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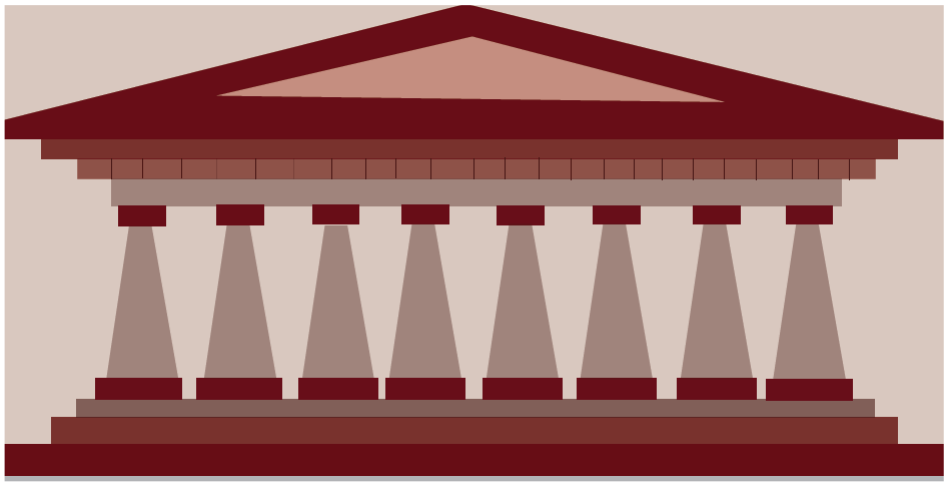

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- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
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Syrian King and Syrian Goddess: Hellenistic Influences on the Ideology and Political Organization of the two Great Sicilian Slave Revolts[1]

*By Nemanja Vujčić**

Sicily, the largest island in the Mediterranean and the ancient point of contact between Africa, Italy, Greece and the Eastern world, witnessed two massive slave uprisings in the 2nd century BC. Together with the later revolt of Spartacus in Italy in the 1st century BC, the movements of Eunus-Antiochus of ca. 140/135-132 BC, and that of Salvius-Tryphon and Athenion of ca. 104-100 BC form the triad of great slave wars such as were never seen in antiquity, before or since. Twice in the same century, during a period of several years, former slaves-built states of their own, states that controlled large portions of the island and exchanged blows with the Roman armies, with surprising success. Our main source, Diodorus of Sicily (books 34/5 and 36, preserved in excerpts and fragments), describes these new political structures as recreations of the Hellenistic kingdoms. This tendency is especially remarkable in the case of the First Slave War when rebel leadership brought about, at least outwardly, a Western replica of the Seleucid monarchy of Syria. Historians of the older generation took notice of these developments, though attempts at deeper analysis were rare. With one significant exception, the newer historiography has either ignored Hellenistic connections of the Sicilian slave revolts, or dismissed them as marginal. This paper argues that Hellenistic elements in the structure of the two ancient slave revolts are both substantial and historically significant. It was partly the case of simple ethnocultural affinity (the core of the rebels, including most of the leadership came from Syria and Asia Minor), but also of great practical necessity that political entities created by the former slaves took on the form of the military monarchy of the kind prevalent in the Hellenistic East.[1]

Two great Sicilian slave revolts of the later 2nd century BC stand clearly apart from the earlier examples of armed slave resistance. This is especially true of their massive size (tens of thousands of armed participants) and duration (several years each), but also of their specific organization and institutional development. In the latter aspect they also differ from anything that came *after* them, including the well-known uprising of Spartacus in Italy in 73-71 BC. Temporarily successful in taking possession of the vast sections of the island, the leaders of slave revolts made concentrated effort to establish organized government and other basic structures of state. However, the states they built or attempted to build were by

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1. A shorter version of this paper was presented at the 22nd ATINER Annual International Conference on History & Archaeology: From Ancient to Modern, held in Athens from June 3–6, 2023.

no means original creations, nor were they inspired by local, Graeco-Sicilian or Italian models. Rather, they were recreations of the political systems most of them were familiar with: Hellenistic kingdoms of the East, especially the Seleucid kingdom. These events offer a rare opportunity to study attempts at state-building on the part of a group of people who were, up to that point, completely marginalized and powerless.

Events and Sources

The basic facts of two slave wars are clear enough. They are supplied mainly by Diodorus of Sicily (ca. 90-20 BC), in books 34/35 (the fragments of two are impossible to disentangle) and 36 of *The Library of History*.[2] These are not preserved in their original form, but mainly in excerpts compiled by later Byzantine scholars.[3] Diodorus himself was relying primarily on the world history of Posidonius of Apamea (ca. 135-51 BC), who was a contemporary of the Second Slave War, though not an eyewitness. The short accounts of the same episodes are preserved in the epitome of Livy, in Florus (himself mostly derivative of Livy) and by Orosius.[4] The second uprising is briefly referred to by Appian of Alexandria; a fragment of Cassius Dio mentions an incident from the same war.[5] Epigraphic texts make but a humble contribution to our understanding of these events,[6] but there is some important numismatic evidence, to be discussed later in this paper.

According to Diodorus, in the aftermath of the Second Punic War, the land and slave owning elite of Sicily enjoyed a period of unprecedented prosperity.

2. D. S. 34/35.2; 36.3-10. There were in antiquity historical *opera* dedicated specifically to the servile wars, like the one written by Caecilius of Caleacte (Ath. 6.272f; *Suda* s.v. Καικίλιος), but are all lost.

3. Jean Christian Dumon, *Servus. Rome et l'esclavage sous la République* (Roma: École française de Rome, 1987), 200-203; Laura Pfuntner, "Reading Diodorus through Photius: The Case of the Sicilian Slave Revolts", *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 55 (2015), 256–272.

4. Liv. *Epit.* 56; Flor. 2.7 (19); Oros. 5.6; 5.9. According to Orosius (5.6), there was a violent eruption of Mt. Etna, an omen of the coming conflict. The same omen is recorded by Julius Obsequens (ch. 26).

5. App. *Mith.* 59; Cass. Dio 27.4 (93).

6. There are a number of inscriptions on sling-shots and similar projectiles, used both by rebels and the Roman soldiers fighting in these wars; for example, those found at Castrogiovanni (C. Zagemeister, *Glandes Plumbae. Latine Inscriptae*, no. 1), the ancient (H)Enna, bearing testimony of the siege that took place there in 133 BC: *L(ucius) Piso L(uci) f(ilius)* | *co(n)s(ul)* (*CIL* I2 847). The so-called *Elogium from Polla* (*CIL* I 551 = *CIL* I2 638), Latin inscription enumerating the deeds of some former *praetor* and *consul* who, among other things, brought back fugitive slaves from Sicily, was for a long time widely believed to refer to the events of the First Sicilian Slave War. The proposed connection with the slave revolt is certainly wrong, see Gerald P. Verbrugghe, "The *Elogium* from Polla and the First Slave War", *Classical Philology* 68, 1 (1973), 25-35.

The revenues from agriculture boomed, in large part due to the availability of multitudes of foreign slaves. These were mostly younger men, brought from the Greek-speaking lands of the Eastern Mediterranean. They found themselves employed in demanding physical work, but were poorly fed and barely provided with other necessities of life. Unsurprisingly, many took to brigandage. Finally, a full-scale revolt erupted on the estate of one Damophilus, an especially cruel and sadistic master, in central Sicily (ca. 140/135 BC?).[7] A band of 400 slaves gathered in the fields near the town of Enna (Ἔννα), elected a Syrian named Eunus as their leader, mostly because of his reputation as a miracle worker and fortune teller. Conspirators entered the town during the night and exacted their revenge on the free population.[8]

The insurrection spread from there, and soon the number of former slaves under arms rose to tens of thousands. The initial neglect by Roman authorities meant that for a while the rebels had only the local praetorial levies to contend with. This enabled them to take control of much of the interior of the island, including several fortified towns. Other groups of slaves revolted elsewhere on the island, the one led by Cleon the Cilician being especially strong, but they chose to combine their efforts with the main movement and subordinated themselves to Eunus. The slave leader, already proclaimed king in Enna, took the Seleucid royal name Antiochus and all the trappings of royal position, including armed guard, for himself and his wife. He organized a court, army and administration, and gave various recognizably Hellenistic military and civilian titles to his subordinates. Eventually, the Roman army appeared in full force, under consul Publius Rupilius, and the rebels' luck ran out (132 BC). Combination of military setbacks and betrayal finally led to death of Cleon and the capture of king Eunus-Antiochus, who would die ignominiously in Roman dungeon.[9]

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7. There are significant uncertainties concerning the initial date of the uprising, consequently too with its duration. The sources are not uniform on this point, and a number of dates between 143 and 134 BC were suggested by early scholars. Since the beginning of the 20th century the year 136/135 BC increasingly gained acceptance. It was adopted in the first edition of *CAH* (Hugh Last, "Tiberius Gracchus", *CAH* IX: *The Roman Republic 133-44 B.C.*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), 12), and already in 1937 V. M. Scramuzza, "Roman Sicily", in: T. Frank (ed.), *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* III (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937), 244 called it "the orthodox view". It was presented as beyond doubt in the standard works on Graeco-Roman slavery of time (William L Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1955), 64; Joseph Vogt, *Sklaverei und Humanität. Studien zur antiken Sklaverei und ihrer Erforschung* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1965), 20), and its acceptance was sealed by Green's influential article (Peter Green, "The First Sicilian Slave War", *Past & Present* 20 (1961), 11, 28-29). In much of the modern literature the opening year of the conflict is given as 136 or 135 BC (as late as this year by Peter Morton, *Slavery and Rebellion in Second-Century BC Sicily. From Bellum Servile to Sicilia Capta* (Edinburgh: University Press, 2024), 1, 15, 19 etc.). This date is one possibility, but nothing more.

8. D. S. 34/35.2.1-14; 34/35.2.24-41.

9. D. S. 34/35.2.15-23; 34/35.2.42-48.

However, slaves from the East would get another chance at freedom and statehood in Sicily. The Second Sicilian Slave War (104 – 101 BC) was stirred up by an outside catalyst. Complaints of an allied king, Nycomedes III of Bithynia, incited Senate to enact a decree that would set free all wrongly enslaved individuals from allied states. Under the authority of this decree, the *propraetor* of Sicily, Licinius Nerva, freed some eight hundred slaves. Alarmed by this activity, the slave owners of Sicily demanded a meeting with *propraetor*, where they made him desist, either by bribes or threats. But news of the decree have already spread throughout the island, distorted and magnified in scope by rumors (what if Senate ordered the manumission of *all* slaves?). The realization that no further individuals would be set free led to bitter disappointment that swiftly turned into violence. Rebellion broke out at several points throughout the island. Governor Nerva managed to defeat one armed group in the west of the island, but then hesitated to move against the other, inaction that provided much-needed encouragement to the rebels.[10]

As in the previous war, there was a strong central movement, around which other rebel groups rallied. This time too there was an assembly that elected a king, a man called Salvius, who also took an ideologically charged name – Tryphon. The other slave leader, named Athenion (interestingly, another Cilician, like Cleon) took the royal title as well, but soon subordinated himself to Salvius-Tryphon. Once again, the new king established a court (and even built a palace, in a place called Triocala), organized an army and administration and awarded his followers with ranks and titles. The Roman reaction was faster this time around, but in spite of some early defeats (one already in 103 BC), the rebels managed to hold out for several more years. In the end, Athenion, now the sole leader of the rebels (Tryphon was already dead, we are not told how or when), fell in combat in the final, desperate battle. The last remaining group of rebels choose suicide, rather than death in the arena.[11]

Although there are a number of problems with these accounts (the impossible claim that most slaves were shepherds, or that most of the landowners in the 2nd century BC were Roman equestrians, who controlled the courts, the unlikely size of the rebel army etc.),[12] their basic points are corroborated by minor sources and, on the whole, there is little reason to doubt the main outline of events as provided by Diodorus.[13]

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10. D. S. 36.3.1-4.2.

11. D. S. 36.4.3-10.3.

12. See G. P. Verbrugghe, "Sicily 210-70 BC: Livy, Cicero and Diodorus", *Transaction and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 103 (1972), 535-559 for analysis of various problems with the Diodorus' description of socio-economic development of the island in the 2nd century BC.

13. This is the long-standing and current consensus. A recent outlying opinion is offered by Peter Morton, *Slavery and Rebellion*. His position is one of great skepticism regarding the value of Diodorus and other narrative sources: the claim is that stories told by these authors are bordering on fictional, and that two Sicilian wars of 2nd century BC

An Overview of Historiography

Many scholars observed that these short-lived polities, created by former slaves in Sicily, incorporated at least some elements inspired by Hellenistic monarchies. Few went beyond basic remarks, but most of them did view this aspect as an important one. Such was already the opinion of the 19th century historians. Of the leader of the Second slave war, Isidoro la Lumia said: "I suoi l'onoravano col nome di Trifone, portato da un recente usurpatore del trono di Siria, amando anche adesso, in opposizione di Roma, le turbe servilli rivolger la mente a quelle monarchie dell'Asia."[14] Karl Julius Beloch expressed the view that the "ersten sicilischen Sklavenkrieg" was of the "national-syrischen Charakter".[15] Similarly, John Pentland Mahaffy maintained that "the whole insurrection was therefore in the hands of Syrians and Cilicians, old subjects of the Seleucids, who sought to establish a sovranty and royal style in Sicily".[16]

Some historians even asserted that especially the earlier state, that of Eunus-Antiochus, was in fact, a Western recreation of the Seleucid kingdom. Among these are some of the most recognizable names of classical scholarship in the 20th century. "The most striking fact about Eunus-Antiochus is that, beyond any doubt, he modelled his kingship in detail on the Seleucid monarchy he had known in Syria…" wrote Peter Green.[17] Joseph Vogt was of the following opinion: "Die seleukidische Prägung dieser Monarchie wird vollends klar durch die Nachricht: 'Eunus nannte sich selbst Antiochos, das Volk der Aufständischen nannte er

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are not slave revolts at all, but a kind of Sicilian nationalist liberation movements. Regrettably, these and other extraordinary claims are not supported by equally extraordinary evidence: his methodology leaves much to be desired. Morton held similar views for a long time, see "Eunus: the Cowardly King", *Classical Quarterly* 63, 1 (2013), 252.

14. Isidoro la Lumia, *I Romani e le guerre servili in Sicilia* (Roma, Torino, Firenze: Ermanno Loesher, 1874), 124.

15. Karl J. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (Leipzig; Verlag von Duncker & Humbolt, 1886), 245.

16. John P. Mahaffy, "The Slave Wars against Rome", *Hermathena* 7, 16 (1890), 169. Other older works on the topic, now mostly outdated, include Georg Rathke, *De Romanorum bellis servilibus: capita selecta* (Berlin: Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität, 1904); Friedrich Münzer, *RE* XI (1907), sv. *Eunus*, 1143-1145; Emanuele Ciaceri, "Roma e le guerre servili in Sicilia", *Processi politici e relazioni internazionali. Studi sulla storia politica e sulla tradizione letteraria della repubblica e dell'impero* (1918), 55-89; V. M. Scramuzza, "Roman Sicily", 240-248; William L. Westermann, "Slave Maintenance and Slave Revolts", *Classical Philology* 40, 1 (1945), 8-9; Hugh Last, "Tiberius Gracchus", in: S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, M. P. Charlesworth (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History* IX: *The Roman Republic 133-44 B.C.* (Cambridge: University Press, 1951), 11-16; id., "The Wars of the Age of Marius", in: *ibid*, 153-157; William L Westermann, *The Slave Systems*, 64-66.

17. Peter Green, "The First Sicilian Slave War", 20.

Syrer' (Diod. 34, 2, 24)".[18] He furthermore thought that "In Ganzen freilich stellt sich die Staatsgründung des Eunus als ein in den Westen verpflanztes seleukidisches Herrschaftsgebilde dar."[19] In Arnold Toynbee's view, "the insurgents' policy was the positive one of establishing a replica of the Seleucid Monarchy on Sicilian soil."[20] Moses Finley went so far as to claim that rebel king "set about creating a carbon-copy of the Seleucid monarchy", and also that Hellenistic elements in the emerging state cannot be "dismissed as mad farce."[21] As to the rebels' aim, he concluded: "They were to liberate themselves and to take revenge, and then they expected to live as free men in the only kind of world they knew."[22] That is, the world of Hellenistic monarchies.

However, the discussion was terminated suddenly and unceremoniously in 1980s by Keith Bradley who insisted that two slave movements in Sicily were not and could not have been states at all, Hellenistic or other. He dedicated a paper to this argument,[23] but similar views were repeated in his well-known book on slave revolts in the Roman world.[24] Relying on a variant of the Marxist theory of revolution, he argued that: 1) to create a new state a complete social revolution is necessary; but 2) to have a slave revolution, an anti-slavery ideology is needed, and such did not exist; and, furthermore 3) to successfully establish a new state in Sicily, the sanction and cooperation of the Roman state and Sicilian landowners was yet another necessity, and this they could never hope to get. Since the said elements were lacking, the slave kingdoms of Sicily were not states.

Each of these points is highly problematic; they approach the problem from a very rigid and formalistic angle. Basic facts clearly show that revolution is not necessary to create a new state, least of all in antiquity when most new political entities came to be as a result of conquests, secessions or uprisings. At precisely the same time when the First Sicilian Slave War was raging, the Hasmonean kingdom was being created in Palestine. Not long before that, the Middle Euphrates region saw the birth of the kingdom of Commagene. Parthian and Bactrian monarchies, the two most important Eastern Hellenistic states, were formed barely a century prior, through secession and seizure of the Seleucid territories. None of these polities emerged as a result of a social revolution. The second point

18. Joseph Vogt, *Sklaverei und Humanität*, 30. English translation: *Ancient Slavery and the Ideal of Man* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1975).

19. *Ibid,* 31.

20. Arnold J. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy: The Hannibalic War's Effect on Roman Life* II*: Rome and Her Neighbours after Hannibal's Exit* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 325.

21. Moses I. Finley, *Ancient Sicily* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1979), 141.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Keith R. Bradley, "Slave Kingdoms and Slave Rebellions In Ancient Sicily", *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques*, 10, 3 (1983), 435-451.

24. Keith R. Bradley, *Slavery and Rebellion in the Roman World, 140 B.C. – 70 B.C.* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, London: B. T. Batsford LTD, 1989), 103-104, 116-126.

is equally redundant; the rebels did not aim at a complete social revolution or liberation of all slaves. Thus, there was no anti-slavery ideology and none was needed. The third one is the most peculiar of all, and I confess that I am not quite sure where Bradley was going with it. A state created through an uprising against Rome would not be recognized by the Romans (save in the unlikely case of complete military triumph on the part of the rebels) – that stands to reason – but what of it? The whole argument clearly shows many inadequacies of Marxist theory when applied to the ancient world.[25]

Furthermore, according to Bradley, there was little to these events but a violent and chaotic the day-to-day struggle for survival, a struggle that was doomed to end in failure. Whatever power structures they put in place were supposedly temporary and in direct service of the said struggle. Hellenistic elements were therefore irrelevant, as there was no real substance to any seemingly institutional or state-building aspects of the revolts. "The servile monarchical regimes, then, were not an end in themselves but a means to an end: the preservation of the slaves' tenuously held freedom acquired by acts of revolt and flight."[26] Rather than attempts to create Hellenistic-style kingdoms, free from Roman involvement, the slave wars should be seen as "maroon-style resistance" movements (!), products of "the slave rebels' determination to extricate themselves from slavery without necessarily challenging the established order of society."[27] It was really about flight, not fight: former slaves were allegedly so preoccupied with day to day practicalities of mere survival, that they failed to create any permanent structures, institutions or even meaningful plan for the future. "Insofar as the latter contained a political framework, it was grounded in the practical base of furthering rebellion, not in that of establishing slave states as states of permanent, or even temporary duration."[28]

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25. Bradley relied heavily on G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 1981) for many fundamental concepts, including the very definition of slave society (cf. 146, n. 3; 147, n. 8; 148, n. 10-12 etc.).

26. *Ibid*., 120.

27. *Ibid.*, 122. Elsewhere in his works, Bradley achieved much using historical analogies, but in this case he over-relied on them, utilizing early modern evidence not to supplement, but rather to counter and nullify the testimony of ancient authors. For example, the Haitian Revolution was true revolution, i.e. it had a proper anti-slavery ideology and it aimed at abolition of slavery, so it could not, in his opinion, offer any useful analogy to slave revolts of the ancient world. But if this large-scale revolt on Haiti is discarded, what is left? The fugitive slave communities (maroons) in the Caribbean, Suriname and Brazil. But these were not states (at least according to Bradley, the assertion is debatable), so the kingdom of Eunus could not have been one as well. Again, this line of reasoning is thoroughly unconvincing. The massive and militant slave movements in Sicily were nothing like small, isolated groups of runaway slaves in the jungles of Suriname, the analogy being completely invalid. Even Bradley concedes that once we take into account the difference in size, "the parallel breaks down": id., "Slave Kingdoms and Slave Rebellions", 450.

28. *Ibid*.

In spite of many issues with his conclusions, Bradley's influence was strong and lasting.[29] Most scholars, especially in English-speaking countries, decided to follow him. In the second edition of *CAH* IX Hellenistic influences on the Sicilian slave movements are ignored altogether.[30] Theresa Urbainczyk, while strongly disagreeing with Bradley's dictum that rebels had no concepts and ideas of their own, accepts his view that they were completely consumed by the struggle for survival.[31] The Seleucid aspects are barely considered, apart from the new names of the leaders, which are dismissed as oddities.[32] Andreu and Descat's standard work on Greek and Roman slavery mentions them only in passing.[33] Likewise, in Peter Hunt's monograph on ancient slavery, they are barely recognized, and that only in the context of slaves' traditions and identity, without considering the possible aspirations at statehood.[34] On the other side of the barrier, the newer scholarly literature on Seleucid Empire rarely discusses or mentions slave kingdoms in Sicily.[35]

The only significant dissenting voice of late was that of David Engels, who argued that Seleucid aspects were of great, perhaps even central importance for understanding the character of the kingdom of Eunus. However, he is less inclined to explain these as a consequence of the Eastern background of the rebel leaders (though this is duly acknowledged), and more as a deliberate ideological challenge directed against the Romans. But this, in turn, demands an assumption that even in the second half of the 2nd century BC, the Seleucids were still widely seen as important antagonists of Rome.[36]

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29. Bradley still held the same views in 2011, see id., "Resisting Slavery at Rome", in: K. Bradley, P. Cartledge, *The Cambridge World History of Slavery* I: *The Ancient Mediterranean* (Cambridge: University Press, 2011), 365-366.

30. Andrew Lintott, "The Roman Empire and Its Problems in the Late Second Century", in: J. A. Crook, A. Lintott, E. Rawson (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History* IX2: *The Last Age of the Roman Republic 146-43 B.C.* (Cambridge: University Press, 1992), 25-27.

31. Theresa Urbainczyk, *Slave Revolts in Antiquity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 32-37. To ascertain the intentions of the rebels, Urbainczyk introduces a number of hypotheses, including the one that they may actually have been revolutionaries in the modern sense, revolutionaries who were (or would be, given time and opportunity) aiming at the abolition of slavery.

32. Cf. ibid. 56: "It seems rather curious that he [Eunus] changed his name…" On p. 58 we read suggestion that Tryphon and Antiochus may have been their real names as free persons (!), thus no Seleucid connection needs to be evoked.

33. J. Andreau, R. Descat, *The Slave in Greece and Rome* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press), 2011, 145-146.

34. Peter Hunt, *Ancient Greek and Roman Slavery* (Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2018), 167.

35. It was acknowledged as important by Susan Sherwin-White, Amélie Kuhrt, *From Samarkand to Sardis: A New Approach to Seleucid Empire* (Berkley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 138.

36. David Engels, "Ein syrisches Sizilien? Seleukidische Aspekte des Ersten Sizilischen Sklavenkriegs und der Herrschaft des Eunus-Antiochos", *Polifemo* (2011), 231-251; id.

Elements of Hellenistic Statehood

Rather than seeing the actions of the rebels as chaotic or guided by the most ephemeral needs and goals, we should acknowledge that there was a clear element of planning and strategy to them. The uprising on the estate of Damophilus was conceived beforehand and executed with great speed and efficiency.[37] Already during the first day of the revolt, after the fall of Enna, the rebels created core structures of power: an assembly was held, to pass judgment on the captured slave-owners, but also to elect a king who would proceed to organize the army.[38] Of course, Bradley was certainly correct in thinking that the former slaves desired above all to remain free and out of the Roman grasp – permanently if possible. But, to achieve this, they need a large and orderly army, with a background system that would provide for its supply, training and armament. To have this they in turn required a minimum of order, control, administration and justice on the territories in their possession. The only mode of human organization that could possibly provide any of the above was, of course, a state, with its clear hierarchy of power. And when they set about to create a state of their own, they showed a natural tendency to emulate the titles, institutions and practices of their Eastern Mediterranean homeland.

The following points testify to Hellenistic (and more specifically Seleucid) influences on both ideology and practical side of two Sicilian slave kingdoms:

1. Eastern (Syrian, Cilician and Achaean) ethnic background of the rebel leaders (D. S. 34/35.2.5, 16, 21; 34/35.7.8; 36.5.1; Liv. *Epit.* 56; Flor. 2.7.4, 2.7.9; Cass. Dio 27.4 (93)).
2. Greek royal title (βασιλεύς), as attested by Posidonius/Diodorus (D. S. 34/35.2.14, 22, 24, 42; 36.5.2; 36.7.1; 36.10.1; cf. Cass. Dio 27.4 (93)) and the official coins (see below).
3. Election of rulers by popular assembly (D. S. 34/35.2.14, 41; 36.2.4; cf. 34/35.2.15: συναγαγὼν ἐκκλησίαν).
4. Royal Seleucid names (Antiochus, Tryphon) leaders choose for themselves (D. S. 34/35.2.24, 42).
5. Hellenistic royal trappings and insignia (D. S. 34/35.2.15; 36.2.4; Flor. 2.7.6; 2.7.10).
6. A royal residence with a Hellenistic style court, including bodyguards, servants, cooks, bakers, a masseur, a jester and other personnel (D. S. 34/35.2.22; 36.7.2-3).

Benefactors, Kings, Rulers. Studies on the Seleukid Empire between East and West (Leuven, Paris, Bristol: Peeters, 2017), 385-408.

37. D. S. 34/35.2.10-11.

38. D. S. 34/35.2.14-15.

7. Hellenistic military and administrative hierarchy, as evident by the titles involved (σύνεδρος, στρατηγός, σύμβουλος: D. S. 34/35.2.17, 42; 36.7.2, 4).
8. Royal council (βασιλικόν συνέδριον: D. S. 34/35.2.16).
9. The rebel host was organized as a royal army, led by the king himself (D. S. 34/35.2.46; 36.8.2-4).
10. The divine protection, claimed by the new rulers, of a deity that was amalgam of Syrian, Greek and local Sicilian traditions (D. S. 34/35.2.7, 10).
11. Official royal mint and coinage (see below).

Now, in the case of absence of other elements, points 2 and 3 could have been easily explained away as products of local, Graeco-Sicilian political traditions. But with wider context in mind, 2 and 3 fit well with 1 and 4-11 to present a strong evidence for the specific kind of political organization former slaves were trying to build.

Despite some modern detractors,[39] there is no reason to doubt that ethnic and cultural background of the rebel leaderships is of the highest significance. In what sense is the word "Syrian" (Σύρος, *Syrus*) used in this context? In the 1st century BC, the time when Posidonius (and Diodorus) wrote, it could have one or more of the following meanings: a subject of the Seleucid Empire ("Syria"), the resident of Syria as a geographical region, or an ethnic Syrian who used one of the local Semitic dialects as their first language (similarly to the author of *De Dea Syria*). Terms like "Syria" or "Kingdom of Syria" were never the official designation of the Seleucid state, though by the late Hellenistic period they were the most common terms in colloquial and literary usage.[40] This was, at least partly, due to the kingdom's changing geographical realities. After the death and defeat of Antiochus VII Sidetes in the 129 BC, the former Empire of Asia shrank so much that its territory included little beside northern Syria.[41]

There is ample evidence that the western slave markets were flooded by eastern slaves by the middle 2nd century BC.[42] The Sixth Syrian War (170-168) was fought a generation ago, but, more recently, much of the rule of Demetrius I Soter (162-150) was spent on fighting local uprisings and a full-scale civil war in its final years. This is even more true of the reigns of Alexander Balas (150-145), Diodotus Tryphon (144-138) and Demetrius II (145-138), who exhausted themselves in a

39. Gerald P. Verbrugghe, "Slave Rebellion or Sicily in Revolt?", *Kokalos* 20 (1974), 50-51; T. Urbainczyk, *op. cit.*, 56.

40. So, for example, D. S. 34/35.28.3 describes Alexander II Zabinas as βασιλεύς τῆς Συρίας; for Str. 16.2.10 the Seleucid state is βασιλεία τῶν Σύρων etc. See Peter Hermann, "Milesier am Seleukidenhof. Prosopographische Beiträge zur Geschichte Milets im 2. Jhdt. v. Chr.", *Chiron* 17 (1987), 183-190.

41. On intricacies and development of Syrian and Graeco-Syrian identity in the later Hellenistic period, see: Nathanael J. Andrade, *Syrian Identity in Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge: University Press, 2013), 39-55, 63-64, 67-69, 94-112, 119-121.

42. J. C. Dumon, *Servus. Rome et l'esclavage*, 217-219.

series of bitter civil wars, exactly at the time when the Parthian advance in Iran was gaining momentum. During the First Slave War the Seleucid throne was held by Antiochus VII Sidetes (138-129) who would eliminate Tryphon after a prolonged struggle, force the Judean rebels to sue for peace, and inflict several defeats on the Parthians, before losing his own life in battle. In other words, the great Seleucid Empire was imploding, beset by dynastic strife, secession of various regions, Parthian encroachment and general instability.[43] From ca. 160 BC it saw almost constant warfare, much of it internal, which provided foreign slave markets with a steady supply of recently enslaved individuals. Other major conflicts in the Eastern Mediterranean at the same time, such as the Fourth Macedonian (149-148) and the Achaean War (146), helped strengthen the unfortunate tendency, as did rising brigandage and piracy.

This does not mean that the majority of Sicilian slaves at the time were "Syrians", as is sometimes assumed,[44] but they definitely were a large group, indeed numerous enough to form a leading element among the insurgents. What little we know regarding the persons involved seems to confirm this conclusion. We are informed about six rebel leaders in the case of the First war. Three of them are Syrians (Eunus, Εὔνους, his unnamed queen, and a commander called Sarapon, Σαραπίων, who would betray Tauromenium to the Romans), two Cilicians (Cleon, Κλέων, and his brother Comanus, Κομανός), and an Achaeus (Ἀχαιός) from Peloponnese.[45] As to the Second War, the situation is much less clear. The leader has a Latin sounding name (Σάλουιος = Salvius), but we are again unsure if this was his actual name or maybe a Roman translation of it.[46] His second in command, Athenion (Αθηνίων), was a Cilician by birth. The third leader was a certain Satyrus (Σάτυρος), the commander of the last rebel group to surrender, of whose origin we are told nothing.[47]

Eunus, born in Apamea in the first half of the 2nd century BC, a worshiper of the Syrian Goddess of Hierapolis (Bambyce or Manbug), was certainly a Syrian in the first two senses, and perhaps also in the third; the Greek name Εὔνους proves little one way or the other, and it may even not have been his birth name, as is

43. Imperial crisis and downfall is the recurring phenomenon in the history of the Near East and Mediterranean, see Nuno Valério, "Empires in the Near East and Mediterranean Regions: Steps towards Globalization?", *Athens Journal of History* 4, 2 (2018), 69-80.

44. Though this is exactly how D. S. 34/35.7.8 refers to them, as the "runaway Syrians" (οἱ Σύροι δραπέται); also in 34.35.2.24: "the king of the rebels, Eunus, called himself Antiochus, and mass of the rebels the Syrians" (ὁ τῶν ἀποστατῶν βασιλεὺς Εὔνους ἑαυτὸν μὲν Ἀντίοχον, Σύρους δὲ τῶν ἀποστατῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπωνόμασεν). That Syrians were actual majority of slaves is of course not impossible, but such claim would require strong corroboration outside Posidonius and Diodorus.

45. D. S. 34/35.2.15-17, 20, 43

46. As suggested by Giacomo Manganaro, "Monete e ghiande inscritte degli schiavi ribelli in Sicilia", *Chiron* 12 (1982), 241; accepted by D. Engels, *Benefactors, Kings, Rulers*, 401.

47. D. S. 36.4, 5, 7, 10.

often the case with Roman slaves.[48] There is much speculation in modern literature regarding his background, including assumptions about the circumstances under which he was enslaved, his social status and possible military experience.[49] If Eunus had any prior military experience, this is omitted by our sources, who speak of him mainly as a holy man and a miracle worker. As to his military faculty as the rebel leader, Diodorus' information is contradictory. He initially denies any masculine courage (ἀνδρεία) or generalship (στρατηγία) on the part of Eunus,[50] only to claim later that slave king was bold and capable enough to challenge and defeat Roman leaders in open battles.[51]

A royal council (βασιλικόν συνέδριον), filled with close associates of the ruler, is one of the most common institutions of any Hellenistic monarchy. It is no surprise that one was immediately set up by Eunus, to act as a central government body of the new kingdom. We read that the king "appointed to the royal council those who seem to be singled out by their intelligence" (βασίλισσαν ἀποδείξας συνέδρους τε τοὺς συνέσει δοκοῦντας διαφέρειν ποιησάνεμος). Among this was one Achaeus, "a man distinguished by both words and deeds" (ἀνὴρ καὶ βουλῇ καὶ χειρὶ δαιφέρων).[52] The honest and critical speech was not censured but encouraged in the council.[53] Similar story is told of the Second uprising.[54]

Royal attire and other symbols of status and power that we would expect of a Hellenistic king are there. Eunus wore a diadem (διάδημα) "and everything else that was becoming for himself as a king" (καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄλλα τὰ περὶ αὑτον βασιλικῶς).[55] Florus notes that Eunus adored himself with "the insignia of royalty".[56] In the later uprising, Salvius took whatever was customary to designate the dignity of a king – presumably, a diadem, a ring and a scepter, among other things.[57] But, in this case, there is also a noticeable Roman influence. Salvius appeared in a robe with a red-dyed strip along its border (a *toga praetexta*?), and even employed lictors (ῥαβδοῦχοι) when holding court.[58] He dedicated a similar item of clothing to the local Sicilian heroes, the *Palici* (Παλικοί).[59] Likewise, Athenion wore a crown, a silver scepter (*baculum argenteum*), and a purple robe (*vestis purpurea*).[60]

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48. That said, this personal name is attested in Syria, even in Hierapolis-Bambyce itself, see for example *IGLS* I 244.

49. Cf. D. Engels, *op. cit.*, 388-391.

50. D. S. 34/35.2.14

51. D. S. 34/35.2.16.

52. *Ibid.*

53. D. S. 34/35.2.42.

54. D.S. 36.7.4.

55. D. S. 34/35.2.16.

56. Flor. 2.7.6.

57. D. S. 36.7.4.

58. *Ibid.*

59. D. S. 36.7.1. The self-proclaimed king and liberator of slaves in Campania, Titus Vettius (or Minucius) also assumed a royal title (ca. 105 BC), and wore a similar Hellenistic-

The royal names of the rebel leaders are equally striking. The name "Antiochus" (Ἀντίοχος), taken by Eunus, is one of the obvious and direct Seleucid associations; it is one of the two most highly regarded and frequent Seleucid dynastic names. Perhaps this is enough to explain the choice: the rebel leader decided on a name that stood for royalty and power in his homeland. That he, however, decided for Antiochus instead, for example, Alexander or Seleucus, could be significant. Assuming that the uprising began in ca. 138 BC or later, the current Seleucid ruler was Antiochus VII Sidetes (138-129), under whom the Kingdom of Syria experienced a considerable resurgence. This restoration was to be ephemeral and would end in disaster, of course, but contemporaries, including rebels in Sicily, could not have known this. On the other hand, the intention might have been to remind the Romans and others of Antiochus III the Great (223-187), one of the most successful Seleucid rulers, whose conquests and power caused, for a time, much consternation in Rome. It is true that Antiochus III was ultimately defeated by Romans and their allies, but even so his name could still serve as an anti-Roman rallying cry half a century later.[61]

A somewhat more puzzling choice is the name "Tryphon", taken by Salvius in 104 BC. It too has clear and strong Hellenistic associations and, on its own, presents a solid argument in favor of the assumption that Salvius was another Syrian. The word Τρύφων ("Opulent"), coming from the verb τρυφάω ("to live luxuriously") and noun τρυφή ("opulence", "luxury", "delicacy" etc.), invokes material wealth and abundance, but also negative attributes of softness and even wantonness.[62] The only Syrian ruler with such name was the usurper Diodotus Tryphon (142-138/7).[63] Given his erratic career and brief reign that ended in total defeat and execution (or suicide), this might seem as a strange choice. However, a life story like his, that of a self-made man who rose from humble (perhaps servile) origins to become, first a general, then a king, could hold an immense appeal for someone like Salvius, a leader of runaway slaves, who endeavored to build a kingdom out of nothing. Diodotus Tryphon famously embraced the fact that he had no dynastic legitimacy, on his coins he styled himself as "king Tryphon, the absolute ruler" (βασιλεύς Τρύφων αὐτοκράτωρ).[64] The position of Salvius was similar, his right to rule lacking dynastic foundation.

Roman mixture of trappings of power: a diadem (διάδημα) and a purple cloak (περιβόλαιον πορφυροῦν), with lictors (ῥαβδοῦχοι) in his entourage (D. S. 36.2.4).

60. Flor. 2.7.10.

61. Cf. A. J. Toynbee, *op. cit.*, 325.

62. Henry G. Liddel, Robert Scott, Henry S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 1831, sv. τρυφάω, τρυφή.

63. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes (170-163, 145-132, 127-116) also used the name Tryphon. But the Syrian background of many rebels, as well as the extremely negative reputation this king left behind him, exclude any reasonable connection.

64. Oliver D. Hoover, *Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Collection of Arthur Houghton* (American Numismatic Society: New York, 2007), 100-101; Kay Ehling, *Untersuchungen*

As to details of the organization of the rebel armies, not much is known, and what we do have is rather general and vague: we see rebels build fortified camps, conduct raids and scouting operations, fight and often win large scale battles in the open.[65] Once again, assumptions have to be made and here the origin of the many slaves is a fact of the highest importance. Large numbers were not only born as free, but were actually former soldiers, a few even military leaders, sold into slavery. While their weaponry and other equipment were entirely dependent on whatever could be captured or produced locally,[66] their organization and tactics must have been based on their previous knowledge and experience. Thus, while unproven, a hypothesis that rebel force was to a significant level modeled on the Seleucid and other Hellenistic armies, is not unlikely.

A serious military organization, led by people with significant military experience (it is not crucial whether Eunus and Salvius themselves had any), goes a long way to explain the early victories of the rebels, as well as the high cost in time and manpower necessary for the Romans to quell the two uprisings. However, one prominent, highly technical and expensive type of Hellenistic (and Roman) warfare seems not to be especially developed among the Sicilian rebels: siege warfare. All the strongholds rebels captured, fell due to total surprise or their own unpreparedness, usually during a night attack.[67] Whenever a fortified settlement was ready to defend itself, the rebels' efforts would prove futile, and this greatly frustrated their attempts to take control of the whole island.[68]

The Royal Coinage

Uprisings of any kind seldom leave recognizable trace in the archaeological record. Slave revolts rarely last long enough or provide conditions sufficiently stable to allow creation of a distinct material culture. What little there is often goes

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zur Geschichte der späten Seleukiden (164-63 v. Chr.) (Franz Steiner Verlag: Stuttgart, 2008), 180; Boris Chrubasik, *Kings and Usurpers in the Seleukid Empire. The Men who would be King* (Oxford: University Press, 2016), 139-140.

65. D. S. 34/35.2.18-20.

66. Cf. D. S. 34/35.2.15-16.

67. This was the case with Enna (D. S. 34/35.2.11), Acragas (34/35.2.43) and Tauromenium (retaken by the Romans only after difficult siege, 34/35.2.20-21) in the First war. Probably too with Triocala in the Second (36.7.2-3). The neglect by some local communities to properly maintain their walls might have been a contributing factor (34/35.2.45).

68. The unnamed city in D. S. 34/35.2.44-46 successfully resisted Eunus' army. The fragment in 34/35.9 (sacrilege committed by some people against sacred fish in the pools of Arethusa) is sometimes taken as a proof that rebels made a failed attempt against Syracuse. With no clear context to place the fragment in, this remains entirely hypothetical. Similarly, in the Second War, Morgantina resisted Salvius (36.4.5-8) and Lilybaeum fended off repeated attempts by Athenion (36.5.3)

unrecognized as created or used by former slaves, or connected with them. Now, the same is mostly true of two Sicilian revolts as well – so far as we know, no buildings, monuments or works of art made or dedicated by the rebels have survived.[69] The short inscriptions on sling-shots are material artifacts of a sort, but they do not tell us very much, apart from the locations where battles took place and the names of the gods combatants were invoking.[70] However, there are a number of bronze coins minted by or in the name of Eunus-Antiochus.

The existing sample of these is by no means large, there are less than twenty known coins, all bronze, most of them currently hidden away in various private collections, and inaccessible to scholars. For almost all of them it can be reliably claimed that they originate in Sicily in the 2nd century BC, though exact provenance is often uncertain. A common thread that links them is the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ* ("of king Antiochus") on the reverse, with words displayed in full or, more commonly, in one of several abbreviated forms (*ΒΑΣΙ ΑΝΤΙ*, *ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΑΝΤΙΟΧ*, *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ ΑΝΤΙ* etc.). This Sicilian king Antiochus can be no other than the slave king Eunus-Antiochus of our written sources. So far, there are no known coins of kings Salvius and Athenion.[71]

That these issues had little or no economic importance should be obvious. They are exclusively bronze – to mint in silver or gold was likely out of the rebels' reach[72] – struck in small quantities, while the overall quality is hardly impressive.

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69. This is not to say they never existed at all. See, for example, the dedication of articles of clothing made by Salvius before proclaiming himself a king (D. S. 36.7.1).

70. For example: *IG* XIV, 2047, 2 (Leontini): Ἀρτέμιδος; 2047, 3a (Panormus): νίκη Διὸς κερυνίου; 2047, 5a (Enna): Ἡρακλέος νίκη; 2047, 6 (also Enna): Κόρ[ας]; 2047, 7c: Νίκη Μητέρων (Leontini) etc.

71. Edward S. G. Robinson, "Antiochus, the king of slaves", *The Numismatic Chronicle* 20 (1920), 175-176; Alfredo de Agostino, "Le monete di Henna", *Bolletino storico catanese* 4 (1939), 85-86; Giacomo Manganaro, "Monete e ghiande inscritte degli schiavi ribelli in Sicilia", *Chiron* 12 (1982), 237-239; id., "Due studi di numismatica greca", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 3/20, 2-3 (1990), 418; D. Engels, *op. cit.*, 399-400. The most extensive recent treatment of these coins in English is P. Morton, *Slavery and Rebellion*, 22-67; however, the interpretation offered is highly arbitrary, and one is advised to approach his conclusions with caution.

72. There are two gold coins, found in Sicily, that are occasionally introduced into this debate, as possible coins of the Sicilian slave kings (so, for example Harlan J. Berk, Simon Bendell, "Eunus /Antiochus: Slave Revolt in Sicily", *The Celator* 8, 2 (1994), 7-8). As far as I can see, there is no substance to this claim. Apart from a strong possibility that these are counterfeit (the workmanship is of low quality), the images they carry (a male head with a crown on the obverse, standing Nike / seated solder on the reverse) are not very similar to those on the issues of king Eunus-Antiochus. The legend on the reverse reads *ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΕΙΟΝ* and *ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ* respectively; the accusative and nominative case of the king's (?) name make these pieces especially suspicious. See Giacomo Manganaro, "Un Philippeion di oro di Euno-Antioco in Sicilia?", *Museum Helveticum* 47, 3 (1990), 181-183; D. Engels, *loc. cit.*; P. Morton, *op. cit.*, 195-196.

But coins in antiquity served other purposes beside purely monetary – they were (or could be) powerful political and propaganda tools.[73] To write history from coins alone is notoriously difficult and unreliable. But since in this case they can be combined with information from narrative sources, they provide another logical piece of the overall picture. Royal coinage was an important medium of self-promotion for any Hellenistic kingdom. Similarly to royal apparel, court personnel or armed guard, all of whom were there to broadcast the king as a major figure, deserving of respect, so too would the coins introduce himself and his kingdom to a wider populace, painting a picture of a serious and powerful state, at least outwardly equal to other Hellenistic kingdoms. It is likely a message of stability and permanence, as much as that of strength and military power. "The slave kingdom was able to maintain itself against the power of Rome… it was not merely destructive or anarchical institution, and it need not surprise us that it possessed a coinage."[74]

As one would expect, the coins in question exhibit a mixture of Eastern Hellenistic and local imagery and symbols. While the king and most of his advisers and officers were former Seleucid subjects, the die makers were almost certainly locals. The mint was likely set up in the rebel capital of Enna and local artisans were made (forced) to work there. Diodorus reports that, after the fall of the town, rebels executed most of the slave-owners, except those that had manufacturing skills useful for the production of weapons.[75] It is likely that other individuals with useful skills, such as die manufacturers, would also be spared and put to work. The majority of the issues have bearded male head on the obverse that was interpreted in various ways (Zeus? Dionysus? Heracles? Antiochus himself?). Four of the coins show a person with a helmet (Athena?), while three display the veiled Demeter. It is obviously the Sicilian Demeter (*Ceres Hennensis*) of (H)Enna.[76] But in the eyes of people from Syria and other eastern countries, the deity could have been (re)interpreted in various ways. The imagery on the reverse of the coins mostly invokes associations of divine and/or military power: there is a quiver, a thunderbolt, or a club, together with the king's name. Demeter coins display an ear of barley on the reverse.

73. Otto Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage. From Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336 – 188 B.C.)* (Cambridge: University Press, 1991), 24.

74. E. S. G. Robinson, *op. cit*., 176.

75. D. S. 34/35.2.15.

76. Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.(48-49)106-108.

Dea Syria et *Ceres Hennensis*

The veiled woman on the mentioned coins brings us to another, closely connected and equally important topic: the divine protectress invoked by the rebels. That new monarchy sought divine approval and support will surprise no one familiar with the Hellenistic world. Divine kingship is one of its core concepts. When discussing the Hellenistic ruler cult, Frank Walbank famously remarked that "the new kings who succeeded Alexander were all in a sense usurpers and so looked for religious support to help legitimize their pretensions and reinforce the claims of their new dynasties."[77] The leaders of the Sicilian slaves were in somewhat similar, yet much more difficult situation. Apart from, and indeed before, their victories against the Roman levies, they were badly in need of another, more fundamental, way of legitimization and self-legitimization.

In the case of both revolts, the monarchs elected by the rebel assemblies were not singled out for their martial abilities, but rather because of their reputation as magicians and holy men. Our main source, Diodorus, is puzzled and annoyed by such a choice: a warrior king, who leads from the front, sword in hand, would be much more to his liking.[78] But there were good reasons for this, and they make sense once the perspective of the slaves is taken into account. To even contemplate such a hopeless and extremely dangerous endeavor as this, ancient people required divine encouragement. This was provided by Eunus who, Diodorus' scorn notwithstanding, managed to acquire a considerable reputation as a miracle worker and a prophet. He would perform magical tricks, including an especially impressive one, where fire and flame came out of his mouth. More importantly, he claimed to experience divine visitations in his dreams, but also the walking visions, where gods would appear to him in person. He prophesied his own ascendancy as a king, a laughing matter to his masters and their peers, but something taken seriously by many slaves. Finally, Eunus asserted a special connection with the so-called Syrian Goddess of Hierapolis. The day when the revolt was about to begin, conspirators met with Eunus to learn the will of the gods: he persuaded them of heavenly favor and urged them to act instantly, which they did, successfully. The credibility gained in this way secured the kingship for him.[79] Once he had the power, divine support remained necessary to justify it.

As usual, we are given much less details about Salvius: he was well practiced in divination using sacrificial victims (ἱεροσκοπία), and in performing on flute during mystical ceremonies (αὐλομανέω) celebrated by women.[80] Should we assume that he was a participant in the same cult as Eunus?

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77. Frank W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 210.

78. D. S. 34/35.2.7-8, 14; 36.4.4.

79.D. S. 34/35.2.5-10; Flor. 2.19.4.

80. D. S. 36.4.4.

The deity in question will be familiar to any student of ancient religions. Atargatis or the Syrian Goddess (Συρία θεά, *Dea Syria*), as she was known to the Greeks and the Romans, began her incredible history as a local female deity of northern Syria, with the main cult center in the town of Hierapolis/Bambyce (modern Manbij, 30km west of Euphrates). By the 2nd century BC she was attracting masses of worshipers throughout the Hellenistic East, while in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD her cult would spread to the most remote provinces of the Roman Empire. The details of religious practices associated with Atargatis are know from a number of literary sources, above all the famous text *De Dea Syria* by (Pseudo?-)Lucian. The cult was characterized by strong devotion of its followers, which went to the point of fanaticism, and by certain rather intense ritual practices. Some of these rituals are recorded to be performed by Eunus: he would fall into trance and dance frenetically.[81] Others, more extreme, such as self-mutilation, seem to be absent in his case and that of his followers. The Romans themselves had complex attitude towards eastern cults. Exotic religious practices could be enthusiastically accepted by some parts of society, while at the same time perceived as shocking and offensive by the more conservative groups. If the rebels were aware of the latter tendency, this was probably seen as a positive thing, enhancing the anti-Roman credentials of the new movement.[82]

Eunus, of course, brought the worship of the *Dea Syria* with him from his homeland. As far as he was concerned, there was probably never any issue about the identity of the divine protector of his kingdom. It was Atargatis who told him in a vision that he would rule.[83] But there was more to this than simple ethno-cultural affinity. The town of Enna, the chosen seat of the new kingdom, was similar to Syrian Hierapolis in that it too was a holy city, dedicated to Ceres. Cicero makes very clear that this aspect was of the highest importance for the citizens of Enna and for the inhabitants of the wider region.[84] In conflating the Greek Demeter, the Sicilian Ceres, and the Syrian Goddess, there was much opportunity to spread the insurgents' message far and wide, to various groups and places. The foundation for this was already there. In the East the Greeks were for a long time now identifying Atargatis with Demeter, an interaction made easier by a number of similar traits existing between the two deities: both were connected to fertility, agriculture, crops and natural abundance, both incorporated aspects of mother-goddess. Similarly, the Greek Demeter was for centuries equated

81. Flor. 2.19.4.

82. On the cult of Atargatis: Robert A. Oden, *Studies in Lucian's De Syria Dea* (Missoula, Montana: Harvard Semitic Museum, 1977), 47-107; Monika Hörig, *Dea Syria. Studien zur religiösen Tradition der Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin in Vorderasien* (Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon und Bercker, Neukirchener Verlag, 1979), 233-261; Jane L. Lightfoot, *Lucian: On the Syrian Goddess* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1-85. Cf. Nathanael J. Andrade, *Syrian Identity*, 288-313.

83. D. S. 34/35.2.7.

84. Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.(54)113-114.

with the local Ceres of Enna, another benevolent female agricultural deity. While women on the coins of Antiochus-Eunus bear little resemblance to the Eastern iconography of Atargatis, this was no obstacle for Eunus and his subjects to identify her with their goddess. Greeks and other inhabitants of Sicilian would recognize her as their own Demeter/Ceres. And none of them would really be wrong in their assumptions.[85]

Almost from the very beginning the rebel kingdoms would include groups and individuals other than slaves. There are indications that some effort was made to recruit support outside of the (former) slave ranks, especially among the impoverished free. The propagation (on coins, but probably in other ways as well) of a deity that was essentially an amalgamation of the Greek, Sicilian and Eastern traditions could be seen as a strong and positive step in that direction. It seems that this activity was only marginally successful, as some actions of rebels, aiming at revenge and crude justice, went against it. After the fall of Enna, the citizens were subjected to wholesale slaughter, apart from those who were known to be kind to slaves, or in possession of valuable skills.[86] The common people of the countryside seemingly refused to pick a side. Diodorus claims that they were actually glad about the misfortunes of the rich and the privileged, but otherwise would not side with the rebels. Some of the poor actually took opportunity to plunder and burn estates of the big landowners.[87] The servile wars in Sicily were not "national" Sicilian uprisings against Roman rule, as they are occasionally portrayed in modern literature.[88]

85. There are other religious aspects of the slave wars that I will not go into here: for example, widespread belief that powerful omens (such as an eruption of Mt. Etna) foretold the coming calamities (Jul. Obseq. 26; Oros. 5.6.); the inscriptions on sling-shots naming some typically Greek deities (but, again, subject to local interpretation), well-known in both Sicily and the East (see n. 69); the fact that initial stirring of the Second slave war took place at the holy enclosure of the heroes Palaci (τέμενος τῶν Παλικῶν), a well-known refuge for runaway slaves (D. S. 36.3.4); the dedication Salvius made at the same shrine (D. S. 36.7.1) etc.

86. D. S. 34/35.2.15. Cf. 34/35.2.46: rebels trying to taunt and frighten the inhabitants of a Sicilian city.

87. D. S. 34/35.2.48.

88. So Gerald P. Verbrugghe, "Slave rebellion or Sicily in revolt?", 46-60, and, more recently, P. Morton, *op. cit*.

Conclusion: The Purpose and Significance of the Rebels' Efforts

There was nothing purposeless, whimsical or farcical about the ways former slaves sought to organize and pursue their efforts. Possibilities that are sometimes considered by modern scholars, like the formation of a maroon-style refuge, were never realistically open to them. There were far too many slaves on a large, but densely populated and urbanized island, for any such option, and they never seem to contemplate it. Once the violence began, the only way forward was continued fight. But, to do so successfully, a certain level of organization and hierarchy was needed. There is no contradiction, as it is sometimes postulated in modern literature, between the desire for freedom and state-building. The best guarantee of continued liberty and safety for the rebels was a state of their own, endowed with familiar institutions and practices and ruled by someone from their own ranks. Unlike the uprising of Spartacus, which lacked coherent strategic goals, and was in the end torn apart by incompatible aims and desires of its many members, the rebels in Sicily were quick to reach a consensus about what they wished to achieve and how it should be done.

The ethnic and cultural background of many slaves, particularly their leaders, together with the pressing need to maintain the struggle, explain the form these two slave states acquired. They were recreations of the Hellenistic kingdoms, built from the ground up, encompassing all the core institutions and outward symbols of power. As post-Alexander monarchies were, above all, military monarchies, this political form suited their aims well. Many specific details, not least of all the names the rulers took, point to the more specific, Seleucid source of inspiration. The state rebels were trying to build was indeed a kind of mirror image of the Seleucid monarchy, planted on an island in the Western Mediterranean. They created exactly the kind of state that was most familiar to them.

Ultimately, the two rebel kingdoms of Sicily were defeated and broken by the Roman might. A consensus regarding strategy is of little value if the proposed goal is unrealistic or unattainable. In that respect the insurgents in Sicily were not more prudent or successful than their counterparts in Italy, some decades later. Among other factors, wider geographical context was working against them: Sicily is too important and near to Italy for Romans to ever contemplate relinquishing its interior, let alone abandoning it entirely.[89] After the Second Punic War, there was simply no room for independent states on the island. Although the rebels did everything humanly possible, their enemy was, after all, the Roman state. With their military organization, numbers, material resources and dogged persistence, the Romans brought low much bigger and more powerful political entities than

89. For overview of limitations imposed and opportunities offered by Sicilian geography, and an attempt at reconstruction of rebels' strategy, see Peter Morton, "The Geography of Rebellion: Strategy and Supply in the Two Sicilian 'Slave Wars'", *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 57, 1 (2014), 20-38.

Sicilian rebel kingdoms could ever hope to be. Where Hannibal, Antiochus the Great, Perseus and Mithridates Eupator failed, one could hardly expect an Eunus or a Salvius to succeed. They could win one or several battles, but in doing so they were only postponing the bitter end.

These facts should not serve, however, to undermine the efforts and achievement of the rebels, for they did manage in both cases to hold out against the Romans for several years. The word of their early victories reached places far removed from Sicily, and even inspired several short-live slave uprisings in Italy and Greece.[90] Without serious political and military organization, which was put in place early, their struggle would have certainly been much more ephemeral, and we might have never known of them.

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90. One in the city of Rome itself, two in the Aegean, in the mines of Attica and in the slave market on Delos during the First Servile War, but also "in many other places" (κατ' ἄλλους πολλοὺς τόπους; D. S. 34/35.2.19; Oros. 5.9.5). There was another uprising in Attica during the Second Servile War (Ath. 6.272e-f). On these revolts, see: Nemanja Vujčić, "Large Scale Slave Revolts in Ancient Greece: An Issue of Absence or an Absence of Issue?", *Athens Journal of History* 9, 3 (2023), 228-230.

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Qualitative Weighting of Environmental Impact in the Southern Levant between the 4th-c. BCE to 20th-c. CE through Culture-nature Duality

By Neil Manspeizer[*] & Arnon Karnieli[±]

A qualitative method is presented to explain anthropogenic impact on the environment in the southern Levant regarding ancient land-use. Three major monocultural periods between the 4th-c. BCE and 20th-c. CE (Hellenistic, Byzantine, and Ottoman) are examined as a case study. Hellenistic olive oil presses, Byzantine winepresses, and Ottoman animal pens are extracted from archaeological survey data. The high concentration of "same type" agricultural installations per period, compared to the total, attests to the monoculture which reflects agricultural intensification and industrialization. Analysis in geographic information systems (GIS) indicates that areas of cumulatively more intense monocultural land-use caused natural vegetation-cover today with a form of land-degradation called plagioclimax. A qualitative narrative is established through the pagus, a metaphor for environmental "other" and place of extending civilization, to explain. This metaphorical pagus also corresponds to that real space which is heavily impacted by the monocultural activity. Ontological independence, which challenged divine causality, is examined through Hellenistic divination texts, Byzantine church mosaics, and Ottoman Sufi texts. These expressions reflect the geopiety, or connection between people and land, and help link the monoculture, intensification, industrialization, capitalism, and plagioclimax. The pagus, as sacrificial other, concurrently enabled conservation of additional areas that even today represent nature reserves.

Introduction

The rise and fall of civilizations is attributable to a relationship between culture and nature known as duality. The ontology of that duality, or the nature of its being, is related to "observer effect". That term, which is used in science to explain the impact of the observer on the phenomena observed, may mean much more. In history it can mean defining the relative position, or logic of culture, to reality within the duality as a relationship of self-other. Another self-other term, from geography, is geopiety which describes the relationship between people and land in cultural landscape studies (Wright, 1947; Tuan, 1979). Geopiety is used in this paper as a geographic marker to reflect the observer effect and cultural duality as it occurs on the landscape. A critical realist approach is employed to explore how the duality changed over time between the 4th-c. BCE and the 20th-c.

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CE.[1] Specifically, the Hellenistic, Byzantine, and Ottoman periods are examined in the southern Levant regarding their duality, geopiety, and observer effect based on archaeological evidence and material culture. The goal lies within a larger project in geography to understand the impact of long-term land-use on the environment. However, in this paper, the ontological changes in culture-nature duality are explained specifically through the landscape which serves as temporal canvas. A case study was established in the southern Judean foothills of Israel in the hinterland of ancient biblical *tels* ("archaeological mounds") Maresha and Lakhish (see Figure 1).[2]

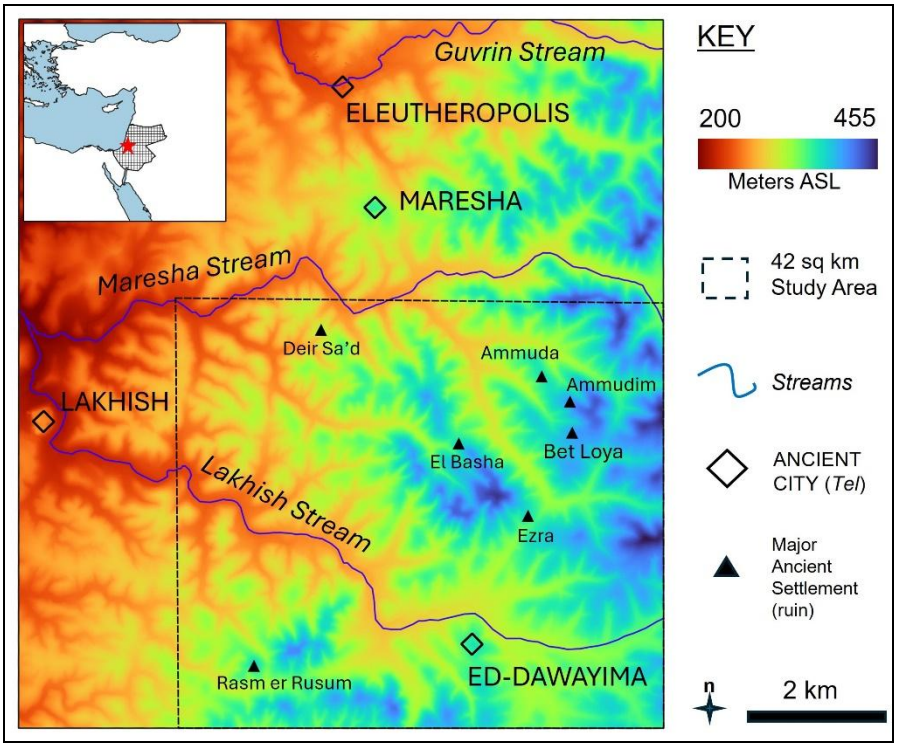

Figure 1. *Elevation Map of Study Region in the Southern Levant (hatched area in inset). Ancient Cities and Hinterland Study Area (dotted rectangle) shown with Major Ancient Settlements*
Source: the authors 2024.

The study was conducted in a semi-arid hinterland south of Tel Maresha and east of Tel Lakhish in the southern Judean foothills, Israel. The 46 km^2 study area (centered at Lat 31.553 °N / Long. 34.901 °E) is located in the southern Levant,

1. For critical realism in the traditional sense, see: Cruickshank, J. Critical realism and critical philosophy: On the Usefulness of philosophical problems. *Journal of Critical Realism,* Vol. 1(1), 2002, 49-66.

2. This paper results from a presentation at the 22nd Annual International Conference on History & Archaeology: From Ancient to Modern of the Athens Institute for Education and Research (June 3-6, 2024).

which describes a historical region in the eastern Mediterranean. The region is hilly, ranging from 200-450 m ASL, and soft chalk bedrock is predominant. Chalk rock was critical for developing cultures because it was able to hold cisterns for rainwater. The hills are overlaid by hard caliche (*nari*), a precipitate from the chalk bedrock, and brown/pale rendzina soil. Nari provides enhanced runoff into the wide tributaries and the agricultural history is associated with technologies that utilized this process, such as check dams (Ackermann, Svoray and Haiman, 2008). The tributaries drain to alluvial valleys which empty into the Mediterranean Sea. Botanically, the vegetation has been predominantly Mediterranean garrigue and maquis shrubs and trees throughout the Holocene. This region was chosen because it was surveyed extensively for archaeological remains by Dagan (2006) between 1977-1982 and the results published by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). The 2300 years from the 4th-c BCE to the 20th-c. CE in the southern Levant is characterized by six periods (Dagan, 2004): Hellenistic (4th-1st-c. BCE), Roman (1st-c. BCE-4th-c. CE), Byzantine (4th-7th-c. CE), Early Muslim (7th-11th-c. CE), Middle Ages – Crusader/ Mamluk (11th-16th-c. CE), and Ottoman (16th-20th-c. CE). Research by the authors (Manspeizer and Karnieli, 2023) used the published archaeological survey data and geographic information systems (GIS) to differentiate between areas more and less impacted by long-term ancient land-use. Satellite and drone imagery was used to identify the impact of the ancient land-use on the modern vegetation growth and a long-term land-use footprint was elucidated in the modern land-cover.[3]

More recently, Manspeizer and Karnieli (2024) concluded that there was extensive land degradation, in the form of plagioclimax, within more intensely used areas of the long-term land-use footprint. Based on the GIS analysis it was determined that more intensely used areas had been utilized repeatedly by settlement periods associated with forms of monoculture and a land-use pattern developed over time. Monoculture is an industrial use of the cultural landscape for one crop type and identifiable in the archaeological record by a high concentration of same type agricultural installations compared to the total. It became necessary to distinguish the six periods (4th-c BCE to the 20th-c. CE) based on their land-use and its environmental impact. Using the historical narrative, archaeological surveys conducted by Dagan (2006), and archaeological excavations of the region, three periods (Hellenistic, Byzantine, and Ottoman) became apparent as periods of agricultural intensification and industrial monocultural use of the landscape.[4] The ancient agricultural installations related to the three periods, subterranean Hellenistic olive oil presses, surface rock-hewn Byzantine winepresses, and stone constructed

3. For information regarding the methodology and fieldwork refer to Manspeizer and Karnieli, 2023; 2024.

4. For archaeological excavations by the IAA in the study area see: Figure 1 and Lifshits, V. Benei Deqalim. *Hadashot Arkheologiyot: Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 2017; Gutfeld, O. Horbat Bet Loya. Ibid., 2009; Varga, D., and Y. Israel. Amazya. Ibid., 2014; Peretz, I., and S. Talis. Horbat Hazzan and Horbat Avraq. Ibid., 2012; Zissu, B. Khirbet el-Basha. Ibid., 1999; Klein, E., and A. Ganor. Horbat Ezra. Ibid., 2016.

Ottoman animal pens, attest to the industrial monoculture. The other periods demonstrate either periods of agricultural extensification (i.e., Roman) or fallow (i.e., Early Muslim and Middle Ages). There arose two objectives within the historical context to examining cultural duality relative to landscape: (1) differentiate between periods of intensification (industrial monoculture) and periods of extensification or fallow; and (2) recognize the similarity and potential differences between those monoculture periods. The industrial methods of the Hellenistic, Byzantine and Ottoman periods were very different. However, their cultural ontologies were similar and explainable along a qualitative narrative.

This approach is predicated on cultural ontology as the best indicator of observer effect and geopiety, the relationship between self and other. In this narrative, monoculture defines the cultural position toward nature within the duality which is consistent despite the historical changes. This is an innovative method to examine material culture derived from archaeological sources. The work is divided into five main sections: (1) an Introduction with background concepts and general hypothesis presented for the research; (2) a Literature Review of the culture-nature duality in the three periods relative to historical context, philosophical literature, and monoculture. Specific attention is paid to the link through the Hellenistic, Byzantine, and Ottoman periods regarding the development of ontology from the Hellenic period. That provides a context to understand the historical geopiety and observer effect transitions over 2300 years and gain appreciation of its relationship to landscape; (3) a qualitative case study from the southern Judean foothills of Israel is presented in the Methodology section. The case study is described with examples from the three periods including Hellenistic divination texts, Byzantine church floor mosaics, and Ottoman Sufi text; (4) In the Results section, duality is traced from the Hellenistic to the Ottoman period, plagioclimax is explained in its geographic context, and the validity of the qualitative model is examined; and (5) a Conclusion reviews the importance of relating ontology with landscape for environmental impact.

Literature Review

Review of the historical periods demonstrates how forms of expression, such as divination, artwork, and text become indicators of the observer effect. Together, the connection between observer effect and geopiety provides a context for study as cultural ontology and landscape interact. Our story begins with the succession of Alexander the Great of Macedon (356-323 BCE) and the Hellenistic period in the Near East. Beyond liberation for the Greeks from the Persians (Walbank, 1981), this paper concentrates on a more transcendental theme within that context of landscape, namely *pagus*. One may ask, how the Latin word pagus, associated with rurality and paganism, could drive Alexander the Great to conquest in the 4th-c. BCE? Loanwords in linguistics can describe a root for pagus in the ancient Greek *ge*/*gios* or "earth". We know gios from other words in Greek, such as

Pangaea ("all land"), *Gaia* ("mother earth"), and *epegios* ("terrestrial" or "on earth"). Another similar word in Greek is *panagia* ("all holy") which is derived from two words, *pan* ("all") and *hagios* ("holy"). Here we may complicate matters by demonstrating use of the Greek word gios with the Hebrew article *ha* ("the"). This forms the word ha-gios which is familiar as "holy" in Greek but could also be a fusion of the two languages meaning, "the earth" as a sacred term. The Hebrew word, "ha", is known to emphasize the singularity of the sacred word, for example, *ha-shem* ("the name") which is used for G-d. Thus, a connotation exists that there may have been a connection between "the earth" and "the holy" in ancient Greece. The special association of a similar earthly term is known from *Prometheus Bound* by the tragedian Aeschylus (525-455 BCE). Depending on the translation (e.g., Aeschylus, ca. 460 BCE), a *pagon* is described as a mountain peak, the edge of the world, or this rock at Earth's end.

Was Alexander driven to conquer the Persian world in a sacred crusade to conquer the Earth's known end? The answer is yes if we visualize the pagus as a space of nature between the settled *polis* ("city"), and the gods who resided beyond the edge of the world. Then, that pagus would drive Alexander to liberate nature for the polis as he challenged the g-ds with his own divinity (Bamm, 1968). These notions are familiar to American environmental philosophies regarding wilderness and settlement in North America. That is also exciting because it reflects wilderness, beyond the edge of the known world, as a divine space.[5] Settlement occurs first in the polis, which is conquered space, and draws from the pagus for resources. In North America, the pagus lay between the already conquered polis and the divine wilderness as nature's environment. Thus, in America, the environment became a space to build civilization, derive subsistence, and promote permanency.[6] But, most importantly, environment as pagus is also a metaphorical space (an "other") in which cultural logic toward nature and survival is constructed. Here we may turn to Greek for the word *pagos* ("fix" or "build"), as certainly their intention for the environment or nature was a place for civilization to extend and build the polis. This process of building, or constructing cultural survival, is seen in the material culture of the three periods examined as monocultural installations in-situ. The remains are associated with extending the polis into the pagus other and fixing it in place.[7] While each period's form is different, they all reflect monoculture intended to that accomplishment. This process of fixing becomes imbedded in the geopiety of each culture as place identity and genre de vie (Manspeizer, 2006). As such, all three

5. This concurs with the 19th-c. American environmental movement, Transcendentalism. See Emerson, R.W. Self-Reliance and Other Essays. (Dover Thrift, New York, 1993).

6. Notions that geopiety helps to derive identity in America adjudicates well with American ethos and environmental history, see: Williams, M. The relations of environmental history and historical geography. *Journal of Historical Geography,* Vol. 20(1), 1994, 3-21.

7. For discussion of the development of man as distinct from nature see: Desta, D. The Transition from 'Mythos' to 'Logos': The Case of Heraclitus. *Athens Journal of Philosophy,* Vol. 2(1), 2023, 9-24.

periods (Hellenistic, Byzantine, and Ottoman) became associated with pagus, as an environmental space and real metaphorical other in which logic occurred through the observer effect and geopiety.

Before beginning with the case studies, the connection between development of pagus in the Hellenistic period and the culture-nature duality must be tightened throughout the three periods. This is a significant connection because it describes the birth of duality and helps to define ontology. Juxtaposing culture and nature, as was accomplished in the Hellenistic period, set the stage for some of history's more important debates (i.e., the state of nature and the social contract in the 17th-c.). However, the move toward that perspective first required a separation between the self and other to allow the observer a new view to nature. Hellenic period philosophical texts describe the intent to deconstruct the ontological notion of *ousia* ("being") into self and other (Aristotle, ca. 350 BCEMeta1003b5). Today, the term "other" is well known in philosophy, describing anywhere from a distinct part of the self and one's self-consciousness to a definitive alternate physical reality.[8] The Hellenistic period further enabled that ontological separation between the self and the other which would lead to discovery of culture-nature duality and eventually even questions of causality. A philosophical term that is applied to this separation is ontological independence (see Corkum, 2008). The awareness of the distinction between self and other defines "independent being" and is typically associated with independence from g-d. It is not coincidence that Hellenism and secularism (even paganism) are associated because they question the causality attributed to divine g-d(s) through ontology.

Stoicism, the Hellenistic school, distinguished between traditional "rhetoric" regarding the other and a "dialectic" by which causality was examined through propositional logic (Algra et al., 2008). The result surpassed Aristotelian term logic and enabled scientific advance because conclusions could become more complex as phrases were analyzed together for their cause and effect rather than as simple terms. There were two consequences to the Stoic use of propositional logic: (1) concepts regarding natural and human induced change could be developed within worlds ruled by the divine; and (2) the dialectic was developed as a method to understand causality as a true and false process, (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000). For example, Dicaearchus of Messana (350-285 BCE), who was Aristotle's student, began the Hellenistic debate of fate within the divine world through argument regarding cause and effect. Under Chrysippus of Soli (279-206 BCE), the school of Stoicism developed logic as a form in which the basic material and soul that comprises the earth could be studied. He concluded that the world was divine but causes had chain-like dependence within that logic. Posidonius of Apameia in Syria (135-51 BCE), a late Hellenistic Stoic from the Seleucid world, wrote *Histories.* This 52-volume work

8. For discussion of "the other" in philosophy, see: Sarukkai, S. The 'Other' in anthropology and philosophy. *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol., 1997, 1406-09; Staszak, J.F. Other/otherness. *International encyclopedia of human geography,* Vol. 8, 2008, 43-47.

gave detailed account by which events are caused by human psychology and part of the larger cosmos rather than isolated by political forces. Stoicism, despite its efforts at ontological independence, remained short of completion because their dialectic, which derived true from false, only reached fate.

According to Sharples (2014), this left a troubling question among Stoics as they struggled with their ontology. This question regarded the contradiction between a divine repetitive world, and reality in which cycles were observed as different from one another. The Hellenistic conclusion was that, "one cycle can be said to be different from another…but not enough to make any real difference" (Sharples, 2014). One noticeable change that occurred in the school of Stoics, perhaps in response to this dilemma, was a move from the propositional to conditional clause in the dialectic. According to Hankinson (2008: 537), that move was necessary to find a more, "…'middle ground' between the hard determinism of the dialectic (true/false) and an Epicurean swerve that enabled freewill within fate". A proposition is a statement that proposes an idea, generally deterministic, which can be true or false (if-then). The proposition is compared to a conditional clause in which a hypothetical situation is presented with a consequence (either-or). Brennan (2000: 154) remarked that Stoic logic is, "…ideally suited to formulate a theory of conditional impulses". The Stoics, it seems, improvised a way to continue arguing for secular causality, through the conditional clause, despite efforts to restrict the logic to the repetitive divine. This is described in the Methodology and Data section (Content I) using Aramaic divination texts excavated at Tel Maresha. The texts, while addressed to the divine, ensure that ontological independence is preserved through the conditional clause. The form is intended to break the chains of causal explanation that inevitably repeated themselves and enable more favorable human fates.

This major advance in ontology is summarized as a dialectic where nature is fundamentally independent from culture and dynamic. At the same time, culture (as a divine creation) repeated itself continuously despite nature's independence. These beliefs spread through the Hellenistic world, syncretized (merged) with the local cultures, and were instrumental in breaking cultural fate loops. We hypothesize that the difference between nature-centered Hellenistic dialectic and culturally dominant argumentative polemics, such as Roman ethics (Romanitas), would eventually widen into the origins of the Great Schism in Christianity. Early Christianity would emerge as one rational response to these differences and became a suture for the nascent schism. The Hellenistic world was active in conquering the pagus for the polis and held on to the state of Nature. On the other hand, cultural domination over Nature became the Roman Empire's ontology.[9] It was a teleological (purposeful) moment in history, and the world was

9. In ancient Rome, the gods were responsible for nature, as their own abode, which led to resource exploitation and eventually strict rules of environmental regulation. See: Kahlos, M. "Who Is a Good Roman? Setting and Resetting Boundaries for Romans,

divided between the political realism of Athens as a reflection of the ancient past, and the political reality of Rome as a reflection of the future antiquity. Eventually, the Holy Roman and Byzantine Empires tore apart, but the Christian suture and signs of that schism, are still visible. One logic we followed during the Hellenistic period as it developed through the Stoic conditional clause that promoted degrees of freedom and ontological independence. The second logic is ontological dependence, in which nature and culture are one, unified, and holistic. The evidence suggests that these two logics were represented by two languages respectively (Greek and Latin), two regions (east and west), and involve dispute over secular power (Louth, 2007). Hellenism united the Eastern Mediterranean, amenable to secular ontological independence, and Romanitas united North Africa and Western Europe, where ontological dependence assisted church dominance (Bryant, 2023). In the Methodology and Data section (Content II), church floor mosaics at Hurvat Bet Loya from the Byzantine period (324 – 640 CE) are shown to demonstrate motifs from both logics. Generally, the distinction is visible through secular mosaic carpets with geometric shapes and figurative subjects, juxtaposed with inspirational religious scenes.

There is an inherent sense of political expression by which the ontological independence of the local peasantry carried over to the Islamic period in the form of geometric motifs. We allude to the notion that ontological independence represents a secularism which arose from Hellenism, while ontological dependence reflects holism associated with the Holy Roman Empire. The differences are identifiable in the logic, relationship to the culture-nature duality, attribution of causality, and languages used. Thus far, the connection between the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods appears logical. But that connection becomes more complicated relative to the changes between Antiquity and the Middle Ages, and its connections to Islam are not as apparent. However, the reason to make the connection is important because highlighting the potential secular roots in Islam may point to its ontological correctness as a form of political realism. The emphasis of revelation and spirituality in Islam moved the observer effect from its Hellenistic location, where it had been grounded in earth nature, to that of cultural realism. For example, this is visible in Islamic art which, according to Nasr (1987: 8), "…is of a spiritual nature, a knowledge referred to…as *hikmah* or wisdom". In other words, spirituality became reflected as knowledge separate from earth. This theme is familiar in Islamic landmarks, such as the Dome of the Rock, one of the first Muslim architectural projects, which distinguishes between earth and heaven as a reflection of the hikmah. Islamic expression advanced the Hellenistic dialectic as the hikmah which transcended above nature but without destroying the state of nature. This metaphysical exercise was

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Christians, Pagans, and Barbarians in the Late Roman Empire." *The Faces of the Other: Religious and Ethnic Encounters in the Later Roman World*. Ed. Kahlos, M. (Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium, 2011, 259-74).

similar to the Byzantine approach to mosaics in which geometric earth and heavenly religion appear side by side.[10]

Yet, Islamic progress in its relationship to ontological independence from the Byzantine period became more sophisticated in its transcendentalism (Acim, 2022) as earthly realities were separated from the heavenly sphere. Sufism, a form of post-structural deconstruction or emptiness/nothingness in the western philosophical tradition (Sidiropoulou, 2011), was instrumental in development of this concept which spread during the Mamluk period (13th – 16th-c. CE). Mysticism enacted by asceticism and retreat, and devotion to Sufi texts helped to establish the self-other relationship that was practiced through *ain al-jam* ("the absolute essence of union with g-d") (Sidiropoulou, 2011). Absolute essence has several connotations, although to our discussion it refers to the condition by which independence of being is necessary for man to achieve union with G-d. As the Sufi became aware, through ain al-jam, of the earthly and heavenly duality, the concept of community or *mujtamae* ("society") became apparent. New political views of society, such as individualism, occurred as a result linked to economic processes such as capitalism (Hayek, 2000). The development of Sufism relative to the High Middle Ages in Europe speaks to a period in which capitalism in the Islamic world found fertile ground. In the Islamic world, Sufism enabled capitalism to resolve the structure-agency debate (Chouinard, 1997) within the context of ontological independence. We examine this in the Methodology and Data section (Content III) through the relationship between Ottoman period Sufism, the *Wird al Sattar Sufi* text, and the pastoralist system identified in the study area at Ed Dawayima.

Methodology and Data

The archaeological survey was completed in 10x10 km quadrants (Dagan, 2006), and the Amazya and Lakhish (1:20000 scale) map sheets were part of the result. These sheets contain information organized as "sites" where surface material remains (e.g., pottery) were collected and sorted according to period. Surface surveys are used in archaeology to understand periodization in spatial settings and through collection of surface material, differentiation between finds within sites, and typology of finds, settlement patterns can be approximated accurately (Bintliff, 2000). In the study area were 196 relevant survey sites that were described by Dagan (2006) in detail and categorized based on: (1) type find; and (2) pottery scatter per period per type. Type finds included settlements, farmsteads, buildings, agricultural terraces, winepresses, oil presses, animal pens, orchards, other agricultural activity, limekilns, churches,

10. Byzantine influence in early Islamic art and architecture commonly appeared. One example are Byzantine octagonal structures that would become known through Islamic architecture such as the Dome of the Rock.

mosques, and forts. The sites were digitized and stratified in a GIS database according to period of find and sorted in a statistical spreadsheet. The integration of mapping survey assemblages with GIS is one of the greatest challenges and opportunities to deciphering the archaeological record (Haiman, 2022). The data were analyzed in conjunction with a review of agricultural intensification literature (e.g., Turner et al., 1990; Manspeizer et al., 2020). Monoculture agriculture is described as a cultural endeavor in which a single agricultural product is industrially produced on a landscape maximized to this effort. The three periods of most intensive monoculture agriculture were chosen based on a high concentration of 'same type' installations compared to the total. The Hellenistic, Byzantine, and Ottoman periods represent the major historical anthropogenic landscape disturbances to the environmental substrate.

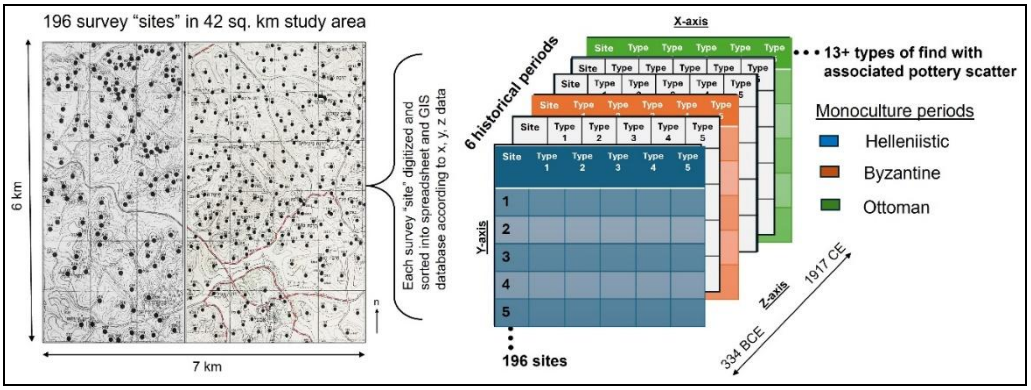

Figure 2. *Deriving a GIS database from archaeological survey data. 196 sites were digitized and sorted into site ID, type of find, and period based on the associated pottery scatter. Monoculture periods identified by high concentration of 'same type' agricultural installations*
Source: Israel Antiquities Authority maps 109 (Amazya) and 98 (Lakhish) (Dagan, 2006).

Other methods of studying past environmental impact would require detailed archaeological information that does not exist or experimental botany to measure the effect of crops on the substrate. GIS offers a spatial perspective from which qualitative narratives can develop. This type of meta-synthesis (Boeije, van Wesel and Alisic, 2011) of history, philosophy, archaeology, and geography, conforms to work in qualitative GIS (Cope and Elwood, 2009; Kwan and Ding, 2008). The approach using cultural ontology as geopiety in conjunction with spatial data was previously used by one of the authors to examine land-use changes in the American West (Manspeizer, 2007). Regarding material culture, the connection between cultural ontology and cultural ecology is a major effort and innovative (Haenn and Wilk, 2006; Manspeizer, 2006). The insight is worthwhile, as follows in the content section, because the narrative grants agency to the material culture. As such, it becomes possible to follow ontological paths through the geopiety of different historical periods despite the radically different land-uses. Also, it becomes possible to differentiate the monoculture periods from the periods

of extensification or fallow. The archaeological record of the study region within the context of the southern Levant is well documented (see Stern, 2018). Following the Babylonian conquest in 586 BCE, in which Lakhish was destroyed, the southern Judean foothills were invaded by Idumeans from Edom (southern Jordan). After the Near East was conquered by Alexander the Great (334 BCE) the region was referred to as Idumea and a Hellenized Maresha emerged as its northern capital. Following the Hasmonean Revolt against the Greek Seleucid Empire, in 106/7 BCE Maresha was finally abandoned. In 63 BCE, with the Roman invasion by Pompeii, the region began a period of Roman rule which included the Christianization of Byzantine Palaestina. Byzantine rule lasted until the Muslim invasion of the 7th-c CE after which there was an almost continuous period of Muslim rule until the 20th-c with exception of the Crusader period (11th-13th-c CE).

Hellenistic Period (333-63 BCE)

Archaeological excavations at Tel Maresha, and its hinterland to the south (Figure 3), revealed a large-scale olive oil industry from the Hellenistic period (333—63 BCE). Twenty-seven 'Maresha type' industrial-scale olive oil presses were carved underground into the bedrock at Tel Maresha and at fifteen / sixteen hinterland sites (Kloner and Zissu, 2013). At its peak during the Hellenistic period, 10,000-12,000 people lived at Maresha. Based on the archaeological survey, an additional 1500 lived at fifteen settlements in the hinterland (Dagan, 2006).[11] According to the number and size of oil presses, estimates indicate that 450 mt of olive oil, or 500,000 l, could have been produced annually by this region known as northern Idumea (Kloner and Sagiv, 1989). Based on traditional low-density Mediterranean olive systems (Vossen, 2007), 8000 t olives/yr were necessary to produce this amount of oil, which required between 76,800 and 200,000 olive trees.[12] Egypt was known for not producing olive oil because their climate was not conducive to olive trees. Northern Idumea was relatively close to Egypt and capable of olive oil production. The economic mainstay at Maresha and the surrounding hinterland, and the source of their geopiety, was industrial olive oil production associated with the Ptolemaic dynasty in the 3rd-c. BCE (Lender and Ben Ami, 2018). The large number of Ptolemaic coins found at Maresha and mercantile information from the Zenon papyri (P. Cairo 59006, 59015, 58537), which mention Maresha, indicate that trade with Egypt by the 3rd-c. BCE was substantial (Kloner, 2008).

11. Rural population in the Levant can be calculated as three to five people per 0.1 ha and a settlement is akin to a hamlet which today is defined as maximum 100 people.

12. For metric abbreviations: t = tons, l = liters, mt = metric tons, ha = hectare.

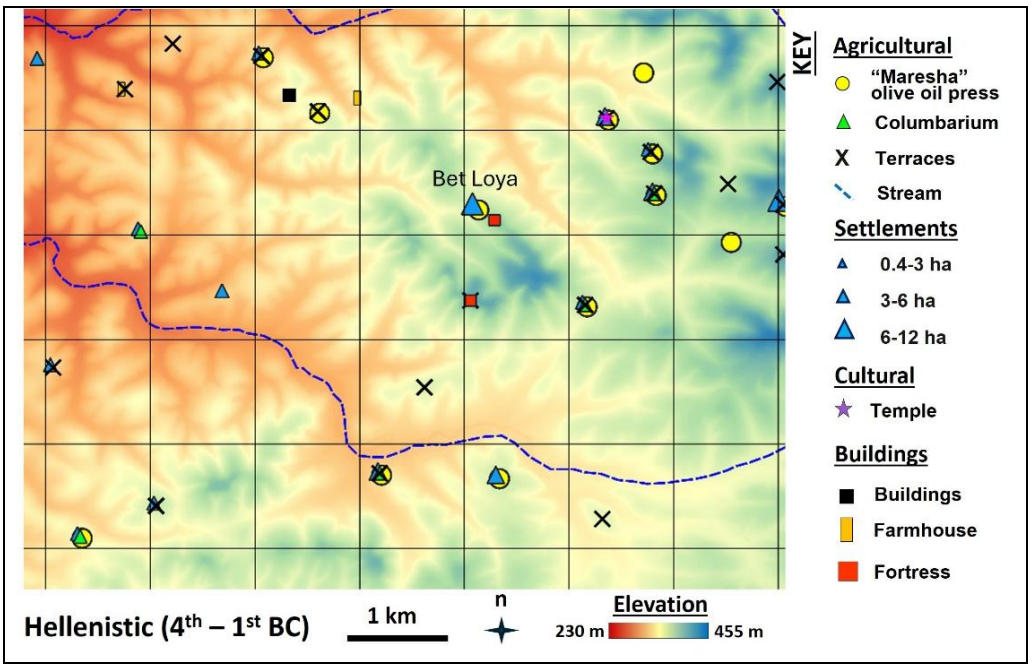

Figure 3. *Hellenistic Period in the Study Area with Relevant Data from the IAA Archaeological Survey and displayed with GIS*
Source: Y. Dagan 2006, and the authors 2024

However, in 200 BCE the Seleucid dynasty in Syria defeated the Ptolemies at the Battle of the Panias and forced a treaty. This coincides with a major 'crisis' identifiable at Maresha during the 2nd-c. BCE in which the olive oil-industry began to be phased out (Kloner and Sagiv, 1989; Stern, Sagiv and Alpert, 2015). The assessment is based upon deliberate conversion of one third of the subterranean oil presses and half of the columbaria to cisterns or quarries before 106/7 BCE, the terminal date of Maresha. Kloner et al. (2010) also suggests that the Maccabean Revolt may have resulted in a Judean boycott of Idumean sacrificial doves due to Idumean assistance to the Seleucids. This would account for the sudden reduction of the number of columbaria in Maresha as well as the subsequent increase in the number of columbaria built in Judea at this time. The transition and the diminishment of the olive oil industry at Maresha may be described in stages: (1) from 201 BCE (after the Battle of Panias), the Syrian based Seleucids had a steadier source of olive oil than the Ptolemies due to their climate but allowed continued trade between Alexandria and Maresha in olive oil; and (2) from 169 BCE (the failed Seleucid invasion of Ptolemaic Egypt) and 167 BCE (the Maccabean revolt), the Seleucids severed economic ties between Maresha, Alexandria and Jerusalem (Berlin, 1997). According to Marciak (2020: 59), by the Maccabean revolt during the reign of Antiochus V, there was a Seleucid garrison at Maresha.

Between 201 and 107/6 BCE, the loss of the olive oil economy with Egypt and quartering the Seleucids was undoubtedly a great crisis in geopiety for the inhabitants of Maresha. That crisis is preserved in material culture discovered at

or near Maresha, including the Heliodorus Stele and more than 1200 Greek and Semitic divination texts.[13] Of these divination texts, 127 were written in Aramaic on ostraca (Eshel and Langlois, 2019; Eshel and Stern, 2017) and date to the 3rd-2nd-c. BCE. These share similar written structure which contain conditional clauses as divinations. This refers to a phrase, "either…or", and regards scenarios such as health, death, marriage, property, astrology, and the gods. These texts are typically compared to Akkadian omen texts from Mesopotamia which share a similar structure. However, as noted in the literature review, conditional clauses are also familiar from Stoic dialectics. Chrysippus, the second Stoic leader, argued that divination enabled a view to the process by which the world works because the future is not accidental (Zeller 1880). Posidonius saw diviners as part of the cosmos who could see the future through cleromancy (a formal description for divination). From the few texts that have survived, researchers have concluded that divination 'theorems' in the Stoic tradition were also sometimes written as conditional clauses (i.e., Sharples, 2014; Brennan, 2000; Hankinson, 2008). The result is the Stoic 'soft determinism' that would encourage degrees of freedom for individuals and groups in the pagus. It is this freedom that would enable response to the crisis of the 3rd-2nd-c. BCE within the constraints of Hellenistic causality. According to Eshel and Langlois (2019) a group of divination texts appear among the 1200 discovered that include both propositional and conditional logics. Stern (2018: 942) states that material finds at Maresha reflect "syncretism of cultures" which corresponds to descriptions of the Hellenistic world as heterogeneous (Walbank, 1981).

It is possible the Maresha Aramaic divination texts, as one collection, are an example of that syncretism and reflect local development of conditional clauses in the local vernacular. They may relate to either Mesopotamian omens or Stoic divination. Based on further analysis by Eshel and Langlois (2019: 220), the Aramaic group at Maresha is distinct from Mesopotamian omens based on the form, structure and material remains. The Mesopotamian structure is described as clear and complete compared with the elliptical and obscure Maresha form. For example, the Maresha Aramaic "either-or" inscriptions begin with *Hen* which translates as the affirmative statement "it is" and may refer to *elohin* ("g-d/s") (Eshel and Langlois, 2019). If ontological independence was the hallmark of the Stoic move to conditional clauses than the affirmative "it is!" could also be read as the question "it is?". This type of opening question would enable more degrees of freedom for the divination, turn it into a more hermeneutic loop of 'soft determinism' and liberate cultural possibilism. That would explain the elliptical form while the obscurity is explained by the inherent question regarding divine

13. The Heliodorus Stele was discovered at Tel Maresha circa 2006. It describes taxes imposed by Seleucus IV, ruler of the Seleucid Empire, in 178 BCE. The stele is an example of archaeological find that validates the hardships described in the Second Book of the Maccabees in which Heliodorus is mentioned.

causality. This aligns with the Stoic arguments regarding causality posed by Dicaearchus, Chrysippus, and Posidonius that dealt with explanatory chains and political forces. In crisis, the Idumean Maresha sought escape from the fate of Seleucid rule and the loss of their economic wealth through divination. Interestingly, these concepts return in the modern discipline of geography as political ecology, a field that has examined human-environmental processes as causal chains (Blaikie and Brookfield, 2015; Rocheleau, 2008).

Byzantine Period (324-640 CE)

After the abandonment of Maresha in 106/7 BCE, the main regional settlement moved two km north to Betaris, which would become Eleutheropolis (city of the free) in 200 CE (see Figure 1 for locations). In general, the Roman period (67 BCE—324 CE) saw rural repopulation and land-use extensification. However, a more significant change, i.e. land-use intensification, occurred during the Byzantine period (324—640 CE) as a vast and organized Christian population inhabited the rural study area (Gutfeld and Ecker, 2013). Approximately 5000 people lived in forty-seven hinterland settlements and twenty farmsteads, with ten churches and chapels. Seventeen olive oil presses, nineteen limekilns, and agricultural terraces at 100 sites were found with Byzantine period pottery. The monocultural intensification included a leap from thirty-seven winepresses found with Roman period pottery to 183 winepresses with Byzantine period pottery (Dagan, 2006). Wine making, even industrially, is evident in the southern Levant since 4000 BCE (Harutyunyan and Malfeito-Ferreira, 2022). But Byzantine Palaestina was a major producer of wine (Mayerson, 1985) which concurs with the notion that Palaestina flourished as a wine producer within the larger Byzantine context (Seligman, Haddad and Nadav-Ziv, 2024). The genre de vie of viticulture and the industrial geopiety is clear in a landscape filled with rock-hewn winepresses used during this period. Based on 183 winepresses and ancient methods of viticulture (Weber, Hirschfelt and Smith, 2009), the volume of wine produced then are calculated at 2 t of grapes per hectare and 230 l of wine per ton of grapes. 2667 mt of wine may have been produced per year in the study area based on maximum utilization of 32 km^2 available land in the hills for vineyards.

The industrial monoculture left an impression of the regional rural settlement pattern and political economy. On the one hand, there was organized effort with settlement hierarchy visible through building sizes, groupings and types ranging from hamlets, to farmsteads, and individual buildings. The settlement concentrated around rock-hewn surface winepresses, the vineyards, and labor for wine production. This pattern and process is noted in traditional Byzantine rural studies that depict law and order in Christian landscapes (Piccirillo, 1985; Lefort, 1993; Fischer, Taxel and Amit, 2008). On the other hand, within the hinterland there is a significant difference between the more settled spaces and those areas describable as more rural (Figure 4).

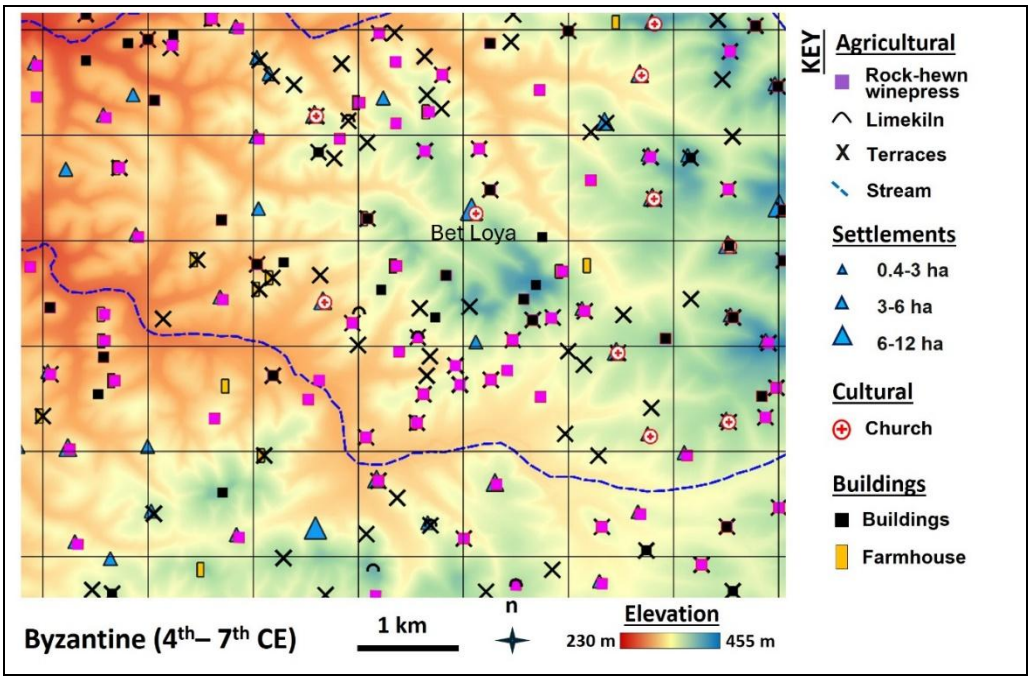

Figure 4. *Byzantine Period in the Study Area with Relevant Data from the IAA Archaeological Survey and displayed with GIS*
Source: Y. Dagan 2006, and the authors 2024.

This may lend credibility to the interpretation that a rural pagus remained intact throughout the Byzantine period. That conforms to descriptions of the rural populations in Byzantine Palaestina, notably near Eleutheropolis, as "predominantly" pagan (Taxel, 2008; Seligman, 2011). It also supports work that notes a continued pagan population elsewhere in Byzantine period Christian regions (Karaulashvili, 2024). According to (Taxel, 2008), "the spread of Christianity into the rural hinterland of...Eleutheropolis was probably a somewhat slower process, not significantly felt until the fifth century...However, by the end of the Byzantine period this area was dotted with numerous Christian settlements (villages, farmhouses and various monastic sites)." The church at Khirbet Bet Loya (see Figure 4) has been attributed as a monastery by Patrich and Tsafrir (1985) which is logical given the pagan population and attempts to Christianize the area (Bar, 2005). Yet, the three floor inscriptions in the monastery mosaics describe donations from the village. Based on that attribution, and a lack of monastic dwelling cells, Gutfeld and Ecker (2013: 173) concluded that the church was private.

If it was private or industry related, then the floor mosaics (Figure 5) may reflect local sentiments of a pagus that was never fully conquered. This schism also reflects the different geopieties associated with pagan and Christian populations. Only at Khirbet Bet Loya, of the ten churches identified in the study, has the excavation provided enough information to describe that social schism through mosaics (Gutfeld and Ecker, 2013). As discussed in the literature review, the appearance of polemical mosaics in the Byzantine period was manifested in

two ways: (1) differentiation between Hellenistic and Roman inspired mosaic; and (2) through earthly patterns and heavenly motifs. The Hellenistic period floor mosaics are known to have contained edge frames within frames and often included a center figure.[14] As Figures 5 (a-e) demonstrate, the nave, chapel, and subsidiary chapel at Bet Loya contained a style typical of Hellenistic architecture and reflect argument through their earthly and heavenly themes.

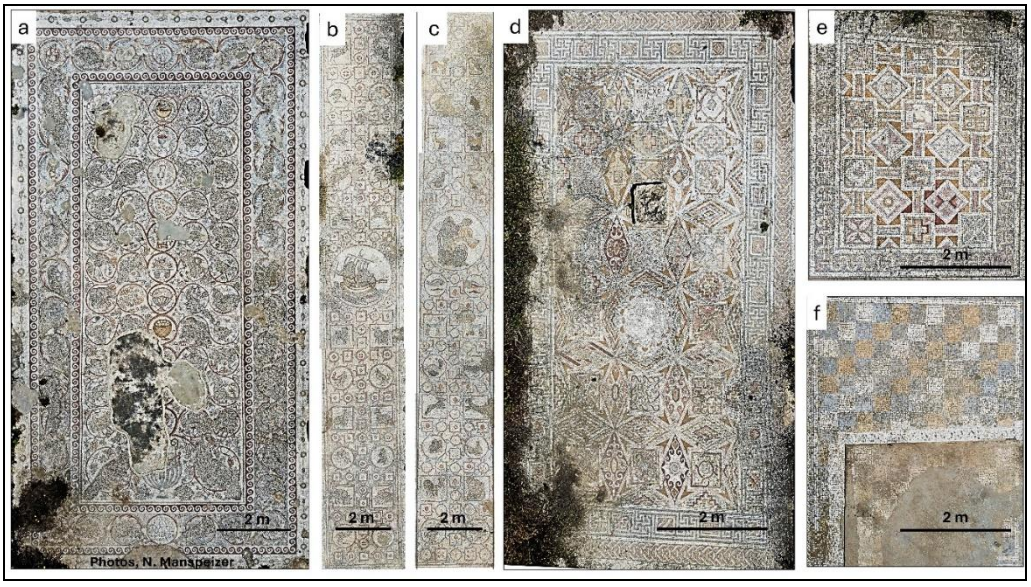

Figure 5. *Framed Mosaic Carpets from the Khirbet Beit Loya Monastery influenced by the Hellenistic Period: (a) Nave, (b & c) Aisle, (d) Chapel, and (e) Subsidiary Chapel. Carpet (f) from a Subsidiary Chapel is Roman Style with Color*
Source: N. Manspeizer drone photos 2024.

The Hellenistic influence speaks to a secularism which is promoted by scrolls and medallions populated with animal figures and agriculture products.[15] The majority of depictions at the Bet Loya monastery reflect the earthly category, however, religious scenes are also embedded in several locations (see Figures 5 & 6). Figures 6 (a & b), for example, show scenes that may represent the life of Jesus from the aisle carpets, and Figure 6f includes medallions on the nave carpet with sacramental items such as challises that were not damaged by iconoclasm. The dominance of the secular Hellenistic form is telling regarding the schism between

14. RA Evyasaf, Technion Israel Institute of Technology, Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning, lecture on the architecture of the Herodian period at the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem (4/19/2024).

15. Technical terms for mosaics after Habas, L. "Mosaic floors of the monastery in Sede Nahum." *Cities, Monuments, and Objects in the Roman and Byzantine Levant: Studies in Honor of Gaby Mazor, Oxford*. Eds. Atrash, W., A. Overman and P. Gendelman. (Archaeopress Publishing Ltd., Oxford, 2022, 221-33).

the local pagan population, to whom geopiety defined their genre de vie, and the way the church spread in the hinterland pagus.

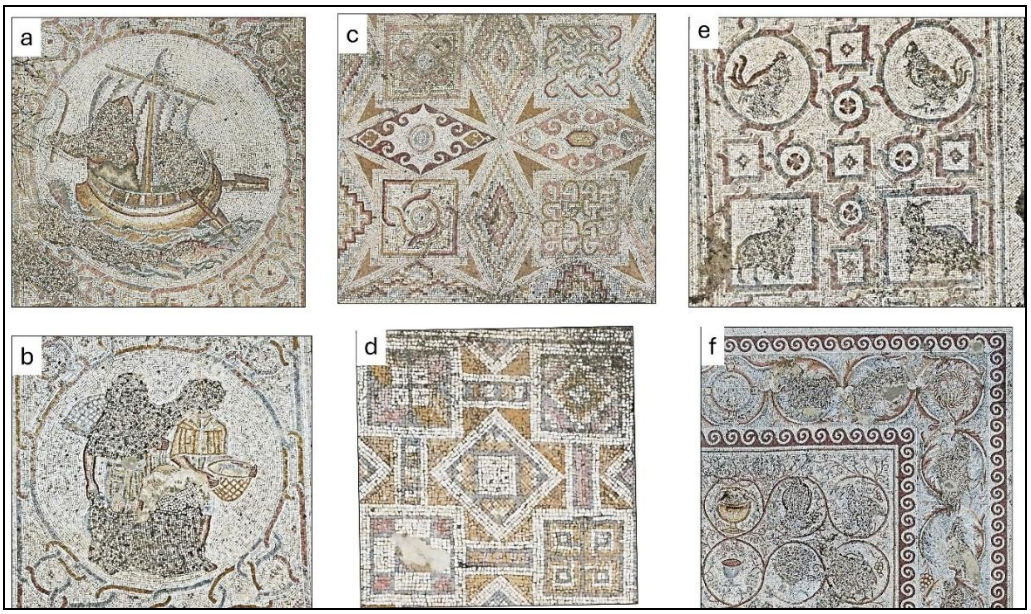

Figure 6. *Mosaic Details at Beit Loya: (a & b) Heavenly Figures in aisles with Iconoclasm, (c & d) Geometric Patterns in Chapel and Subsidiary Chapel, (e & f) Iconoclasm in Aisle and Nave*
Source: N. Manspeizer drone photos 2024.

Almost all the mosaics have iconoclastic damage which includes rearranging the tesserae of the figures rather than complete destruction. Therefore, it is not clear who the iconoclasts were and dating iconoclasm is problematic (Ribak, 2012). Pagan iconoclasm is one possibility, indicating that when Islam spread, the local population had been divided. Local pagan sentiment that opposed the presence of Christianity, or centrality of the viticulture industry may explain the predominance of earthly themes in the Bet Loya mosaics. We discussed some of the more ontological reasons for this affinity based on the pagus and the centrality of nature within the duality. But there is also evidence in Christian history, specifically the debate over monophysism, that the notion of *physis* ("nature") was known. This was a subject we describe earlier related to the essence of subjects regarding metaphysics and the self-other. We hypothesize that the notion of multiple "natures" was more familiar to the local population and carried through to the pagans during the Byzantine period as dyophysitism. This discussion suggests that the debate over monophysism during the Byzantine period related to the essence of natures beyond the religious connotations. Based on the duality of the Hellenistic dialectic, and ontological independence, it would seem the local population focused on their genre de vie and the pagus within the industrial monoculture to survive. This approach helped them to intensify the land-use for industrial monoculture as a cultural exercise of genre de vie. Their geopiety,

reflected in the monastery mosaics, became a driver for investment in landscape which concurs with notions of landesque capital in geography (Blaikie and Brookfield, 2015).

Ottoman Period (1516-1918 CE)

After one thousand years of intensive agricultural use described above, the region became characterized by a sparse population during the Early Muslim (640—1099 CE) and Medieval periods (1099—1516 CE). There is significant archaeological evidence of renewed land-use during the Ottoman period (1516—1917 CE). This coincided with the spread of Qalwati Sufism to the region from Egypt, beginning in the 15th-c. (Weigert, 1999). The study area had twelve permanent Ottoman period settlements with two mosques, four sheikh's tombs, a *khan* ("inn"), and one Muslim cemetery (Varga and Israel, 2014; Peretz and Talis, 2012; Lifshits, 2017). According to Dagan (2006), Ed Dawayima was the site of a Sufi center in the tradition of Tariqa al Qalwatiya, which emphasized both individualism and participation in community. Ed Dawayima grew as a village agriculturally with thirty-nine orchards and agricultural terraces at thirty-one sites that contained Ottoman period pottery. Victor Guerin (1869) noted a population of nine hundred people there.

Significantly, several pastoralist movements were identifiable within the archaeological remains from the Ottoman period (Dagan, 2006; Frantzman and Kark, 2011) including: (1) seasonal grazing from the Hebron mountains; (2) temporary occupation by Bedouin from the south; and (3) grazing by local villagers of the region. Twenty-six Ottoman period animal pens are found throughout the study area connected to these pastoralist movements that range regionally in size from 5 x 4 to 15 x 15 m (see Figure 7). Based on an average 9.5 x 7.5 m per pen and two-three sheep or goats per 1 m^2 (USDA, 2006), average carrying capacity of the study area was between 3705 to 5558/yr. That number is consistent with studies in historical Palestine (Namdar, Gadot and Sapir-Hen, 2024) and the modern Mediterranean (Giourga, Margaris and Vokou, 1998). We know that animal grazing (pastoralism), as a form of monoculture, when practiced in one area over time, requires two types of change: (1) movement of the animals; and (2) seasons. Attachment (geopiety) to place becomes critical for cultural survival (Manspeizer, 2007) and is similar to the wisdom of sessility in vegetation (immobility). However, grazing systems can also develop mobility and demonstrate flexible geopiety in more advanced cultures. That functional explanation is known from grazing system theories in which sustainable environmental management and carrying capacity of the land are related (Heitschmidt and Stuth, 1991; Galaty and Johnson, 1990). As such, connection (geopiety) between pastoralist and environment includes change (nomadism), and a comprehensive understanding of the dynamic nature of the system (Khazanov, 1983).

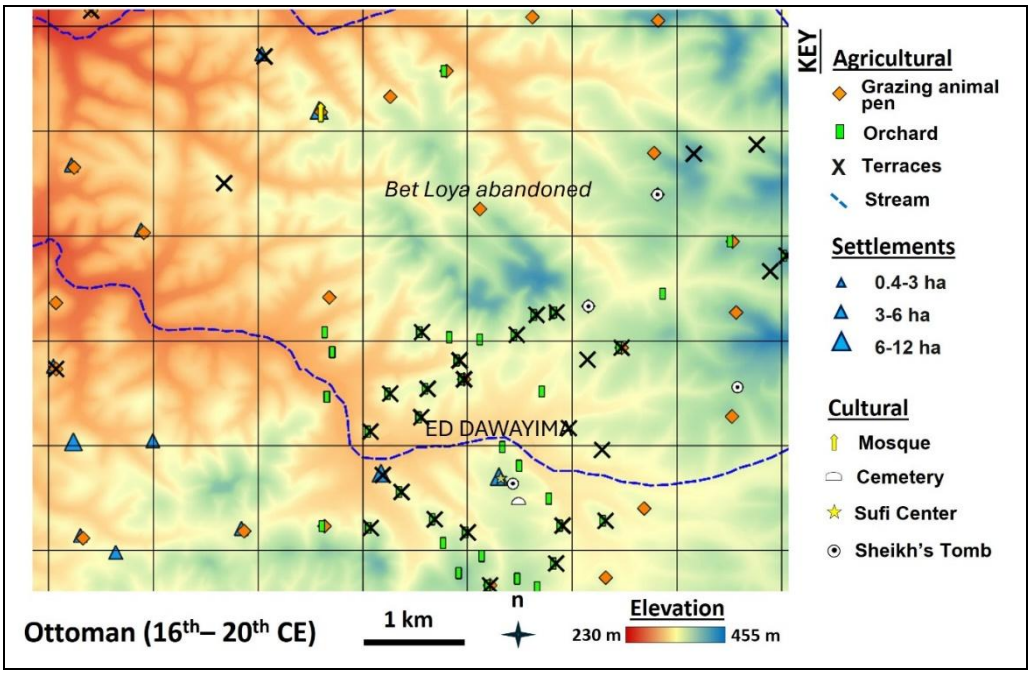

Figure 7. *Ottoman Period in the Study Area with Relevant Data from the IAA Archaeological Survey and displayed with GIS*
Source: Y. Dagan 2006, and the authors (2024).

These notions were described earlier regarding Hellenism, and the contradiction between the divine repetitive world and observed reality in which natural cycles were different. By the Ottoman period, the relationship between variables, such as carrying capacity, seasonal changes, geopiety and climate change, may have become more conscientious. There were three simultaneous systems within the larger pastoralist system at Ed Dawayima which required complex environmental management. The climate regime at Ed-Dawayima would mandate a northern movement from the south during the dry summer months, while the west movement would have occurred from the east during the wet winter months. Complex local to regional scale pastoralist management based on indigenous knowledge is known from other pastoralist systems around the world (Galaty and Johnson, 1990). What part did Sufism play in that process and how is this related to industrial livestock grazing as monoculture?

Such a complex pastoralist system could be attributable to the diophysitic, dualistic, ontological independence born from the Hellenistic dialectic that developed into regional Sufism. That effect however was relative to the grazing industry in Ottoman Palestine which is documented through foreign privatization (Kark, 2017) and the urban meat industry (Namdar, Gadot and Sapir-Hen, 2024). Foreign *efendi* (landlord) investment in Palestinian land, such as grazing rights, was common and the products sold for profit by the investors in urban centers such as Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Haifa. Tariqa al-Qalwatiya, the local Sufism practiced at Ed-Dawayima, emphasized individualism and community (Trimingham, 1998)

which contribute to each other in form of capitalism, such as mercantilism. In the literature review ain al-jam was described as the union with G-d, in which the relationship between self and G-d led to the transcendentalism. (Acim, 2022). The idea was acceptable within the Islamic world because of the dyophysitic nature of their duality which related to two natures (self and divine as other) (Sidiropoulou, 2011). This may be viewed relative to monophysism in which the only nature of being (and causality) was divine. The discussion becomes very complex regarding multiple natures of being or Natures.[16] However, for the scope of this discussion, Sufi traditions such as Al-Qalwatiya may be described as rectifying the negative aspects of pastoralist community, such as efendi privatization, through support of more earthly solutions with their devotion (Weigert, 1999). Practices such as, *Zuhd* ("individual asceticism"), ain al-jam, and *khalwa* ("retreat") by the *dervish* ("Sufi member") led to a twofold result: (1) the connection to land, geopiety, was made stronger relative to the range privatization and grazing industry; and (2) capitalism resulted from the privatization but also the local Sufi response.

In the west, secular nationalist and Protestant forms of capitalism, such as British free trade or American colonial mercantilism, were similar to this Ottoman period development and also associated with individualism. But, in the Middle East, the ontological form of Islam enabled a foundation for capitalist success and reduced potential conflict between privatization and the peasantry. While the privatization would cause rural peasant conditions, the ontological independence offered through Sufism liberated the pastoralist community at Ed Dawayima. *Wird al Sattar*, composed in the 15th c. CE, is the main devotional text for the Tariqa al Qalwatiya order (Weigert, 1999). The title means "litany of the veiled secrecy" and speaks to the raison d'etre of the Qalwati dervish which was to veil the community from evil. The litany is rarely discussed in Western literature although it is possible to surmise from the sacramental behavior associated with its practice that the mysticism was functionally oriented (Trimingham, 1998). According to tradition, one follower of Qalwatiya Sufism at the turn of the 16th-c. CE was Bayezid II, the Ottoman Sultan. Bayezid II turned to a Sufi sheikh, Chelebi Khalifa, to read the future so the correct path to ascend the throne could be determined. Reading the future was a metaphor for veiling the community from evil so that true path could become clear of hindrance. At Ed Dawayima, a center of the Qalwatiya order, that veil was embodied through the Sufi who separated the pastoralist community from negative influences. The Sufi approach helped reduce conflict between the local indigenous population and foreign investors by veiling the political realities.

16. The notion of multiple states of nature also conforms to theories in ecology such as multiple stable states. See: Dublin, H.T., A.R. Sinclair, and J. McGlade. Elephants and fire as causes of multiple stable states in the Serengeti-Mara woodlands. *The Journal of Animal Ecology*, Vol., 1990, 1147-64.

Results

Results are divided into three sections: (1) tracing duality within the pagus, as environmental and metaphorical other, from the Hellenistic to the Ottoman period; (2) contributions to the study of plagioclimax in the Mediterranean and southern Levant; and (3) the validity of the qualitative model to explain anthropogenic disturbances on the landscape.

First, this paper explored the development of culture-nature duality between the 4th-c. BCE and the 20th-c. CE in the southern Levant. The Hellenistic, Byzantine, and Ottoman periods are examined in detail as a case study because they reflect major monocultural land-use periods. Observer effect was interpreted as the logic by which cultures related to the environmental other and traced to early metaphysics and dialectic. The duality, as a product of observer effect, developed into ontological independence, dyophysitism and capitalism. Monoculture is thus defined as a landscape scale expression of a cultural effort through industrialism and intensification. This theme extends through the pagus during the three periods with an emphasis on industrialization and intensification. The exercise of separating intensification from extensification became significant in division between the eastern Greco and western Roman worlds. For our study, the need to distinguish spatially according to this cultural ontology is necessary because of its differential impact on the landscape. This paper concentrated on the tradition of ontological independence that developed within the pagus, as environmental space. Figure 8 represents the tradition of duality as a branching developmental tree or road map (thick blue line).

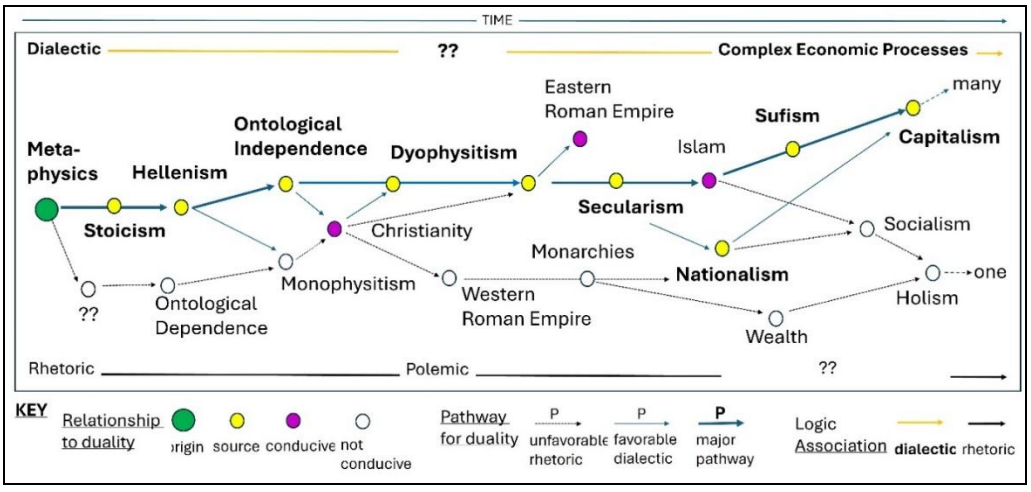

Figure 8. *Schematic Road Map (broad blue line) from Metaphysics to Capitalism, with Favorable (thin blue) and Unfavorable Branches (dotted black). Work based on Major Historical Developments related to the Culture-nature Duality and Ontological Independence over Time*
Source: the authors 2024

In this way, capitalism became the development of dialectic/ontological independence and juxtaposed with socialism that developed from a tradition of rhetoric/polemics. The pagus, as metaphor, is useful because it represents the position of self, relative to other, as a reflection of cultural critical realism. The difference between ontological independence and ontological dependence was defined as the distinction between secularism and religion. Thus, the tradition of capitalism may be traced to that critical realism, negation of the divine, and the subsequent intensification which resulted from ontological independence.

Second, this raises a question regarding the intensification of land-use in the pagus and the land-degradation that resulted from industrialization. The critical differentiation is between intensification and extensification. Intensification led to plagioclimax yet also helped conserve those areas not used. This is juxtaposed with extensification, in which the environmental degradation may have wider spatial distribution but not result in plagioclimax. In plagioclimax regions, the substrate becomes affected by disturbance and vegetation cannot recover to a climax state. Figure 9 shows previous work by the authors (Manspeizer and Karnieli, 2024) in which the pagus is exposed through the archaeological survey data (Figure 9a) and GIS analysis. Distance to agricultural installation images (Figure 9b) were derived for each period and land-use intensity images (Figure 9c) derived using trend analysis. A cumulative land-use intensity image of the three periods was derived (Figure 9d) in which the pagus emerges in-situ, spatially and visually (Figure 9e). This digital view of the pagus is original because it reflects the historical ontology of a geographic space.

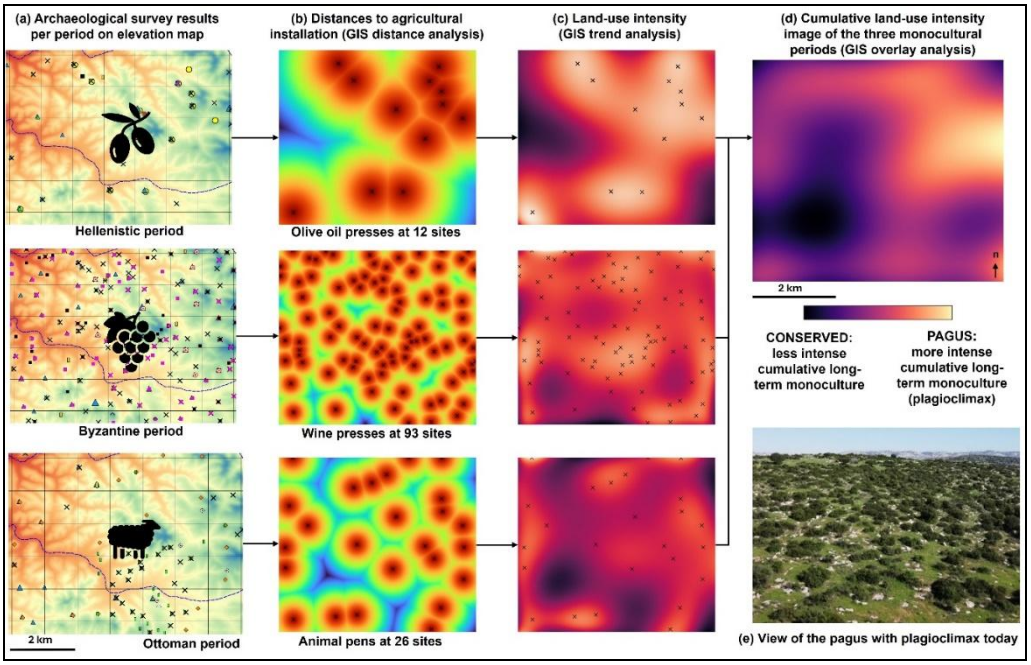

Figure 9. *A View of the In-situ Pagus from GIS Analysis of Archaeological Survey Data*
Source: the authors 2024.

As geopiety gained spatial form through long-term ancient monoculture, the disturbance factor became reinforced over time. Pattern, as landscape, gained "residual" power as the landscapes was inherited (Manspeizer et al., 2020; Manspeizer, 2006). This is the case in the study area, where over 2300 years a pattern developed between areas with more and less intense anthropogenic impact which today still leaves its mark on the vegetation. Many of the areas less-used for ancient monoculture are recognized as national parks in Israel which conforms to these long-term patterns. By continuing to sacrifice the plagioclimax zones, the less-used areas become potentially richer biologically as wilderness. If the ontological logic and landscape patterns are preserved, conservation can become more effective within the same capitalist model in which it developed. In this manner, industrial intensification may have produced plagioclimax but also potential conservation areas. It is implied from this, based on the discussion of causality in the paper, that the Stoics understood that the pagus would become a sacrifice zone for the polis over time while strengthening the wilderness at the same time.

Third, regarding the validity of the model to define anthropogenic disturbances on the landscape through qualitative analysis. GIS techniques proved useful to provide a quantitative picture for qualitative analysis which appears to be relevant for archaeological sciences and history. Based on the research, there were two main groups that were distinguished by sorting the archaeological survey data and correlating the results with ancillary historical and archaeological evidence. On the one hand, the monocultural group was distinguished based on "same type" agricultural installations relative to total, and the second group were the extensification and fallow periods. Once the three monocultural periods were grouped, the study could question their similarities and differences which was largely a qualitative explanation. Further explanation may seek to fill archaeological gaps or experiment with botany to understand the impact of monocultural crops on the substrate. However, the critical piece of the puzzle lay in the cultural intention to maximize landscape production which could only be derived through the historical narrative. By establishing each period's cultural relationship with the landscape, or ontological ecology, industrialism was identified as the driving force of environmental impact. In other words, the proximate causes of disturbance (olive trees, vineyards, and grazing animals) and their impact on the substrate, was related to the geopiety. However, for each period it was identified that the geopiety occurred as monoculture within a context of industrially related land-use. The qualitative method is validated because it helped standardize that measure through ontology as it related to the pagus to reveal the industrialism. Filling archaeological gaps and conducting experimental botany will be more accurate due to the knowledge base established in this paper.

Conclusion

In this paper we explain a critical reality of ancient monocultural impact in the southern Levant and demonstrated that ontological independence and geopiety are both contingencies for capitalism. This is logical because it means that the independence of nature and cultural relations to that independence produce an economy by which culture and nature exist as a duality. The southern Judean foothills of Israel exhibit a long-term impact from that relationship in the form of a plagioclimax. This impacts on the modern land-cover (Manspeizer, 2021; Manspeizer and Karnieli, 2024) and has widescale regional effect. This paper described a qualitative method to explore the ontological reason for this phenomena through monocultural maximization of the landscape. The paper describes the development of ontological independence between the 4th-c. BCE – 20th-c CE as an observer effect from dialectics to complex economic processes. Periods of ontological independence through the 2300 years were consistent with periods of industrialized monoculture which had consequences for the landscape. Geopiety was explored and the production of olive oil, wine, or animals were related to the agricultural installations discovered during archaeological surveys. Further work can now examine the mechanical-physical impacts of the three monocultural forms (olive oil production, viticulture, and pastoralism) on the substrate and attempt to identify plagioclimax affected areas regionally. Additionally, the difference between the agricultural intensification associated with the industrialized landscapes and agricultural extensification was noted which is important because they produce different landscape patterns.

Such "ontological ecology" can emerge as an important field of study in which cultural attitudes toward nature may be understood through practice. The ideas that were discussed represent two processes: (1) development of duality as a significant ontological foundation; and (2) changes of form by which that ontology is enacted on the landscape. The combined effect reflects the duality in which ontologically independent cultures interact with a landscape but become vulnerable to industrialization processes. One question that arises regards the constraints on dualistic/capitalistic cultures because in the modern world, capitalism and restraint are not necessarily synonymous. However, based on the study, there are two positive outcomes: (1) while leading to plagioclimax in one area, the industrialization of the pagus also led to conservation in another. This is juxtaposed with cultures of extensification which may not lead to substrate collapse but more widespread surficial damage ecologically; and (2) the ontological independence led to a relationship between the industrial investor and those who inhabited the pagus. This relationship was seen clearly in the case studies presented as was development of genre de vie through geopiety of the local populations. Cultural expressions, such as Stoic philosophy, Byzantine mosaics, and Sufi literature, helped give voice to that genre de vie. The landscape, itself

material culture, helped complete the picture through its own hidden patterns and ousia (Aristotilian being).

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A Land Code That Extended the Lifetime of an Empire[1]

By Murat Gökmen[*]

This study aims to question the reasons and consequences of the code on behalf of the empire. The article supports the idea that the code was one of the most important reform codes that helped the empire to postpone its decay in the 19th century. The study suggests that the code played a crucial role for the empire in controlling illegal settlements, increasing tax incomes and registering the people who were already living in the region by preserving their status. The study claims that the code contributed to preserving the wealth of the people living within the empire by enabling authorities to track the construction and land purchasing activities in the region. By that the study suggests that the empire achieved to learn more about desolate areas in the region by constructing new building sites, administration offices, and farming areas in order to develop the region economically and enhance Ottoman authority in the region. The threat to the demographic structure of the territory, especially after the defeat of the Crimean War, negatively affected the economy and social cohesion of the empire. Therefore, France and Britain, dwelling on the support they had provided to the empire against Russia after the Crimean War interfered with the internal and external policies of the empire, which were regarded to be threatening the sovereignty of the empire. Therefore, the study supports the idea that the code serves as a reaction to regain the Ottoman sovereignty both in and out of its boundaries after Paris Treaty (1856). As the study suggests, by the code the Ottoman authorities had a chance to keep the demographic structure of the region by preventing new incoming immigrants and settlers to the empire. The code in its basic form is supported to preserve the boundaries of the empire by preserving the wealth of people, tribes, and their demographic status where they were living in. By keeping track of the people and their land purchasing and settlement activities within the empire, the code also increased the revenues the empire collected contributed to Ottoman treasury. The study supports the idea that the code played a critical role in prolonging the lifespan of the empire beside guaranteeing the demographic structure of the region. The study employs qualitative research method by using document analysis technique. [1]

Introduction

The Industrial Revolution (1760) in Europe ushered significant technological advancements, granting European powers a military and economic advantage and superiority in economy and technology. Meanwhile, the French Revolution,

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1. The study is an extended version of the study entitled "A Code That Contributed to Recovery of the Ottoman Empire: 1858 Ottoman Land Code" presented at the 17th Annual International Conference on Mediterranean Studies, coordinated by the Athens Institute for Education between 25 and 28 March 2024, under the title "A code that contributed to recovery of the Ottoman Empire: 1858 Ottoman Land Code" .

commencing in 1789 and extending into the 19th century significantly shaped the political landscape of colonizer European countries such as Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal positively.[2] During the era, the smaller provinces in Africa served merely as sources of raw materials and labor force for the colonizer countries. These power blocks sought to invade and exploit these regions in order to gain more raw materials to nurture their ongoing expansionist policies against their rivals by increasing their wealth and territories.[3] Indigenous nations in Africa were negatively affected by this prompt change in power and technology proposed and realized by colonizer European countries whose lands and populations were both enslaved and colonized by the countries.[4] Masking their colonizing deeds within the context of helping those people in Africa, colonizer European countries regarded Africa and Africans as burden of the world that could only be tamed by them by means of power, science and technology.[5] The time was so chaotic that any country that had the chance to develop superior ships without losing time was strengthening their armadas to be stronger in the sea and acquire more lands, raw materials and labor force.[6] Even the European countries were rivaling among themselves for generating technology, strengthening their military, economy, and politics by acquiring as much territory as they could to nurture their industrial production cycle. The natural wealth of the empire and its strategic location gathered the attention of colonized European countries' for founding their colonies.

Once a dominant force in the area, the empire was at the time internalized by dealing with rebellious activities empowered by the French Revolution (1799) besides national tendencies and economic burden caused by rebellious activities enforced by Ottoman Vali Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha in Egypt.[7] Furthermore, the early 19th century was a challenging period for the empire as it grappled with substantial geopolitical and internal problems stemming from the social, economic, and political consequences of the Crimean War (1856).[8]

The empire was well aware of the changes happening in the world in terms of technology, nationalist tendencies, colonization activities, and potential threats to the empire. Therefore, the empire was struggling hard to preserve its boundaries and status against possible internal and external threats that may emancipate from Balkans, Middle East, and Anatolian region.[9] Inevitably and quite naturally, as the empire was unable to foster innovation and technology against the European countries, it struggled hard to produce science and technology that would compete with them. Although the empire did not have any colonial aims, it found itself in

2. Tiné, Global civil society and the forces of empire, 34.
3. Said, Orientalism, 75, 226.
4. Conrad & Klaus, Global mobility, 182., Sachsenmaier, Alternative visions, 2007.
5. Said, Orientalism, 75, 226.
6. Gray, Enlightenment's wake, 2005, 168.
7. Karpat, The stages of Ottoman history, 79–98., Özdemir, Osmanlı Devleti dış borçlar, 6-7.
8. Shaw & Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, 97-105.
9. Mcneill, The Ottoman Empire, 44.

the middle of colonial activities addressing its territories in Africa which were rich in raw material and human force. As the empire's boundaries were stretching across three continents starting from the Balkans to the Middle East, the empire was under the risk of colonial activities as well. As the empire lagged behind European nations and failed to meet the expectations of the time by producing technology and strengthening its armada, it had to foster balance policy by conducting neat and productive policies with Britain and France.[10] Although there were initiations to renovate the armada, starting from Sultan II Mahmut to Sultan Abdülaziz, in whose time they were renovated, they were still lagging behind the technology of its time of which costed the empire a lot more than generating benefits. Empire's eeaching its natural boundaries initiated a fall in revenues and, on the contrary, more investment were needed to compensate the expanses of the wars and protecting the lands from possible colonial invasion. As the empire did not participate colonial activities, the empire faced financial problems stemming mainly from the war expenses. Refraining from further territorial expansion, however, the European countries equally were becoming powerful and richer each day thanks to their advancement in technology, shipping, manufacturing, and industrial research. The colonized regions were mostly scattered in Africa and the Middle East, with their wealth in material and human resources, besides their strategic location. The richness of those regions in terms of material and human resources garnered the appetite of the colonizer countries. The main motivation of colonialism was delving into the abundance of wealth and human resources.[11] Internally, the empire was struggling with its internal problems stemming from decentralization, corruption, and ethnic and religious tensions by increasing expenditures on the maintenance of the empire, particularly in the Balkans and Middle East regions.[12] Externally, European colonial powers extended their influence by posing a significant challenge to the Ottomans in terms of threatening its boundaries and multicultural life.[13]

On the other side, the empire was experiencing the negative effects of the Industrial and French Revolution in Europe. The gap between the empire and European countries was widening each day causing the empire to lose power.[14] This imbalance in economic and military power exacerbated the empire's stability. As a result of these challenges, the empire struggled hard to adapt itself to the rapidly changing global landscape facing difficulties in modernizing and reforming its institutions and policies to keep up with European powers.[15] However, the empire's inability to do so weakened its position resulting the loss of territories. European countries were not only competing for acquiring raw

10. Toynbee, The Ottoman Empire's place in World, 17.
11. Geulen, The common grounds of conflict, 78.
12. Conrad & Sachsenmaier, Competing Visions of World Order, 11., Karpat, 4-13.
13. Shaw & Shaw, 6-22.
14. Ibid, 146.
15. Geulen, 70.

materials but they were also striving to dominate more lands than their counterparts.[16] To achieve this, they invested in new technological advancements and tools to enhance their shipping and military networks.[17] Politically, they fostered relations with minorities, namely national groups within the empire by triggering their national sentiments to create small national states through divide-and-rule policies. Facing the threat posed by European powers, the empire which was inhabited by diverse ethnicities and people of varying religions became a potential target for colonizing countries seeking to weaken its administration and status in the region.[18] Despite its defeat to Russia in the Crimean War, European countries, particularly France and Britain, sided with the empire against Russia since they did not want to have direct boundary with Russia.[19] While the empire lost the Crimean War to Russia, it managed to reclaim much of the land Russia had invaded, albeit at a significant ransom cost, with the help of political support provided by Britain and France.[20] This ransom became a primary reason for the Empire's indebtedness to European countries, opening the door for France and Britain to interfere with the empire's domestic and international politics, exploiting both its debts and granted capitulations.[21] In response to relentless pre-organized policies against the empire, it sought to secure its borders in the Balkans, Middle East, and Asian continents.[22]

1858 Ottoman Land Code

The code concerning Ottoman lands in the late 19th century was crucial to see the vitality of registering the people who acquired territory within the empire for their future possible colonization initiations empowered by European countries and Christian Zionists whose attitudes were evolving to get organized at the time. The empire, in this regard was very well aware of the threat emancipating from European countries with the granted capitulations.[23] In this regard, the code aimed to register the lands, collect the revenues according to the status of the land,

16. Barraclough, The revolt against the West, 122., Kelly & Kaplan, My ambition is much higher than independence, 140.

17. Aydın, A global anti-Western moment?, 217–25.

18. Quataert, The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922 Second Edition, 68–71.

19. Eraslan, II. Abdülhamid ve İslam Birliği, 13.

20. El-Awaisi, The Origins of the Idea of Establishing a 'Zionist Client-State, 22., Kızıltoprak, II. Abdülhamid'in Mısır Sorununa Yaklaşımı ve İstanbul Konferansı, 92–117.

21. Erdem, İlanından Yüz Elli Yıl Sonra Avrupa Birliği Müzakereleri Bağlamında Islahât Fermânı'na Yeniden Bir Bakış, 327–48., Gümüş, II. Abdülhamit Döneminde Filistin Politikası, 30-46.

22. Armaoğlu, 19. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi 1789-1914, 220-221., Karal, Osmanlı Tarihi, 231-248.

23. Aytekin, Agrarian Relations, Property and Law: An Analysis of the Land Code of 1858 in the Ottoman Empire, 947.

increase state tax income and observe the changes in land ownership within the empire as a means to observe the lands and geographies the foreigners were interested in within the empire. Since with miri lands, the inheritors could cultivate and produce products, it gathered the attention of the foreigners to start their colonization activities on these lands by coordinating with the people who rented the land from the empire.[24] Although they knew that they could not acquire the land officially, they tried to find ground to cultivate it by developing ties with the people who had the right to cultivate it.[25] The tapus provided by the land code was of the utmost importance for tracking whether the people who held the tapus were the same as those people who cultivated on miri lands as a precaution for the colonial threat emancipating at the time.[26] Dwelling on capitulations, foreign investment was welcomed by the Ottoman administration since Suleiman the Magnificent.[27] However, the capitulations were granted to benefit the empire in terms of increasing trading activities on mutual and respective terms. That was the main reason why the empire could not quit providing capitulations and beside that the empire due to Russian threat did not want to lose French and British support against Russia, therefore Sultan Abdülmecid had to preserve the status of caputilations although their devastating effects on the empire's politics were so vivid. Meanwhile, the 1858 land code served as a filter towards colonial countries who were seeking ways to settle their colonies within the empire by land purchasing activities the empire had granted with flexible and advantageous conditions by means of capitulations.[28] Since the capitulations were granted and legalized under the treaties, canceling them would cause the loss of prestige of the empire both politically and economically; therefore the empire, instead of changing the amendments in capitulations fostered the code to register trading trafficking on the lands and watch their activities within the empire as a precaution and fostered restrictive amendments where the empire found necessary against their possibble colonization initiation. Since there were already many people living within the empire fromvarying nationalities and religions, the empire welcomed the people who were interested in settling in Ottoman lands but did not quit its cautious attitude.[29] In order not to offend people from varying nations and religions living within the empire and the countries with whom the empire was trying to strengthen its politics with, Sultan Abdülmecid fostered constructive

24. Akgündüz, Mukayeseli İslam ve Osmanlı Hukuku Külliyatı, 685- 691.

25. Kark, Consequences of the Ottoman Land Law: Agrarian and Privatization Processes in Palestine, 1858-1918, 3-15., Öke, Siyonizm & Filistin Sorunu, 38-58.

26. Solomonovich & Kark, Land Privatization in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Palestine, 223.

27. Karpat, The Politicization of Islam, 116-118., Mandel, Ottoman Policy and Restrictions on Jewish Settlement in Palestine: 1881-1908, 316–319.

28. Van Den Boogert, The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System, 613-630.

29. Lewis, The Jews of Islam, 1984.

policies.[30] This code in this regard enabled the empire to observe the people who were interested in Ottoman lands as it was already the hub and crossroads of trading and colonization activities besides holding sacred places and spaces ranging from Kudus to Mecca.[31] Tradesmen in their merchandising activities from varying countries were constantly visiting and staying for a period of time to perform their trading activities within the empire. Some of the Christians and Jews were even trying to purchase land in Bayt al-Maqdis for religious reasons at the time.[32] In order not to offend the visitors coming from varying nationalities, religions, and dhimmis (non-Muslim Ottoman citizens) as well, the empire aimed to foster control of its lands closely.[33] The code as a legal basis binding all sides willing to buy land within the empire, controlled the demographic structure of the empire on a legal basis, increased the revenues, and fostered protective measures against colonization activities initiated and fostered by colonizer European countries.[34] Previously, there were Tahrir Defterleri (Tahrir Books) registering the lands, revenues, and the amounts of the products that were acquired from the lands cultivated.[35] However, they were lagging behind the time and the accounts provided by them since, most of the time; the accounts were not providing accurate information regarding the renters of the miri lands since most of the lands were inherited by families or the real alive renter of the miri lands could not be

30. De Groot, The historical development of the capitulatory regime in the Ottoman Middle East from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, 575–604., Friedman, The system of capitulations and its effects on Turco-Jewish relations in Palestine 1856-1897, 280–93., Lewis & Braude, Christians & Jews in the Ottoman Empire.

31. El-Buti, İslam Devleti'nin Gayri Müslümlere Karşı Tutumu: Kudüs Örneği., Grehan, Twilight of the saints religion in Ottoman Syria and Palestine. Harman, İslamiyet ve Kudüs, 9–30., Nalezen, 19. Yüzyıl Başlarında Kudüs, 142–47.

32. Barın, The Ottoman Policy Towards Jewish Immigration and Settlement in Palestine: 1882-1920., Baer, The Impact of Economic Change on Traditional Society in Nineteenth Century Palestine, 495–99. Gerber, Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Palestine: The Role of Foreign Trade, 250–64., Gökmen, Sultan II Abdülhamid's policies and practices towards Jewish Zionists regarding Bayt al-Maqdis, 48-49.

33. Aytekin., Kark, 1–19., Shehadeh, The Land Law of Palestine: An Analysis of the Definition of State Lands, 82–99., Solomonovich & Kark, 221–52., Gökmen, Arab Palestinians' attitude towards Jewish Zionism in Palestine during and after Sultan Abdülhamid II's Reign, 203., Gökmen, Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in Yahudi Siyonist hareketine karşı Yahudilere yönelik uyguladığı sosyal politikalar, 28-42.

34. El-Awaisi & Yiğit, Early Foreign Penetration in the Holy Land During the Late Ottoman Period: The Role of Britain, 1–18., Kark & Frantzman, The Negev: Land, Settlement, the Bedouin and Ottoman and British Policy 1871-1948, 53–77., Scholch, Britain in Palestine, 1838-1882: The Roots of the Balfour Policy, 39–56., Trimbur, A French Presence in Palestine-Notre-Dame de France, 117–40.

35. Keleş, Tapu Tahrir Defterleri, 18-19., Gümüşçü, The Ottoman Tahrir Defters as a source for historical geography, 912.

reached easily.[36] Therefore, the code provided credible and updated accounts regarding the people who rented miri lands at a time when the colonization activities were at their high point. The code enabled the authorities within the empireto monitor the people who were interested in cultivating the lands granted to Ottoman citizens.[37] Registering the latest alive owners of the lands, monitoring the changes by tapus, and getting to know the owners of the lands through trading activities within the empire, the code helped the empire resettle its authority on its lands especially after Crimean War and increasing European authority within Ottoman politics.[38] The code, consisting of 132 articles across three sections served as the first comprehensive, universally applicable, and practicable land code put into force by the Ottoman authorities.[39] In asserting its intended supremacy, the code nullified all provisions of preceding codes, regulations, decrees, and legal opinions that contradicted its provisions.[40] Meanwhile, the code enacted on June 6 in 1858 marked a significant milestone for registering lands within the empire.[41] It was a strategic move to safeguard the welfare and future of the empire, especially given the pressures it faced after the Crimean War. The benefits of the code can be summoned up as follows:

a) Registering and updating the categories and status of the lands within the empire.
b) Monitor the density of the land purchasing activities.[42]
c) With the tapus, the last and real owner of the land would be defined, and they were secured so that the continuation of the production and land ownership had become under control.
d) Private property is guaranteed.
e) Changing the status of the lands enabled new territories to be included in production, and hence, both farming production and tax revenues increased simultaneously. The variety of the crops increased as the land reserved for farming increased; therefore, more people with the code could be added to the production and farming cycle.[43] This trafficking was to observe the peoples and nations who were interested in Ottoman Lands by

36. Gümüşçü, The Ottoman Tahrir Defters as a source for historical geography, 920.

37. Afyoncu, Osmanlı Devlet teşkilatında defterhane-i amire (XVI- XVIII Yüzyıllar), Aytekin, Agrarian Relations, Property and Law: An Analysis of the Land Code of 1858 in the Ottoman Empire., Kark, Consequences of the Ottoman Land Law: Agrarian and privatization processes in Palestine, 1858-1918, 15.

38. Gümüşçü, 911-942.

39. Akgündüz, 683-715., Shehadeh, 87–91., Külliyat-ı Kavanin, 3587/ 25.

40. Aytekin, Agrarian, 935.

41. Akgündüz, 683-715., Gözel, The Implementation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 in Eastern Anatolia, 1.

42. For detailed information, it can be consulted to Akgündüz, 683-715.

43. Kenanoğlu, 1858 Arazi Kanunnamesi ve Uygulanması, 107–38., Shehadeh, 43–45.

using third person to cultivate the land since the land could not be sold unless the permisson acquired by Ottoman officials. The only way to earn the right to cultivate the land was to acquire the right by public auction conducted by Ottoman Administration

The code brought about a significant change in land administration, the establishment of land registry offices, and the compulsory registration of arable lands, which were the critical components of this initiative.[44] The code addressed concrete problems associated with estates, determining conditions for transforming village land into an estate.[45] Moreover, the code of 1858 played a crucial role in land administration, revenue generation, and anticipating potential challenges, reflecting the empire's efforts to adapt to changing circumstances and pressures from external forces.[46]

Categories of the Lands within the Empire defined by the Code

With the code, the empire categorized the lands into three forms so as to increase productivity and production as well as its land revenues.[47] Therefore, the lands are categorized as follows:

1. Miri lands: The renters of the land were expected to cultivate the land and produce products as the heir of the land acquired the right by public auction conducted by the Ottoman administration. The people who rented miri lands could not sell the land even though they had tapus.[48] As the owner of the land was the empire itself, people could only acquire the right to use and cultivate the land for their trading and agricultural activities.[49]
2. Matrouk lands: These were designated for public use, like building roads. Matrouk land required state responsibility for maintenance and included lands serving public purposes.[50]
3. Mawat lands: Consisting of vacant areas like mountains and grazing grounds. Mawat lands were not privately owned and ultimate state

44. Tute, The Registration, 43–45.
45. Gözel, 39., Tute, 43.
46. Kenanoğlu, 108–112.
47. Aytekin, 945.
48. Akgündüz, 683-715.
49. Ibid, 683-705.
50. Ibid,705-707.

ownership was retained. Individuals could cultivate it by getting official permission from the Ottoman administration.[51]

The Land Code of 1858 altered the ownership of village lands, making large tracts of state lands available for use. By that, some of the lands were reserved for the use of social institutions such as schools, hospitals, and waqfs. The lands reserved for their use entitled waqf lands, originating from the Islamic tradition, refer to the lands designated for pious purposes through a religious endowment known as waqf.[52] The establishment of waqf land demonstrated a commitment to maintaining the land's benefits for specific purposes outlined in the waqf while also upholding religious and legal principles, thus contributing to the socio-economic welfare of the community.[53] Foreigners could not buy this kind of land, but if they could settle institutions such as schools and hospitals, they could acquire this kind of land. Therefore, this kind of land purchasing did not pose a threat to the empire since their activities were already closely monitored. This code, in this regard, helped the Ottoman administration to regulate the land by the law by defining the boundaries and limits of lands in terms of renting and cultivating activities within the empire.[54]

Benefits of the Land Code 1858

This legislation had a significant contribution to land use, ownership, and landscape. Before the code, miri lands were subjected to strict cultivation requirements. Still, afterward, detailed restrictions were listed on dealing with the soil and subsoil, distinguishing between allowed and prohibited activities, such as digging for bricks or mining.[55] The code also addressed concerns about foreign interference to Ottoman foreign and internal affairs. The authorities were cautious about European settlements potentially providing pretexts for external control. The legal categorization of large tracts of land as mahlul (unused or deserted state land) allowed the empire to sell or repurpose land, addressing internal resettlement needs and external pressures. The code played a pivotal role in reshaping land tenure within the empire, particularly in miri lands, with far-reaching consequences for the socio-economic, political, and geographic landscape of the region. The code played a crucial role in contributing to the economic and political welfare of the empire. This legal framework had far-reaching consequences, helping the empire to consolidate its control over the lands by monitoring land

51. Ibid, 707-708.
52. Aytekin, 941.
53. Shehadeh, 81–95.
54. Aytekin, 937.
55. Akgündüz, 683-715., Shehadeh, 81–95.

purchase movements and observing demographic changes, particularly in Islamicjerusalem (Kudüs) and its surroundings. One of the key benefits of the code was that, it enabled the collective statistical accounts on the ground for the empire, allowing Ottoman officials to register and closely monitor land transactions.[56] This was particularly important in the face of non-Muslims, especially Christian Zionists' and European countries' land purchasing activities addressing the empire, for engraving the seeds of possible future colonization and colonial activities.

The code enabled the empire to differentiate innocent investors and individuals seeking religious spaces from those trying to acquire lands for their future colonial activities. By offering protection to private property, the code created an environment conducive to economic development.[57] The empire, with the code, had a chance to increase revenues from the lands, transform matrouk lands into miri lands for enhanced production, and establish new work locations.[58] The empire sought to establish delineations and categorizations for landholding through implementing the code.[59] This legislation aimed to transform the system of tax farming, as well as redefine and regulate the empire's rights over miri lands, with the overarching goal of bolstering agricultural production and augmenting the empire's revenues[60]. The code provided precise definitions regarding the utilization of lands within the empire. Furthermore, the code can be seen as a tool to preserve social cohesion within Ottoman society without necessitating another land code for the people living within the boundaries of the empire.[61]

Conclusion

With the implementation of the code, the empire initiated a robust resurgence and began to identify vulnerabilities within its administration that the European countries had already started to exploit. The ramifications of the legislation became particularly pronounced during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II. With the code, the Sultan had a chance to monitor the changes of the owners of the lands Jewish Zionists and European citizens were trying to purchase in Bayt al-Maqdis and hence produced legislation restricting their movements and land purchasing activities. The code enabled the empire to register landholders and track changes in land ownership, besides strengthening regional administration

56. Karpat, The Stages, 95–96, The Politicization, 15., Korkmaz, Midhat Paşa'nın Hayatı, Iidari ve siyasal faaliyetleri.

57. Akgündüz, 683-715., Doumani, Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine: Writing Palestinians into History, 5 –28.

58. Kark & Frantzman, The Negev, 52.

59. Kark, 15–17.

60. Ibid, 3-8.

61. Aydın., Gözel., Minkov, Ottoman Tapu Title Deeds in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. 65–77.

through its enactment actively on the ground. The code contributed significantly to the empire's stability by reinforcing control over the demographic structure of its districts. Following the Crimean War, this code assumed to attach weight in eliminating French and British interference in Ottoman politics. These colonial powers supported non-Muslims within the empire and sought to control land transfers, as colonialism was at its zenith. This code served as a precaution to increase Ottoman authority within its boundaries. The empire, under the leadership of Sultan Abdülmecid started the transformation which was followed by Sultan Abdülaziz and actively enforced by Sultan Abdülhamid II against intensified Jewish Zionist influx and increasing pressure sponsored by the European countries. This code served as a measure to help Ottoman authority maintain its position and authority within the empire by strengtening regulations in land ownership through the issuance of tapu (land title deeds). The issuance of tapu not only increased imperial revenues through taxation but also secured and registered the lands and inhabitants of the districts, facilitating the observation and prevention of potential colonial encroachments. By doing so, the empire aimed to forestall future colonization attempts by France and Britain, both of which already possessed colonies in Africa, the Middle East, and India.

In sum, although the code initially aimed to serve the empire's internal needs by categorizing land and promoting agricultural development, from a broader perspective, its impact was instrumental in thwarting colonial ambitions who sought to expand their influence within the empire. The code in this regard, helped the empire to renovate its administration and provided the empire ability and capacity to increase its strength on its lands. By categorizing the lands, more fertile lands were opened of which enabled more people to work on and thus increase the revenues. The economic benefit of the code in this regard was important. However, this code politically provided the ground for the empire to watch and coordinate the changes of the persons who rented the lands from the empire and get to know the real renters of the lands. This was important for the empire to minitor people who had ties with European or Christian Zionist organisations. With the code the empire recordedwith tapus and to great extent possible ground for colonization of the regions by European countries. The first phase of colonisation might start with land purshasing activities, the empire sought the possible threat and undertook land code as a safeguard preventing future possible colonial activities within the empire. As people could use varying names, masking their real aim and identity working on behalf of colonial counries while bein Ottoman citizens the empire with the code even had the ability to control the renters and the people actively using the lands. Therefore, the code, besides its economic benefits had contributed a great deal to preserving the demographic structure of the region and restricting possible colonization activities conducted by European countries and Christian Zionists. Sultan Abdülhamid II dwelling this code had the ability to monitor the activities of Jewish Zionists and European countries therefore the code not only preserved the welfare of its time its

benefits were extended to Sultan Abdülhamid's reign during whose reign Jewish Zionists could not achieve their ambitions in Bayt al- Maqdis.

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Hephaestion's Death: A Moment of Grief for Alexander or a Catalyst for his Quest for Immortality?

*By Klaudia Oczachowska**

Hephaestion was the most loyal friend of Alexander the Great. He was the supporter of Alexander's policy and participated in building Alexander's image so by creating parallels with the Homeric figures. It already started at the beginning of the Macedonian expedition when they visited Achilles and Patroclus tombs. Mourning after Hephaestion death allowed Alexander expressed deep grief in a truly Homeric way. Mourning time was the last opportunity to refer to the created by them Homeric image of friendship. Alexander wished to be remembered by his contemporaries and subsequent generations just as his ancestors did. Therefore, sometimes undertook actions that were of an image-related nature. Extraordinary way of express feelings and lavish character of funeral ceremony, number of people involved the in preparations raise the question of Alexander's purposefulness. Important for this consideration is fact that commemorating Hephaestion also became an opportunity to aspire to divinity once again. The study aims are to analyze of actions taken by Alexander the Great after the death of his friend and consider how it influenced to Alexander's image.

Ancient authors describing the history of Alexander unanimously state that Hephaestion held a particularly important place in the life of the Macedonian[1]. Even though the funeral ceremony and all related manifestations of preserving the memory of the deceased seem to confirm it the brief Justinus' report gives some doubts. Justinus put attention to the probably real reason of Alexander and Hephaestion friendship – Hephaestion's beauty and his submissiveness[2]. The issue of Hephaestion is not often taken up by researchers and he played a great role in Alexander's environment[3]. This study will focus on analysing how the

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1. Arr. *Anab*. 7.16; Diod. 17.37; Plut. *Alex*. 39.

2. Iust. 12.12.

3. Usually Hephaestion is depicted in ancient sources beside Alexander. That is the reason why research on Hephaestion always includes the figure of Alexander. J. Reames, analyses the problem of the relationship between Alexander and Hephaestion in: *An atypical affair? Alexander the Great, Hephaistion Amyntoros and the nature of their relationship*, „Ancient History Bulletin" 1999, p. 81-96; S. Müller tries to reconstruct the image of Hephaistion independent of the figure of Alexander in: *In Abhängigkeit von Alexander? Hephaistion bei den Alexanderhistoriographen*, „Gymnasium" 118, 2011, p. 429-456; A. Collins refers to Alexander's politics and Hephaistion's role in it in: *Alexander and the Persian court chiliarchy*, „Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte" 61, 2012, p. 159-167; some researchers only partially refer to the figure of Hephaistion as a participant in signicifant events

Hephaestion - as a counterpart to the Homeric Patroclus - was used to create the intended image of Alexander.

The descriptions of Alexander's mourning in ancient sources are presented differently. These differences have pivotal significance for the present consideration. Despite usually Alexander being depicted as truly devastated by the death of Hephaestion, questions arise about the intent behind his actions. Whether the spectacular and momentous nature of the actions taken meant to preserve the memory of Hephaestion, or did it serve to build Alexander's image?

Important from the perspective of the paper are features of discourse unique to each autohor, focusing on the descriptions that are significant according to the author. Diodorus' descriptions of mourning are laconic, but his account provides information on the political situation[4]. Plutarch and Arrian participate in the creation of Alexander's mourning along Homeric model[5]. Curtius focuses on information about Alexander's immediate circle and its contribution in the ceremony[6].

The purpose of this paper is a consideration of selected exemplifications of Alexander's actions after the death of Hephaestion (324 BC) and attempt to reflect on the meaning of mourning. The favorable character of some literary sources causes that Alexander is portrayed as an imitator of Greek heroes[7]. In order to decode the true intentions of the actions taken, it will be necessary to refer some earlier events. Paying attention to these threads will allow us to better investigate the question of Hephaestion's influence on politics and, consequently, on Alexander's image. The attempt to introduce *proskynesis*, accentuates Alexander's aspirations to divinity and Hephaestion's participation is evidence of his commitment to Alexander's stated goals. Their frequent placement against the background of political and propaganda events raises the question of the nature of their relationship and, consequently, the nature of mourning.

The Death of Hepahestion

Ancient authors say that the mourning after Hephaestion's death was enormous and took many forms. Justinus presents critical attitude and assesses Alexander's behavior and considers it inadequate for a king[8]. According to Arrian, Alexander is one of the few characters about whom there is so much contradictory information. There have been also many false stories about how mourning was experienced.

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concerning Parmenio and Philotas E. Badain, *The death of Parmenio*, „Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association" 91, 1960, p. 324-338.

4. Diod. 17.110-116.
5. Plut. *Alex*. 72; Arr. *Anab*. 7.14.
6. Curt. 10.4.
7. Diod. 17.85; Arr. *Anab*. 4.30.
8. Iust. 12.12.

This was the result sympathy or hostility towards Hephaestion or Alexander[9]. In the introduction to *Anabasis*, Arrian explains that he provides information that, in his opinion, is more probable and deserves mention[10] (this indicates the subjective nature of his work[11]). Arrian mentions "preposterous things" attributed to Alexander, it is said that Alexander have ordered the crucifixion of the doctor attending to Hephaestion[12]. Many things about Alexander was made up and hyperbolized this served to present Alexander in a positive or negative way, depending on the intention.

The mourning of Hephaestion's death extended to the Macedonians, the conquered population, he ordered mourning throughout the state. Alexander recommended a nearby cities to get involved in organizing the funeral[13]. All his orders were obeyed for fear of his wrath. Alexander devoted himself to mourning his friend and as a sign of mourning he cut his hair in imitation of Achilles[14]. According to Plutarch, he ordered the manes of horses and mules to be cut off, in the army he forbade music until a message came from the oracle of Ammon[15]. Alexander ordered to putting out the sacred fire was a sign of adopting Persian customs[16]. After receiving a message from the oracle of Ammon that Hephaestion could be worshipped as a hero[17] Alexander was the first to make offerings to him[18]. This wholes process was driven by Alexander because the memory of Hephaestion was to extend even beyond the borders of the empire. The sending of the inquiry to Siwah is not accidental. It was a place particularly close to Alexander, since it was there that the god Ammon confirmed his divine origin[19]. Even though, according to A.B. Bosworth oracle at Siwah was as important as the Greek ones, during receiving embassies Alexander received the inhabitants of the city of Ammon and only later the Delphians[20]. Additionaly Alexander did not appoint a new commander of the cavalry troop that Hephaestion commanded and

9. Arr. *Anab*. 7.14.

10. Arrian's preface, [in:] *The anabasis of Alexander or the history of the wars and conquest of Alexander the Great. Literally translated, with a commentary, from the Greek of Arrian the Nicomedian*, by E.J. Chinnock, M.A., LL.B., London, Rector of Dumfries Academy, 1883, p. 7.

11. Arrian denies that Alexander could destroy the temple of Asclepius, believing that he offered a gift to Aesculapius Arr. *Anab*. 7.14.

12. According Arr. *Anab*. 7.14 Alexander hanged the physician, Plutarch says that Alexander crucified physician Plut. *Alex*. 72.

13. Diod. 17.114.

14. Arr. *Anab*. 7.14; *Il*. 23.141.

15. Plut. *Alex*. 72; Arr. *Anab*. 7.14.

16. Diod. 17.114.

17. Arr. *Anab*. 7.14; Plut. *Alex*. 72; A.B. *Alexander and Ammon*, [in:] K.H. Kinzl, *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in ancient history and prehistory: Studies presented to Fritz Schachermeyr on the occasion of his 80. birthday*, Berlin- Boston, 1977, p. 55.

18. Diod. 17.115.

19. A.B. Bosworth, *Alexander and Ammon,* p. 56.

20. Diod. 17.113; A.B. Bosworth, *Alexander and Ammon*, p. 56.

ordered it to be called as Hephaestion's chiliary, and forbade changing the military signs brought out by Hephaestion[21]. In addition, Alexander held huge funeral games to which he invited three thousand athletes and artists. Alexander's primary goal was to honor the deceased Hephaestion, Alexander wanted to be remembered by his contemporaries and subsequent generations[22]. To gain Alexander's approval, companions tried to outdo each other with ideas to honor the memory of Hephaestion[23], who had previously not enjoyed the sympathy of his companions.

The symbolic moment that ended the mourning of a friend was the expedition to the warlike mountain tribe of Cossay[24]. Persian kings paid them annually to be able to ensure their safety, since they could not defeat them - Alexander did it in forty days[25] during winter. Arrian once said that for Alexander there were no ventures he could not face[26] this event seems to confirm it. In view of this it can be claimed that the choice of time was deliberate, intended to emphasize the difficulty of the expedition and, consequently, Alexander's skills. The expedition against the Cossay did not bring Alexander any benefit except in terms of image.

After Hephaestion's death, Alexander entrusted his friend's body to Perdikkas and moved on against the Cossay[27]. Diodorus draws attention on the sequence of events, Alexander devoted himself to his duties - he received the messengers among whom came the citizens of the cities who opposed the decree issued[28] and only proceeded to prepare for the funeral[29]. Alexander wanted to organize a burial that surpassed in grandeur all those known so far[30]. Ancient authors repeatedly note the costliness and artistic grandeur of the commemoration of Hephaestion[31]. According to P. Green, the costs associated with organizing the burial of Hephaestion were related to Alexander's aspirations, called *megalomaniac's dreams*[32]. Analyzing the earlier events, one draws the conclusion that Alexander's

21. A. Collins, *The office of chiliarch under Alexander and the successors*, „Phoenix" 55, 2001, p. 267.

22. Diod. 17.114; P. McKechnie, Diodorus *Siculus and Hephaestion's Pyre*, „The Classical Quarterly" 45, 1995, p. 418.

23. Curt. 10.4; Diod. 17. 115.

24. Arr. *Anab*. 7.15; W. Heckel, Tritle L.A., *Alexander the Great: a new history*, Hoboken - New Yersey 2009, p. 52; According to Curtius and Plutarch, the expedition against the Cossay was supposed to be only a break from mourning, not its end Curt.10.4; Plut. *Alex*. 72.

25. Curt. 10.4; Diodor says less than 40 days, Diod. 17.111.

26. Arr. *Anab*. 7.15.

27. Diod. 17.110-111.

28. I. Worthington, *Hyperides 5.32 and Alexander the Great's statue*, „Hermes" 129, 2001, p. 129.

29. Diod. 17.114.

30. Diod. 17.114.

31. Plut. *Alex*. 72.

32. P. Green, *Alexander of Macedon 356-323 B.C. A Historical biography*, foreword E.N. Borza, Berkley-Los Angeles-London 2013, p. 466.

display of generosity[33] is a tool for image building which is confirmed by Diodorus' account.

Alexander envied Achilles, that through Homer the memory of Achilles' deeds survived[34]. Alexander aware of the greatness of his exploits wanted precisely the same thing -to save memory of his deeds for posterity[35]. When the attempt to introduce proskynesis failed

Alexander did not abandon his plans for divinity and the unexpected death of Hephaestion creates new opportunities. Hephaestion's death was the last chance to sustain the image of friendship modeled on Achilles and Patroclus created earlier. Alexander imitates Achilles in the way he experiences mourning for Hephaestion[36]. Hephaestion's death played an important role in creating Alexander's image, just as Patroclus' death affected Achilles' image. The death of a close friend provided an opportunity to accentuate Alexander's qualities, distinguishing him from others, thus making this character unique.

During the attempt to introduce proskynesis Alexander was too proud and aware of his greatness this attitude did not work in his favor. This time the theme of divinity returns in a different atmosphere of sorrow and mourning and, moreover, the goal was noble- to honor the memory of a friend. For this purpose, Alexander was to forgive Kleomenes for his many offenses and abuses if he erected a haroon in Alexandria and on the island of Pharos. Kleomenes was also to name the tower standing there after Hephaestion and to put Hephaestion's name on every merchant's contract [37]. After Alexander's death, a list of plans drawn up by him was read out where Alexander gave the order to build a tomb for Hephaestion[38]. The ancient sources do not mention any other instance of covering such large funeral expenses[39]. Although the sudden death of Nikanor,

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33.6 Alexander paid off the debts of soldiers Diod. 17.109; generosity towards Taxiles Plut. *Alex*. 59.

34. Arr. *Anab*. 1.12.

35. Diod. 17.114.

36. H. Bowden, *Alexander as Achilles: Arrian's use of Homer from Troy to the Granikos*, [in:] T. Howe, F. Pownall, Ancient Macedonians in Greek and Roman Sources: From History to Historiography, 2018, p. 164.

37. Arr. *Anab*. 7.23; P. Briant, *Alexander the Great and his empire*, trans. A. Kuhrt, Princeton 2012, p. 136; P. Green, *Alexander of Macedon…*, p. 466.

38. Diod. 18.4; P. McKechnie, Diodorus Siculus and Hephaestion's…, p. 421.

39. Funeral ceremonies said a lot about the wealth of the deceased or his family. Costly funerals coudl be afforderd by elite representatives. Some Hellenistic customs preserve the memory of the deceased spread in the ancient world. This is evidenced by the similarities in descriptions of burials in the Republic and the Roman Empire Plut. *Sull*. 38; G.S. Sumi, *Spectacles and Sulla's public image*, „*Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte" 51, 2022, p. 420-421.* Suet. *Aug*. 100; R.A. Cordingley, I.A. Richmond, *The mauzoleum of Augustus*, „Papers of the British School at Rome" 10, 1927, p. 23-24; Augustus's funeral rites referred to the culture of the East Tac. *Ann*. 16.6, J.C. Reeder, *Typology and ideology in the mausoleum of Augustus: tumulus and tholos*, „Classical Antiquity" 11, 1992, p. 268-272; D. Favro, Ch.

Parmenion's son grieved Alexander[40]. Nevertheless, nothing compares to Hephaestion's funeral. Whether political circumstances and political attitudes towards Alexander is a reflection of the way he handled the funeral issues?

The Issue of Athens in the Face of Hephaestions' Glorification

Athens' hostile attitude toward Macedonia was driven by anti-Macedonian circles as early as Philip's time. This was due to Philip's imperial policy. Despite this, Philip and later also Alexander dealt kindly with the Athenians[41]. However, the attitude towards Athens had its political justification[42]. Plutarch describing the visit to the oasis of Siwah and the theme of Alexander's divinity and then Plutarch quotes the contents of his letter addressed to the Athenians[43]. There Alexander refers to Philip's "gave" of Samos to the Athenians adding that they will not get it again[44]. Philip after his victory in 338 BC made an agreement with Athens[45]. The "gift" was thus Philip's acquiescence rather than a literal gift of the island[46]. The reference to Samos after the visit to Siwah is certainly not accidental. In this way, the author points to the connection between the Samos issue and his aspirations for divinity.

The pacification of Agis in 331 BC and the destruction of Thebes was a valuable message to the Greek cities. An even more important message was carried by the exile decree issued, which made clear to the Greeks the extent of Alexander's power[47]. If J.P. Nudell's statement rightly is that the Samoans asked Alexander to help them as early as 334 BC this issue would be presumably a great prove of Alexander's far sighted policy. Alexander was aware that in the Greek world and peace in Greece depended to a large extent on Athens[48]. Too early an attempt to interfere in Greek affairs, would have failed and Alexander did not

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Johanson, *Death in motion: funeral processions in the Roman Forum*, „Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians" 69, 2010, p. 30.

40. Curt. 6.6.

41. W.S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens: an historical essay*, London 1911, p. 7.

42. S. Perlman, *The coins of Philip II and Alexander the Great and their pan-hellenic propaganda*, „The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society" 5, 1965, p. 66.

43. Determining the date of the letter's creation is subject to discussion, compare N.G.L Hammond., *Alexander's letter concerning Samos in Plut. „Alex." 28.2*, *„Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte"* 42, 1993, p. 381; J.R. Hamilton, *Alexander and his 'so-called' father*, *„The Classical Quarterly"* 3, 1953, p. 157.

44. Plut. *Alex.* 28; N.G.L Hammond., *Alexander's letter…*, p. 381.

45. Paus. 1.25.3; ; N.G.L Hammond., *Alexander's letter…*, p. 381.

46. Plut. *Alex*. 28; J.R. Hamilton, *Alexander and his…*, p. 153-154; N.G.L Hammond., *Alexander's letter…*, p. 381.

47. I. Worthington, *Alexander and Athens 324/323 bc: on the attitude to the Macedonina hegmony*, *„Mediterranean Archaeology"* 7, 1994, p. 46.

48. S. Perlman, *The coins of Philip II and Alexander…*, p. 66-67.

want to create a conflict between him and Athens. His cautious policy worked[49]. Athens did not join Agis' revolt[50].

The issuance of the decree in 324 BC caused great discontent among the Greeks, who met with Nikanor to negotiate[51]. The question of whether the Athenians were preparing for war with Alexander is still unresolved. However, the attitudes of prominent Athenians including Demosthenes should be interpreted as a sign of determination to prevent war[52]. The decree of exile was directed mainly against Athens, and Athens did not want to measure itself against the might of Alexander[53]. Earlier events in Greece had made Athens fearful of Macedonian power[54]. The Athenians wanting to preserve Samos, which was important to them (about 12,000 Athenian citizens resided there[55]) refused to support Harpalos[56] and brought Demosthenes to trial[57]. These actions were intended to help Athens win the recognition of Alexander[58]. Also, the reference in Athenaeus to Timagoras falling on his face before Alexander[59] indicates another attempt to gain Alexander's sympathy.

Alexander's image was built on competition. The characters around Alexander, both his companions (Parmenio, Eumenes) and enemies (Darius, Spitamenes) serve to emphasize his character traits and skills that make him superior to others. This is proven by numerous examples. In these considerations, the most important figure influencing the construction of Alexander's image is Hephaestion. Some researchers emphasize Hephaestion's lack of competence, they also claim that Hephaestion got promoted due to his friendship with Alexander[60]. It is worth to notice that the relationship linking Alexander and Hephaestion is presented in a one-sided manner in the ancient sources. Which focus on Hephaestion's befenfits, but even these are dependent from Alexander's generosity[61]. Despite Hephaestion's

49. Ibidem, p. 66-67.

50. Diod. 17.62.

51. J.R. Hamilton, *Alexander and his…*, p. 152.

52. O. Palagia, *Alexander the Great and the Athenians: deification and portaiture*, [in:] M. D'Agostini, E.M. Anson, F. Pownall, *Affective relations and personal bonds in Hellenistic Antiquity. Studies in honor of Elizabeth D. Carney*, 2021, p. 269; I. Worthington, *Alexander and Athens…*, p. 46.

53. I. Worthington, *Alexander and Athens…*, p. 51.

54. Ibidem, p. 50.

55. J.P. Nudell, *Accustomed to Obedience? Classical Ionia and the Aegean World, 480–294 BCE*, 2023, s. 156, K. Nawotka, Aleksander Wielki, p. 481-482; O. Palagia, *Alexander the Great and the Athenians…*, p. 269.

56. I. Worthington, *Alexander and Athens…*, p. 49; T. Howe, presents results of innovative reserach in: *Friendship is golden: Harpalus, Alexander and Athens*, [in:] *Affective relations and personal bonds in Hellenistic Antiquity. Studies in honor of Elizabeth D. Carney*, 2021, p. 208-209.

57. W.S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens: an historical essay*, p. 13.

58. I. Worthington, *Alexander and Athens…*, p. 50.

59. Ath. 6.251b.

60. P. Cartledge, *Aleksander Wielki*, Warszawa 2005, p. 121; W. Heckel, *The conquest of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 2008, p. 127-8.

61. Plut. *Alex*. 47.

political roles still he is is presented in the context of events building Alexander's image[62]. Hephaestion was meant to carrying out Alexander's plans. Alexander imitated the Homeric ideals which were still attractive in the 4th century BC[63]. Alexander's behavior many times referred to his Greek progenitors[64], whom he could imitate together with Hephaestion[65] and on this base he was building his image. Hephaestion, as an ally of Alexander's pro-Iran activities[66], participated in the attempt introduction of proskynesis which, although unsuccessful, equipped Alexander with some knowledge.

The concept of divinity is found in Curtius Rufus and concerns Olympias[67]. The fact that Curtius is the only source containing such a reference raises the question of the veracity of this event[68]. Despite this, it is valuable information in the context of the present discussion. Curtius emphasizes Alexander's beautiful attitude towards his mother, creating Alexander as an ideal son, cherishing family relations. Secondly, Alexander wanted to exalt his mother for image benefits. Being the son of a god and a mortal woman only gave Alexander semi-divine status. The establishment of the cult of Hephaestion, was linked to the establishment of the cult of Alexander[69]. Yet there was a difference between the two. Hephaestion in acient sources is called as an assistant deity of πάρεδρος[70]. Alexander establishing the cult of Hephaistion and its spread rapidly and reached Greece[71] (and lasted at least until 322 BC[72]) make Alexander a superior deity. However the issue of Alexander's divinity is more complicated mainly because of diadochs' policy. Undoubtedly Alexander was building his image by imitating his mythical ancestors (Hephaestion was involved in it). The idea of a king became a role model for his successors, who alluded to Alexander in the struggle for power in order to lend prestige to their image. After Alexander's death diadochi participated in the creation of myths about Alexander because it was attractive to build their own image[73]. This led to the development of an idealised model used by ancient authors to evaluate successive generations of kings. Because of this some

62. S. Müller, *Hephaistion – a re-assessment of his career*, [in:] T. Howe, F. Pownall, *Acient Macedonians in Greek and Roman sources. From history to historiography*, Swansea 2018, pp. 77.

63. T. Howe, *The diadochi, inveneted tradition, and Alexander's expedition to Siwah*, [in:] V.A. Troncoso, E.M. Anson, *After Alexander. The time of the diadochi (323-281 bc)*, 2013, p. 61.

64. Ael. VH 7.8.

65. Arr. *Anab*. 1.12; Ael. VH 12.7.

66. M.J. Olbrycht, *Aleksander Wielki i świat irański*, Rzeszów 2004, p. 54.

67. Curt. 9.26; E. Carney, *Olympias: mother of Alexander the Great*, p. 130.

68. E. Carney, *Olympias: mother of Alexander the Great*, p. 101-102.

69. B. Dreyer, *Heroes, cults, and divinity*, [in:] W. Heckel, L.A. Tritle, *Alexander the Great. A new history*, p. 230-231.

70. Diod. 17.115.

71. P. Briant, *Alexander the Great and his empire*, p. 136; P. Treves, *Hyperides and the…*, p. 56.

72. O. Palagia, *Alexander the Great and the Athenians…*, p. 269.

73. T. Howe, *The diadochi, inveneted tradition, and Alexander's expedition to Siwah*, [in:] V.A. Troncoso, E.M. Anson, *After Alexander. The time of the diadochi (323-281 bc)*, 2013, p. 60.

reserachers are skeptical toward Alexander's deification[74], while others reseraches claims that Alexander achieved his goal and was accepted as a god[75].

Conclusions

Exaltation is a characteristic model of the Homeric way of experiencing mourning. It is also understandable mechanism to the maintaining the image of Alexander as a better follower of Achilles. The mythologised image of friendship was the explanation of Alexander's actions. The expedition against the Cossay tribe made Alexander the conqueror of a previously impossible tribe to subdue. Despite the official purpose was to commissioning memorials to Hephaestion the truth is it meant to cultivate the memory of Alexander. All these events were significant from an image-building perspective. A series of these events helped to create the myth of Alexander being the model of a friend. Showing deep mourning by Alexander prevented opposition from companions and the passivity of those around him encouraged Alexander's proliferation of powers. Morover the death of Hephaestion was an important justification for Alexander's extravagant plans. Political activities like decree of exile issued just before Hephaestion's death enabled Alexander to aspire to deity status again. The acceptance of Alexander as a god by the Athenians allowed the spread of the cult to other cities. This shows that Alexander used certain Homeric patterns to achieve his own assumptions.

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74. P. Siekierka, *Another note on deification of Alexander in Athens*, [in:] K. Nawotka, A. Wojciechowska, *Alexander the Great and the East. History, art, tradition*, Wiesbaden 2016, p. 270-271.

75. W.S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens…*, p. 12

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