rank and status that he enjoyed at that time. It would be expected that he would have had more titles, but our knowledge is limited since the evidence is fragmentary.

The same individual may also be attested on a Serapeum inscription,[149] where only the first part of his name survives. This fragmentary relief survived in the form of two registers with partially preserved human figures and only four incomplete horizontal lines of the inscriptions behind them. This type of monument is similar in form to a now lost Ramesside inscription, the so-called 'Daressy fragment',[150] a list of the HPMs from Saqqara, and the so-called Berlin genealogy (ÄM 23673), representing a single family of the Memphite priests in four incomplete registers.[151] Like there, the human figures stand in front of their titles and filiations on a Serapeum fragment. The upper register contains the preserved word "secret (*sšt3*)", probably part of the title "keeper of the secrets (*ḥrj-sšt3*)", usually associated with different Memphite temples. In the relatively better preserved lower register of the fragment, the first horizontal line contains "his son *wr ḥrp.w ḥmw.t, ḥm-nṯr* [*n.j Ptḥ*]" and next parallel line contains "like-entitled (*mj-nn*) Nekau-[. . .]". Since it seems that there is enough space only for the son's name in the missing lower part of the first line, Nekau-[. . .] should be recognized as the father of a HPM. It is also clear that Nekau-[. . .] held the same

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147 Cf. Dalino 2018, 46−47 with earlier references.

148 Similar epithets are attested within the titularies of the highest Saite officials from Thebes and Upper Egypt: Nesptah (B) (*ḥrj-tp ꜥ3 n.j T3 Šmꜥ*, great overlord of Upper Egypt; Jansen-Winkeln 2009b, 490); Ibi (*ḥrj-tp ꜥ3 m njw.wt rsj.wt*, great overlord in southern towns; cf. Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 638; *ḥrj-tp ꜥ3 n.j T3 Šmꜥ*, great overlord of Upper Egypt; Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 656) and Pabasa (*ḥrj-tp ꜥ3 n.j T3 Šmꜥ*, great overlord of Upper Egypt; cf. Vittmann 1977, 249). Ibi and Pabasa were both chief stewards of the God's Wife of Amun, Nitocris (A), royal daughter of Psamtik I. All three individuals were appointed governors of Upper Egypt under the same king; cf. Broekman 2012, 115−119.

149 Cairo, Egyptian Museum RB 18391 (unpublished); cf. Aly et al. 1986, 36; Leahy 2011, 553. Checked on a digitalized image kindly put at my disposal by Prof. Didier Devauchelle (Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille, Université Lille 3), who is in charge of the future publication of the piece. Therefore, until the final publication, the results of this study are only preliminary.

150 Cf. Fischer 1976, fig. 3; Raedler 2011, 136 n. 5.

151 Cf. Jansen-Winkeln 2009b, 278−280; Jurman 2020, 1019−1021.

titles as his son, indirectly expressed by *mj-nn*,[152] which only speaks in favour of a possibility that this fragment in present state commemorates perhaps earlier generations of the same family mentioned in several Serapeum inscriptions that will discussed below.

Hekairaa and his son Neferibre-men-(em)-ineb-hedj

The most informative of these inscriptions, an undated Serapeum stela,[153] records four generations of the owner's family, from his great-grandfather to himself, with three HPMs. The main hieroglyphic text, in ten lines, registers the titles and identity of the owner, Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj (ll. 1–5), and his ancestors (ll. 6–8), ending with his great-grandfather, the HPM Hekairaa. Hekairaa is given only two titles here – *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t* and *ḥm-nṯr n.j Ptḥ*, both obviously regular designations of the HPM during the 26th Dynasty. Hekairaa was the father of the next HPM and his likely successor, Neferibre-men-(em)-ineb-hedj (*Nfr-jb-rꜥ-mn-m-jnb-ḥḏ*), whose basilophorous name means "Neferibre (i.e. Psamtik II) is established in Memphis".[154] So far, such a name form (KN + *mn-m-jnb-ḥḏ*) is attested exclusively within the HPMs family and there seems to be no reason to doubt that their bearers were directly connected through family relations. De Meulenaere tentatively suggested that Hekairaa could have been the same individual as Nekau-men-(em)-ineb-hedj, the second name being his 'beautiful name',[155] although he preferred to treat them as separate individuals, possibly a father and a son.[156] Given the limited space between the lower line containing titles *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t ḥm-nṯr [n.j Ptḥ]* and the beginning of the next one, it is quite conceivable that Hekairaa himself was mentioned in a lacuna on a fragment RB 18391 as the son of the HPM Nekau-[. . .], here identified as the same as the HPM Nekau-men-(em)-ineb-hedj, and was therefore the second HPM from the same family. We can imagine that Nekau-men-(em)-ineb-hedj was the first of a new lineage, possibly nominated by the second king of the 26th Dynasty as argued above.

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152 For the expression mj-nn (variant *mj-nw*) used to mark "bearing the same/similar titles" in genealogies of officials and priests, see Ritner 2003, 168 n. 68 contra Gee 2004, 55–58; see also Quaegebeur 1994, 214 for the reading "like-ranked".

153 Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 4213 (the text is published in Maystre 1992, 380−382; for the photograph of this object, see now https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010021553 [accessed 15 August 2021]).

154 De Meulenaere 1985, 264.

155 This type of adopted name, also known as *rn nfr* or beautiful name, is bestowed upon the individual directly from the ruling king; cf. De Meulenaere 1966; De Meulenaere 1981; De Meulenaere 2002.

156 Cf. De Meulenaere 1985, 266. According to the previous view, Hekairaa would have adopted an additional name sometimes during his lifetime in order to show his individual political loyalty more explicitly and to emphase the close link between the royal house of Sais and his Memphite family.

Furthermore, because his name incorporates Psamtik II's throne name,[157] Neferibre-men-(em)-ineb-hedj, the son of Hekairaa and proposed grandson of Nekaumen(em)ineb-hedj, could not have been named before Psamtik II's accession in 595 BC. His name perhaps represents a local recognition of the accession of a new king, whose actions immediately after the death of Nekau II were apparently focused on the Ptah precinct, given that the enthronement of an Apis bull is the earliest known event from the king's reign.[158] Nekau-men-(em)-ineb-hedj is the best candidate for the main officiant during these important Memphite religious events. The birth of his grandson Neferibre-men(-em)-ineb-hedj, in the proposed scheme, might have also coincided with the accession of Psamtik II or likely his short reign (r. 595–589 BC). Seemingly, Hekairaa may have been in his twenties when his son was born,[159] while his presumed father probably was still the HPM. If so, Hekairaa was born during the later years of Psamtik I. Psamtik II perhaps confirmed the installation of Hekairaa as his father's successor, the action tolerated by Psamtik II's own son and royal successor Wahibre (r. 589–570 BC; also known as Apries), although any other age or scenario could be proposed.[160] Keeping in mind that Nekau II was likely responsible for the advancement of his family, it is not surprising that Hekairaa named his son and intended successor after a new ruling king, himself son of Nekau II, and following the same naming convention of his presumed father and the founder of the HPM dynasty at Memphis. Furthermore, Neferibre-men-(em)-ineb-hedj named his own son Nekau-meri-ptah (*Nk3w-mrjj-Ptḥ* – Nekau is beloved of Ptah),[161] which may be the local adaptation of the golden Horus

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157 Cf. Blöbaum 2006, 384.

158 Leahy 1996, 157, 160 n. 57. The previous bull died and was buried during the last days of Nekau II, probably under the auspices of the crown-prince Psamtik. For the role of the king's eldest son during the burial of an Apis bull, see Meyrat 2014a, 309–312.

159 Several examples of Memphite and Letopolite priests during the Ptolemaic times offer a good illustration of their age when the eldest child was born. For example, Anemhor (B) was 22 years old when his eldest known son Djedhor was born in 267 BC. His descendant, the HPM Padibastet (C) was 31 years old when his only known son Pasherenptah (C) was born in 90 BC. Pasherenptah (C) was 25 years old when his eldest daughter Kheredankh was born in 65 BC. On the other hand, Pehemnetjer-Petehoremhab, Ptolemaic High Priest of Letopolis, was 60 years old when his presumed eldest son Anemhor-Pashen was born in 107 BC; he also had one other son and a daughter, and died in 96/97 BC.

160 We know of several Memphite priests that reached an advanced age during the 26th Dynasty. For instance, the god's father Psamtik, son of Gemenefhorbak and lady Tjaret who lived for 71 years, 4 months, 6 days (Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 536–537; cf. Jurman 2010a, 248–250) or the god's father Psamtik, son of Iahweben and lady Ankhenites, who lived for 65 years, 10 months, 2 days (for his numerous monuments, see Jansen-Winkeln 2014a, 534–536; cf. Jurman 2010a, 250–252). Interestingly, both Psamtiks were born under Nekau II and died under Ahmose II. Furthermore, under Ptolemies, Anemhor (B) lived for 72 years, 1 month, 23 days (cf. Panov 2017a, 134; Prada 2019, 876–880).

161 Leahy 2011, 555; De Meulenaere 2015, 13.

name of Nekau II, *mrjj nṯr.w* (beloved of the gods),[162] further enhancing his family's connections and loyalty towards the royal family of Sais.

If we assume Neferibre-men-(em)-ineb-hedj was born under Psamtik II, his son Nekau-meri-ptah could have been born during the later years of Wahibre when his father was at least in his mid-twenties and had reached his own adulthood under the long reign of Ahmose II (r. 570–526 BC; also known as Amasis). During Ahmose II's reign, Nekau-meri-ptah's only known son, Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj (*Jꜥḥ-ms-mn-m-jnb-ḥd* – 'Ahmose is established in Memphis'),[163] discussed below, may have been born and named after the ruling king according to the family's naming tradition. If so, either his great-grandfather (Hekairaa) or his grandfather (Neferibre-men-(em)-ineb-hedj) would have been the HPM at the time of the struggle between Wahibre and Ahmose II (570–567 BC) for the throne.[164] At present, it is impossible to exactly determine whose side they would have chosen, but the name of Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj is a strong indication that the family switched alliance and accepted Ahmose II as king and commemorated his establishment at Memphis by including his name into their onomastic repertoire. Their names may have been a clear indication of the family's participation in the legitimization process of new rulers at Memphis, reflecting family traditions of royal service in general. The political closeness of Ahmose II to the Ptah precinct was cemented by his marriage to Takheta, daughter of a certain Padineith, who was curiously titled *jt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr Ptḥ stm ḥrp šndj.t nb.t*.[165] As already noted in the case of Padipep, the same title sequence is usually associated with the HPM, but the title *stm* is surprisingly not attested with the family of Hekairaa until his great-grandson Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj. While we cannot be certain when exactly Padineith obtained these titles, it is entirely conceivable that his position within the Ptah precinct might have been a major reason for the royal marriage soon after Ahmose II won the throne.[166]

Unlike his father and grandfather, Nekau-meri-ptah is assigned a different set of titles (Louvre IM 4213, l. 6): divine father, *sm*-priest, keeper of the king's secrets (*ḥrj-sštꜣ nsw.t*), and overseer of the chamberlains (*jmj-rꜣ jmj.w-ḥn.t*; lit. those who are in the forecourt). His titles reveal two complementary parts of his career: within the Ptah precinct, where his father was a high priest, and at the royal court, linking him closely to the king and his family. The title *ḥrj-sštꜣ nsw.t* points to a high ceremonial status at

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162 Blöbaum 2006, 381. Similar adaptation is attested for Ahmose II at Abydos, where the king is, instead of the usual "son of Neith", called "son of Osiris", the most important Abydene divinity; cf. Klotz 2010, 133 n. 42 with older literature.

163 PN II 261, 15; PN II 289, 3.

164 For the summary, see Leahy 1988; Perdu 2010, 147–148; Jansen-Winkeln 2014b.

165 Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 4034 ll. 2–3 (cf. Vercoutter 1962, 37–43).

166 Their marriage might have coincided with the burial and installation of two successive Apis bulls in Ahmose II's regnal year 4/5 (566/565 BC), soon after the civil war against Wahibre was over. For these Apis burials, see Vercoutter 1962, 20–26; Devauchelle 1994, 101; Devauchelle 2011, 140.

court and even a certain level of intimacy between the king and Nekau-meri-ptah.[167] Furthermore, during the New Kingdom, the chamberlains (*jmj.w-ẖn.t*) were primarily in charge of dressing the king, adorning him with the jewellery, and placing the crown on his head, usually associated with the *wrḥw*, "the anointer", who would also adorn and dress the king in the ceremonies of the coronation and the Sed-festival.[168] Nekau-meri-ptah might hypothetically have participated in the Sed-festival ceremonies of Ahmose II, shown on fragmentary blocks from Sais and Abydos.[169] It is striking that Nekau-meri-ptah is not given the title HPM on his son's stela. De Meulenaere offered a possibility that his name, Nekau-meri-ptah, should be interpreted as a 'beautiful name' and, if so, that his personal name could have been Khnumibresaptah, thus being the same man as an individual named on two more Serapeum stelae mentioning the same family.[170] This proposal is however untenable since Nekau-meri-ptah is nowhere attested with an additional name, while Khnumibresaptah is attested probably as son and likely immediate successor of the HPM Ahmose-men-(em-)ineb-hedj, serving between Darius I to Xerxes I (see below). The most plausible explanation is that Nekaumeriptah may have died prematurely during the reign of Ahmose II before he was able to succeed the office of his father.

Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj

The last Saite HPM is usually considered Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj, who had a very long career. However, it cannot be completely ruled out that his grandfather Neferibre-men-(em)-ineb-hedj held the office throughout Ahmose II's reign, especially since it seems likely that, being born soon after 595 BC, Neferibre-men-(em)-ineb-hedj might have belonged to the same generation as the king himself. Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj is still mentioned alive on the Serapeum stela of his son Hori that might date to the one of the Apis burials from regnal years 31 (491 BC) or 34 (488 BC) of the Persian

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167 This type of designation and its several variations is not often attested during the 26th Dynasty, only among the titles of the highest state officials in contact with the royal court. See most recently Qahéri-Paquette 2014, 23 n. 64, 241 n. 814.

168 Guilmot 1964, 33–34; Goyon 1971, 79–81; Kubisch 2018, 192. Goyon (1971, 81) also proposed that the *ḥrp ḥw.wt N.t*, "director of the temples of Neith", replaced the *jmj.w-ẖn.t* during the ritual of the coronation in the 26th Dynasty. This is however highly unlikely keeping in mind the presence of the figures captioned with the *jmj.w-ẖn.t* and standing behind the figure of an unnamed king on two gateway relief fragments from the so-called Palace of Apries at Memphis, today in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 1046) and Liverpool (World Museum 10.9.09.1), representing ceremonies of the Sed-festival. For the Memphite scenes, see Kaiser 1987, Taf. 45–46; Jurman 2010b. For a suggestion that overseer of the chamberlains might have been in charge of daily service of the royal children, see Qahéri-Paquette 2014, 38.

169 Cf. Habachi 1943, 385, fig. 105; Klotz 2010, 132, fig. 3b–c, 4a–b.

170 De Meulenaere 1985, 266.

king Darius I,[171] and a family stela, erected probably at the same time as IM 4038, if not earlier, at the Serapeum also by Hori on behalf of his extended family.[172] On IM 4038 (l. 4), Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj is attested with the 'beautiful name' Hekairaa (*rn=f nfr Ḥk3-jrj-ꜥ3*), which is the personal name of his great-grandfather, the HPM Hekairaa. There is also a possibility that he is owner of a shabti figurine seen on the auction in Vienna in 2001, but the reading of the name is dubious and unlikely as the shabti text is almost certainly too short to contain the full name of Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj and more likely simply reads 'Ahmose'.[173] His own Serapeum stela already mentioned above offers the fullest known title string of all HPMs in the Saite-Persian period (Tab. 3).

Tab. 3: Monuments and titles of Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj.

Monuments	Titles
Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 4213	[. . .] *ḥm-nṯr n.j Ptḥ ḥrp sm n.j ḥ3b rꜥ nb nmt.t m s.t wr.t sš ꜥ3.w m k3r št3 jrj nfr-ḥ3.t m ḫkrw Ptḥ jmn k3r r jmj=f ḥrj sšt3 p.t t3 dw3.t wn ꜥ3 wsj m štjt rdj ḥnw ḥr mfḫ snnw n nsw.t m sꜥḥꜥ ḏd jrj-pꜥ.t m3ꜥ ḫ3tj-ꜥ ḥw.t-k3-Ptḥ stm wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t*
Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 4044	*wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t jt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr n.j Ptḥ*
Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 4038	*wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t ḥm-nṯr n.j Ptḥ*

His privileged status is represented by a string of titles and epithets that reflect his duties within the cults of Ptah and Sokar: director of the *sm*-priests of Sokar (*ḥrp sm.w*),[174] lord of movements in the great place (*nb nmt.t m s.t wr.t*),[175] opener of doors of the secret shrine (*sš ꜥ3.w m k3r št3*),[176] keeper of Ptah's headdress hidden in a shrine in the midst of it (*jrj nfr-ḥ3.t m ḫkrw Ptḥ jmn k3r r jmj=f*),[177] opener of doors and cracks of the under-

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world/Sokar sanctuary (*wn ˁȝ wsj m štjt*),[178] one who places the Sokar's barque upon the pedestal (*rdj ḥnw ḥr mfḫ*),[179] and second after the king at the erection of the Djed-Pillar (*snnw n nsw.t m sˁḥˁ ḏd*).[180] The epithet "keeper of the secrets of the sky, the earth and the underworld (*ḥrj sštȝ p.t tȝ dwȝ.t*)" suggests perhaps a vast knowledge and excellent education associated with the HPM at the time.[181] Bearing in mind that the Persian Great Kings were physically mostly absent from Egypt after the reign of Darius I, together with their official titles, it seems logical to theorise that the HPM might replace them during major annual and occasional local religious festivals, such as the Sokar festival and the Apis coronation/burial respectively, that must have been the highlights of the Memphite calendar. His highest ranking court title, true hereditary prince (*jrj-pˁ.t mȝˁ*),[182] is also unconventional and attested in such form only for Ahmose-men-(em-)ineb-hedj; this is comparable to another rank title, true king's acquaintance (*rḫ-nsw.t mȝˁ*), borne also by certain indigenous officials during the early Persian period.[183] Finally, the position of the mayor of Memphis (*ḥȝtj-ˁ ḥw.t-kȝ-Ptḥ*) had never been associated with the HPM before,[184] only further suggesting favourable political circumstances for his family under the early Persians.

The brief report of appointment of Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj is recorded towards the end of the text (ll. 8–10): "His Majesty initiated me as divine father; afterwards made (me) overseer of craftsmen in the place of my ancestors, after [my father had] gone to his ka (*bsj wj ḥm=f r jt-nṯr n Ptḥ m-ḫt rdj.n (wj) jmj-rȝ ḥmw.wt m s.t jt.w nw jt.w m-ḫt sbj[.n jt=j] n kȝ=f*)". Already Günter Vittmann noted that "two stages in the career of this man are involved: appointment as a priest in general, and later appoint-

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178 The term *štjt* refers to either the sanctuary of Sokar or the tomb of Osiris, both located at Rosetjau; cf. Staring 2015, 171; Jurman 2020, 287.

179 For the barque of Sokar, see Eaton 2006, 80−84.

180 The erection of the Djed-pillar was a royal ceremony during the Sokar festival and the Sed-festival respectively (cf. Spalinger 1998, 257). The festival calendar of Ramesses III in Medinet Habu dates the erection of the Djed-pillar to the last day of the Sokar festival on the last day of the fourth month of the month of inundation, which was performed to ensure the successful rebirth of the god Osiris and the land of Egypt (cf. Staring 2015, 171−172). The same title is borne also by the HPM Pasherenptah (C) who boasted that he crowned Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos Philopator Philadelphos in 76 BC (cf. Panov 2017a, 180, 199).

181 This epithet is not associated only with the HPM; cf. Jurman 2020, 226 n. 1289.

182 This form is attested during the Old Kingdom; cf. Jones 2000, 315. For a suggestion that the addition *mȝˁ* was an indication of special trust and favour granted by the reigning king during the Old Kingdom, see Callender 2000, 371−373.

183 De Meulenaere (1989, 569) suggested that the extension *mȝˁ* in this title provides a dating indication for the officials who were active *after* the Persian conquest. Nevertheless, the same rank title in different forms (*rḫ nsw.t mȝˁ / mȝˁ mr=f*) was indeed very common during the 26th Dynasty; cf. Qahéri-Paquette 2014, 133−135.

184 'Enclosure of the ka of Ptah' (*Ḥw.t-kȝ-Ptḥ*) was the name of the main cult centre at Memphis, but from the New Kingdom onwards was also used to refer to the city itself; cf. Staring 2015, 169; Jurman 2020, 60−62.

ment as a High Priest of Memphis, the expression 'overseer of crafts(men)' in this context probably paraphrasing the usual designation of the Memphite High Priests".[185] On both occasions, his appointments involved the king himself, a recurring theme in biographical inscriptions of the 26th Dynasty.[186] In doing so, the king confirmed the hereditary nature of the title within the same family. It can be assumed that all HPM were appointed by the king, even if the next incumbent was a son or grandson following his father or grandfather in office. In Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj's case, certainly some time passed between these two appointments since the position of divine father usually indicates an early stage of the priestly career. On the identity of the king, Vittmann also commented: "Presumably Amasis rather than Cambyses or Darius, although the Persian King is by no means ruled out. A diplomatic, perhaps more realistic, solution would be to assume that Amasis appointed him to the office of High Priest and the Persians confirmed, or tolerated, his position".[187]

Ahmose II is a likely candidate for the king that confirmed Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj's appointment as a priest in general since, according to our reconstruction of the age of his grandfather Neferibre-men-(em-)ineb-hedj, the latter might have been born at earliest during the third decade of Ahmose II's reign (c. 550/540 BC). Strangely, although the HPM's name is basilophorous, the king's name is not written within a cartouche, in stark comparison to the names of Nekau II and Psamtik II in his ancestors' names. Under Darius I, different names of Ahmose II as parts of somebody's personal name are often written within a cartouche.[188] In the case of Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj and his family, however, the names referring to Ahmose II are consistently written without a cartouche.[189] Such consistency probably reflects the personal political stance of the HPM, who perhaps chose to distance himself from the previous royal house. It is important to note that the names of the overthrown royal family were attacked and intentionally mutilated probably, as Andrey O. Bolshakov conventionaly put it, "by order of Cambyses but under the supervision of a well-educated Egyptian".[190] Nevertheless, later Persian kings cannot be completely ruled out as responsible for these attacks. This might indicate that the king who installed Ah-

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185 Vittmann 2009, 91.

186 Cf. Schütze 2020, 170.

187 Vittmann 2009, 91.

188 For example, Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 4017 (Vercoutter 1962, 59–64), IM 4129 (Vercoutter 1962, 105–108), IM 4032 (Vercoutter 1962, 88–92) or IM 4193 (unpublished; cf. PM III[2], 810; for the photograph, see now https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010075047 [accessed 15 August 2021]).

189 His sons Ahmose (A) (IM 4044 l. 7) and Khnumibresaptah (IM 4044 l. 25), as well as his grandsons Ahmose (B) (IM 4044 l. 23) and Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj (B) (IM 4038 l. 6–7).

190 Cf. Bolshakov 2010, 53. For the situation in Egypt immediately after the Persian conquest, see most recently Marković/Ilić 2018, 90–97.

mose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj was a Persian King, the most likely candidate being the infamous Cambyses II,[191] especially since the Ptah precinct was granted certain privileges during his short reign,[192] perhaps linked to the preparations for the burial of an Apis bull that died soon after the Persian conquest and usually officiated by the HPM.[193] The fierce reputation of the HPM under the Persian kings was still well-known as late as the mid-1st century BC. Accordingly, sources speak of a confrontation which happened between Darius I, the second Persian king of Egypt, and an unnamed HPM (ὁ ἱρεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου of Herodotus;[194] ὁ ἀρχιερεύς of Diodorus Siculus),[195] over the former's plan to erect his own statue in front of the image of legendary king Sesostris.[196] The HPM allegedly won the argument, and Darius I was reportedly forced to abandon his plan. This individual could have easily been Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj himself.

His age during the last years of Darius I must have been advanced. His son Hori is attested with a grandson on IM 4038 (l. 8), on which Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj is mentioned still alive, therefore permitting a probability that his father was at least in his late fifties and had a roughly forty-year career spanning the reigns of Ahmose II to the later years of Darius I. Also, at least two, and perhaps three, different mothers are attested for his numerous children: Setjairetbinet, daughter of Pahemnetjer (IM 4044 ll. 15–16, 22–23), who bore his two sons, and Sekhmetneferet, daughter of Wahibreseneb (IM 4038 ll. 5–6; IM 4044 ll. 4–6, 8), who bore him another three sons, including Hori. Still, it is not clear who was the mother of Khnumibresaptah, a son attested towards the end of the inscription on IM 4044 (ll. 24–26).[197] Khnumibresaptah's own son, Ahmose (B), is also mentioned there (l. 23), while the children of Hori are mentioned on IM 4038 (ll. 6–7, 9). Khnumibresaptah bears the throne name of Ahmose II as his personal name,[198] indicating perhaps that he could have been the eldest son of the HPM, born while Ahmose II was still king. Seemingly, Hori belonged to the children of the HPM by his last wife, while Khnumibresaptah was perhaps a son from the

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191 Cambyses II gets a consistently bad press from Greek sources. See most recently the discussion of Cannuyer 2020.

192 Cf. Agut-Labordère 2016, 322–323.

193 See most recently Marković/Ilić 2018, 95–96.

194 Hdt. 2.110.2–3.

195 Diod. 1.58.4.

196 Cf. Obsomer 1989, 146–158; Obsomer 1998, 1423–1442; Briant 2002, 476–477. On the statues of Darius I erected in the indigenous temples, for example, in Babylonia, see Waerzeggers 2014.

197 Maystre (1992, 384) considered divine father and god's servant of Ptah under his moringa trees Khnumibresaptah (ll. 24–25) and the HPM Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj (ll. 26–27) as the same person with two names. However, this conclusion is untenable since the 'beautiful name' is always positioned *after* the personal name. The latter's personal name is Ahmose-men-(em-)ineb-hedj in every known document. In addition, his beautiful name is Hekairaa, attested on IM 4038 (l. 4), the document not listed in Maystre's work. On the other hand, the reading of Khnumibresaptah's name (*Ḥnm-jb-rꜥ-sꜣ-Ptḥ*, Khnumibre son of Ptah) and his following filiation (*sꜣ,* son) is based on the acceptance of a haplography.

198 Cf. Blöbaum 2006, 389.

first unfortunately unnamed wife. The latter's main title on IM 4044, god's servant of Ptah under his moringa tree (*ḥm-nṯr Ptḥ ḫrj bḳw=f*), is associated with the precinct of the temple of Ptah located to the north-west of Memphis, where the divine baboons resided during life and were mummified.[199] This title is particularly rarely attested.[200] Moreover, the Serapeum documents reveal several generations of Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj's descendants working within the Ptah precinct, mostly being responsible for cult and rituals. Following Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj's death, the office of the HPM appears to have passed to his eldest son, probably Khnumibresaptah.

Khnumibresaptah

This Khnumibresaptah is very likely identical with the homonymous HPM mentioned on another Serapeum stela,[201] where, in addition, he is given the 'beautiful name' Nekau. His 'beautiful name' is making this identification probable, since it likely represents the abbreviation of his grandfather's name, Nekau-meri-ptah. Both basilophorous elements of his name are written within a cartouche, unlike on the stela IM 4044. The stela IM 4098 was erected by one of his sons Psamtik and it is usually attributed to regnal year 34 of Darius I,[202] but it could be somewhat later. The stela provides us with information about his career as the HPM (Tab. 4). Khnumibresaptah clearly combined titles that structurally belong together, accumulating positions connecting him to the cult of Ptah and temple administration.

Tab. 4: Monuments and titles of Khnumibresaptah.

Monuments	Titles
Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 4044	*jt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr Ptḥ ḫrj bḳw=f*
Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 4098	*wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t n.j Ptḥ ḫrj sštȝ n s.t wr.t ḫrj sštȝ p.t tȝ dwȝ.t drp n Ptḥ jmj-rȝ ḥm. w-nṯr n.w nṯr.w Ἰnb-ḥḏ jrj-pʿt ḥȝtj-ʿ sȝ-s.t [n Ḥp ʿnḫ] ḫrp ḥw.t-nbw*

His titles include *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t n.j Ptḥ*, keeper of the secrets of the great place (*ḫrj sštȝ n s.t wr.t*),[203] keeper of the secrets of the sky, the earth and the underworld, one who offers to Ptah (*drp n Ptḥ*), overseer of the god's servants of the gods of Memphis

199 Cf. Ray 2011, 25.

200 For the priests of Ptah under his moringa trees in the 30th Dynasty, see Smith et al. 2011, 49–56.

201 Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 4098; Chassinat 1901, 83–84 cxli.

202 Cf. PM III², 803.

203 For this title, see Perdu 2014, 120–121.

(*jmj-rꜣ ḥm.w-nṯr n.w nṯr.w ꜣnb-ḥḏ*), hereditary prince, count, guardian [of a living Apis] (*sꜣ-s.t* [*n Ḥp ꜥnḫ*]),[204] and director of the mansion of gold (*ḥrp ḥw.t-nbw*).[205] On the other hand, the presence of the title *jmj-rꜣ ḥm.w-nṯr n.w nṯr.w ꜣnb-ḥḏ* is rather surprising since the HPM has never been conferred with a high administrative authority over the temples of Memphis before.[206] He probably succeeded his father during the last years of Darius I or slightly later and therefore could have been in office under Xerxes I (486−465 BC).[207] If the chronology is correct, Khnumibresaptah might have been promoted to the head of temple administration at Memphis only by the Persian administration in order to closely control their staff and resources,[208] possibly in collaboration with the satrap Achaemenes, himself a brother of Xerxes I, who was killed during the famous Inaros revolt (c. 464−454 BC).[209] Like his father as the governor of Memphis before him, Khnumibresaptah must be considered the highest local authority at the time.

Unfortunately, the situation under Xerxes I in Egypt is unclear at best. The second Egyptian rebellion (c. 487−484 BC) in a longer series of revolts against the Persians during the fifth century BC is usually perceived to have seriously disturbed the traditional hierarchies in Egypt.[210] Indeed, the number of datable traditional monuments appears significantly reduced under Xerxes I,[211] although it must be admitted that the First Persian Period after Darius I is still not sufficiently studied and that there are serious problems regarding unpublished and wrongly dated material.[212] The general darth of datable evidence during the later 27th Dynasty may be linked to the scarce

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204 For this title in connection with the living Apis bull, see Bothmer/De Meulenaere 1986, 5−6.

205 Djedkare was a keeper of the secrets of the mansion of gold as well. See above.

206 Several New Kingdom HPMs held the title *jmj-rꜣ ḥm.w-nṯr n.w nṯr.w nb.w* (*n*) *Šmꜥ Mḥw* ('overseer of god's servants of all gods of Upper and Lower Egypt') that may imply the administration of Memphite temples too. Cf. Maystre 1992, 76−77; Jurman 2020, 427.

207 As we have seen above, a different reconstruction is preferred by De Meulenaere 1985, 266.

208 Damian Agut-Labordère (2017, 687) sees the official with the title senti (*sntj*) being "in charge of the management of the Egyptian religious institutions" and an "intermediary between the Persian satrap and the local sacerdotal elites" during the Persian era. This could only be correct until the end of Darius I's reign, when the senti vanishes from our sources and reappears again only with the last indigenous dynasties. Was the reason for this situation an administrative reorganisation? Unfortunately, this question cannot be answered with certainty due to a general lack of sources. For three officeholders usually dated to the 30th Dynasty, see Perdu 1998, 180−182, 184. For an overview of the senti's possible duties, see Vittmann 2009, 100−102; Agut-Labordère 2013, 1000−1002.

209 For the satrap Achaemenes, see Klinkott 2005, 503. For an overview of the Inaros revolt, see Rottpeter 2007, 17−23.

210 Ruzicka 2012, 28. For an overview of the rebellion itself, see most recently Wijnsma 2019. For the negative reputation of Xerxes in Egypt, see Klinkott 2007.

211 Cf. Agut-Labordère 2019, 211−213.

212 Aston 1999; cf. Agut-Labordère 2019, 211−213. Colburn 2020 seems to be just the beginning of the research.

textual material on the indigenous priesthood, although their activities are still trace-able. Most recently, Andrew Monson has maintained that "[t]he Persian administra-tion seems to have abolished the powerful political offices of the God's Wife of Amun and the High Priest of Memphis",[213] while also mentioning "Persian reforms in Egypt, such as the abolition of the high priesthood of Ptah in Memphis".[214] However, he did not specify when these "reforms" occurred. Regardless, it seems that the author only incorrectly refers to Günter Vittmann's earlier suggestions. Vittmann tentatively com-ments on a complicated situation after Darius I and the possible succession of the HPM: "Apart from this possible but, nonetheless, uncertain candidate (i.e. Khnumibre-saptah), we have no direct sources for the history of the office during the Persian Pe-riod. The fact, however, that Memphis was one of the sacred places that were granted privileges by Cambyses does not speak for a (even temporary) abolition of the rank of the High Priest".[215] Therefore, no such reforms were ever implied.

Some kind of a break could be linked to the Inaros revolt, especially since Mem-phis was a major place in the hostilities between Persians and Egyptians during the earlier stage of the rebellion (c. 462–459 BC),[216] but there is certainly enough evidence to support the conclusion that the situation under Xerxes I and his successor Arta-xerxes I (465–424 BC) for the indigenous elite shows some continuations with previous times, although maybe not as widespread nor quite as visible in the surviving mate-rial as before. To mention just one example, the activities and careers of at least three (out of six) generations of a priestly family buried within the lesser chambers of the tomb of the vizier Bakenrenef at Saqqara should be in all probability dated mostly to the 5th century BC, instead of being chronologically pushed further to the time of the short-lived 30th Dynasty (380–343 BC) as is usual.[217] Further studies would hopefully reveal previously unnoticed priestly families active throughout fifth century BC.

Ahmose (B) and (C)

Although we cannot be sure for certain what happened to Khnumibresaptah, his suc-cessor may have been one of his sons or grandsons. Both of his known sons, Ahmose (B) and Psamtik, are obviously named after the glorious kings of the 26th Dynasty, fol-

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213 Monson 2015, 10.

214 Monson 2015, 28.

215 Vittmann 2009, 91.

216 For the chronology of the revolt, see Kahn 2008, 440.

217 For a comprehensive study of their burials, see Bresciani et al. 1983. This family is omitted in Vittmann 2009. For their dating to the time of the 30th Dynasty, see De Meulenaere 2002, 382. Indeed, the vizier Padineith with the 'beautiful name' Pasherentaihet died in regnal year 15 of Nectanebo I (366 BC), being probably born c. 420 BC (cf. Bresciani et al. 1983, 117–119), and it is reasonable to pro-pose that three previous generations of his ancestors were active almost exclusively during the 5th century BC. See also n. 241.

lowing the already-established onomastic tradition of their family. Also, both were building a career within the Ptah precinct under Darius I: Ahmose (B) is attested as divine father and the *sm*-priest on a family Serapeum stela IM 4044 (l. 23), while Psamtik is assigned the same titles, in addition to one more that is partly erased (only the beginning *ḥrj* is preserved), on the stela IM 4098 (l. 1). Ahmose (B) could be the same individual as that attested on a shabti figurine seen at the auction in Vienna in 2001 noted above. The shabti owner is attested with a title sequence *jt-nṯr sm ḥm-nṯr wr ḥrp. w ḥmw.t* and his name seems to be rather Ahmose, instead of the much longer Ahmose-men-(em-)ineb-hedj.[218] The rest of the hieroglyphic signs likely show the name of his mother, probably Nebet-Wadjet (*Nb.t-wḏȝ.t*). The mother's name is not present on IM 4044, while the name of Psamtik's mother attested on IM 4098 (ll. 5, 11) is Isetreshti (*ȝs.t-rštj*), a rather common female name at Memphis during the Saite-Persian era.[219] This indicates several possibilities for identifying the shabti owner. If the Ahmose of the Vienna shabti is the same as Khnumibresaptah's son on IM 4044, his father therefore could have had multiple wives, which has already been attested for his grandfather, but Ahmose (B) also could have belonged to some other generation of the same family. Ultimately, he might be completely unrelated to this family, which seems unlikely, bearing in mind that nepotistic inheritance of positions was a normal occurrence at the time and that the office had been monopolised by the senior males of this family already for six generations, closely linked to the Saite and Persian royal houses and administration.

Given the long life and career of Ahmose-men-(em-)ineb-hedj, the paternal grandfather of Ahmose (B) and Psamtik, it is conceivable that his grandsons could have had their own families at the time of the composition of Serapeum inscriptions; Hori, one of the sons from the (here proposed) third marriage of their grandfather, is attested with a grandson on IM 4038. While the scant sources we currently possess are insufficient to answer this question definitively, it remains a distinct possibility that the Ahmose of the Vienna shabti belonged to the generation of Khnumibresaptah's own grandsons, therefore being an individual distinct from his son Ahmose (B). Therefore, Ahmose (C) could have been a son of either Ahmose (B) or Psamtik. The preference is here given to Psamtik, although paternity of Ahmose (B) cannot be ruled out. The brothers might have predeceased their father, but they could have also been the victims of the Inaros revolt, together with their father, leaving therefore a possibility that Ahmose (C), here identified as son of Psamtik, became the HPM sometimes during

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218 The signs after the beginning of Ahmose's name are hard to read from the catalogue's photograph, but it seems certain that the owner's name is shorter and that his mother is named towards the end of the inscription.

219 For example, Hori's wife and mother of his children bear the same name on IM 4038 (ll. 7, 9). Incidentally, two Mothers of Apis cows – the first having died and been buried in 534 BC and the second having died and been buried in or sometimes after 521 BC – also bear the same name. See further Smith et al. 2011, 15–25.

the long reign of Artaxerxes I. Another possibility is that Khnumibresaptah and his sons survived into the reign of Artaxerxes I, Khnumibresaptah being at least in his seventies, and could have been dead by 450 BC. If so, his grandson, Ahmose (C), might have been overseeing the Ptah precinct in the second part of Artaxerxes' I reign or early into the reign of Darius II (424–404 BC). The possibility that Ahmose (B) or Psamtik served as the HPM cannot be completely ruled out due to the lack of evidence.

Ankh-Hep

That being said, an HPM is attested on series of mostly unprovenanced shabtis in several museum and private collections (see Tab. 5). His name is Ankh-Hep (ꜥnḫ-Ḥp – 'Living Apis'),[220] born to Nebet-Wadjet (Nb.t-wḏꜣ.t). This theophoric name, clearly referring to an Apis bull living within the Ptah precinct,[221] became extremely popular at Memphis from the First Persian Period onwards. The number of attestations increased during the 29th and 30th Dynasties, further rising during the Ptolemaic period.[222] The shabtis might have come from his tomb,[223] likely somewhere in Saqqara. Also, keeping in mind all of the above, Ankh-Hep may be a younger brother of Ahmose (C), an identification based on the coincidence that both individual's mothers were called Nebet-Wadjet, which is a

Tab. 5: Shabtis of Ankh-Hep.

No.	Objects	Titles
1.	Oslo, Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo inv. C47015[224]	jt-nṯr sm wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t jmj-rꜣ njw.t
2.	Oslo, Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo inv. C47016[225]	jt-nṯr sm wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t jmj-rꜣ njw.t
3.	Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 47507[226]	[jt]-nṯr sm wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t[227] jmj-rꜣ njw.t

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220 PN I, 65, 25.

221 For the layout of the Apis sanctuary, see Meyrat 2014b; Marković 2016.

222 See numerous examples in Smith et al. 2011; Devauchelle 2017.

223 For multi-functionality of shabtis, see Franzmeier 2014, 176–178.

224 Naguib 1985, 95–97. Special thanks are due to Marina Prusac-Lindhagen (Oslo) for providing me with images of both figurine and additional information.

225 Naguib 1985, 95–97.

226 Newberry 1937, 154.

227 Incorrectly transcribed as 𓄿𓂋𓏤𓏛 by Newberry.

Tab. 5 (continued)

No.	Objects	Titles
4.	Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 1757[228]	Unknown
5.	Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 1759[229]	Unknown
6.	Worcester, Worcester Art Museum Corbett 2[230]	*jt-nṯr sm wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t jmj-rꜣ njw.t*
7.	Auction catalogue[231]	*jt-nṯr sm wr [ḫrp.w ḥmw.t][232] jmj-rꜣ njw.t*

rather uncommon name in Memphis. If so, his father could have been Ahmose (B) or Psamtik. If this is correct, the dynasty of the HPM is extended towards the end of the 5th century BC. The family's latest known generations thus saw Egypt pass from Achaemenid rule to newly established local royal dynasties. Ankh-Hep may have been the last representative of the old line. Nevertheless, the excistence of other yet unidentified family members cannot be completely ruled out.

Two types of shabtis can be clearly distinguished: the Oslo figurines have a single bordered column of an abbreviated version of the shabti spell on the front, while the other figurines have T-shaped impressed text on front. The T-shaped inscription is usually associated with the First Persian Period, although the same shabti style was also continuously used during the 4th century BC and even later.[233] The shabtis of Ahmose (C) and Ankh-Hep are similar in material, design, and style of execution, and are likely to have been made in the same workshop and during a short space of time. Besides the titles associated with the Ptah precinct, Ankh-Hep is assigned a high civil authority at Memphis, overseer of the city (*jmj-rꜣ njw.t*), being therefore the third member of his family at the similar overseeing administrative role, after his presumed great-grandfather Ahmose-men-(em-)ineb-hedj and grandfather Khnumibresaptah. His name also shows a shift from the royal onomastics towards the divine one. He may have died after the liberation of Egypt in c. 404 BC.

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228 Unpublished; cf. Naguib 1985, 95.
229 Unpublished; cf. Naguib 1985, 95.
230 Watson 2012, 148.
231 Mentioned by Vittmann 1978, 164.
232 From the photo in the catalogue itself, it is clear that the title's initial signs combination begins with GG G38 + D21 (*wr*).
233 Aubert/Aubert 1974, 237–243.

The 28th to 30th Dynasties (404–343 BC)

The situation at Memphis during the last indigenous dynasties[234] is uncertain and understudied, despite the fact that major transformations of the sacred landscape across Egypt at the same time are oftentime discussed.[235] A detailed study on the priesthood, especially in Lower Egypt, is still lacking with a few exceptions.[236]

Bakenptah

A previously unnoticed HPM is attested in an inscription on a back-pillar of a seated statuette of unfortunately unknown present location.[237] The statuette was discovered in a cache of objects found in the Main Temple terrace of the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara, located north of the Serapeum itself. The statuette is dedicated in the name of Bakenptah (*B3k-n-Pth* – 'servant of Ptah'), who bears the titles *w'b*-priest of Ptah (*w'b n Pth*),[238] military scribe of Memphis (*sš mš' n Mn-nfr*), great one of the house (and) of the chamber (*'3 n pr n.t t3 '.t*),[239] *wr hrp.w hmw.t*, god's servant of the

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234 For discussions of the period, see most recently Wojciechowska 2016; Forgeau 2018; McKechnie/Cromwell 2018.

235 See most recently Minas-Nerpel 2018.

236 Some exceptions are *inter alia* Bresciani et al. 1983; von Känel 1984; Guermeur 2005; Spencer 2006; Manassa 2007; Smith et al. 2011; Klotz 2012; Panov 2017b.

237 Martin 1979, 58, pl. 51; cf. contra Chevereau 1985, 59, who dates the statuette to the 22nd Dynasty and Hastings 1997, 16, 80–81, who argues for a 26th Dynasty date. The reason for the later dating adopted here comes from the fact that the statuette was found in a cache of already used objects which seems to have been carefully made after the main temple was ransacked at a later date, almost certainly during the 4th century BC, either during several later renovations or perhaps destructions of some kind. The earliest phase of the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara should be dated to the reign of Artaxerxes I, although the so-called Phase I of the sanctuary was originally placed under Ahmose II, a suggestion based solely on a mention of the death of the Mother of Apis cow Isetreshti I in 534 BC (cf. Davies 2006, 12; Smith et al. 2011, 4). However, the textual evidence is retrospective and gives this date only on a stela that in fact mentions several bovine deaths and burials which occurred under Darius I mostly, very likely commemorating a relocation of the cows' burial place from Memphis to North Saqqara under Artaxerxes I. See further the discussion in Smith et al. 2011, 15–25.

238 Maybe this title, usually rendered as a lowest rank among the priestly titles, is in fact only a specification of a collective title, known as *w'b m hw.wt ntr.w Jnbw-hd* (*w'b*-priest in the temple of gods of Memphis). This title seems to appear under the Persians at earliest and was held by mid- and upper-level priests later under the last indigenous dynasties and Ptolemies. See von Känel 1984, 102.

239 The exact parallel is, to my knowledge, not attested before. Chevereau (1985, 59) and Hastings (1997, 16, 80–81) read *wr xrp.w Hmw.t* as a direct genitive after *'.t*. Hence, in their opinion, Bakenptah would be in charge of a domain (*pr*) and a chamber (*'.t*) of an HPM, rather than an HPM himself. However, the adjective *'3* ('great') usually referred to a distinguished social status (cf. Wb I, 161–162), inferring that this sentence should be rather understood as an epithet of a HPM, maybe indicating his elevated status in both temple and sacred chamber. Furthermore, as the statuette is dedicated to the

house of Duau preceding over *Šns* (*ḥm-nṯr n pr Dwꜣw ḫntj Šns*). It is not known if he was related to the previous HPMs since little can be said about his social and familial background, although his personal name might be an indication of a family of Memphite priests. Also, the priesthood of Duau, a hawk-like divinity associated with the god Horus venerated in the Heliopolitan region,[240] is rather rare and Bakenptah might have been somehow related to two viziers, Pasherentaihet/Padineith and his grandson Padineith/Pasherentaihet, who were god's servants of Duau too.[241] They lived between the mid-5th and the mid-4th centuries BC and were buried within the lesser chambers of the tomb of the vizier Bakenrenef at Saqqara discussed above.[242] Given that Horiraa (B), son of the former and father of the latter, is not attested with this title,[243] there is a reasonable possibility that Bakenptah could belong to his generation and might have been his relative, perhaps a younger brother, suggesting a transitional period from the late 5th to the early 4th centuries BC for the beginning of his career, i.e. mostly under the short-lived 29th Dynasty (399−380 BC). Indicative of this proposition is also the fact that Horiraa (B) is not attested with the position of the overseer of the city (*jmj-rꜣ njw.t*), that was assigned to his father and later to his son. Instead, as we have seen, the HPM Ankh-Hep is assigned this high civil authority at Memphis, perhaps after Pasherentaihet/Padineith died in the second half of the fifth century BC. If so, a socio-political rivalry between these two families can be inferred, especially since the vizier Pasherentaihet/Padineith might have been a younger contemporary of the HPM Khnumibresaptah, meaning that his career could have started with the reign of Xerxes I.[244]

Bakenptah's activities are unknown, but must be connected to the Apis bulls – at least five bulls are attested buried between 398 BC and perhaps 351 BC[245] – and military preparations during numerous wars with Persians.[246] Although it is unusual for a HPM

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syncretistic god Ptah-Sokar-Tatjenen, this domain and chamber could be referring to their cult place known as Tjenenet, located somewhere at Saqqara (cf. Leahy 1998, 381−387). During the Ptolemaic and Roman eras, several Memphite priests were connected in several capacities to a "hidden chamber (ꜥ.t jmn.t)" of Tjenenet, three of them being the HPMs: Anemhor (B) (289−217 BC; Panov 2017a, 133), Djedhor (267−223 BC; Panov 2017a, 126), and Horemhotep (1st century AD [?]; Panov 2017a, 485). Another possibility is that the sentence is referring to the temple of Ptah and the god's cult-statue chamber.

240 For the cult of the god Duau, see Bresciani et al. 1983, 30−31; LGG VII, 506−507.

241 Bresciani et al. 1983, 30, 57, 65−66. On the other hand, De Meulenaere (2002, 389−390) believed that only Padineith/Pasherentaihet existed and is followed in conclusion most recently by Koch 2019, 134. This topic shall be discussed elsewhere by the present author.

242 For this family, see n. 217.

243 Bresciani et al. 1983, 56−57.

244 For the lack of the viziers under the Persians, see Vittmann 2009, 94−97.

245 Cf. Devauchelle 1994, 106−107; Meyrat 2014a, 306−309; Devauchelle 2017, 97−101.

246 For the historical background, see recently Ruzicka 2012; McKechnie 2018.

to be a military scribe, such a situation could be explained by a generally unstable political situation, constant fear, and militarisation of society.[247] The statuette was probably set up in the temple sometime during the first half of the 4th century BC, given that the temple complex at North Saqqara was massively reconstructed and embellished under Achoris (393–380 BC) of the 29th Dynasty, Nectanebo I (380–362 BC) and his grandson Nectanebo II (360–343 BC) of the 30th Dynasty,[248] but the exact moment shall probably forever remain a mystery. The statuette could have also been buried in the ground during the further reconstructions under the Argead dynasty (332–305 BC), when two Mothers of Apis cows were buried within the site.[249]

Udjashu

Another individual with the title *wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.t* is attested on a number of shabti figurines kept today in several museums (Angers, Musée Pincé MA 4 R 433.19;[250] Munich, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst 616),[251] and private collections worldwide.[252] Apart from his mother's name, Tarudj (*Tꜣ-n.t-rwḏ*), nothing else is known about this individual. Udjashu is usually a female name; the mother of a king, probably Nectanebo II,[253] bears the same name. The shabtis' manufacturing style and size is usually associated with the early Ptolemaic period.[254] If we position Bakenptah mostly under the 29th Dynasty, Udjashu then must have lived during the second part of the 4th century, witnessing major historical events, such as the second Persian period (343–332 BC),[255] the Macedonian rule and the rise of the Ptolemies (323–305 BC).[256]

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247 The 30th Dynasty has been compared to a military junta; cf. Ray 1986, 149.

248 Cf. Smith et al. 2011, 6–7.

249 Cf. Smith et al. 2011, 10.

250 Affholder-Gérard/Cornic 1990, 73.

251 Unpublished; cf. De Meulenaere 1985, 265. Special thanks are due to Sylvia Schoske and Arnulf Schlüter (Munich) for providing me with images of the figurine and additional information.

252 Drouot 11–12.11.2001, slot n° 233; Bonhams 27.04.2006, slot n° 423. See also the listing in *Shabtis de Basse Époque (XXVIe dynastie – période lagide)* (https://www.segweb.ch/index-shabtis [accessed 18 October 2020]).

253 Scholars disagree over her precise position in the 30th Dynasty. De Meulenaere (1963, 92) suggested she was the spouse of Nectanebo I and the mother of the ephemeral king Teos, while Vittmann (1974, 49) argues that the lack of the title *ḥm.t-nsw.t* (king's wife) indicates that she was the spouse of Tjaihepimu, who never ruled as king, and mother of Nectanebo II. Vittmann's suggestion seems more logical at present. On Udjashu, see also Engsheden 2006; Panov 2017c, 27–28, 29; Forgeau 2018, 81–82; Leroy/Devauchelle 2019.

254 Aubert/Aubert 1974, 270.

255 See most recently Colburn 2015.

256 See most recently Thompson 2018.

An epilogue

Two more priestly families associated with the duties of the HPM rose to prominence during the 4th century BC. Three brothers, Wahibremeryptah, Padiheka, and Ankhefensakhmet, were attested as *stm*-priests, probably under the 29th and 30th Dynasties, although the exact dating of their monuments is uncertain.[257] Padiheka is assigned the title *ḥrp šndj.t nb.t* as well. They belonged to a branch of a priestly family that was particularly active and prominent from the 6th to the early 5th centuries BC and claimed the illustrious lineage of Memphite priests for twenty-one generations in the past.[258] Another *stm*-priest was active most likely from the end of the 4th to the beginning of the 3rd centuries BC: Anemhor (A), himself the father of the earliest known Ptolemaic HPM, Nesisti/Padibastet I, who was selected for this duty during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (284–246 BC).[259] We are much better informed about Ptolemaic officeholders as noted before.

Conclusion

Generally speaking, the HPMs rose to office in large part through the support of the king and their political influence was based on a close alliance with the royal house. The officeholder normally either came from a prominent local family with strong links to local temples or was imported from outside on royal command and was never completely immune to the royal decision-making process or independent from royal influence. The relationship was however reciprocal, given that the kings heavily relied on the priestly support and their loyalty at Memphis in securing and legitimising their rule, particularly during the second half of the 1st millennium BC. The good relationship with the Ptah precinct was apparently important for *usurper-kings*, like Ahmose II or the last indigenous rulers of the 29th and 30th dynasties whose power struggles and regicides were a main political feature of the 4th century BC Egypt, and *foreign kings*, like the Persians who were mostly physically absent from the country. Under Kushite rule, however, the political situation was somewhat different, especially bearing in mind that their kings adopted Memphis as their principal residence in Egypt and were crowned there. Also, Kushites embraced and shared Egyptian culture, religion, language and writing system, while retaining ultimate political power-

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257 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 115259; cf. Limme 1985. It is not clear to whom the statue was dedicated, but it seems that it had been at least reinscribed by a son and grandsons, likely of Padiheka later. The inscription on the top of the statue base seems to be a later addition.
258 For the monuments of this family, see De Meulenaere 1989. He dated their activities in the late Saite to the early Persian era, which will be re-evaluated and contested by the present author elsewhere.
259 Cf. Panov 2017a, 157, 170.

base outside Egypt.[260] We cannot necessarily claim that no HPM was active under the 25th Dynasty as comparatively few data are available at Memphis for the same period, while several individuals and their families are known to have adopted a vast majority of the titles, offices and activities associated with the HPM before the Kushite conquest. Therefore, the major importance of the Ptah precinct and its highest priesthood in collective memory of the epoch should be considered as given.

Under the 26th Dynasty, however, overseeing the Ptah precinct quickly had become family politics. Despite the earliest known HPM under Psamtik I, Padipep, most likely belonged to a prominent local priestly family that could be traced back until the late 22nd Dynasty at earliest, his presumed successor and his family went one step further in comparison to their forerunners. The reign of Nekau II, the second king of the dynasty, might mark a turning point in the fortunes for a lineage whose members had been gradually transforming themselves into a local dynasty, amassing substantial political power, income, and prestige as they managed to keep their offices in several generations of the family. Most of their personal names – Nekau-men-(em)-ineb-hedj, Neferibre-men-(em)-ineb-hedj, Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj – reflect a family tradition of royal service and close connections to the royal court. The case of Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj also shows that they were indeed dependent on royal approval, but it is important to note that his family maintained its uppermost status throughout the period of political changes and instability accompanying both the civil war between Wahibre and Ahmose II and the Persian conquest of Egypt. The historicity of the power struggle of the Persian king Darius I and an unnamed HPM may be questionable, but it is a good illustration of *how* the highest among the Ptah priesthood was perceived at the time and in later memory. It is even possible to propose that the HPM was considered a serious political player and the highest local authority under several Persian kings after Darius I, serving as a substitute for the absent foreign rulers. Therefore, the opinion that "the high priest of Memphis had no political power at all" is undeniably misleading.[261]

Furthermore, Memphite priestly community clearly exercised considerable influence on the last dynasties. Even kingship itself had merged with the system of social hierarchy built upon ties of kinship and marriage alliances. Some rulers, such as Psamtik I and Ahmose II of the 26th Dynasty, contracted marriages with established priestly families whose members held cultic titles associated with the HPM. The fact that the marriages took place at all is recognition enough of the priesshood's own status, drawing the royal authority into a more exclusive circle at Memphis. Despite being frequently present and active in Memphis, the general-kings of the 30th Dynasty were reproachfully lectured by Memphite sacerdotal circles in the so-called Demotic

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260 For a short overview of the 25th Dynasty with further references, see Pope 2019.

261 Gorre/Honigman 2013, 108.

Chronicle.[262] Present analysis demonstrates that gaps in our knowledge on the HPM (Tab. 6) most likely represent accidents of preservation and discovery. Indeed, both direct and circumstantial evidence allow us to propose genealogical continuity of the family of Ahmose-men-(em)-ineb-hedj – and the institution of the HPM – up to the end of the 5th century BC, when the rise of similarly influential priestly families might have successfully challenged their authority, strongly inferring that during the later 27th Dynasty they were forced to share their power (Tab. 6). The meagre evidence on the HPM during most of the 5th and the 4th centuries BC at least shows that the HPM were in office and retained its prestige, though the reconstruction of their familial backgrounds and further connections may be overly speculative. The earliest Ptolemaic HPM certainly belongs to the same social milieu.

Tab. 6: The High Priests of Memphis and the ruling kings.

HPM	Reign
?	Piye
?	Shabataka
	Shabaka
	Taharqa
Padipep	Psamtik I
Nekau-men-(em-)ineb-hedj	Nekau II
Hekairaa	Psamtik II
	Wahibre
Neferibre-men-(em-)ineb-hedj	Ahmose II
Ahmose-men-(em-)ineb-hedj / Hekairaa	Ahmose II
	Psamtik III
	Cambyses II
	Darius I
Khnumibresaptah / Nekau	Darius I
	Xerxes I (?)
Ahmose (C)	Artaxerxes I (?)
Ankh-Hep	Artaxerxes I and Darius II (?)
Bakenptah	Dynasty 29
Udjashu	Dynasty 30/early Ptolemaic era

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262 The passages of the so-called Demotic Chronicle (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 215 Ro), a series of prophecies and oracular sayings composed in the second half of the 3rd century BC mixed with allusions to historical and dynastic events during the 4th century BC (cf. Johnson 1974; Devauchelle 1995, 73; Felber 2002, 67–69), are recognised as a treatise on Late Period kingship, i.e. what proper kingship is and how a good king acts (cf. Johnson 1983, 66–71; Gozzoli 2006, 283–290).

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Conclusion

In pre-modern societies, religion and politics intrinsically belong together. Priests are 'professionally' responsible for religion in societies. Therefore, it is evident that religious personnel is systemically involved in political processes.

A goal of the conference and its papers was to question for political influence and decision-making processes by priests (or priestly personal) in practice. The papers of the conference were about to refer to the role of priestly personal in different cultures, at different times, as well as the degrees and design of their influence. One question that has emerged is the comprehensibility of the actual political action of religious personnel, whether through instrumentalization or on their own initiative.

Beyond the general statement, that 'religion', temples and priests were important political factors in pre-modern societies, priestly political action is hard to proof in concrete.

In fact, both Egyptian cases, presented by Sabine Kubisch and Efstathia Dionysopoulou, show examples of priests brought in the core field of political action, in direct relation to and in the environment of the king. Therefore, both cases, the installation of Nebwenenef by Ramesses II and the function of Manetho for Ptolemy III, focus on the significant situation of a newly established ruler.

The case of Nebwenenef and his investiture makes clear the king's political strategy on the religious sphere. The fact that the king personally appointed this office in the course of his own inauguration shows its central political importance, even if the details of the decision-making processes, the involvement of other officials, the role of the other priestly personnel and, last but not least, the practical details of Nebwenenef's tasks remain unclear. Maybe, this question which is of great interest for today's research, had no personal relevance for the office holder at the time and were therefore not documented. Otherwise, this phenomenon could be seen as a principle of priestly practice not to make a political position verifiable.

In the same context in which Ramesses II promoted Nebwenenef to High Priest of Amun, he himself is confirmed by oracle as legitimate pharaoh. This not only shows the political relevance of the high-ranking religious personnel, but also the practical implementation. The king acts here in the role of High Priest at precisely the point where he can influence the outcome of the divine oracle. The king himself assumes this role in this particular sensitive situation in which the High Priest was able to practice his political power. Whether this is due to the fact that the office is not occupied or whether the king deliberately intended this can no longer be decided today.

Manetho as a high-ranking Egyptian priest in the religious administration of Ptolemy III is shown in "functioning as a mouthpiece of Ptolemaic propaganda". E. Dionysopoulou sophistically illustrated the way Manetho constructed the dynastic legitimization of Ptolemy III by a number of chronological, mythical, historical and

motivic synchronisms. They are used in Manetho's 'Egyptian History' to demonstrate and 'prove' the close interrelation between Greek/Macedonian and Egyptian history. Thereby, the Ptolemaic kings were incorporated into the Egyptian history and thus were made to appear as genuine pharaohs, proved by the beginning of a new 'Sothic cycle' with the reign of Ptolemy III who inaugurated a new 'Golden era'. Indeed, the literary construction of Manetho is an expression of Ptolemaic ideology and certainly could be used as an instrument of political argumentation. But first and foremost, it is a literary composition of an Egyptian priest, shaping a certain view on the Egyptian history whereby we don not know who commissioned it. It is not a proof of concrete political action by a priest.

The 'Medieval cases' of the Christian priest John Ball in the paper of Veit Groß and of the Anglo-Saxon missionary Willibrord in the paper of Michel Summer illustrate not only priests in situations of dynamic political development, but also their active participation.

Nevertheless, the foundation of the monastery of Echternach by Willibrord was launched by Pippin II and the pope Sergius II whose political and ecclesiastical ambitions complemented each other with regard to the control of Frisia. Willibrord in Echternach christianized an important conflict region between Charles Martel, the Neustrian elite and the Frisian Radbod, and thus pioneered the Pippinid expansion with the rise of the Carolingians in this region. The Pippinids had to assert themselves against other regional Christian landholders to strengthen the relation to the monastery. Obviously, Willibrord became the core figure in a Carolingian framework of regional Christian landholders besides the Pippinids across Merovingian Austrasia. But it is mainly the benefit of influential court members as Irmina of Oeren who substantially supported the monastery of Echternach by testamentary donations and thus the house of Pippin. Nevertheless, Willibrord used the regional and transregional political situation for clerical benefits. Thus, he can be seen as an instrument of ecclesiastical and royal interests using the political situation of Frisia for the success of his own monastery.

However, the case of Willibrord, although illustrating priestly action in a dynamic field of political development, does not show the self-intended political action. Comparable to the Egyptian examples, we can see central and regional political powers related to the priestly activities and using their economic, social and regional influence. But the priestly political practice itself, so to say: the direct priestly impact on political decision-making processes remain obscure.

The case of John Bull comparibly illustrates the (Christian) priests as mediators, although in a different situation. John Bull was supporting the rebels in the English rising of 1381, and thus took their side politically. Veit Groß demonstrates that this conflicted with both the political central power and the church. Thereby the priests as mouthpiece of the 'common people' became incompatible with the cleric role by the harsh criticism of the actual ecclesiastic and political conditions. John Bull's policy is characterized as priestly misbehaviour, and in consequence, he lost his power as priest. So, on the one hand, the English rising of 1381 illustrates the political activity of

(Christian) priests. On the other hand, their commitment to a clear position in an internal political conflict had directly caused the the loss of their priestly position and power. However, the English uprising stresses a fact hardly visible for antiquity: Different 'priestly' status might have been connected with different social interests and different political ambitions.

The four case studies from Egypt and northern Medieval Europe seem to elucidate some characteristic principles of priestly political activity:

1. The instrumentalization of priestly influence (and the economic, social, and political power resulted from it) by political institutions

This phenomenon explains the extraordinary career of the Hasmonean queen Alexandra in Hellenistic Judaea as shown by Etka Liebowitz. Her support of the Pharisees provided her rule with the necessary religious legitimacy. In a similar way Nenad Marković points out how the Persian Great Kings, in particular Darius I, used the position of the High Priest of Memphis as highest local authority to gain acceptance and control of Egypt as part of the Achaemenid Empire. He illustrates this political instrumentalization by the support of the traditional priestly family of Ahmose-men-(em-)ineb-hedj and by the persistence of its outstanding office. In a comparable way, Mariano Barbato showed how the pilgrimage to Rome became politically charged by the papal coronation of Charlemagne. Thus, the emperor strengthened the priestly position of the pope in Rome.

2. Priests (and temples or other religious institutions) control the regional connectivity

Placed at key positions by the religious center priests are able to build up and hold sway over local and regional networks. Comparable to the foundation of the monastery at Echternach Ahmed Mansour exemplifies the key role of the Late Antique temple of Philae in southern Egypt between the neighboring Meroites, Blemmyes and Noubades. Here the core function of the temple as a religious, economic, and political center becomes evident, with the influential position of the leading priestly families clearly expressed in the inscriptions. Their interaction with the various political institutions is reflected there only in the result, the preceding process is not documented. At the end, the political activity of the Elephantine priests was mainly focused on the economic and cultic situation of the temple. To put it in another way: The political interaction was 'only' for the benefit of the temple to guarantee its position and importance as religious center. Against this background the results of Nenad Marković's paper are ground-breaking: He clearly shows the importance of the High Priest of Memphis under Persian rule in local political affairs, certainly caused by the fact that the ruling pharaoh/Egyptian king in person of the Persian Great King constantly resided far away from Egypt.

3. The function of priests as mediators between different social groups is a result of the network control

Because of their regional networking, priests can act as a "communication tool" in political matters, also on behalf of other groups. This raises two questions: Are priests aware of their influence in political affairs? And if so, do they use it in a political self-interest that goes beyond local matters? Maurits de Leeuw paradigmatically illustrates this specific function of priests as core figure in social and political networks by the example of Daniel the Stylite. Reuven Kiperwasser clearly demonstrated this role for the rabbis of late ancient Roman Palestine. And Etka Liebowitz proved the fact for the relation of the Hasmoneans and the Pharisees, even though queen Alexandra succeeded because of the division of religious and political power affecting a strong support of the Pharisees. Mariano Barbato studied how the upcoming papacy used and controlled pilgrim networks – and in particular a writing travellers' network – to strengthen and define the own position by creating a sacral landscape between the different political groups. Such a "priestly policy" pursued firstly the goal of self-protection of religious personnel as a kind of neutral authority without a fixed political orientation. Secondly, political influence is used to maintain the role of religion in political affairs.

4. The priests can act or asked for as (political) advisors

In ancient Greece this priestly role is illustrated for the oracle sanctuaries of Dodona by Katharina Knäpper and of Delphi by Eleni Krikona, and prominently for the Brahmins in India by Harald Wiese. Knäpper and Wiese convincingly demonstrate the carefully balanced behavior of the priests being involved in political affaires by their advice. In both cases, neutral immunity is guaranteed by their explicitly non-political position, which outlasts political changes.

5. Priests can derive economic benefit for their own institution from political participation

Eleni Krikona (for Delphi), Etka Liebowitz (for the Pharisees), Nenad Marković (for Saitic and Persian Memphis), Ahmed Mansour (for the late-antique Philae temple), Maraino Barbato (for the development of the sacral landscape of the papacy at Rome), Michel Summer (for the Christian monarchy founder Willibrord) showed a priestly involvement in broader political developments with close relation to the dominant political powers mainly for the profit of its own institution – the temple or the monastery. In these cases, religious personnel become politically involved for the economic benefit of the respective institutions. In doing so, they move in the area of tension between a neutral position and political commitment.

In the papers of the volume 'genuine' priests were mostly not described as politicians in action. In rare cases, it could be observed that priests develop political initiatives of their own. In most of the cases described, they acted as 'instruments' of political agents. It is another form of instrumentalization when 'professional' politicians also

held priestly offices. One result of the conference is that religious personnel were involved in political processes inherent in the system, because in pre-modern societies it was not possible to conduct politics without religion. With secularization, both areas are separated and the role of priestly personnel changes accordingly.

The lacking evidence of priests in political practice seems to be symptomatic, because it was of no interest to the political institutions, in particular to monarchs, to document the dependency on priestly persons in their political decisions. Conversely, the priests also had no interest in documenting their political influence, as this could cause them to forfeit their independence and immunity. Even more, they could thereby make themselves vulnerable.

Religious personnel were often involved in political groups, operations and events. Thereby their 'neutrality' is essential for their role as capable, objective and mediating advisors. The 'immunity' of priests is based on their functions for advice, mediation, and transcendental confirmation (even in the sense of legitimization). Therefore, it is not surprising that all papers emphasize one basic principle: Political power of the priests is never pinpointed in its particular practice.

But this is only one aspect of a much larger theme that needs to be explored in more detail across cultures and time.

Index of Names

(Ethnics, toponyms, personal names, and names of Gods)