Athens Journal of History

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The current issue is the second of the eighth volume of the *Athens Journal of History (AJHIS), published by the History Unit of ATINER*.

Gregory T. Papanikos
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20th Annual International Conference on History & Archaeology:
From Ancient to Modern, 30-31 May & 1-2 June 2022, Athens, Greece

The History Unit of ATINER, will hold its **20th Annual International Conference on History & Archaeology: From Ancient to Modern, 30-31 May & 1-2 June 2022, Athens, Greece** sponsored by the Athens Journal of History. The aim of the conference is to bring together scholars and students of all areas of history, archaeology and other related disciplines. You may participate as a stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (https://www.atiner.gr/2022/FORM-HIS.doc).

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- Abstract Submission: **18 April 2022**
- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: 2 **May 2022**

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- Dr. Steven Oberhelman, Professor of Classics, Holder of the George Sumey Jr Endowed Professorship of Liberal Arts, and Associate Dean, Texas A&M University, USA, USA, Vice President of International Programs, ATINER and Editor of the Athens Journal of History.
- Dr. Nicholas Pappas, Vice President of Academic Membership, ATINER & Professor of History, Sam Houston University, USA.
- Dr. David Philip Wick, Director, Arts and Humanities Division & Professor of History, Gordon College, USA.
- Dr. Jayoung Che, Head, History Unit, ATINER & Deputy Director of Research, Korean Academy of Greek Studies, South Korea.
- Dr. Tatiana Tsakiropoulou-Summers, Director, Athens Center for Classical & Byzantine Studies (ACCBS) & Associate Professor, The University of Alabama, USA.

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- Delphi Visit
- Ancient Corinth and Cape Sounion

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Athens Institute for Education and Research
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15th Annual International Conference on Literature
30-31 May & 1-2 June 2022

The Literature Unit of ATINER is organizing its **15th Annual International Conference on Literature, 30-31 May & 1-2 June 2022, Athens, Greece** sponsored by the Athens Journal of Philology. The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and researchers from all areas of literature and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (https://www.atiner.gr/2022/FORM-LIT.doc).

Important Dates
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- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: **2 May 2021**

Academic Member Responsible for the Conference

- **Dr. Stamos Metzidakis**, Head, Literature Research Unit, ATINER & Emeritus Professor of French and Comparative Literature, Washington University in Saint Louis, USA.

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The Lyceum in Twilight:
Athens' "Second School" and its Struggle to Re-Invent Itself and Survive in the Last Years of the Roman Republic

*By David P. Wick**

After the Athenian crisis of the early 80's, which saw the ancient city held hostage between an Anatolian military expedition (whose leader at least claimed some intellectual credentials from Athenian schools including the Lyceum) and a renegade Roman with only the most cynical interest in heritage or culture, the schools of Athens – in particular the "peripatetic" school which dated back to Aristotle – faced challenges of identity, recruiting students, and in holding its own, perhaps too "peripatetic," faculty. In early post-classical and Hellenistic times the second and third generation Lyceum had been successful, even when it had lost intellectual "stars" like Theophrastus, and (worse) its original library, to rivals like Pergamum – but as the other schools attracted career-minded students from the west, Aristotle's foundation of a broad-minded liberal arts approach to learning in the Lyceum grove was in danger. The Lyceum seems actually to have failed for a time, or at least to have limped through the middle first century with faculty borrowed from the Akademe, in spite of a reputation for teaching practical politics which neither the Epicureans nor the Stoics could substitute for very well. Experts of the Aristotelian sort found either too-attractive employment in an Italy closer to the centers of power, or too strong a lure toward traveling consulting positions with neophyte Romans trying to learn the eastern Mediterranean "on their jobs." At its Athenian home, it moved a significant part of its teaching into the city and melded it into the ephebeia or "civic school" for young Athenian citizens (but in the new Athens, those included a more and more multi-cultural mix of foreign youth as the Republic's business class and students arrived in town). And then, it also attracted those in retirement from the turmoil of the disintegrating Republic, who valued the Lyceum more as a refuge than as a provider of power-skills for "players," the sort of thing the Akademe or the Epicurean 'Garden' did. The solution itself endangered Aristotle's idea for the school. As the Republic died, the "Peripatetic" school's greatest teachers were more often on the road with its "players" than home. What it kept at its home, though, it re-invested in the educational life of its own city. The Lyceum, like the Stoa, found its new Athenian home "downtown" in more ways than one, and faced challenges quite familiar both in modern "peripatetic" and in "career-direct" higher education.

Though this study is set in the last century of the Roman Republic, the story of the twilight struggle of Aristotle's school at Athens in the early Roman years is in many ways a very contemporary thing: an exploration of "small college" survival – the survival of Athens' "second school" after the most damaging crisis in the city's academic history.

I have explored the story of the crisis that triggered this in detail on previous

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occasions,[1] but the essentials are these. An Anatolian agent had in 88-87 attempted an anti-Roman coup in Athens, using credentials – true or false – as a student at the Lyceum and as a graduate of the Akademe, making out of them locally important intellectual capital. His name was Athenion. While paramilitary forces prepared for him in Pontus tried to engineer his takeover bid in the city, his rhetoric pushed buttons about the decline of the Athens from its classic years, the shrinking of its public life, the waning of the school he had attended.

> "Let us not stand by inactive while the temples are shut, the gymnasia foul through disuse, the theater without the ecclesia, the jury-courts silent, and the Pnyx taken away from the people ... Let us not stand by inactive, men of Athens, whilst the sacred cry Iacchos is silenced, and the hallowed sanctuary of Castor and Pollux is closed, and the conference halls of the philosophers are voiceless."[2]

When his coup failed, his hired muscle took hostages from leading city families to keep the families themselves trapped within the walls. They dug in on the Acropolis. A Roman force removed them, but it was not made up of those Romans enchanted by the city's culture and schools that were becoming the city's lifeline. Instead, captive Athens fell to the eccentric, Epicurean-educated outlaw Sulla. Sulla succeeded at smashing the hostage takers, but in doing damaged the city callously, even rooted the trees out of the ancient groves of learning – perhaps of what was left of the Lyceum, and certainly out of the Academe – and used them to build siege engines, in part just to show he was not mesmerized by the ancient cultural heritage around him, even if other Romans were. The "silence" in the schools was (for the Lyceum as we shall see) a little true, but the aftermath Athenion and Sulla left was in subtle ways far worse for smaller schools like Aristotles'. It set in motion an ancient first-century version of what we have, since the mid-20th Century, often called a "brain drain."

But damage to the Lyceum had begun earlier. Athens had survived the original war that brought the Romans to Greece – the war against Philip V of Macedon in the early 100's – as "walking wounded," but walking with a hopeful stride. Among the serious wounds it tried to ignore, though, were those to Aristotle's old school in the Lyceum grove. Roman defense against Philip's money-raising raids on an exhausted Greece arrived as asked, but what came to Athens was primarily naval and concentrated upon the excellent facilities in the Piraeus.[3] Philip, after his war chieftain Nicanor had been bluffed back by the

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1. Ref., e.g., D. P. Wick, "Students in the (Ancient) Streets, or Agent(s) Provocateur? The Liberal Arts Schools of Athens and the Hostage Crisis of 88," *Athens Journal of History* 6, no. 4 (2020): 299-312.

2. Athenaeus v, 212b. The translation is from W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens: A Historical Essay* (London, 1911), 443.

3. Livy, XXXI, xiv, 3; and XXXI, xxii, 4 ff.

ships,[4] was forced to lead a spoiling raid through the Attic farm country himself. Though he was able to beat the Athenian hoplite force handily enough, he found the newly reinforced city impregnable. Frustrated, he moved round to its quiet southeastern outskirts and sacked its *gymnasium* (hitherto largely untouched by warfare), damaging the Cynics garden of Cynosarges and the Lyceum in the process.[5] As he retreated, he attacked and mutilated statues and shrines in the Athenian suburbs and the country villages of Attica – if Athens wanted to play for Roman help using its spiritual *auctoritas* its symbolic heritage as trump cards, it could pay by seeing the symbols destroyed.

And so, the school limped through the new era down to the arrival of Sulla in the 80's, who was a Roman outlaw facing a return to Rome and an attempted coup of his own. He needed both intellectual capital and perhaps some strategic help. His victory against Aristion and Archelaus (Athenion's replacements) at Athens he hoped would read as a victory over Mithridates and his Anatolian provocateur insurgents, defense of an innocent city. He needed to acquire some captive expertise and the fashionable *cachet*, just as the victories of Aemilius Paullus had allowed him to confiscate his own following of Greek intellectuals almost a century earlier. There was no Polybius to bring to Rome this time, but Sulla's officer Ateius, according to Plutarch the first over the wall in the taking of Athens, caught himself the grammarian Philologus and carried him, as Sulla's army orchestrated chaos after the Battle of the Colline Gate and managed his coup, back to a distinguished career at Rome.[6]

Such "exports" as that did Athens as a city no good at all, of course. Political refugees from the post-Sullan war torn Greece filled the small and shifting market for elite teachers in Italy rather than advertising the home campus of Aristotle. In a study on the Akademe intended to follow this one (and presented in early form at ATINER) I noted how Philo of Larissa fled his post as head of the Academy when the onslaught of Mithridatic propaganda (and perhaps the early machinations of the Peripatetic political adventurer Athenion) began to seem menacing. In Rome, Philo attracted both followers and controversy (see below). Both are likely as not to have attracted a few more students to the Athenian schools, but neither Philo nor his antagonist Antiochus of Ascalon returned to teach in Athens during the next years. Philo was soon dead, and Antiochus found it convenient to disappear into the newly-Roman East as advisor to Lucullus. Aristotelians like Philologus stayed in Italy for the same reasons.

And yet, all the trouble could have helped a "second school" like the Lyceum. After all, it was "collateral damage" caused by the cloud of suspicion and notoriety

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4. Polybius xvi, 27; Livy XXXI, xvi, 2 (where the general is called Philocles).

5. Diodorus, xxviii, 7.

6. Suetonius, *De Grammaticis*, 10; Varro, *De Lingua Latinae* vii, 10; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (Chapel Hill, 1979), 57; Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Republic* (London, 2002), 124.

hanging over the *Akademe* after the duel between Mithridates and Sulla. It was heightened by the behavior of Sulla himself in Italy over the next few years -- Sulla advertised his roots in the Epicurean school. Athenion, the Mithridatic agent who had begun this "hostage crisis" that Athens barely survived at the beginning of the 80's, had used some form of credential from study at the Aristotelian and Platonic schools as political ammunition, but he had *left studies at the Lyceum* to finish at the Academe. He had, into the bargain, tried to paint a picture of a damaged or dying academic world, as he also tried to depict a political Athens strangled by pro-Roman business interests.

So, could the Mithridatic crisis in the Athens of the 80's help the Lyceum? If the heaviest damage was to the reputation of the Platonic *academe,* that school was still so embedded in the Mediterranean intellectual landscape that it was very resilient.[7] It remained not only economically viable, but by far the most famous and attractive of Athenian schools. The Lyceum could not prevent it from continuing to skim the cream of a momentarily shocked and suspicious clientele – especially in the Mediterranean to the west of Greece. How was the "second school" of Athens during this era to survive, to create an intellectual persona that could attract its fair share of critical new (western) students? Where were its wealthy or powerful alumni to come from in the new era?

For an intellectual mascot, the Akademe had Plato (however far it now strayed from his teachings). The Aristotelian approach to human culture and the universe was still worth something, though. The Lyceum aimed, in the popular perception at least, at collecting and understanding real-world data about life; a rival for those Epicureans bent on "engineering" data toward concrete goals; a rival for those Stoics who claimed to achieve an inner balance and spiritual perspective on life. It was not quite as famous, or as fashionable, but the age between Sulla and Caesar gave it a moment to shine.

The Lyceum, Not Quite Silent

The most significant place to start, then, would be (for the student culture of Athens) with the fact that Athenian ephebic inscriptions of the period after Sulla's siege no longer mention any lectures continuing at either the Academy or the Lyceum.[8] Of the schools Athens supported, the Lyceum had radical challenges to face.

Part of its particular trouble lay rooted in a weakness (intended as a strength)

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7. See Wick, "Stoics and Epicureans for the 'Modern Market': How Athenian Educators Re-Tooled the Old City's 'Modernist Schools' for Republican Rome," *Athens Journal of History* 3, no. 4 (2017): 265-274, and a coming study of the surviving Akademe in this same vein.

8. J. Glucker, *Antiochus and the Late Academy* (Göttingen, 1978), ch. 1; Rawson, op. cit., 11.

as old as Aristotle himself – the practice of encouraging traveling research, the "overseas semester" that produced so much of what filled the Aristotelian essays as scholar after scholar returned to the school and enriched it with what they had studied first-hand in foreign places. As often as not they stayed where they studied, and this era only made that likelier. Aristotle had, after all, not only studied "away" while running the new Lyceum, but had left it for an extended stay with the young Alexander in Macedon. His successor Theophrastus, after considerable success in Athens, had taken a more lucrative offer from Pergamum, and actually absconded with the school's library on his departure.[9]

Scholars suspect that the succession of teachers and administrators may actually have lapsed at Aristotle's old school after the war with Philip.[10] Aside from the famous Critolaus of the second century B.C., we have names of probable *scholarchs* or lead scholars at the Lyceum who include Diodorus of Tyre (he likely taught the father of the political predator Athenion), an Erymneus (just a name), the rather uncertain Andronicus of Rhodes and Boethius of Sidon, and finally the better-known Cratippus of Pergamum who Cicero speaks of during is later years.[11] But Cratippus (a story I followed in my article on the Platonic *Akademe*) was actually a student of the famous, revionist, platonist Antiochus of Ascalon, and then briefly of his duller brother Aristus, and possibly – given his practical tendencies – even of the skeptical Philo before them. He did not even pretend to be Aristotelian when he taught at the Lyceum; it simply had a teaching position open. The Peripatetics of Aristotle's old school may have espoused him as a sort of stop-gap. He put students in seats.

If Cicero's Athens really had a Lyceum without Aristotelians, that might in turn add some color to a list in Clement of Alexandria, which seems to imply that Diodorus of Tyre was the last Peripatetic scholarch, and that Erymneus was

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9. J. P. Lynch, *Aristotle's School: a Study of Greek Educational Institution* (Berkeley, 1972). The library seems to have gone with either Theophrastus or his entourage of students to Pergamum in Asia Minor and thence, via the brokerage of the bookdealer/adventurer/ naval brigand Apellicon of Teos, onto the Athenian 'used' market, thence into Sulla's hands, and finally to Italy. See Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Republic*, 2002, 40, and related discussions). A really good library, one suspects, would in any case have been far more critical for the serious continuation of Aristotelian studies than Platonic or Epicurean, ref. points made in this author's presentation "Scholar, Smuggler, Mercenary, Thief – A Brief Introduction to the Strange History of the Library of Pergamon, and the Stranger Men Who Built and Broke It," In *ATINER Conference on the Arts & Humanities*, January 2021 (a revision presented at the conference on History, June 21)...

10. Lynch, *Aristotle's School: A Study of Greek Educational Institution*, 1972, 290-291.

11. J.-L. Ferrary, *Philhellénisme et Impérialisme: Aspects Idéologiques de la Conquête Romaine du Monde Hellénistique, de la Seconde Guerre de Macédoine à la Guerre Contre Mithridate* (Rome, 1988), 465; Cf. Lynch, *Aristotle's School: A Study of Greek Educational Institution*, 1972, 203-205.

merely one of his students.[12] The Athenian dialogue in Cicero's *de Finibus* (set in 79) places M. Pupius Piso in the position of defending the honor of Aristotle and Theophrastus; there sadly being no defender available from among Athenian teachers at all, though Antiochus of Ascalon is able to in the piece to appear for the Academics.[13] In it Piso also lists a "roll" of Peripatetic leaders, which ends with Diodorus. Such a gap in its turn casts a light backward onto the "silence" of the schools about which Athenion complained in 88, since Diodorus is likely to have been dead by 90 B.C..[14]

Antiochus of Ascalon, if Glucker was correct, attempted when Diodorus died, and Philo of Larissa fled looking for consulting fees on the road, to strengthen his own fledgling school (he called it the "Old Academy") by claiming in it to revive in it both the true precepts of the early Academics *and* Peripatetics. Yes, there were two competing Platonic schools in these years, both rather practical in career terms, neither very orthodox as Plato would have seen them, and the newest one claimed it had *replaced* the Lyceum. So, the Cratippus of Pergamum I mentioned earlier, tried to attract students claiming he was less "stoic" that then city's current "star" academic, Aristus; he said nothing about being Aristotelian, just that he was a more practical option for the career-minded student than one could get at the Akademe.[15] Professorial talent was so thin on the ground that one could claim an "old school" credential by representing any motley "footprint" of ancestral Athenian teachers or traditions one wished.

At any rate, Cicero came through in the 70's and heard no one teaching a regular course at the Lyceum, though the young Lucius Cicero seems to have thought that there might be Peripatetic lectures somewhere in town. He was anxious to hear about the legendary verbal fireworks of Carneades.[16] This disappointment must have been severe for many young Romans: the Aristotelian school would have been the one place in Athens where one could hope to get the real, practical, scientific stuff of civil success and governmental skill. If two Peripatetic students had been involved in the tragic firestorm of the "88" revolution (as everyone seems at least to have believed),[17] it was only because Aristotle's school was supposed to teach practicing political theory. However their parents may have felt, it remains hard to imagine young Romans cut of the

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12. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* I (XIV), 63-64.

13. M. T. Cicero, *De Finibus*, v, 13-14.

14. Glucker, *Antiochus and the Late Academy*, 1978, 15-21; D. Sedley, "The End of the Academy," *Phronesis* (1981): 70-71; Ferrary, p. 469.

15. Glucker, *Antiochus*, pp. 119-120; Ferrary, *Philhellénisme et Impérialisme: Aspects Idéologiques de la Conquête Romaine du Monde Hellénistique, de la Seconde Guerre de Macédoine à la Guerre Contre Mithridate*, 1988, 469, n. 115.

16. Cicero, *De Finibus*, v, 6.

17. Ferrary, *Philhellénisme et Impérialisme: Aspects Idéologiques de la Conquête Romaine du Monde Hellénistique, de la Seconde Guerre de Macédoine à la Guerre Contre Mithridate*, 1988, 472-473.

cloth of Catiline or Caelius Rufus being put off by tales about the downfall of Athenion.

By comparison, the Epicurean schools were full of theoretical "logical positivists" or power strategists (however good the food was), the typical image a caricature of wise-clever intellectuals who cocked a skeptical eyebrow and debunked social myths, who would tell you for a fee that a proper understanding of your component atoms would cure your anxieties. These were what the English a century ago called "Balliol men;" if young Romans of the late Republic were going to be taught by *magistri Graeculi* they didn't want clever theorists about science and harmony with nature and a love for human culture, they wanted men who knew the inside of "Whitehall" or "the Hague" – the way "insider meetings" in a government worked, how to manipulate voters during volatile elections, how to skew public trials or scandals so they spun the right way – all interests we find very familiar in the 21st century. In modern terms, the "liberal arts" and the "examined life" were *passé;* you wanted your children to learn how to negotiate the hard way with creditors or investors, or ministers from the EU.

But, this didn't *feel* to clients buying schooling at the Lyceum as though it were a betrayal of an ancient heritage. Aristotle, after all, hadn't talked about *ataraxia*, the trendy new Greek word for a life free of anxiety, he had talked about *government*, and now there was no one in his place now doing what he had done. Cratippus, who seems to have done some "filling in" in the 40's, was ready on the slightest suggestion of Cicero to pack up and go on an Asian tour with Cicero's son if there were a little real money forthcoming.[18]

Thus the "silence in the school" the political predator Athenion rose a cry about need not have been due to any cessation of public teaching, nor to any putative Roman intervention in the Attic system of education, nor need we suppose with Badian that the Peripatetics were somehow "at odds with the Athenian establishment."[19]

Athens was after 89/88 simply left with a decaying and second-rate Aristotelian school, in the wreckage of which we can glimpse only a few uncertain names and a momentary flash of dangerous political adventure. Glucker supposes the decline to have arisen when the Asian college at Pergamum, which had long boasted *itself* as the premier Aristotelian school, source a better class of Peripatetic scholars, sank under the wave of Roman exploitation.[20]

Aristotelian studies would have their renaissance not in Athens but in Italy.[21] Andronicus of Rhodes, far from growing into the post of *scholarch* of the Lyceum, was already or would soon headed for Italy himself, where the Peripatetic library

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18. Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, XII, xvi, 2.
19. E. Badian, "Rome, Athens, and Mithridates," (Gorgias Press, 2016), 513.
20. Glucker, *Antiochus*, 1978, 373-379.
21. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Republic*, 2002, 291.

of Pergamum had also gone. For the rest of his life, he would undertake with Tyrannio the definitive edition of Aristotle's works.[22]

To be sure, Aristotle's old school at Athens was not yet quite dead, like the Academe and the others, it became one of the few easily available weapons Athens retained for its struggle to find an important place in the Roman world. Tourism could be turned into an educational draw, and it was. Athenian civic education (the *ephebeia*) was revamped to regularize the status of foreign students alongside the native children. The Lyceum was stirred into the mix of city attractions. Students of the state-run civic school, the *ephebeia* included Romans now right alongside old-family Athenians. They attended occasional lectures in the Ptolemaeum by principal teachers of (at least) the Lyceum and Plato's school.[23] An inscription honors the class of 123/122 for listening to "the lectures of Zenodotus at the Ptolemaeum and the Lyceum and also all the other philosophers in the Lyceum and the Academy throughout the year."[24] The corps of *ephebes* were in turn required to donate each year some one hundred volumes to its library.[25] The foreigners among them could now gain for Athenian citizenship, if they wished it just by finishing a course of study.[26] But it was the Lyceum *name* lending its 'cachet' to an educational business downtown. The old grove lay in the shadows.

The ageing buildings of the classical Athenian democracy looked down from the heights above the Lyceum grove like the ghosts of a purer era. Whatever violence or deceit they might have seen in their day, they had seen not just brilliance, but a brilliance in which competing, contesting and mutating points of view could be melded into an on-going cultural dialogue.

The shade of this across the crowded, intimate landscape of schools and lecturers, statues and dedications told a story. Perhaps in reaction to what Sulla had done, the Romans in their better moments would *shade* the city of Athens and schools from the crumbling Hellenistic world and their own convulsing Republic. They often returned to Athens, especially to old schools like the Lyceum, when their own power games disintegrated. Whether from nostalgia like Cicero's, or a desire like that of Brutus after Caesar's assassination simply to disappear into a

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22. Strabo, XIII, C609; XII, C548; XVI C757; Cf. Cicero expecting to find very technical works on Aristotle in the library of *Lucullus*, *Ad Att*. IV, x, 1; *De Finibus* iii, 10; and v, 12.

23. *Inscriptiones Graecae* (vol. I2), 1006.19.

24. *Inscriptiones Graecae*, (vol. I2), 1006.19. The "Ptolomaeum" was the site of the Athenian *ephebeia* or "civic high school" courses, but the lectures were open to visitors (*especially Mediterranean or especially Roman business families interested in settling in or trading with Athens, whose children could gain Athenian "double citizenship" if they passed the courses*).

25. Ibid; Cf. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens: A Historical Essay*, 1911, 416; Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Republic*, 2002, 12.

26. J. K. Davies, "Athenian Citizenship: The Descent Group and the Alternatives," *Classical Journal* 73 (1975): 119; Cf. M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* (Brussels, 1982), 205.

lost, calm world imagined from student days, Roman after Roman came back, and for a time, the aura of the old schools sheltered them.

What this could *not* do, of course, was save the schools *as* schools. Those that survived adapted to the new world of power politics and speech media. The broad-minded, tolerant, multi-faceted wisdom – the "*liberal arts perspective*" if you will – that Aristotle had intended would distinguish his school from the Academy, that allowed it more societal innovation than the Stoa, that kept its investigations more integrated with culture and wisdom than the Scientists at the "Garden," was difficult (as it is in our own day) to articulate to a culture of students who hoped to turn tools to their own agendas overnight. Faced with that, the Lyceum seems to have been unable even to hold onto its faculty. Consulting positions, attachments to the players of power were always a danger to a school with the Aristotelian approach. In eras like the late Roman Republic (and in some ways in ours) they formed a weakening solvent that left the school of Aristotle desperately challenged, and produced students who could *compete* in the dangerous player politics of the new world (one so like ours) but very few of whom could step back from it, diagnose, and truly try to cure it.

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Polybius the Non-hostage

*By Paavo Roos**

It is a common notion that Polybius was a hostage in Rome, but was it really so his position was looked upon? Has any preserved ancient author used the term for him? No, in fact none of them has called him so. The part where Polybius himself described his and his colleagues' transport to Rome is not preserved, and he gives no term for his position. Of the other historians who deal with the sequel of the Macedonian war none narrates the event in their preserved parts, and nobody uses the word hostage. The narrative of the event is instead given by Pausanias in his description of Achaea, who also does not use the word hostage (in fact he seldom does). So technically it is quite wrong to use the word hostage of Polybius. But of course Polybius may have felt as a hostage even if he does not use the word about his status. In fact many persons in Antiquity have metaphorically described themselves or their relatives as hostages, so in that respect the word can be used in a wider sense.

Even if common knowledge concerning hostages in Antiquity is rather small there is at least one fact that seems to belong to it. If you mention hostages in Antiquity as a neglected subject you will often hear the statement: 'Polybius was a hostage in Rome, was he not?' Well, perhaps he was, it is sometimes reported so in modern literature,[1] but what about ancient literature? It is quite certain that he was brought to Rome together with a thousand other members of the Achaean League after the Romans had defeated the Macedonians, and detained there. But from where do we know it? Which ancient authors give us the information? Do they tell us why and how it was decided that Polybius should be brought to Rome? Does any of the ancient authors use the word hostage about him?

The event in question took place in the year after the war between the Romans and the Macedonian king Perseus, which ended in 168 B.C. The previous decennia had seen successful Roman wars against Carthaginians, Macedonians, Aetolians and Seleucids, all of which had brought numerous hostages to Rome, but this war was different. The aim of the treaties after the previous wars had been the keeping of relations with inferior and conquered enemies, this time the hostile state, Macedonia, was abolished and there was no need to bring any relatives of the ruler to Rome as hostages. It is true that the family of Perseus, including the king himself, was brought to Rome,[2] but not as hostages for a treaty. It is also true that the Illyrian king Gentius and other persons were brought to Rome like the son of the Thracian king Cotys[3] and other persons who had been delivered to

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1. Among the cases probably the most remarkable is the Polybios-Lexikon, see n. 30.
2. Liv. XLV 35.1.
3. Liv. XLV 42.5.

Perseus as hostages by Cotys. But what about the Achaeans? Where do we read about them?

Let us peruse the authors who are the likely informants. The first author to look into is of course Polybius himself. Of all the persons mentioned as hostages in Antiquity he is the only one who was an author, so his description would certainly have been interesting. What does he tell about his involuntary departure for Italy?

The books dealing with the war are rather incomplete and fragmentary but contain besides information concerning the war also the dealings in neighbouring countries but less than we would wish. Book XXVIII mentions parts of the war and the alliance between Perseus and Gentius (including mutual hostages). It also deals with conditions in Greece and among other things narrates that the Achaean Assembly in 169 B.C. on the instigation of the strategos Archon decided to support the Romans and send Polybius and other envoys to the Romans to offer help. It was declined by the Roman commander Q. Marcius Philippus, and the other envoys returned but Polybius stayed with the Romans and took part in their campaign.[4] In book XXX it is mentioned that there were persons siding with Perseus in various cities, but Achaea is not especially mentioned. Embassies were sent to the Romans from various parts and among them Callicrates and others from Achaea with the aim to incriminate their countrymen for siding with Perseus, and envoys were sent by the Romans to the Achaean League to investigate the accusations.[5] The sequel of the investigation is missing and we cannot follow the deportation of the Achaeans to Italy, only the hate towards Callicrates in Achaea and later the efforts of the Achaeans to retrieve the detainees in books XXX-XXXIII and the final success in book XXXV.

Of Livy's numerous books the last preserved one, book XLV, contains the end of the Macedonian war and some of its sequels, the triumph of Aemilius Paulus, the fate of Perseus and his family and that of the Thracian hostages of Perseus and the visit of the Bithynian king Prusias in Rome. But of the Achaeans nothing is said either there or in the periochae of the following books.

In the Historical Library of Diodorus Siculus book XXX contains the Macedonian war and book XXXI some of its sequels with the fate of Perseus and his family and other defeated in the war but nothing of the Achaeans.

Appianus has among his numerous narrations of the wars that the Romans conducted with the peoples and the nations around the Mediterranean of course a thorough description of the Macedonian war which comprised book XII. Unfortunately there is little preserved of this book, and although parts of the last Macedonian war are among the preserved parts, what happened after the war is not. Among the preserved part of Appianus' work Polybius is mentioned only

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4. Polyb. XXVIII 12.1-6, 13.1-6, cf. XXIX 24.2.
5. Polyb. XXX 7.9, 13.3-11.

once, and that is in the Punic war when Scipio Aemilianus and he watch the destruction of Carthago in 146 B.C.[6]

Strabo's History is unfortunately almost entirely lost, but in his Geography he often gives a lot of historical information. In this case he mentions only the defeat of Perseus and the destruction of cities in Epirus,[7] but nothing of the sequel for the Achaeans.

Dio Cassius treats the end of the war and various sequels in book XX but has nothing of the Achaeans in the preserved part.[8] Only in book XXI (Zonaras 9.31) the later fate of the persons in question and the return of the survivors among the persons previously deported and the following destruction of Corinth is mentioned.

Justinus tells in book XXXIII about the Macedonian war and the capture of Perseus and his sons. Then follows a strange mix-up. The book ends with a description of how numerous Greeks were brought to Rome and detained there for a long time in spite of deputations sent to apply for them – a description that fits the Achaeans, only that Justinus instead has them to be the senators of all Aetolian towns with wives and children; an event that would have occurred more than twenty years earlier and not led to such a long detainment. Next book starts with the war against the Achaeans and the destruction of Corinth just as if it had been the immediate sequel and not occurred more than twenty years later on the other hand. Events that occurred elsewhere in the meantime are, however, told in the following.[9]

Among other authors biographers are among the most important, and among them, of course, Plutarchus. You could assert that most important periods of Antiquity up to the start of the Empire are covered in at least some of his biographies. In this case we should look for information in the first place in the biography of Aemilius Paulus, the victor in the Macedonian war against Perseus. But although the Macedonian war occupies a big part of the biography and includes sequels concerning the triumph and the fate of Perseus there is nothing about the Achaeans or Polybius. It would of course have been very interesting to see what was included in the biography of his son Scipio Aemilianus, Polybius' friend, but since that unfortunately belongs to the pair of biographies that is lost it cannot be studied. Among other biographies that of Cato Maior has the interesting piece of information concerning the final return of the surviving detainees.

No, it is an author of quite another kind who furnishes the details of what happened. It is Pausanias, which is not quite unexpected since he often gives detailed commentaries of events that we do not read so exhaustively in other authors, even if they should exist. Here he gives in his description of Achaea and its history the story of what happened to the Achaeans after the Macedonian

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6. App. *Pun.* 8.132.

7. Strab. VII 7.3 (information that he has in fact taken from Polybius).

8. The fate of Perseus is given in Zonaras 9.24.

9. Cf. infra, n. 25.

war.[10] The Romans sent ten senators to arrange the affairs of Macedonia in the best interests of the Romans. An Achaean called Callicrates sought their favour and persuaded one of them to attend the meeting of the Achaean League. There he declared that the most influential Achaeans besides helping Perseus generally also had supplied him with money. So he required the Achaeans to condemn them to death. After their condemnation he would disclose the names of the culprits. Naturally the members protested against this unfair suggestion and demanded that the names should be mentioned before they were condemned. The Roman asserted that every Achaean who had held the office of strategos was included in the accusation since one and all had sided with the Macedonians and Perseus. Xenon, a man of great repute among the Achaeans,[11] rose and said that he had served as strategos but was guilty neither of treachery to Rome nor of friendship to Perseus. Therefore he was ready to submit to trial either before the Achaeans or before the Romans. The Roman grasped the pretext, and sent for trial before the Roman court all those whom Callicrates accused of supporting Perseus, over a thousand men. In Rome no trial was made but the Romans said that they had already been condemned by the Achaeans, and distributed them throughout Etruria and its cities.[12] None of them is mentioned by name, but naturally we assume that Xenon was among them even though we do not hear about him in the following or later. Polybius has given us several names of the leading Achaeans, Arcesilaus, Ariston, Stratius, Xenon, Apollonidas, Archon, Nicander and himself.[13] The only one of them that we know was brought to Italy beside Polybius was Stratius.[14] Polybius' father Lycortas is also mentioned among the leaders, and it is supposed that he had died before the events narrated by Pausanias.

So much for their dispatch to Italy. Nothing is said by Pausanias about hostages.[15] For the following sixteen years of the Achaeans in Italy and their final return Polybius in the preserved parts of his work mentions only his own fortune and nothing about his comrades. He escaped from the fate of being dispatched to any city in Etruria or elsewhere, as we know from also other sources than Pausanias was the normal fate. Carthaginian hostages from the second Punic war

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10. Paus. VII 10.7-11. Much of the wording in the narration given here is borrowed from the Loeb edition, like some resumés of other authors mentioned here.

11. Xenon from Patrae is mentioned in Polyb. XXVIII. 6.2 as one of the Achaean leaders.

12. There is a short hint of this in Polyb. XXX.32, where the senate was asked to pronounce judgment on a matter which it considered already judged by the Achaeans, whereas the Achaeans pointed out that the league had neither heard the defence of the accused nor pronounced any judgment on them and now begged the senate to see that they were put on their trial. The request, which was to no avail, is easier to understand with the long narration of Pausanias in mind.

13. Polyb. XXVIII.6.

14. See below, n. 27.

15. In fact the word 'hostage' is seldom mentioned by Pausanias at all.

had been located in Norba, Signia, Ferentinum, Setia, Circeii and Fregellae,[16] but where the hostages from the Seleucids and the Aetolians in 189 B.C. had been brought we have no information about. If any of those hostages were still located in these towns in 167 is not known. We also do not know which towns were chosen to receive the comrades of Polybius,[17] but for Polybius' fate we learn from his own narrative that it was Scipio Aemilianus and his brother whose application to the Senate made it possible for him to stay in Rome.[18]

Perseus and his family were conducted in the triumphal procession,[19] and from Livy we learn that Perseus and his son Alexander were to be brought to Alba Fucens[20] and the Illyrian king Gentius who had been conquered at the same time and his family were first brought to Spoletium, and when this town refused to receive them, to Iguvium.[21] The Thracian king Cotys, who had been Perseus' ally after exchanging mutual hostages, including Cotys' son Bithys, applied for paying ransom for the hostages that had been brought to Carseoli. The Romans criticized him for having given hostages to Perseus, but in the end they returned the hostages without ransom.[22] From Plutarchus we learn that Perseus died within short, although it was not clear how, and also two of his sons; only Alexander lived on and evidently had a normal life.[23]

The most interesting incident in the history of hostageship during Polybius' stay in Rome was the case of the Seleucid prince Demetrius. He was the son of the elder son of Antiochus III, Seleucus, who reigned 187-175. When Seleucus died he was succeeded by his younger brother Antiochus who had been hostage in Rome, and Demetrius was sent as a hostage instead. When Antiochus died in 164, Demetrius of course expected that he would be sent back to reign as the son of Seleucus rather than Antiochus' young son. But he was denied that by the Senate and made his escape through the fact that he had his living in two places and could be absent from either without rousing suspicions. Polybius relates the story and tells that he dissuaded Demetrius from repeating his application; evidently he was himself involved in the procedure.[24] The story is also related by other authors like Appian, Dio Cassius and Justinus.[25] Demetrius is of course called a

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16. Liv. XXXII 2.3-4, 26.5-7, 26.16-18.

17. In Polyb. XXXI.23.5 only 'the towns' are mentioned, without specification. According to Paus. VII 10.11 they were towns in Etruria.

18. Polyb. loc.cit. They were the sons of Aemilius Paulus adopted into other families. Polybius speaks at length in the following chapters of Scipio and his friendship with him.

19. Plut. *Aem*. XXXIII.6; XXXIV.1.

20. Liv. XLV 42.4.

21. Liv. XLV 43.9.

22. Polyb. XXX 17.1-4; Liv. XLV 42.5-11; Cass. Dio XX (Zonaras 9.24).

23. Plut. *Aem*. XXXVII.4; Zonaras loc.cit.

24. Polyb. XXXI.11-15. Polybius has even been thought to be the instigator of the plot, see F. W. Walbank, *Polybius* (Berkeley, 1972), 9.

25. App. *Syr*. XI 8.46-47, 67; Dio Cass. XX (Zonaras 9.25); Justinus XXXIV 3.5-9.

hostage in this connection, but also here nobody uses that term of Polybius or sees him as a comrade of the same fortune.

During these years the Achaeans in Greece were not idle but tried several times to get their ill-fated politicians released. Unsuccessful attempts were made in 164, 159, 155 and 153;[26] the second time Polybius mentions that the plea was made chiefly on behalf of himself and Stratius.[27] The third time the plea could have been successful but that was averted by a skilful use of voting procedure by the praetor Aulus Postumius Albinus. Finally in 151 a plea was successful, when only about 300 of the original 1,000 persons were left[28] and not worth a discussion whether they would be carried to their graves by bearers from Rome or from Achaea, as Cato puts it.[29] Also now the word hostages is not used – Polybius speaks of τῶν κατεχομένων and τῶν ἀνακεκλημένων (rendered with those in detention in Loeb),[30] τῶν καταιτιαθέντων and τῶν κατῃτιαμένων (the accused) or τῶν ἀκληρούντων (the unhappy sufferers); Plutarchus uses τῶν φυγάδων (the exiles). Pausanias only speaks of them as the Achaeans. Only in the Loeb edition of Dio Cass XXI (Zonaras 9.31) do we find 'the survivors among their hostages',[31] but it is an illusion since the Greek original has simply τοὺς περιλιπεῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων that had been deported, μετῳκίσθησαν, and nothing about their being hostages.

No, certainly Polybius was not regarded as a hostage, neither by himself nor anybody else. But of course he may have felt himself like a hostage. There are many examples in Ancient literature of persons who felt or were regarded as hostages by themselves or others without strictly being so, for example daughters given in marriage for political reasons.[32] Cicero speaks of his son as taken as a hostage by the state for his consulate and sees also his office, his ambition and his hopes as hostages to the state.[33] Lucanus lets Pompeius regard his wife as left as hostage on Lesbos during the war against Caesar.[34]

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26. Polyb. XXX.32, XXXII.3.14-17, XXXIII.1 3-8, 3 and 14; Walbank 1972, 10, n. 45.

27. Stratius of Tritaea was also one of the leaders mentioned in Polyb. XXVIII.6.2, see above, n. 13.

28. Paus. VII 11.12 hints that attempts of escape had been made, evidently not very successful. Dio Cass. XXI (Zonaras 9.31) tells that some of them, in despair of ever returning to their homes, made away with themselves.

29. Polyb. XXXV.6.1-4, Plut. *Cato Mai.* 9.3, Paus. VII.10.12. That Polybius was one of them is of course certain, but otherwise we do not know who else may have been, leaders or others.

30. Walbank speaks of internees in 1972, 75, n. 42, those summoned in 1979, 461 and detainees in 521, 542, 543 and points out in p. 461 that Mauersberger (in the Polybios-Lexikon) s.v. ἀνακαλέομαι incorrectly speaks of 'die achaiischen Geiseln'.

31. Translation by H. B. Baldwin & E. Cary.

32. e.g., the daughters or nieces of Cato the Younger could be regarded as hostages when married, Plut. *Cato Min*. 30.3-4.

33. Cic. *Catil*. IV.2.3; Id. *In Caecil.* 22-72.

34. Lucan. *Phars*. VIII.127-133.

So with such examples in view Polybius may have felt himself as a hostage. But certainly he could not technically have been regarded so, and certainly he was not regarded as a hostage either.

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Change of Status, Change of Art

By Raluca Prelipceanu[*]

The changes in art and the changes in the status of Orthodox icon painters from Transylvania during the 18th and early 19th centuries are closely linked. This paper looks into the link between the two. During this time, there is an important shift in the condition of the painters from that of mere craftsmen to artists. The main sources used in this paper, besides the paintings themselves and the signatures of the artists are the visitations notes, a few contracts that remain to this day and the painters' biographies. The article first looks into the status of the painters, then it presents the social and political context of the period. These sections are followed by an analysis of the changes at the level of the art and also by a semantic analysis. The change in the status of Orthodox icon painters can be considered not only by looking into the transformation and development of certain iconographic representations, but also by the study of their signatures. Are all these changes due to the desire of icon painters to acquire a better social status, or are they imposed by the donors and the church authorities? This is the main question addressed in this article. In conclusion, the seeking of social status is intertwined with the demands of the donors, both determining the changes in Orthodox church art.

Introduction

"The 18th century witnessed in Transylvania an explosion of Romanian art and the most suggestive evolution took place in the field of painting, 300 painters being active during this period. With confidence and humility they adorned the wooden and stone churches of the Romanians."[1]

At the beginning of the 20th century, Ștefan Meteș[2] and Coriolan Petreanu[3] were the first historians who wrote about the Transylvanian painters of that time. However, Meteș and Petreanu made a mere review of the painters and their works and not a stylistic analysis. Art historians like I.D. Ștefănescu did not even consider this period in their research because of Western influences that entered the traditional Orthodox art. Neither did Vasile Drăguț and Virgil Vătășianu, other two well-known art historians, who focused only on medieval art. However, later art historian Marius Porumb[4] analyzed the artistic milieu of the 18th century. Also, some historians published several monographs of some of the Transylvanian

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1. Marius Porumb, *Un Veac de Pictură Românească din Transilvania, Secolul XVIII* (București: Meridiane, 2003), 5.

2. Ștefan Meteș, "Zugravii Bisericilor Române," *Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, secția pentru Transilvania 1926-1928, Cluj, (1929).

3. Coriolan Petreanu, *Bisericile de Lemn ale Românilor Ardeleni* (Sibiu, 1934).

4. Porumb, *Un Veac de Pictură Românească din Transilvania, Secolul XVIII,* 2003.

painters during that time, like those about Iacov of Rășinari,[5] Stan of Rășinari,[6] Toader Popovici,[7] Grigore Ranite,[8] as well as articles about painters like Simion Silaghi,[9] Ursu Broină,[10] Stefan Tenecki,[11] etc.

Unfortunately, their research takes very little into account the possible interactions between painters and oftern does not perform an in-depth analysis of the changes occuring during that period, nor does it look into the broader context of the Orthodox painters under Habsburg rule. The current article tries to fill in this gap by discussing the mobility of painters, their social status, thus shedding light on the possible interactions and sources of change. The article attempts to establish a link between the changes in art during this time and the changes in the social status of the painters. This research is based on both visual and written sources.

Painters' Origin and Status

Most of the painters were Romanians, but some came from the neighbouring regions and mostly from the Orthodox communities under Habsburg rule. The circulation of painters to Transylvania is not a new phenomenon. During the Middle Ages several painters embellished the Transylvanian churches with beautiful frescoes. Some of them were from the neighbouring Romanian lands: Wallachia and Moldavia, while others came from the Western world. Even the supposedly local painters, such as Mihul from Crișul Alb, who during the 14th century decorated with frescoes the church of the Râmeț monastery seem to have come from Serbia or to have studied under Serbian painters.[12] While at Râmeț the style is mostly Byzantine, in other Transylvanian churches from the 14th and 15th centuries, like those of Strei, Ribița and Crișcior, the Byzantine style coexists with

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5. Ana Dumitran, Elena Cucui, Elena Mihu and Saveta Pop, *Iacov Zugravul* (Alba Iulia: Ed. Altip, 2010).

6. Dumitran et al., *Stan Zugravul* (Alba Iulia: Ed. Altip, 2011).

7. Vasile Mureșan and Marcel Naste, *Toader Popovici Zugravul* (Târgu Mureș: Ed. Vatra Veche, 2015.

8. Dumitran, "Un Zugrav de Elită: Grigore Ranite," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica* 14, no. I (2010).

9. Dumitran, "Pictorul Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu. În căutarea identității," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica* 16, no. I (2012).

10. Silvia Marin Barutcieff, "Un pictor transilvănean pierdut…? Ursu Broină," *Apulum*, no. 50 (2013).

11. Horia Medeleanu, "The Life of an 18th Century Painter: Stefan Tenetchi," *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* XXI-2 (1983).

12. Dumitran, "The Chronology of the Murals in the Râmeț Monastic Church. Based on a Re-evaluation of the Dating of the Narthex Inscription," *Museikon* 4 (2020).

the Gothic and Neo-Gothic Western styles of the Catholic churches of the same period, like those in Sântana de Mureş, Mălâncrav, Dârlos, etc.[13]

In the 17th century most of the churches in Northern and Central Transylvania were destroyed during the Tatar and Ottoman invasions. The last great Tatar invasion took place in 1717 and a lot of churches in Northern and Central Transylvania were destroyed on that occasion[14]. At the same time, the Reformed princes of Transylvania were not in favour of icons. In a letter to the Russian Emperor, Metropolitan Sava Brancovici, the head of the Orthodox church of Transylvania asked for money in order to rebuild the Metropolitan church of Alba Iulia which had been destroyed for the third time in a century. The Reformed princes of Transylvania were this time responsible for its destruction[15]. At the beginning of the 18th century the Jesuit Joseph de Camillis wrote that most of the icons from the Orthodox churches had been destroyed by order of the Reformed Transylvanian princes.[16] However, historian Ana Dumitran does not agree with this statement arguing that the production of icons during this period was still important.[17]

Some Ruthenian, but also Moldavian painters were active in Transylvania during the 17th century. Vasili Staşoschi worked at Lujderiu[18], while Nicolaus Polonii painted the nave of the church in Sălişţea Sibiului in 1674 and Grigori ot Colomii painted two icons for the monastery at Deda in 1690[19]. Also, the local artist, Mihail from Hunedoara decorated the church at Cinciş in the middle of the century[20]. Furthermore, there are some other icons dating from that period, which though not signed, can be attributed either to Ruthenian or Moldavian itinerant painters. The priest Luca of Iclod, the painter of the wonder-working icons of the Holy Mother of God from Nicula (1681), Ilişua (1673) and Strâmba, also seems to have been of Ruthenian origin as his style was close to that of the school of Halicz in Ukraine[21]. In an official document of the time he was called "gente Ruthenus".

During the following century several painters from Wallachia worked in Transylvania such as David from Curtea de Argeş or Simion from Piteşti. The

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13. Dana Jenei, *Pictură Murală Gotică din Transilvania* (Bucureşti: Noi Media Print, 2007).

14. Ioana Cristache Panait, "Tipuri sociale şi aspecte de critică socială în pictura monumentelor de lemn din centrul şi vestul ţării," *RMM, MIA* XV, no. 1 (1984): 54.

15. Silviu Dragomir, *Contribuţii Privitoare la Relaţiile Bisericii Româneşti cu Rusia în Veacul XVII.* (Bucureşti: Academia Română, 1912).

16. Ovidiu Ghitta, "Episcopul Iosif de Camillis şi Românii din Părţile Ungureşti," *Studia Universitatis Babeş Bolyai* 42, no. 1-2 (1997).

17. Dumitran, "Între Logos şi Eikon. Un Eseu Despre Icoană, Români şi Protestantism în Transilvania Secolului al XVII-lea," in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica*, 18/I (Cluj Napoca: Ed. Mega, 2014)

18. Museikon, Time, Faith, Heritage, (Alba Iulia, 2017), 20

19. Dumitran, Între Logos şi Eikon, 127.

20. Ibid, 131.

21. Ibid, 122.

latter signed the paintings of Densus, Prislop and the iconostasis in Gurasada. The throne icon of the Virgin at Prislop monastery was painted by the Wallachian Ioan ot vel Ocna in 1752. Also, Simion's apprentice, Nicolae from Pitești worked at Gurasada. Painter Simion Oprovici from Craiova was also working in Transylvania in 1772. Also, the famous Wallachian painter Grigore Ranite and his son, Ioan Grigoriovici worked in Transylvania and Banat during the 18th century.[22]

Considering the decorations and the long faces that he painted, Ana Dumitran argued that Master Andrei Bo(…)dor from Cluj was also of Ruthenian origin.[23] Another painter of Ruthenian origin who worked in Transylvania during the 18th century was Vasile Zboroschi who painted the iconostasis of the church in Certege in 1752.[24]

Figure 1 presents *The Holy Martyrs* painted in the nave of the church in Bica by Simion Silaghi and Andrei Bo(…)dor containing the traditional decoration of Ruthenian influence.

Figure 1. *The Holy Martyrs, Bica, Simion Silaghi and Andrei Bo(...)dor,1775*

A famous painter Constandinos, of Greek origin established in Brașov where he opened a workshop. Moreover, painters from Banat, like Stefan Tenecki also worked in Transylvania, as did the painters from Maramuresh, Alexandru Ponehalschi and Radu Munteanu.

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22. Meteș, "Zugravii Bisericilor Române," 1929, 128.

23. Dumitran, "Pictorul Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu. În Căutarea Identității," 2012, 190.

24. The inscription reads: 'This holy icon was paid for by Opria Constandin and wife Ioana from Lupsa 1752': "Aiastă sfântă *icoană* o plătit Opria Constandin cu soțu său Ioana, din *Lupșa*. 1752".

After the treaty of Karlowitz, at the end of the 17th century, Transylvania came under Habsburg rule. However this did not improve much the position of the Romanian population, traditionally Orthodox who had no social rights and no social recognition. The condition of the Orthodox painters from Transylvania was that of mere artisans. Probably, like the neighbouring Ruthenian painters they could not earn their living only by their art, they were also involved in other activities. A writer from Ostroh wrote in 1588 that "before, there were excellent, pious painters of icons, but now icon painting is dominated by saddlers, bridlemakers, and other clowns".[25]

At the beginning of the 18th century some of the painters still came from the monastic orders, like Gheorghe the monk and Iosif the hieromonk.[26] The same state of affairs occurred in neighbouring Ruthenia. However, during the 18th and early 19th centuries most of them were lay painters or clerics, like popa Ivan of Rășinari, popa Gheorghe Tobias from Abrud, popa Nicolae of Feisa, popa Ioan Grigoriovici.

Painters did not come from poor families. Marius Porumb[27] thinks that Simion Silaghi might have actually come from the ranks of the petty gentry, while the famous painters Iacov and Stan of Rășinari were the sons of priest Radu Man.[28] Dynasties of painters were formed. This was the case of the families of painter Iacov from Rășinari, whose sons Gheorghe and Nicolae were also painters. Toader Ciungar's sons Iacov and Nicolae were equally painters, as were Simion Silaghi's three sons: Gavriil, Simion and Partenie and even his grandson, Isidor. The skill was thus passed on from generation to generation following an initiation ritual.

Painting Schools in 18th Century Transylvania

Several painting schools developed during the 18th century, but the only guild recorded was that of 'the painters on paper' from Gherla. The only attempt to gather into a guild by other painters was made in Banat in 1736. In 1756 a group of five painters including Gheorghe Ranite, Nedelcu and Şerban Popovici demanded protection from the bishop of Timișoara against the competition of the itinerant painters, which suggests the extent of painters' mobility during that time.[29]

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25. Lilya Berezhnaya and John Paul Himka, *The World To Come. Ukrainian Images of the Last Judgement* (Harvard University Press, 2015).

26. Meteş, "Zugravii Bisericilor Române," 1929, 116.

27. Ibid, 368-372.

28. Porumb, *Dicţionar de Pictură Veche Românească* (Bucureşti: Ed. Academiei Române, 1998), 169.

29. Meteş, "Zugravii Bisericilor Române," 1929, 131.

One of the most important painting schools was undoubtedly that of Feisa established by Iacov of Rășinari[30] who moved there in 1762. His sons, Gheorghe and popa Nicolae were among its representatives, as was another important painter Toader Popovici. The family of Iacov had close links with the famous Wallachian painter Grigore Ranite.[31] Both Stan and Iacov had painted with him at Curtea de Argeș and, according to the records, Ranite became Iacov's godfather. Later, Stan also opened his own workshop in Orăștie.

Figures 2 and 3 show two of the most famous icons painted by Iacov Zugravul. Like the ancient Byzantine painters the signature of the artist is hidden among the details of the painting,[32] in this case the decoration of the throne.

Figure 2. *The Holy Mother of God, Iacov Zugravul 1746*

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30. Dumitran, Cucui, Mihu and Pop, *Iacov Zugravul*, 2010, 13.

31. Ibid, 1.

32. Sophia Kalopissi Verti, "Painters in Late Byznatine Society. The Evidence of Church Inscriptions," *Cahiers Archeologiques* 42 (1994).

Figure 3. *Icon of St Nicholas, Iacov Zugravul 1745*

Grigore Ranite was one of the most illustrious representatives of the neo-Byzantine style which had developed in Wallachia under the reign of martyr Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714). Ranite came from Craiova. In Wallachia he painted the monastery of Tismana, the church of Vădeni, the skete of Crasna, the monastery of Sărăcinești, the bishopric chapel in Râmnic. He also worked in Transylvania at the painting of the Black Church of Brașov (1733-1734), that of St Paraschiva church in Rășinari (around 1758) and at the Greek Catholic bishopric cathedral of Blaj (1736). Several eschatological images were introduced by Ranite in his iconographic programmes.

The development of such relations prove the existence of close artistic links between the southern part of Transylvania and Wallachia that date back many centuries and can be traced at least starting with the 14th century.

Figure 4 presents *the Wheel of Life* painted by Grigore Ranite at the church in Rășinari.

Figure 4. *The Wheel of Life Represented by Grigore Ranite at the Black Church in Brașov 1733-1734 and at St Paraschiva church in Rășinari 1758*

Simion Silaghi's school in Abrud was one of the most important schools at the turn of the century. Simion Silaghi had many apprentices; first of all his three sons, but also other painters from the region of Apuseni where he resided. Among them were Ion and Nicoale Cuc, Nicolae and Nechifor Bădău, Gheorghe Șpan, Motok Karoly. Before Silaghi, another well-known painter and Greek Catholic priest of the 18th century had worked in Abrud, Popa Gheorghe Tobias. Gheorghe Tobias's painting is a mixture of neo-Byzantine elements and Western influences.

The school in Laz, in Southern Transylvania was also important. In Laz, the tradition has been handed down from father to son or from uncle to nephew to this day. The first generation of painters from Laz, Savu and Simion painted both fresco, icons on wood and on glass. Later, the painters from this school focused only on glass icons, like the painters from the neighbouring school of Lancrăm.

The neighbouring regions of Maramuresh and Banat had their own painting schools. Alexandru Ponehalschi was one of the most important painters in Maramuresh. He was of Ruthenian origin, but he had Romanian apprentices. In Banat painters of Serbian origin worked alongside Romanian painters. Some of the most famous Serbian painters were Stefan Tenecki, Nedelcu Popovici, Toader Crăciun, Nikola Nescovici, Petrar Nicolici, etc. Sometimes painters from other areas also received commissions in Transylvania. They either travelled there, or they worked on the commissions they received in their own workshops and later delivered them to their donors.

Figure 5 depicts Christ painted by Stefan Tenecki for the altar of the Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj.

Figure 5. *The Altar of the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Blaj by Stefan Tenecki, 1765*

The Political and Social Context

The 18th century in Transylvania was characterized by the Romanians' fight to be recognized as a nation with the same rights as the other nations living in this land. The new Habsburg domination lifted up the hopes of the Romanians living in Transylvania. The unity with the church of Rome in 1701 served this aim. Following this step, some of the Orthodox churches passed under the possession of the new Greek Catholic church. However, Romanians did not receive the same rights as the other nations and in mid-1740s a Serbian monk called Visarion Sarai drew attention on the betrayal of the true Orthodox faith by the bishop and the priests. He was active in Southern Transylvania. Following his initiative, several demands and petitions in favour of returning to the Orthodox faith were written and presented to the Empress Maria Theresa. The lack of response brought about serious unrest and discontent which reached a peak with the uprising under monk Sofronie of Cioara in 1760-1761. During the uprising several Orthodox churches were destroyed, but finally the Empress admitted the Orthodox faith and placed the Orthodox in Transylvania under the jurisdiction of the Serbian Metropolitan of Karlowitz in 1761.[33] Romanian Orthodox did receive some rights after the decree of tolerance passed by Emperor Joseph II in 1782, including the right to build stone churches.

The fight did not enjoy the same success on the social dimension so a new uprising took place in 1784 in the Apuseni Mountains. Romanians did not

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33. Ljubivoje Cerovič, *Sârbii din România. Din Evul Mediu până în Zilele Noastre* (Timișoara: Uniunea Sârbilor din România, 2008), 66; Paul Brusanowski, "Statutul Canonic al Ortodoxiei din Spaţiul Intracarpatic până în 1864," *Revista Teologică* 20, no. 92 (2010): 95-113.

demand the abolition of social classes, however they fought for equal rights with the other nations. The heads of the uprising were caught and executed in the capital city of Transylvania, Alba Iulia in 1785.[34]

The Metropolitan of Karlowitz, Arsenie IV Jovanovic was concerned with the priests' and the believers' education level, therefore in 1733 he opened an academy in Karlowitz where painting was also taught.[35] While the first official painters of the Metropolitanate had studied with Russian teachers, the next generation was taught by teachers from Kyiv Caves Lavra. Painters such as Stefan Tenecki from Lipova, considered the court painter of the bishop of Arad were educated at the Caves Lavra and possibly also at the Vienna Academy. The teaching dispensed at the Caves Lavra covered many topics, in addition to iconography, students also studied portrait art and monumentalistic painting.[36]

The Orthodox Serbs had been granted privileges that other Orthodox nations under Habsburg rule did not enjoy. This explains why they were more open to Western influences. [37] At the same time, the Russian teachers invited to Karlowitz by the Metropolitan were under the influence of Tsar Peter's reforms of 1722 published in a *Gramata*.[38] The teachers from the school of the Kyiv Lavra, now in Imperial Russia were also influenced by Western art as many Western models were studied there.

There were two directions of change in the art of the Lavra: one coming from the newly formed Greek Catholic Ruthenian church which adopted Catholic models. The first polemical writings about the paintings of the Orthodox churches were written during the 18th century. Until then, there were no clear differences between the Orthodox and the Catholic churches, although the Union of Brest[39] had taken place at the end of the 16th century. Many of the churches often changed their canonical jurisdiction and some Orthodox churches were transformed, receiving a choir or a tribune. At the council of Przemysl in 1693, the church authorities remarked that there was chaos at the level of church organization. A new Council which took place in Zamosc set some rules for liturgical services and church painting. The report of this council was published in Vilnius and Suprasl

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34. David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum. Din Istoria Formării Națiunii Române* (București: Ed. Enciclopedică, 2013), 245.

35. Vladimir Cvetkovic, "The Serbian Tradition," in *The Orthodox Christian World* (ed.) Augustine Casiday (London: Routledge, 2012), 135.

36. Philip Zweig, *Icônes, XI-XVIII Siècles* (New York: Parkstone International, SUA, 2004), 116.

37. Remus Câmpeanu, A. Câmpian, et al. *În Spiritul Europei Moderne. Administrația și Confesiunile din Transilvania în Perioada Reformismului Terezian și Iosefin (1740-1790)* (Cluj Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2009).

38. Waldemar Deluga, *Ukrainian Painting Between the Byzantine and Latin Traditions* (Ostrava-Warsaw 2019), 115.

39. Deluga, "L'évolution de l'iconographie dans l'église Gréco-Catholique Pendant le XVIII-ieme Siècle à la Lumière des Sources Ecrites," *Revue des Etudes Slaves* LXXI, no. 2 (1999): 225-242.

in 1722 and later in Univ, Liov and Poceaev. The Council of Zamosc[40] equals in importance the Catholic Tridentine Council for the Ruthenian Greek Catholic church. Some of its decisions were also implemented by the Orthodox church. As a consequence, Baroque decorations started to adorn Orthodox icons. The iconostasis also became higher, while in some places it disappeared completely.

New subjects were now introduced in Orthodox art. Among these changes are the development of the iconography of the Passions of Christ with an important number of scenes introduced and a special emphasis put on Flagellation. Christ's feet on the cross were seperate and pierced by nails. Furthermore, some Catholic saints began to be represented as well. Also, compositions like Mater Dolorosa and the three Persons of the Holy Trinity became common and even the three-faced Trinity was sometimes represented. Furthermore, Christ and the Virgin were usually crowned and Christ started to be depicted with the orb and the stick as attributes of power.

On the other hand, the Orthodox tried to meet the Catholic attempts to gain control over the church in Ruthenia and they employed Protestant carvers and printers.

One of the main sources of inspiration of the painters during that time was precisely wood carvings or woodcuts, engravings and Blockbücher.[41] There was a great mobility of engravers during the 17th and 18th centuries in the Romanian space. The prince of Moldavia, Peter Mohyla became Metropolitan of Kiyv in 1632.[42] He reformed the Ruthenian Orthodox Church and established several printing houses and several schools. The most important was the school of the Kyiv Caves Lavra. Though, a faithful Orthodox he had been educated in Catholic schools either in France or in Poland and his aim was to build a school in Kyiv which later was granted by Emperor Peter I the title of academy. As he had been educated at the Jesuits, he applied there the model of the Jesuit Catholic schools.[43]

The main allies of the Orthodox during their fight for recognition were the Protestants. They had the same enemy, the Catholic Jesuits. Therefore some of the Orthodox printers employed by prince Ostrozky at the end of the 16th century or by Peter Mohyla later, in order to develop and publish a polemical literature, were actually Protestants who were already skilled at their debate against the Catholics.[44] This is how images by engravers such as Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach and Hans Holbein the Younger[45] entered Orthodox iconography. This kind of drawings was actually taught at the painting school at the Caves Lavra.[46]

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40. Ibid, 229-230.

41. Deluga, *Ukrainian Painting Between the Byzantine and Latin Traditions*, 2019, 147-170.

42. Ihor Sevcenko, "The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8, no. ½ (1984): 9-44.

43. Ibid.

44. S. Plokhy, *Porţile Europei. O Istorie a Ucrainei* (Bucureşti: Ed. Trei, 2018), 100-101.

45. Deluga, *Ukrainian Painting Between the Byzantine and Latin Traditions*, 2019.

46. Zweig, *Icônes, XI-XVIII Siècles*, 2004, 116.

Some of the most important works that inspired the painters were *Biblia Ectypa*, *Thesaurus*, *Theatrum Biblicum* and *Biblia Piscator*.[47]

Peter Mohyla also sent teachers as well as printers and wood carvers to Wallachia and Moldavia where his father and uncle had been princes. They mainly reprinted the books that had been printed in the Ruthenian lands only a few years before and reproduced the same wood carvings. He also sent books to Transylvania.

Later, abbot Ioan of Hurezi also encouraged paintings inspired by engravings during his administration of the Wallachian monastery of Hurezi in 1720s.[48] This also contributed to the adaptation to painting of some of the images engraved.

Therefore, at the Metropolitanate of Karlowitz, the style was set by the Kyiv School Lavra, combined with the Western influences coming from the Vienna painting academy. Besides the painting schools, the canonical visitations of the bishops also contributed to the spreading of new ideas as they could give directions regarding to what could and what could not be represented in churches. Moreover, the priests who were ordained by Serbian bishops in Buda, Arad or Timișoara were probably instructed before their ordination as the Metropolitanate of Karlowitz was also concerned with the art promoted in churches and with the message delivered to the faithful.

However, most of the painters were not educated in official schools, such as the School of the Caves Lavra, the one in Karlowitz or the Academy in Vienna, but in private workshops.

Were there any painting manuals at that time? There are no records of the painting manuals used, though at that time some painting manuals already existed. The books were transmitted only inside the workshop and were left as a legacy to the following generations. The first such book in the Romanian space was the one composed by Metropolitan Antim of Wallachia at the beginning of the 18th century.[49] Some versions of this manual might have reached Transylvania. Another manual made up between 1733 and 1735 belonged to monk David from Brașov.[50] Moreover, several sketch notebooks from that time still remain, like those by painter Stan from Orăștie or those by Ștențel Condrat from Bistrița. The sketch notebooks were left as legacy as well and inherited by the painters in the workshop.

The scenes developed at that time were inspired by the scriptures and the apocryphal literature. The legend of the fourth magus was depicted in the Crucifixion scene and several other apocryphal texts were very influential as well.

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47. Deluga, "L'évolution de l'iconographie dans l'église Gréco-Catholique Pendant le XVIII-ieme Siècle à la Lumière des Sources Ecrites," 1999, 233.

48. Ioana Iancovescu, "Les Sources Russes et Ukrainiennes de la Peinture Murale au Temps de Constantin Brancovan," *Revue Roumaine de l'histoire de l'art*, Série Beaux-Arts, Tome XLV (2008): 101-116.

49. Meteş, "Zugravii Bisericilor Române," 1929, 19-24.

50. Ibid.

One of the most important was the Apocalypse of Basil the New which contained a thorough description of the torments suffered by the sinners in hell that inspired many Last Judgement compositions.[51]

As they aspired for a new social status, Orthodox painters, were influenced by the official Catholic painters of the Imperial Court and their ideas. Baroque influences and Western Catholic elements were thus introduced in the Orthodox art.

Changes in Orthodox Art

How did the changes manifest? First, Western influences penetrated the religious art and can be observed in the iconographic programmes. Marian scenes were represented more often, as the Virgin was the main saint promoted by the Jesuit Counter Reformation propaganda in the fight against the Protestants. Both the Catholic and the Orthodox had a special reverence for Virgin Mary. She was represented in Orthodox iconographic programmes of the 16th century in a developed cycle, especially that of the Akathistos hymn. However, the Reform had forbidden the representations of the Virgin. The churches that still stand from that period have a very simple iconographic programme depicting merely the Passions of Jesus with a narrative and didactical function, like for example the church in Strâmba monastery, now in the county of Sălaj.

Also, though forbidden by Orthodox canons, as stated by the council of Moscow in the 17th century,[52] the representation of God the Father can be found in most of the churches of the time.

Images promoted by the Catholic Counter Reformation are depicted in most of the Orthodox churches during that period like the *Coronation of the Virgin Mary*. The image of the *Coronation of Mary* illustrates the doctrine of the *Immaculate Conception* and was promoted especially after the Tridentine Council. Due to her Immaculate Conception the Virgin is raised with her body to heaven after death where she is crowned either by Christ or by the Trinity. Also, another image that developed following the Tridentine Council in 1545-1563 was the image of the Virgin of the *Immaculate Conception* represented as Maria in sole, *the Woman of the Apocalypse*. Mary redeems humanity, delivering it from Eve's sin, therefore she is represented in opposition to Eve with the attributes of the *Woman of the Apocalypse*, like the crescent or the twelve stars.[53]

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51. John-Paul Himka, *Last Judgement Iconography in the Carpathians* (University of Toronto Press, 2009), 46-49.

52. Leonid Uspenski, *Teologia Icoanei în Biserica Ortodoxă Rusă* (Cluj Napoca: Ed. Patmos, 2005).

53. Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art Chrétien. Tome II Iconographie de la Bible* (Paris: PUF, 1957), 622.

Figure 6. *The Coronation of the Virgin by the Holy Trinity, St. Michael Church in Vința, Simion Silaghi, 1819-1821*

Figure 6 shows the Coronation of the Virgin painted by Simion Silaghi in the vestibule of the church of Vința between 1819 and 1821. The Virgin is crowned by the Holy Trinity, God the Father, Christ and the dove of the Holy Ghost. The Virgin kneels and she wears the traditional Orthodox maphorion.

Furthermore, in Orthodox art the Virgin is never represented bare headed, her head is always covered, which is not the case in some 18th century compositions. She is also never crowned, like in the case of the Coronation of the Virgin or in some compositions of the Virgin enthroned with Christ child painted in the apse of some churches during that time. Judith Herrin[54] explains that in the Byzantine Empire there was already an earthly empress wearing a crown and though her garment is very rich, the Virgin is practically never painted with a crown because she would have competed with the empress. In the West there is no empress, therefore there was no such competition.

Other images from Orthodox iconographic programmes are either replaced or transformed. For example, the Virgin in the *Annunciation* scene is no longer painted seated: instead she is reading a book, an image inspired by the Catholic religious paintings from the Medieval period and promoted by the Counter-Reformation. The image lays emphasis on the importance of praying, schooling and the knowledge of the Holy Scripture. It also promotes Mary as a learned

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54. Judith Herrin, "The Imperial Feminine in Byzantium," *Past&Present*, no. 169 (2000): 3-35.

scholar, a model for the pious believers.[55] Figure 7 shows the Annonciation painted by Gheorghe son of Iacov in the apse of the church in Mogoș. The Virgin is seated before a table on which lie a book and a scroll. The buildings are painted in Baroque style and also the Holy Ghost is painted as a dove that descends upon the Holy Virgin.

The scenes of the *Passions of Christ* were constantly represented in all iconographic programmes. However, the episodes of Christ's suffering do not have the same dramatic accents as in the Western art. Christ is filled with joy even when he is raised on to the cross.
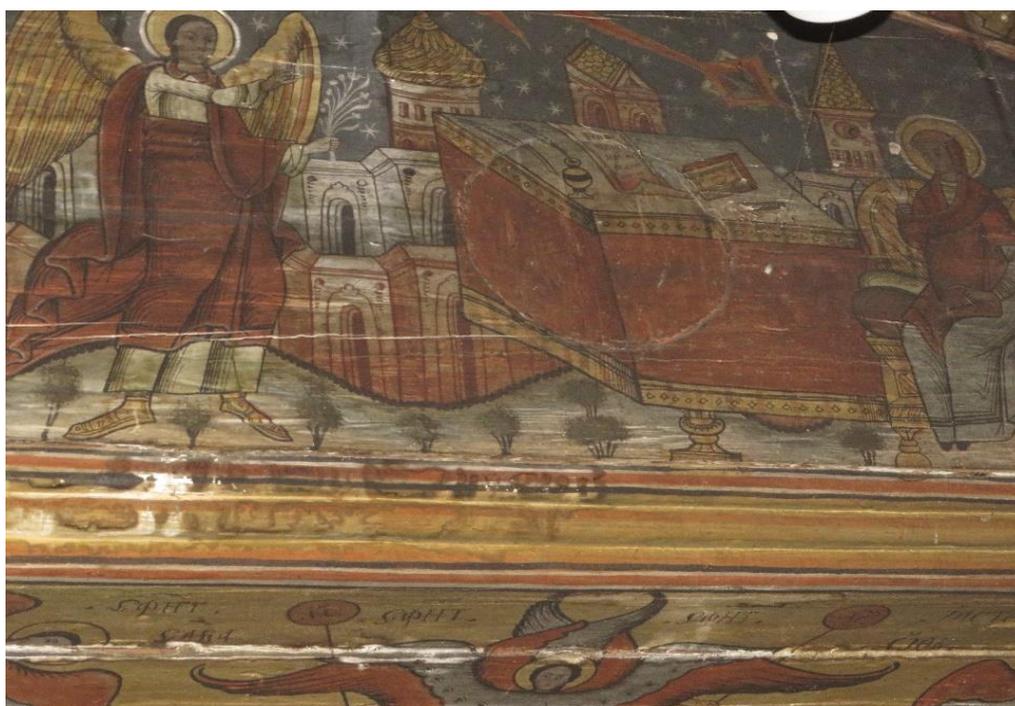
Figure 7. *The Annunciation, Apse, St. Archangels Church in Mogoș Cojocani, Gheorghe son of Iacov, 1771*

The *Assumption* also borrows a lot from the Catholic doctrine as the soul of the Virgin is represented often according to the Catholic dogma, already in heaven with Christ, rather than according to the traditional Orthodox representations where Christ holds in his arms her soul, as a pure child, next to the bed on which the Virgin rests.

Also, the image of the *Weeping of the Mother of God* or *Mater Dolorosa* is painted very often. Although some researchers claim its Russian origin, the image being introduced into Romanian Orthodox iconography following the war between the Russians and the Turks, in Transylvania its influence could actually be Western.

1. 55. Laura Saetveit Miles, *The Virgin Mary's Book at the Annunciation: Reading, Interpretation, and Devotion in Medieval England* (D.W. Brouwer, 2020).

During that period writings like the Catholic hymn *Stabat Mater* had just been translated. Engravings on the subject were widely spread in Transylvania, either coming from abroad or as a product of the Blaj guild of engravers. This image was largely promoted by the Jesuits in their circles. Figure 8 from the iconostasis of St George church in Lupșa shows the Virgin beside Christ's cross with a spare piercing her heart.

Figure 8. *The Crucifixion, Iconostasis, St George Church in Lupșa, Simion Silaghi and his son Simion in 1810*

An abundance of angelic representations accompanied those of the Virgin. Whole angels or mere putti heads, a Renaissance influence largely borrowed and promoted later by the Baroque art, embellish some Orthodox churches.

The figure below shows an iconostasis painted by Ion ot Beriu for the church in Geogel. Ion ot Beriu still observes much of the neo-Byzantine style in his painting in contrast with the painting done in the nave of the same church nearly 15 years later by popa Gheorghe Tobias from Abrud which is characterized by more Western elements.
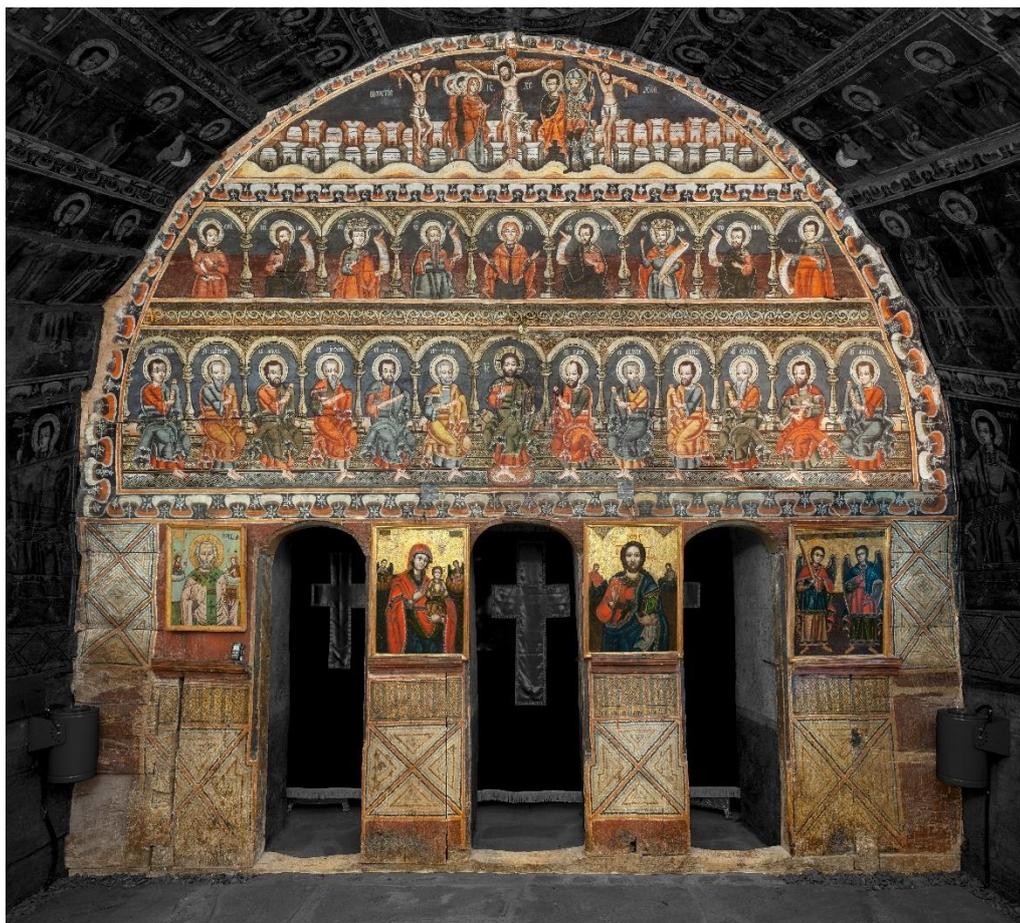
Figure 9. *The Iconostasis of St. Archangels' church, Geogel, Ion ot Beriu, 1756*

Also, representations of *Arma Christi* as individual scenes developed during that period.

Although the subject is inspired by Western engravings, its representation is often slightly changed in order to bring it closer to Orthodox art. For example, the depictions of the *Beatitudes* by Stefan Tenecki, borrowed later by Simion Silaghi were inspired by the *Ectypa Bible* by Christoph Weigel printed in Augsburg in 1588.[56] *The Beatitudes* were anthropomorphised and were represented as young women in the company of God's angel. One can notice slight changes between the original engravings and the Baroque paintings of Stefan Tenecki or the more naïve representations made by Simion Silaghi. Painting has yet another instrument to draw attention compared to engravings: colour. The engraving done by Christoph Weigel of the Blessed are the poor in spirit, and the same blessing painted by Stefan Tenecki at the monastery of Krusedol and by Simion Silaghi in the church of Gârda de Sus are shown in Figures 10-12.

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56. J. Kolundžija, "Moştenirea Pictorului Stefan Tenecki în Episcopia Sremului," in *Patrimoniu şi Patrimonializare* (ed.) Elena Rodica Colta (Bucureşti: Ed. Etnologică, 2018), 42-63.

Baroque influences were manifest in Transylvanian art as early as the 1720s in the region of Cluj, first in the Catholic world. Later, they were also adopted in Orthodox art. The garments are lavish, the colours are lively with powerful contrasts and the faces have a more realistic touch. The characters are often represented while moving, the angels are sometimes depicted in flight. The flight is suggested by the movement of their clothes and of their wings. Baroque painting is characterized by movement, change and transformation, unlike the traditional Orthodox art in which the characters are static and the focus is laid on inner change.

Figures 10-12. *The Beatitudes by Christoph Weigel for Biblia Ectypa, 1695, the Triumphal Arch in the Church of the Monastery of Krusedol by Stefan Tenecki, 1745-1757 and the Triumphal Arch, The Nativity of St John the Baptist Church in Gârda de Sus, Simion and Gavril Silaghi, 1804*

The representations of nature and buildings are also influenced by Baroque art. Linear and reverse perspectives are used at the same time in the development of certain scenes. They are obvious especially in the depiction of interior scenes, such as the *Annunciation*, the *Nativity of the Virgin* or the *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist*.

Apocalyptic scenes are more often represented as a consequence of conflict, death and lack of social and political equity. They are often inspired by Western models of wood carvings or woodcuts and from Blockbücher. Whereas in Wallachia, Apocalyptic scenes replace *The Last Judgement* representations in the vestibule or the nave,[57] in Transylvania, both Apocalyptic and Last Judgement

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57. Cornelia Pilat, "Note Despre Unele Reprezentări ale Apocalipsei în Pictura Medievală Românească," in *Variațiuni pe Teme Date în Arta Medievală Românească* (București: Ed. Vremea, 2003), 139-182.

scenes are represented. Figure 13 presents a painting of *the 24 Elders before the throne of God* made by Simion Silaghi in the nave of St. Nicholas church in Ponor.

Figure 13. *The 24 Elders before the Throne of God, St Nicholas Church in Ponor, 1823, Simion Silaghi*

The painting in the church represents the dimension of the world to come and that is why Orthodox painters use the reverse perspective and why anatomic proportions are not generally respected. The task of the Orthodox painter is to reproduce inner grace. However, during the 18th century, the traits of the portraits are more realistic and proportions begin to be observed, especially by the more accomplished painters. As in the Ruthenian lands, two types of art develop: a popular one and a schooled one.

Transylvania was a land of overlapping cultures, of many influences which are manifest in art.

Self-Portraits as a Sign of Raising Awareness

A level of awareness of the painters' own value and of their search for social status is shown by the fact that during that period several painters' self-portraits are painted in contrast with the traditional view of the humble Orthodox painter that should not make his identity known. In Wallachia the famous painter Pafnutie had already painted several self-portraits at the end of the 17th century at: Filipeștii de Pădure in 1692, *Holy Archangels* Berca in 1694 and Bordești in 1699. During the following century several other Wallachian painters also painted their self-portraits. One of the best known is that of painter Nicolae Polcovnicu in 1818.

Figure 14. *Self-Portrait of Stefan Tenecki, 1770*

In Banat one of the best-known self-portraits is that of Stefan Tenecki, dating from 1770 shown above, the master of Baroque art, who also held an influential position in the city council of Arad. This is the first self-portrait in Serbian art. Other painters who painted their self-portraits are Radu Munteanu from Maramuresh in the church of Ungureni in 1782 and Ștențel Condrat from Bistrița in Transylvania in the church of Săcalu de Pădure in 1818.[58]

A Short Semantic Analysis of Painters' Signatures

The Western influences were manifest also at the level of the painters' signatures. The 18th century was a time in which even the most gifted painters had their quests and temptations which shaped several stages in their careers. At certain stages in their careers by making use of the artistic or technical means of the period they departed from the rules of the liturgical art as it had been canonized in the writings of the fathers of the church. "The works of these painters were not only the result of their true and deep spiritual experience, expressed through ascetism and prayer, but also handwork in the most literal sense, evoked by the expression 'by the hand of'."[59]

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58. Ioana Cristache Panait, "Tipuri Sociale și Aspecte de Critică Socială în Pictura Monumentelor de lemn din Centrul și Vestul Țării," 1984, 56.

59. Dumitran, Cucui, Mihu and Pop, *Iacov Zugravul*, 2010, 85.

Iacov from Rășinari after a certain stage of his career began signing his works using the title of boyar, a local nobleman. This might also be linked to his supposedly conversion to the Greek Catholic church following in the steps of his former master, Grigore Ranite. Another painter, Simion Silaghi signed his works using the title of painter of Abrudbania.

This was not an unusual practice for the Orthodox painters under Habsburg rule, for example the well-known painter from Muncaci, Ilia Brodlakovici Vişenski signed as "maljar Mukachevskyj".[60] Painters usually attached to their name, the name of their region or place of origin, as did Toader and Iacov Ciungar or father Nicolae of Feisa.

Foreign appellatives, like *Piktor* of Latin origin and the German *Mahler* were often employed by painters. However, painters' signatures, like those of Stan or Iacov from Rășinari prove that the old appellative *zugrav* or *zograf* of Slavic origin was still largely used. Sometimes the same painter would employ several different appellatives. This was the case of Simion Silaghi who signed both *piktor* and *zugrav*, perhaps depending on the community that commissioned the work as shown in Figures 15-16, while Stefan Tenecki is mentioned in official documents with the appellative of *Mahler* or *Maler*.[61] Furthermore, Simion Silaghi also resorted at times to the Magyarization of his name signing Simon Szylagi.[62] Ruthenian painters like Andrei Haljeckyj and his son, Nicolai Hajeckyj,[63] or for Marco Shestakovych[64] used the same foreign appelatives. Furthermore, during the 18th century a painter called Ioan *Maliar* (John the Painter) worked in Maramuresh.

Figures 15-16. *Simion Silaghi's Signatures on the Icon of Christ in Corna, 1825 and in Bucium Muntari, 1827*

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60. Iconography, *Sacred Painting in Subcarpathian Ruthenia* (Byzantine Seminary Press) Available at: https://www.archpitt.org/iconography-sacred-painting-insubcarpathian-ruthenia/.

61. Porumb *Dicționar de Pictură Veche Românească din Transilvania,* 1998.

62. Dumitran, "Pictura Românească în Județul Alba până la Mijlocul Secolului al XIX-lea. Demersuri Pentru o Bază de Date," *Patrimonium Apulense* (2012): 62.

63. Iconography, *Sacred Painting in Subcarpathian Ruthenia.*

64. Berezhnaya and Himka, *The World to Come. Ukrainian Images of the Last Judgement,* 2015, XIV.

Reasons for Change

What triggered these changes in religious painting? Was it just the social and political context? During the 17th century, the Reforms made by Peter Mohyla, followed a century later by those of Emperor Peter the Great had drawn closer Easter Christian religious art to Western religious art. Their influence spread in Transylvania due to the Metropolitanate of Karlowitz. The Orthodox Serbs were more welcoming to elements from Western religious art in their painting as they aimed to prove their equality with the rest of the Christian confessions in the Empire. The professors who worked in the schools of the Metropolitanate came from Imperial Russia. Vasili Romanovici and Job Vasilievici had a great influence on the art promoted in the Metropolitanate. Patriarch Arsenie IV demanded in 1742 that all church painters under his jurisdiction observe the models and the style of Job Vasilievici or be schooled by him.[65]

Lay painters were more sensitive to the tastes of the donors as they depended solely on the income from their commissions. Most of the painters were paid in money. For example, the cost of the painting for the Cathedral in Blaj stood at around 4,000 or 5,000 renans. The cupola costed 400 renans and the inferior level of the iconostasis 300 renans.[66] Payment in kind was very rare during that period.

Who were the donors? We find the answer in the church inscriptions bearing the names of their donors. Generally, the whole community paid for the building of the church and for its painted decoration, as Ioana Cristache Panait[67] notes. First of all the inscriptions mention the bishop, then the local priest and the local community.

Were these changes imposed by the donors under the influence of the Metropolitanate of Karlowitz or were they undertaken by the painters and the community as part of their quest for social status and acceptance?

Did they occur as a natural part of the many exchanges that took place among painters?

Painters sometimes travelled far away to meet their commissions. For example, Simion Silaghi travelled all the way from Abrud to Julița in Arad where he might have met for the first time Stefan Tenecki. Later, Tenecki came to Certege nearby Abrud perhaps to study the iconostasis painted by Vasile Zboroschi. He died there and was buried in the graveyard of the parish attended by Simion Silaghi in Abrud.

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65. Vladimir Simic, "Political Orthodoxy and Arts: Serbian-Russian Relations Cultural Relations in the 18th Century," *Musicology* 28 (2020): 86.

66. Sylvester Terdik, "'Sculptor Constantinopolitanus' Un Intalagtiore Greco a Mariapocs nell Settecento in Vegheso Tamas," in *Symbolae: Wege der Erfoschung des griechisch-Katolischen Erbes. Aktes den Konferenz zum Andenken an den 100. Todestag von Nikolaus Nilles* (Niregyhaza, 2010), 251.

67. Cristache Panait, "Tipuri Sociale și Aspecte de Critică Socială în Pictura Monumentelor de lemn din Centrul și Vestul Țării," 1984, 54.

Later on, in 1835 three painters worked at the huge iconostasis in Bucium Izbita: Simion Silaghi the Younger, who was following in his father's footsteps and was a local, Anton Simion from Cluj and Dimitrie Dimitriu who had come all the way from Bucharest. These facts underline the painters' mobility.

Iconographers also came into contact with foreign painters or at least with their work. For example, the iconostasis painted by Vasile Zboroțchi in Certege is likely to have had some influence on a number of painters from the region. One of them was Simion Silaghi who also borrowed a lot of elements from Stefan Tenecki and from Gheorghe, son of Iacov, who, himself had been influenced by Grigore Ranite and had done at least a part of his apprenticeship in Wallachia. Grigore Ranite's work in Rășinari and Șcheii Brașovului is likely to have influenced more than one Transylvanian painter.

But were all these changes due only to exterior factors or was there a change of taste inherent to the fact that several nations and confessions were cohabiting and to the desire to be recognized as equals?

A possible answer seems to come from the church in Lupșa, initially painted by priest Gheorghe Tobias from Abrud in 1750. The inscription reads "this sanctuary was painted in 1750 at the expense of the faithful Olia Ion from Lupsa who paid 18 florints for his eternal memory. Ion, Petca, Salomiia, Petca, Matei, Simziana [?], Andrei, Nicolae, Filimon, Ioana".[68] The painting of the sanctuary and the iconostasis was remade in 1810 by master Simion Silaghi and his son Simion from Abrud. If the painting done by Gheorghe Tobias was in line with the Orthodox tradition, this time a lot of elements of Catholic influence were included in the iconographic programme, like the Immaculate conception on the vault of the sanctuary as shown in Figure 17, Mater Dolorosa at the iconostasis, the Sacred Heart of Jesus on the triumphal arch. They coexisted with traditional Orthodox elements like the representation at the iconostasis of a stylite saint, probably Symion. To our knowledge this is the iconographic programme closest to the Catholic dogma that Simion Silaghi had ever painted. Interestingly, the sanctuary was painted at a time when the church was still Orthodox. It only became Greek Catholic in 1827. Should we consider this evidence of the painter's and the priest's and community's free choice?

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68. The inscription is written in Romanian in the Cyrillic alphabet Iar la an 1750 s-au zugrăvit acest sf. oltar din cheltuiala unui creştin de aici din Lupşa, anume Olia Ion au dat 18 florinţi ca să fie veacinică pom[enire]. Ion, Petca, Salomiia, Petca, Matei, Simziana [?], Andrei, Nicolae, Filimon, Ioana". The inscription refers only to the paintings in the altar.

Figure 17. *The Immaculate Conception, the Vault of the Sanctuary, St. George Church in Lupșa, 1810*

At that time, at the level of religious art, there was no clear opposition between the Orthodox and the Greek Catholic church as Greek Catholic painters such as Gheorghe Tobias painted Orthodox churches and Orthodox painters such as Stefan Tenecki, Iacov of Rășinari, Grigore Ranite and Simion Silaghi also painted Greek Catholic churches.

Furthermore, apparently, Isidor Silaghi's mother, who was Simion Silaghi's grandson, came from the family of the Greek Catholic priest and even bishopric candidate Alpini, a famous family in Transylvania.[69] The two confessions were united in the quest for social status.

Simion Silaghi also painted the effigy of the Imperial House of Vienna in the church at Ponor in 1823 as a mark of his allegiance to the Emperor.

However, art was not free from social and political influences and sometimes discontent was also made manifest in art. For example, the tormentors in the *Passions of Christ* scenes wore contemporary robes and this was common practice also in the Ruthenian painting. Christ's sacrifice was brought thus into actuality. Sometimes Pontius Pilate or the great priests Anna and Caiaphas were represented either in Ottoman clothes or Pilate could be depicted as the Pope of Rome. Figure 18 shows *Christ before Pilate* in a painting from the church in Mogoș Cojocani by Gheorghe, son of Iacov, while Figure 19 shows two images from *the Passion Cycle* in the nave of the church in Geogel painted by Popa Gheorghe

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69. Dumitran, "Pictorul Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu. În Căutarea Identității," 2012, 198.

Tobias. This form of expression was previously used in the scene of the *Last Judgement* in the frescoes of Sucevița monastery in Moldavia, painted during the 16th century.

Figure 18. *Christ Before Pilat, St. Archangels Church in Mogoș Cojocani, Painter Gheorghe Son of Iacov, 1771*

The painting in several churches relates to the uprising of Horea, Cloșca and Crișan from 1784, while on the wall of the church in Bezded,[70] built and painted between 1755 and 1759 an episode of the Romanians caught and compelled to serve in the Imperial army is depicted.

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70. Cristache Panait, "Tipuri Sociale și Aspecte de Critică Socială în Pictura Monumentelor de lemn din Centrul și Vestul Țării," 1984, 59; Cristache Panait, "Valori de Cultură și Artă ce Evocă Răscoala lui Horea, Cloșca și Crișan," *RMM MIA* XV, no. 2, (1984): 11-20.
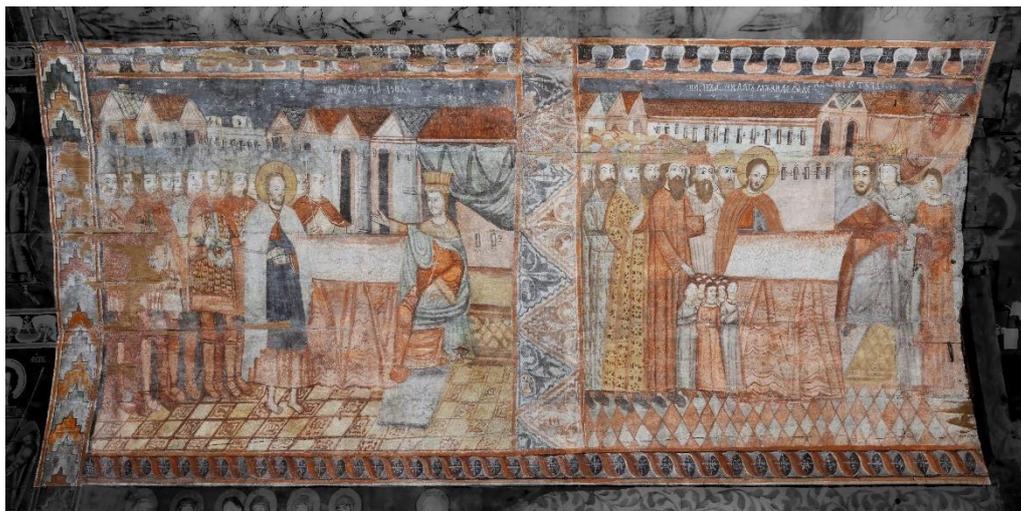
Figure 19. *The Passion cycle, Christ before Pilate, St. Archangels' church, Geogel, Popa Gheorghe Tobias, 1770*

At the same time, painters such as Simion Silaghi were not left out of this fight for social and political rights. In a painting made towards the end of his life, depicting the *Resurrection of Christ*, Simion Silaghi painted the flag of the Eteria movement, a movement of liberation led by Greek patriots, which extended also to Wallachia. The same flag of the Eteria was also represented in an icon of St. Catherine from Wallachia painted during that period.[71]

Isidor Silaghi, also a church painter like his father Simion the Younger, moved to Wallachia in 1857 and gave up church painting becoming instead "a photographer", which at that time meant a painter who depicted contemporary events as he saw them, an illustrator of the Romanian War of Independence in 1877.[72] In native Transylvania, he was a highly appreciated church painter, his art being considered as "Byzantic" unlike the art of the painters educated in the Western world. The comparison made by priest Moga in a letter addressed to Metropolitan Andrei Șaguna in Sibiu in 1857 refers to painter Constantin Lecca who had been educated abroad in Buda.[73] The priest claimed that master Isidor had received some money in order to paint two churches in the region of Covasna and that he left to Wallachia without returning the money or delivering the job. Interesting enough, the Byzantine style in that period came to encompass a lot more foreign influences, either Ruthenian or Western. The meaning of the term in the second half of the 19th century was quite different from its meaning several centuries earlier.

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71. George Oprescu, *Scurtă Istorie a Artelor Plastice în RPR*, volume II (București: Editura Academiei, 1958), 12.

72. Paul Rezeanu, "Pictorul Selageanu și Războiul Nostru de Independență," *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor, Muzee* 8 (1977): 66.

73. Ana Grama, "Documente Arhivistice Sibiene (1850-1870). Donații din țară și Conflicte cu Autoritățile Locale în Județul Covasna (1851-1859)," *Angvstia* I (1996): 165-186.

In 1859 the two Romanian principalities Wallachia and Moldovia united, accomplishing a long lasting Romanian dream. This may be one of the reasons why Isidor chose to move to one of the Romanian Principalities on the eve of their unification.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the changes in art were imposed by church authorities, but also assumed by local communities and priests who were the main donors of art works. The cohabiting of different cultures and peoples in Transylvania led to exchanges and mutual influences throughout the centuries. Changes in art may have come from a change in taste, the taste of the Romanians growing closer to those of other nations with whom they shared the land. On the other hand, the change in art may show a desire of acceptance and recognition that could be gained only by drawing closer to the style of those who were already accepted and recognized, members of the ruling nations and classes.

Changes also occur at the semantical level. Due to the variety of signatures used by one and the same painter, we can conclude that these changes spring from the desire of the painters to improve their social status and to be recognized as artists, for during that period, painters are no longer craftsmen. They do not need to involve also in other activities for they can gain their life from their commissions. Painters become artists improving their condition and their social status.

At this time, the term Byzantine art was enlarged and came to include other influences manifest in the Orthodox religious art in Transylvania. A century later, the art of the Transylvanian painters was regarded rather as Byzantic compared to that of painters trained in Western schools.

To conclude, the art developed in Transylvania during that time was the result of the cohabiting of several nations that led to a convergence in the tastes of these nations, but also of the rules imposed by the political and religious authorities and of the need for social recognition.

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Hesiod's Theory of Economic History

By Gregory T. Papanikos[*]

In verses 109-201 of "Works and Days" Hesiod develops a narrative of the past as well as the current and future developments of the human race. In this paper, this description is interpreted as a theory of economic history. Actually, Hesiod puts forward four stages of economic history, calling them races (γένος). However, he inserts a race of heroes, which includes all those who fought in the battle of Troy and the Seven Against the Thebes. He also mentions another race which will come after the race that he himself was living. Even though in the relevant literature five Hesiodic races are mentioned, Hesiod made reference to six. Four in the past, one in the present and another one positioned in the future. Past, present and future is what history is all about and therefore an important part of economic history.

Introduction

This belongs to a tetralogy of papers I have written to examine some facets of Hesiod's economic analysis. In Papanikos,[1] I examine the *Work and Days* as an economic textbook; in Papanikos,[2] I provide an overview of Hesiod's place in the economic literature; and in Papanikos,[3] I look at the most important of Hesiod's economic contribution, namely his theory of scarcity. This paper is devoted to Hesiod's theory of economic history, developed primarily in verses (lines) 109-201 of *Works and Days*. His theory of economic history relates very much to his theory of scarcity-abundance.

I organize this paper into ten sections, including this short introduction. The next two sections define history and economic history. The fourth section makes some introductory comments on Hesiod's theory of economic history. In section five, the Golden Race is presented, which is characterized by abundance of products so that men and women do not work and enjoy their lives living and dying happily without facing scarcity. The Silver Race is presented in section six with some remarks aiming at interpreting what Hesiod really meant by this stage of human development. The Bronze Race–which historically coincides with the Troy expedition and the Seven Against Thebes–is investigated in section seven. However, to honor these heroes who fought in these two wars, Hesiod inserts a

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1. G. T. Papanikos, "Works and Days," *Athens Journal of Business and Economics* (forthcoming).

2. Papanikos, "Hesiod's Place in the Economics Literature," *Athens Journal of Business and Economics* (forthcoming).

3. "Hesiod on Scarcity," *Athens Journal of Business and Economics* (forthcoming).

separate race between the Bronze and the Iron Race; the former is mentioned in section seven since it is part of the Bronze Race and the latter, which coincides with Hesiod's lifespan, is analyzed in section eight. In the same section, the Post-Iron Race is also examined. The ninth section compares the sic races. In the tenth section the paper concludes by posing some testable hypotheses based on Hesiod's theory of economic history.

On the Definition of History

History deals with the <u>future</u>, using the <u>past</u>, in order to be useful to <u>present</u> generation.[4] Great historians are those who write such a diachronic history. Thucydides was such a great historian. He purposefully wrote a history to be used by all future generations in order to avoid past mistakes, which, as he so astutely remarked, are embedded in human nature. In his own words, the purpose of writing about past events (*τῶν τε γενομένων*) is:[5]

All those, who want a clear view of the past and about similar events which will happen due to human nature, find what I write useful is sufficient for me. This may be an everlasting accomplishment instead of being heard in a contest and immediately forgotten.	ὅσοι δὲ βουλήσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι, ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτὰ ἀρκούντως ἕξει. κτῆμά τε ἐς αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν ξύγκειται. [Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 1, 22]

Hence, according to Thucydides, "good' history is writing about past events in order to teach current and future generations to avoid the same mistakes, which are repeated because of human nature.[6] It is not an "objective" history, but

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4. I have dealt with history in a number of papers and books; see: Papanikos, *What is History? An Assessment of Carr's Monograph* (Athens: Athens Institute for Education and Research, 2020); Papanikos, *The Use of European History: Lessons for the 21st Century History* (Mimeo, 2005); Papanikos, *The Use of History as a Tool of Policy-Making* (Mimeo, 2006); Papanikos, and N. C. J. Pappas, "European History: Lessons for the 21st Century," Essays from the *3rd International Conference on European History* (Athens: Athens Institute for Education and Research, 2006). Albert Einstein, in one of his many famous quotations said, "The distinction between past, present, and future is only a stubbornly persistent illusion." If I dare to add something to what the Great Master of the Universe said, is it that it is a very useful illusion. In economics, usefulness (utility) is always what counts.

5. This is my adaptation of the ancient writings throughout the text. It is not a philological translation, but my understanding of the text. It is my received view.

6. Thucydides' work goes beyond a simple report on a war. There are many examples which demonstrate this, such as Pericles' *Funeral Oration*, and in many other such insertions of speeches and dialogues. Of current interest is people's attitudes towards pandemics for which Thucydides devoted a couple of pages to describe the pandemic which hit Athens

a didactic history, similar to Hesiod's book of *Works and Days*. Thucydides hoped that his history was such a "good" history. However, people do not appreciate "good" history. Thucydides was aware that the masses of people (listeners) do not appreciate the truth; they prefer myths:

… and perhaps listening to non-mythical stories seems unpleasant	… καὶ ἐς μὲν ἀκρόασιν ἴσως τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν ἀτερπέστερον φανεῖται [Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 1, 22]

This may explain why humans, after all, have a very short memory span and do not learn from their past mistakes. According to Thucydides, the reason is very simple. It is in human nature to prefer easy explanations such as mythical stories instead of toiling in seeking to find the truth:[7]

Because many prefer a tireless search for the truth and rather lean to whatever is readily available	οὕτως ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑτοῖμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται [Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 1, 20]

Learning requires work and people avoid it. Similarly, scarcity requires hard work, as Hesiod so masterfully explained it. Undoubtedly, Thucydides' history had the potential to serve exceptionally well the needs of all future generations. Even today, his history is used to avoid what some people think as inevitable, i.e., a trade war or, even worse, a military war between the USA and China. Thucydides explained that a grand war occurs because an upcoming power (e.g., China) challenges the global leadership of an existing world power (e.g., USA). In 2012, Graham Allison, in a newspaper article, called a situation like this a, "Thucydidean Trap".[8]

Hesiod himself thinks that wars play an important role in determining the destiny of the human race. He blames wars as being responsible for the disappearance of previous human races, and in any case in contributing to the

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during the end of the first year of the Peloponnesian War (430 BCE) and lasted for about five years. On this latter issue and its comparison with the current plague of COVID-19, see Papanikos, "Thucydides and the Synchronous Pandemic," *Athens Journal of History* 7, no. 1 (2020b): 71-94.

7. This is true in economics as well where many economists are satisfied with mythical stories of how the economy works, or with excellent mathematical models of how a mythical (never existed) economy works. The General Equilibrium Models are excellent examples of how a mythical economy works, pretty much like the Golden Age or Race of Hesiod. This does not mean that these myths are not useful. Both can be used to "measure" the distance of a particular reality from something that some people think is best or optimal.

8. G. Allison, *Thucydides's Trap has Been Sprung in the Pacific* (Financial Times, 21 June 2012).

demise of the youth. Even though humans can be blamed, Gods' rage plays a role as well.[9] Today, a war can exterminate the entire human race pretty much like what Hesiod thought. He was afraid that during his own period of the Iron Race or the Post-Iron Race that the human race may disappear from the face of the earth.

According to Hesiod's time framework, we may still live in the Iron Race. However, one may argue that we have entered into the post-iron era since the 18th century. Like Thucydides, Hesiod's history, as outlined in *Works and Days* to be presented in the following sections of this paper, serves the needs of current and future generations. Hesiod talks not only to his generation, but warns of what may happen to the human race in the future, i.e., its possible total extinction, as happened in the past. These fears might have seemed dystopian a few centuries ago, but in the last hundred years have become a pragmatic outcome given that humans have created the means of their own destruction.

On the Definition of Economic History

Economic history serves the same purpose as history, but focuses on economic phenomena of the past, of which scarcity was, is and will be the most important one. Without scarcity there is no economic reality to analyze and therefore no economic history. According to Hesiod's economic theory, scarcity was the only concern of people after the first human race ceased to exist.

I define here economic history along the lines of Thucydides' definition of history. Economic history is the analysis of future economic events, using past economic experiences, in order to serve the economic needs of the current generation. Notice that if the current generation's utility function depends on the utility of its offspring, then the interest of the current generation is in line with the interests of the future generations. This is what is meant by "good" economic history, i.e., a useful history.

The word "history" is used in economics in many other ways. It should be noted that economic history is the history of econom<u>ies</u> and not the history of economics or the history of economic thought. Furthermore, economic history should not be confused with the German historical school of economics, which was developed in the 19th century, primarily by Gustav von Schmoller and Max Weber. This was an approach to explain economics and not an economic history. Accumulated writings about economic historical events are futile if there is no rule in which to measure them against and compare, i.e., if there does not exist a

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9. Many times, Hesiod combines the real (e.g., bad strife between humans such as a war) with the metaphysical (e.g., Gods' strife). My interpretation of such explanations is that Hesiod knows that some developments are unexplained. Then he invokes the *deux ex machine* to provide an explanation.

solid theoretical framework. In other words, economic history is not another approach to economic analysis, but all good economic analyses (theories) should be relevant, i.e., they should refer to a specific historical reality; otherwise, it does not deal with human behavior. Economic history deals with people's economic behavior in the past. Thus, any good economic theory should use good economic history.

Another method of analyzing the past was suggested by Karl Marx. His historical materialism or the materialistic conception of history relates very much to Hesiod's economic history. According to Marx, historical materialism is a methodological approach to look at the past and project the future course of events. This is exactly what Hesiod did. He looked at past chronological developments and classified them into six stages, epochs, periods, ages, races. Similarly, Marx looked at the past and classified them into six chronological periods or historical stages of systems of production: primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism and communism. The first can be compared with Hesiod's Golden Race. The following three stages can be compared with the Bronze and Iron Age and the last two with the Post-Iron Age. However, Marx emphasized the class struggle as the prime mover of history. Hesiod provided a more general explanation which is based on the scarcity of the means of life, which may result in a class struggle as postulated in Papanikos.[10] The two approaches are not in contradiction. Hesiod's is more persuasive and general. Economic problems such as scarcity can be solved in many ways, including in a class struggle. Another solution is a class-neutral technology. For example, historically, capitalism has survived (so far) not because it eliminated class struggles, but because it revolutionized the mode of production through technologies and innovations which improved the conditions of the lowest classes, i.e., reduced scarcity. If an unequal society doubles its means of living because Prometheus found a magic stick without changing the relevant distribution of the means of life, the scarcity problem (absolute poverty) for the poorest (proletariat) is cut in half. I think this pretty much describes what has been happening in the advanced capitalist countries since Marx's writings. History teaches us that it is the scarcity that is the mover of historical developments, which in some cases manifests itself as a class struggle, but not always. Another manifestation is wars between two independent states, races, cultures, religions, etc.

Past experience is useful to verify even the most controversial theses. If past experience is depicted by statistical data, then this sub-field of economic history is called cliometrics or new economic history.[11] Clio was one of the nine Muses who

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10. Papanikos, "Hesiod on Scarcity," forthcoming.

11. In 1993 two economic historians, Robert William Fogel and Douglas Cecil North were awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics for their "research in economic history". They created a new strand of economic research called new economic history or

protected arts and sciences. Clio was the Muse of history. Hesiod himself starts his *Works and Days* with an invocation to the nine Muses. One of the "hot" topics of economic analysis is economic growth—so much so that Fogel stated that, "[T]he central interest of the new economic historians is still the description and explanation of economic growth."[12] Economists study the past of economic growth because they want to take current actions (e.g., build infrastructure such as railroads or invest in human capital) which can contribute to future economic growth. Why? Because the past has shown that the economic future of any country is shaped by investing in infrastructure or in education of the present generation.

Hesiod was not only a good economist, but a good economic historian as well.[13] As Solow[14] pointed out, the division of labor between doing economics and doing economic history is limited by the extent of the market. Hesiod had no other choice, but to be an economist and an economic historian because his market was completely underdeveloped. He was the only one in the market for economists and economic historians in the 8th century BCE that we know of. Solow distinguishes these two roles as follows:

> The economist is concerned with making and testing models of the economic world as it now is, or as we think it is. The economic historian can ask whether this or that story rings true when applied in earlier times or other places, and, if not, why not. So the economic historian can use the tools provided by the economist but will need, in addition, the ability to imagine how things might have been before they became as they now are.[15]

A note must be made on the sources of economic history because its subject matter should not be confused with the availability of information from different

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cliometrics. Goldin defines cliometrics in very general terms as the, "… application of economic theory and quantitative methods to the study of history. The term marries the Muse of history—Clio—for measurement and was coined by Stanley Reiter, a mathematical economist then at Purdue University and a collaborator of two of the first cliometricians, Lance Davis and Jonathan Hughes." C. Goldin, "Cliometrics and the Nobel," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 9, no. 2 (1995): 191.

12. R. W. Fogel, "The Reunification of Economic History with Economic Theory," *The American Economic Review* 5, no. 102 (1965): 93.

13. I agree with Rosenmeyer that Hesiod should be considered and as a historian, especially Hesiod's account of the five or six races discussed in this paper. My argument here is that he was an economic historian. Rosenmeyer cites a German work in 1924 by Meyer who was the first to point out the historical dimension of the five races, i.e., a history of human development. It is also an economic history. T. G. Rosenmeyer, "Hesiod and Historiography," *Hermes* 85, no. 3 (1957): 257-285.

14. R. M. Solow, "Economic History and Economics," *The American Economic Review* 75, no. 2 (1985): 328-331.

15. Ibid, 331.

historical periods. All economic historians would love to have a full set of quantitative data from the origins of humanity until today. However, economic historians have no other choice but to rely on archaeological and anthropological evidence.[16] As Solow says in the above quote, economic historians must have the "ability to imagine". Hesiod did have the gift of great imagination as his book on *Theogony* testifies. Hesiod was a good economist and a good economic historian because not only was he "making and testing models" of his economic world, but, most importantly, he had an outstanding ability "to imagine how things might have been before they became" were during his 8th century BCE world. The Golden Race, the first ever race of humanity, is a masterpiece of how things "might have been". It most probably describes what many economic historians allege that in the beginning of history people were living in a "paradise", i.e., they were food gatherers rather than food producers.

Cliometrics is a tool and not a method of writing history because we cannot write the economic history of ancient Athens by simply using the tool of cliometrics. Data did not survive even though many data existed to make decisions for which we have written sources; there are many books that describe the economy of ancient Athens based on data available at the time. Hesiod himself used quantitative data, and therefore can be considered as the first cliometrician. It can be said that some statistical (econometric-empirical) model must have been in his mind (and not in his imagination) when he gives answers to very specific questions that only econometrics can provide today. For example, at what age do farm-laborers maximize their productivity? When Hesiod answers that it is at 40 years old, it is logical to assume that he used some sort of a quantitative evidence: time series from his own farm or cross sectional from his own and other farms or even panel data. Casual experience is not sufficient. Experimental experiences[17] (trials and errors) are needed. Such experiments generate data.

Hesiod's Economic History

Hesiod had a good grasp of economic history. His theory of economic history exemplified the past development of humanity which he extended into the future in six stages. He called them races (*γένος*), but later the word was

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16. This is true for cliometricians as well. For example, looking at cemeteries of a given period of the long past, inferences can be made about wealth distribution.

17. This is similar to what Schumpeter calls a historical experience or what Solow describes as "quantitative judgments" and "historical narratives". J. A. Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis* (Great Britain: Allen & Unwin (Publishers) Ltd, 1954), 11; Solow, "Economic History and Economics," 1985.

translated as "ages". It is the purpose of this paper to present Hesiod's theory of economic history. For Hesiod, the use of metals is a characteristic of each race.[18] They are each named after the metal they used for the first time. This demonstrates his theory of economic history with myths, allegories, parables etc., which is consistent with his methodology and moral concerns of the role of knowledge. It is consistent with the above quotation by Solow that good economic historians should have a good "ability to imagine".

Hesiod's theory of economic history–depicted here as a chronological development of six races–is mainly explained in lines 109-201 of the *Works and Days*. However, useful citations exist in *Theogony* as shown in this paper. Hesiod sees the human historical development as going through a series of six stages which are identified with four metals: gold, silver, bronze and iron. Between the Bronze and the Iron Races, he masterfully inserts another stage, that of the heroes who fought the wars in Troy and in the Seven Gates of Thebes.[19] He also mentions that another stage of human development might follow after the Iron Race which here I call the Post-Iron Race. These six races constitute the backbone of Hesiod's economic history and are briefly examined in the following sections of the paper.

Before, however, a short note should be made at this point on the use of metals. Many classicists (by definition, non-economists, and of course non-economic historians) have doubted the literal use of metals to describe the different stages of <u>economic</u> history. They claim that these are parables or metaphorical descriptions of the moral characteristics of each race which helped Hesiod to allegorically demonstrate the stepwise degeneration of the human race.[20] This is not true. All races are named by the metal which describes the unique production process of each stage. Even the argument of the degeneration of races is not in accordance with Hesiod's stages because, as shown below, the trend is towards progress albeit with many and painful oscillations. Classicists also doubt whether Hesiod was the first to use the Golden Race to describe an

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18. As of coincidence, Adam Smith, who never cited Hesiod, used exactly the same metals to describe co-existent practices. Smith stated, "Different metals have been made use of by different nations for this purpose. Iron was the common instrument of commerce among the ancient Spartans; copper among the ancient Romans; and gold and silver among all rich and commercial nations." A. Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (New York: The Modern Library Edition, 1937), 24. The same four metals are mentioned by Hesiod.

19. Most probably he inserted this stage of heroes to attract the interest of his audience. Didactic poems were recited in front of an audience at various occasions, e.g., contests and specific festivities.

20. See for example J. G. Griffiths, "Archaeology and Hesiod's Five Ages," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 17, no. 1 (1956): 109-119; and the discussion of H. C. Baldry, "Hesiod's Five Ages," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 17, no. 4 (1956): 553-554.

initial old good condition of the human race.[21] As explained later in this paper, if Hesiod was not the first to write about the happy beginnings of the human race, this reinforces the idea that he was writing a didactic book by using all available knowledge as is the case with any good textbook.

Recapitulating the above discussion, Hesiod's *Works and Days* includes a theory of economic history. He considers the metals and the technology to process them as the prime motivation of human development; progress or regress is a different matter. For example, the Golden Race was called golden because people were using gold and not the other metals. Similarly, the Silver Race was called as such because people of that time were using silver in addition to gold. And of course, when Hesiod refers to the Bronze and Iron Races, then it is more than evident that these are called as such because their products were made from these metals in addition to gold and silver which are still used for ornaments, and also, at the end of the period, for making coins. Thus, metals clearly depict the different production characteristics of each historical race. The first race was the Golden Race which is examined in the next section of this paper.

The Golden Race

Any textbook of economic history starts with the distinction between non-settled (nomadic) races and settled agriculture.[22] Most economic historians assume that at a certain point in human history (e.g., 10,000 years ago) and in a certain area (e.g., Mesopotamia) people went from being food gatherers to becoming food producers, and from hunters they became herd raisers. Presumably, gathering seeds, vegetables and killing animals to feed and dress themselves people had it much easier than working hard on the land and herding their flock year-round. Nobody else has put this important transformation (some called it the first or Neolithic revolution) so eloquently as Hesiod did in his book. Hesiod starts with the first condition of the human race which he calls the Golden Race:

Golden was the first race of eloquent people	Χρύσεον μὲν πρώτιστα γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
created by the immortal Olympian dwellers	ἀθάνατοι ποίησαν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες. [109-110]

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21. See P. Smith, "History and the Individual in Hesiod's Myth of Five Races," *The Classical World* 74, no. 3 (1980): 145-163. He examines various explanations of the myth and offers his own as well.

22. That is all those economic history textbooks which start from the beginning. Many textbooks start their "history" much later. There are historians who start European (economic) history from some dates other than ancient Greece without even bother to explain where the name "European" is coming from or what it means. I call them ignorant historians. Ignorance does not make one a good (economic) historian.

The Golden Age of humanity is characterized by a eudemonic way of living, similar to the one Gods lived in, without any pain or worries. In Hesiod's own words, in the Golden Race people:

…lived like gods worriless their soul was away from pains and miseries	… θεοὶ δ' ἔζωον ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες νόσφιν ἄτερ τε πόνων καὶ ὀιζύος [112-113]

A few lines before, he describes the Golden Race in comparison with all other races that followed these good old days as follows:

Before they lived the human races on earth far away from misery and away from unbearable pains and without the serious illnesses, which gave death to men	Πρὶν μὲν γὰρ ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χθονὶ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνοιο νούσων τ' ἀργαλέων, αἵ τ' ἀνδράσι κῆρας ἔδωκαν [90-92]

However, what was the reason for such a happy life? According to Hesiod, there was only one reason, and it was economic: there was no scarcity. On the contrary, there was a plethora (overabundance) of goods to satisfy material human needs. Everything was ready to be gathered and consumed, or as Hesiod puts it:

The arable land provided gifts of life automatically many and plentiful	καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα αὐτομάτη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον [118-119]

How much better can an economic historian say it in less than two verses that at an initial stage of human development people were food gatherers. No translation can depict the articulacy of the original text either in Modern Greek or in English. For example, my translation is different and I think better from an economist's point of view than in English or in Modern Greek. The word "ζείδωρος" is translated as wheat or grains or even food, but literally speaking it means that the land provides the gift (δωρος) of life (ζεί). The word ἄρουρα means arable land and the word automatic (αὐτομάτη) is the key to the above quote. Hesiod uses the same word automatic (αὐτομάτη) to describe exactly the same thing as in its Modern Greek and English versions, i.e., without any human involvement (work). In other words, automatically the arable land provided the gifts of life (food), i.e., the means of life.

The Golden Race very much relates to the opposite of scarcity, i.e. abundance (πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον). The Golden Race was living in a state of profusion. Therefore, there is nothing metaphorical or allegorical. It was literally economics and had to do with the most important problem: scarcity of the means of living and not with the ethics of the people of the Golden Race. Of course, abundance and morality might be related because people commit many crimes when they are faced with acute scarcity. Thus, this was a perfect ethical race because they

did not face the problem of scarcity. In the Golden Race there was no economic problem.[23]

All those classicists who want to disentangle gold from the scarcity of the means of living should read these verses very carefully. Even in Modern Greek, there is an expression that goes back at least to the Byzantine years relating food and gold. The expression "*Τρώει με χρυσά κουτάλια*" means "he eats with golden spoons" is used for people who have everything in abundance (they are rich) and therefore they can eat as much as they want. Of course, there is another expression which gold is related to goodness. This expression goes back to ancient times: "*Έχει χρυσή καρδιά*", which means "he has a golden heart", i.e., he is kindhearted. Of course, Hesiod's gold relates to food abundance necessary to live as he explicitly states it, and not relating it to people's hearts.

It is not clear whether the adjective "automatic" in the above expression refers to the word *ἄρουρα* (meaning arable land) or to many (*πολλόν*) and abundant (*ἄφθονον*) gifts of life or wheat. One can argue that Hesiod masterfully puts the adjective in between and used the word *ἄρουρα* so it can emphasize that the land was automatically ploughed and automatically provided many seeds, which were abundant (more than sufficient) to feed this initial fortunate human population. It is only in this way that we can call them gifts of life. This interpretation prepares the reader with what Hesiod postulates for all the following stages of economic development when people had to toil to produce the means of their livelihood. They were not for free anymore, and people had to sweat to get them.

It is not clear how this Golden Race disappeared. Why would Gods want to harm this human race? What was this people's sin? Hesiod uses his superb ability to imagine and invents a beautiful story: The Myth of Prometheus.[24] People were punished to live in scarcity because Prometheus stole the fire (knowledge and technology) from Gods. This beautiful story could be a good explanation of the disappearance of the happy days of the Golden Race if causality is reversed. People were forced to innovate (i.e., steal the fire) because of the appearance of scarcity. Thus, scarcity appeared and then people started to innovate and acquired useful knowledge. How did this happen? Hesiod did not give an answer. Today, we

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23. Those who believe in the cyclicality of history may argue that since then the human race is making continuous improvements in the productivity of labor, which one day may lead to a new Golden Race where all goods will be produced automatically (pretty much the same way as during the first golden human race).

24. Why would Prometheus steal the fire (technology, knowledge) from Gods when people lived in abundance? Furthermore, why would Gods want to punish the entire humanity and not only Prometheus? As all myths, this one has its own internal inconsistencies and metaphysics. The most important point to remember is that, as in all economic history textbooks, the basic assumption about the initial condition is that men and women were food gatherers and they lived nomadically, which has an element of a happy way of living.

have abundant anthropological and archaeological evidence to complete Hesiod's beautiful story.

Most probably the transition from food gathering to food producing was the result of population pressures, which reduced the amount of food that can be freely gathered and the number of wild (non-domesticated) animals that can be freely hunted. Higher population brought more scarcity. These prehistoric races were forced by the need of scarcity to produce their food and domesticate as many animals as possible. However, this cannot be done without the use of tools. Thus, the production of tools started. Stone tools (Neolithic period) were easily made or easily found in nature. People started to think (i.e., innovate) of how they can increase production (i.e., make more fertile land available) and productivity (i.e., get more food from a given area of land).

Prometheus becomes an allegory to describe the production of new tools to increase production and productivity. Fire provides energy in the production process, which today as always has been the cause of many wars.[25] Hesiod did not have the evidence that modern economic historians[26] have from archaeologists and anthropologists. His Prometheus story is a masterpiece of what Solow called the ability of imagining. Prometheus' story is Hesiod's explanation that at a certain point of human development, the human race was forced to innovate to face food scarcities.

Actually, the Golden Race did not disappear from the cosmos, but only from the surface of the earth. According to Hesiod, its people became "good daemons". As is the case with many such concepts in the Hesiodic works, there are good and bad daemons, but these became good daemons "δαίμονες ἁγνοὶ" [122]. The interesting thing is the role of daemons. The noun daemon comes from the verb "δαίομαι" which means "mete out" or "distribute". According to Hesiod, these good daemons were instructed by Gods to guard the mortals and watch their behavior on earth and accordingly distribute wealth. These daemons of the Golden Race are called by Hesiod, wealth givers "πλουτοδόται". The interpretation of the word "πλουτοδόται" cannot be anything other than economic. However, does it mean that they provide to mortals the means of living such as a good crop (wheat), or is it something more than that? Good crops were the responsibility of

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25. These issues have been examined in Papanikos, "Energy Security, the European Energy Union and the Mediterranean Countries," *Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 3, no. 4 (2017): 341-354, and Papanikos, "Military Spending, International Trade and Economic Growth in the Mediterranean Basin," *Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 1, no. 2 (2015): 187-194.

26. For example, North and Thomas use this evidence to describe exactly the same process as Hesiod did, using, of course, modern economic jargon. D. C. North, and R. P. Thomas, "The First Economic Revolution," *The Economic History Review, New Series* 30, no. 2 (1977): 229-241. Between their story and Hesiod's story, I prefer the latter because it is more concise and definitely more interesting, given that both describe exactly the same process (story) of human development in the pre-historic era.

the Goddess Dimitra. Hesiod wanted it to mean more than that by using the word "πλουτοδόται". He identifies wealth with the people of the Golden Race. Gold was the most important store of value in archaic times. The people of the Golden Race can distribute what they possess, i.e., gold or in today's economic jargon, money.

Summing up the above arguments, the Golden Race has received much attention. One aspect has been the metaphorical or literal use of the word "gold". This has been already addressed above. Hesiod, by using gold, wanted to indicate that the Golden Race was rich and did not suffer from the economic problem of scarcity. Classicists may not understand it, but to an economist, the *Works and Days* is an economics textbook and metals imply economic value, economic status and a historical stage of economic development.

The second strand of this literature discusses the issue of whether Hesiod was the first to propose a Golden Race. This literature has no relevance to the arguments made here. The debate that Hesiod was not the first to talk about an initial stage of humanity, which can be called a paradise (golden age), not only does not belittle the originality of Hesiod's work, but reinforces it. The originality of Hesiod's work is not in the newness of his idea, but in that his book was the first textbook in which included a concise theory of economic history linked to the use of metals and therefore to technology. Hesiod provides an amalgam (synthesis) of the existing knowledge, which, of course, includes his own, both the empirical and the analytical gnosis, in a way that can be used to teach basic economic principles, including economic history. The reader should not forget that from the beginning Hesiod makes clear that his book is a didactic one. He wanted it to be used for teaching. All other interpretations are secondary.

The Silver Race

This is one of the most incomprehensive stages of Hesiod's human development. This race was created by the Olympian Gods. However, it is not clear whether it co-existed with the Reign of Cronus, which is similar to the Golden Race. Hesiod mentions that this stage was worse, actually much worse, than the Golden Race, but gives no explanation as to why this was the case. He also states that the people of the Silver Race differ both in their body and their mind from the members of the Golden Race.

Second race, the silver, much worse after	Δεύτερον αὖτε γένος πολὺ χειρότερον μετόπισθεν
was created by those who have their dwellings in Olympus	ἀργύρεον ποίησαν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,
not like the golden in both body and mind	χρυσέῳ οὔτε φυὴν ἐναλίγκιον οὔτε νόημα [127-129]

Hesiod continues with a story which really does not make sense unless something is missing. This race cannot really connect with the previous or with

the following races. Hesiod talks about foolish people (men?) who take one-hundred years to come to puberty, and once there they fight between themselves. They did not respect Gods and for this reason Dias destroyed them. The reason is not given. Hesiod states that some honor still exists for them even though their role is inferior to the Golden Race.

What is surprising though is that the mothers of these children with such a long childhood are favorably portrayed by Hesiod:

Hundred years the boy, the great fool, was brought and happily raised by a careful mother inside the house	ἑκατὸν μὲν παῖς ἔτεα παρὰ μητέρι κεδνῇ ἐτρέφετ' ἀτάλλων, μέγα νήπιος, ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ [130-131]

The word κεδνῇ may mean careful, industrious, diligent, prudent, wise, etc. I translated the word παῖς as "boy". The mother is wise, but the sons are foolish. Hesiod calls the boy "big fool": μέγα νήπιος. As children, they lived long (100 years), but once they become adults, at the peak of their age, they lived only for a short period of time. No reason is given except that they were stupid and they fought between themselves.

One interpretation to this really awkward depiction of the Silver Race might be a myth that did not survive our time, but was well known during Hesiod's time. Hesiod again uses a myth like in the first race, but it is not clear how it can be interpreted. In this second stage of human development, women (mothers) played an important role, but not a role that can be related to the myth of the Amazons, who were aggressive and warlike. However, the Silver Race might relate to a belief that there was a stage in the human development where women had a leading (more important) role. It might relate to some sort of matriarchal social system. If this is what Hesiod means by the Silver Race, then it might relate to Pandora's story which Hesiod explains in both *Theogony* and *Works and Days*.

Some authors interpret Pandora's story as misogynic, which was used by Hesiod and others after him to justify the transition from a matriarchic to a patriarchic social system. I do not consider Hesiod misogynist at all. On the contrary, I consider him a realistic and an objective advisor to men. It should be kept in mind that *Works and Days* was written to advise his brother Perses, a man. When Hesiod states that there are good and bad women and his brother should marry a good woman, he simply states a fact of universal value. The whole story of the strife between the two brothers stipulates this basic ecumenical fact of life: there will always exist good and bad people. All his marital advice to his brother is quite the opposite from misogynic. However, this goes beyond the subject of this study.

A careless reading and interpretation of the Pandora's jar story, which was first developed by Hesiod in *Theogony*, seems to contradict this representation of a wise (industrious) woman-mother mentioned in the Silver Race. The mother bears the boy and also feeds him. How? It is not clear. Does she provide the food?

Does a mother-woman need men to bring food as definitely was the case in all races which followed the silver one? If people are food gatherers as opposed to food producers, are we safe to assume that men played a secondary role? According to this description, men remain boys (childish behavior) almost all their lives and once they become adults, they are exterminated either by fighting each other or by Gods. Thus, they cannot play any (economic) role apart from propagating the kind.

Thus, one interpretation could be that the Silver Race is related to that stage of human development when women had a more active role in raising children as well as collecting and preparing the food. If this is correct, then the Silver Race refers to some sort of matriarchy. The depiction of men as children might be a clever way of saying that women were dominant and men depended upon them for their food. Hesiod could have said that because he wanted to show that it was the fault of the men of the Silver Race that women had such a dominant role. Men of the Silver Race were incompetent.

If the Golden Race was ubiquitous as a description of the initial conditions of the human development mixed with an imaginary nostalgia, the matriarchic era might be a mixture of nostalgia and despise. Nostalgia, if matriarchy is identified with the mothers' role in raising children (especially the boys, can still be found in Greek society today, especially in small villages like Hesiod's. The affinity of boys-men to their mothers has been well-documented since antiquity,[27] despite men wanting to dominate and establish a patriarchic society. This might explain why Hesiod considers the Silver Race much worse than the Golden Race, but, on the other hand, not so bad because the members of this race do deserve some honor.

The famous Pandora's Myth may be related to the Silver Race of human development. One interpretation of this myth indicates the transition from a matriarchic to a patriarchic society. Pandora represents the matriarchic era. Women provide all the means of living.[28] This might be another explanation why the Silver Race is considered much worse than the Golden Race. The Pandora's myth is first examined by Hesiod in his *Theogony* without mentioning her name. This is done in the *Works and Days*. The two works are related in terms of the metals used by Gods to make Pandora attractive to men. Hesiod states in *Theogony*:

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27. The role of mothers has become part of many tragedies and comedies in both ancient and modern Greek literature. Unfortunately, this has been portrayed in the international literature as the Oedipus complex. Oedipus married his mother but he was aware that she was his mother. Once he found out, the personal repercussions were disastrous.

28. It might not be an accident then that all Gods who provide food are women (Dimitra) and those who consume it are men (Dionysus). There might be a matriarchic root to this.

| The eye opened Goddess Athena belted and ornamented her with dresses made of silver | Ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη ἀργυφέη ἐσθῆτι [Theogony 573-574] |

Athena dressed her with silver clothes and ornaments. Here we have Hesiod's reference to the use of silver to make dresses and ornaments. In other words, it relates to the Silver Race. Actually, the word *Ζῶσε* in Hesiod's time can be translated as "underwear", a cloth around the waste which covered the genitals, which was an additional element to make her attractive to men. The word *ἐσθῆτι* can be translated as "dress" or "dressing her up". However, the key word for our analysis here is "silver". Thus, Pandora lives in the age that silver was used to produce ornaments, underwear and dresses. Some people might argue against how a dress can be made of metal, but this appears in other ancient descriptions as well. For example, Talos in Greek mythology was a giant which appears to be dressed up with something that would look like a robot today made of bronze. His clothes were metallic.

During the Silver Race, gold is also used to make jewelry because as Hesiod states, Athena prepared Pandora to be sent to humans as follows:

| Around her head she put a golden chaplet | ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ στεφάνην χρυσέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε [*Theogony*, 578] |

And in *Works and Days* Hesiod states that the Goddesses:

| … put a golden necklace on her | … ὅρμους χρυσείους ἔθεσαν χροΐ [74] |

Hesiod continues applying his method of the co-existence of good and bad by saying a line that looks at first as an oxymoronic statement for someone who does not understand Hesiod's method of economic history. There is a line in *Theogony* that is difficult to explain if Hesiod's method of economic history is not taken into account. Hesiod states that:

| After this, a good and bad was created by gods | Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τεῦξε καλὸν κακὸν ἀντ᾽ ἀγαθοῖο [*Theogony*, 578] |

The translation is really very difficult. Hesiod states that Gods created (*τεῦξε*) a woman who is both good and bad (*καλὸν κακὸν*). This is easily explained because Pandora brings many disasters to the human race, but brings hope which is her good side. This is in addition to the (sexual) pleasure. The last two words of the line are difficult to interpret. The word *ἀντ᾽ (ἀντί)* means "against" and the word *ἀγαθοῖο* in archaic Greek meant "those people who were good in terms of their aristocratic or godly origin". One interpretation might be that Hesiod wanted to stress that Pandora was an amalgam of bad and good and this was against her parentage (creators) who were Gods, and as such, she cannot be all bad. This might explain the oxymoron of the phrase.

Pandora's myth can be interpreted many ways. Hesiod, following the long tradition of myths, makes women the villain. Women bring all the misfortunes to the human race and this is everywhere in Hesiod's works. However, I have a different interpretation and a different reading of Hesiod's works, including the Pandora's myth. Her story shows that it was not a woman's fault for the current suffering of the human race. Pandora was not the one that brought the catastrophe; she was only the messenger. She was the Cyrix. Gods (men and women) made her so that she can deceive men. It was a man's fault who accepted the present.

Hesiod mentions Epimetheus, who was the stupid man to accept a present from Gods, even though he was warned by his brother Prometheus. Can we then assume that Epimetheus was one of the stupid boys of the Silver Race? After Pandora opened the jar and all the diseases spread all over the world, why would Pandora put the lid of the jar back again, keeping hope safely inside so that people can use it in the future? Thus, hope was retained because of a woman. Can we then conclude that women are the future of the human race because men (a) are foolish and accept everything that appears sexually attractive, but not necessarily good and (b) are easily distracted by the presence of a beautiful woman? Hesiod says that this was Zeus' will, but made Pandora to keep hope alive presumably because he did not trust men. A man (Prometheus) betrayed Zeus in the first place. My interpretation here is in contrast and antithesis to all those who see Pandora's myth as anti-feminist or as devaluing women. As is obvious from my analysis above that I interpret it in an opposite and contrary way than what Harrison (1908) stated in her influential book on this issue.[29]

Chronologically, the myth of Pandora follows the myth of Prometheus. We can then assume that the latter occurred during the end of the Golden Race and the former instigated the Silver Race. As is the case with the Golden Race, it is really very difficult to say more on the Silver Race which can relate to the actual practical use of the two metals. It is a matter of how one reads Hesiod, but my own interpretation is that he wanted to signify something about their production methods and the role of scarcity. This becomes clearer with the Bronze Race which is examined in the next section of this paper.

Bronze (Copper) Race and the Age of Heroes

The Greek language does not distinguish between copper and bronze. Most probably, by copper (χαλκός) they meant an alloy of copper and tin. However, the word "copper" was used to mean more than that. It also meant anything that

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29. J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1908).

had to do with metals which could include iron as well. However, Hesiod is clear on this and separates the copper from iron.

From this race on, Hesiod's description becomes similar to a modern economic historian. Clough and Rapp distinguished the age of copper in terms of four innovations; the most important of which was the working and the production of items made of copper. They also mention three more developments: (a) the growth of trade (b) a greater division of labor and (c) new and bigger settlements.[30] In one way or another, all three include wars in order to conquer new places to solve the scarcity problem. In the area of Greece, this period is identified with the Minoan Civilization. This is the Chalcolithic era as opposed to the Paleolithic or Neolithic eras that preceded it.

Hesiod, as a good textbook writer of economic history, mentions that this period is characterized by the extensive use of copper. In two verses, Hesiod describes this period as:

They had bronze weapons, bronze houses	ὧν δ' ἦν χάλκεα μὲν τεύχεα, χάλκεοι δέ τε οἶκοι
They work the bronze; the black iron was not known	χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο• μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος [150-151]

Hesiod distinguishes the people of this race from the previous one. However, he does not make any comparisons (either as being better or worse), but simply that they were different from the Silver Race. He states:

In nothing similar to silver	οὐκ ἀργυρέῳ οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον [144]

This does not say anything as to whether Hesiod considered this race worse than the Silver Race. This is important to our analysis here because it will show whether Hesiod was a pessimist (accepted regress or degeneration) or an optimist (believed in progress of human development). It can be inferred though that Hesiod considered this race superior to the Silver Race for a number of reasons.

Firstly, contrary to what Hesiod thought about the men of the Silver Race (foolish and childish), the men of the Bronze Race are:

respectful and strong	δεινόν τε καὶ ὄβριμον [145]

The word δεινόν comes from the word δέος, which can mean "awesome", but "respect" as well. Thus, the men of the Bronze Race attracted respect unlike the men of the Silver Race.

Secondly, Hesiod refers to the creation of the Bronze Race, using the same adjective as the one for the Golden Race. He states:

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30. S. B. Clough, and R. T. Rapp. *European Economic History: The Economic Development of Western Civilization* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975).

And the Father Zeus another the third race of eloquent people of bronze created	Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ τρίτον ἄλλο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων χάλκειον ποίησε [143-144]

The word μερόπων, which means "people with a good ability to speak" is used to describe the Golden Race and the Iron Race, as explained below. Thus, we may conclude that Hesiod considered this race more eloquent than the Silver Race.

Thirdly, this race is the first that Zeus made. We do not know who made the people of the Golden and Silver Race, apart from knowing that both were made by those Gods who dwell in Olympus. However, Hesiod counts this as the third race that Zeus created, even though the first two were created during the Reign of Cronus, Zeus' father.

Thirdly, Hesiod refers to the men of this race very positively as:

Having a brave heart from diamond	ἀδάμαντος ἔχον κρατερόφρονα θυμόν [147]

The word diamond here is a translation of the word ἀδάμαντος, which in Modern Greek means an "excellent character". Here it does not relate to the metal of diamond which was not yet known. However, the word refers to a hard metal which was an alloy of iron. Anyway, the word most probably has a positive connotation which is definitely the case of the other word, that of κρατερόφρονα, which literal speaking means "brave mind". The word θυμόν is translated as "heart", but it can mean soul, especially in Archaic Greek. These notes are very important because the meaning changes. Brave heart means strong men. However, if soul is used, it can be interpreted as meaning "good people".

Thus, we know that during the Bronze Race people know and use all metals with the exception of iron. They also know another metal, which, most probably, is not used because it is expensive (scarce).

People of the Bronze Race like wars. In other words, they like trade because this is the only way a war can be financed. Hesiod states that this race cares for the works of Ares (the God of wars):

They cared for the heartbreaking and violent works of Ares	οἷσιν Ἄρηος ἔργ' ἔμελεν στονόεντα καὶ ὕβριες [145-146]

Hesiod states that they died fighting each other even though they were ἐκπάγλους [154], which means "awesome", which may have a bad or a good connotation. My interpretation is that Hesiod meant it in a good sense because he wanted to contrast it with their death. In other words, Hesiod says they died even though they were very good.

In any case, fighting in wars was not considered by Hesiod as a bad thing presumably if it was for a good cause like the one in Thebes and in Troy. Right after discussing the Bronze Race, Hesiod introduces the Heroic Race which he

compares favorably to the Bronze Race and offers as an explanation the great wars they fought in Thebes and Troy.

After this race was covered by earth	Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα ἐκάλυψεν,
Another race, the fourth, on the multi-feeder earth	αὖτις ἔτ' ἄλλο τέταρτον ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
was created by Zeus the son of Cronus, fairer and warlike	Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ποίησε, δικαιότερον καὶ ἄρειον,
the godly race of heroic men, which are called demigods	ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἳ καλέονται ἡμίθεοι [156-160]

The above statement clearly states that the Race of Heroes was superior to the Bronze Race. My impression is that Hesiod considered them even better than the Golden Race. The members of the Golden Race were not considered demigods. They were not considered fairer either. Most probably he considered them luckier, fortunate because they lived in an era of non-scarcity, contrary to all other races which follow them. Thus, I am tempted to assume that this race is better than the Golden Race.

This is reinforced with what happened to the Race of Heroes, the demigods. After they died in Troy and Thebes, they are now living happily in the islands of the blessed with Cronus as their king. Also, he has the same description as of the Golden Race, i.e., *ζείδωρος ἄρουρα*, because earth provides them with all the food they need:

Zeus, the son of Cronus, put them to live at the edge of earth	Ζεὺς Κρονίδης κατένασσε πατὴρ ἐς πείρατα γαίης.
And they live there carefree	καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναίουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
In the island of happy people next to the deep Ocean	ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ' Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνην,
Wealthy heroes, who honeyed products three times a year the gifts of life provided by arable land	ὄλβιοι ἥρωες, τοῖσιν μελιηδέα καρπὸν τρὶς ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα. [168-171]

It seems to me that this race was considered as being better than the Golden Race if both lives (the mortal on earth and the immortal on earth or under it) are taken into consideration. And if this is the case, the ranking of races is completely different from what one might have initially thought.

Iron and Post-Iron Race

Most archeological and ethnological evidence of pre-historic Greece shows that the Bronze Age ended in the late 2nd millennium BCE and a new period of the Iron Race begun. The starting point can be set at the 12th century BCE. Hesiod was born during the Iron Race, but his analysis of this race is put in the future

tense. And of course, not much is said about the Post-Iron Race apart from that he considered or hoped it to be better than the current Iron Race. Thus, Hesiod himself does not really know how this race will evolve. However, in one line puts all his optimism about the future of humanity. He states:

I wish I was never among the fifth race of men, but I had died before or born after	μηκέτ' ἔπειτ' ὤφελλον ἐγὼ πέμπτοισι μετεῖναι ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ πρόσθε θανεῖν ἢ ἔπειτα γενέσθαι. [174-175]

The above statement shows that Hesiod did not consider this the best race, but it is not clear in which race of the past he would have liked to live. However, the word πρόσθε might mean either "the previous one" or generally, any previous race before. This leaves open the interpretation, which is important for those who debate the issues of Hesiod's optimism or pessimism. Those who argue that Hesiod believed in the degeneration of the races, which is reflected by the metaphorical use of metals, would have had a hard time explaining what Hesiod meant by his wish to have been born after the current Iron Race (ἔπειτα γενέσθαι). I interpret this as follows: Hesiod strongly believed in a better future, which is consistent with his didactic purpose of his book. In other words, he believed that if people follow certain rules, outlined in his book, then the future will be brighter. Why? According to Hesiod, the Iron Race includes both good and bad things:

But even for them there is a mixture of bad and goods	ἀλλ' ἔμπης καὶ τοῖσι μεμείξεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν [179]

Hesiod spends 21 lines to explain what bad things the Iron Race will bring [181-201] and not a single line about the goods. However, what follows is the depiction of the expected cruelties of the Iron Race in a long fable of the "Hawk and the Nightingale", which has only one interpretation: human progress (economic growth) is at the hands of men and women.[31] Or, to use Vere Gordon Childe's title of his well-known 1939 book: *Man Makes Himself*. Hesiod, as a good economist, and after examining the historical developments from the good old days of the Golden Race down to his own period of the Iron Race, starts examining what the conditions are to avoid the dreadful prospects of the Iron Race and set the pace for a virtuous cycle of progress and economic growth. Thus, I consider Hesiod not only an optimist, but a pragmatist. As in Thucydides three centuries later, Hesiod believed that humanity can learn from their past mistakes and undertake those (economic) actions, which will promote economic progress and growth, pretty much just as most economic historians define the subject of economic history.

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31. Hesiod put a lot of emphasis on the role of good women, equally important as good men.

Hesiod believed in the men and women of the Iron Race. He refers to them as eloquent people:

Zeus will destroy and this race of eloquent people	Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων [180]

A number of comments should be made. Hesiod makes this conditional on a number of things and gives a number of warning signs. It is not important to analyze the list of the bad things that would happen, but to state that all these can be avoided if people change their behavior from unethical to an ethical one. Using his superb imagination, he outlines some of the vices of this race which are between us today since we are still living in the Iron Race. Or more general it is the part of human nature which can be only constrained by the rule of law. This is a nice introduction to what it follows, i.e., the fable of the "Hawk and the Nightingale", which teaches the lawgivers that they should be fair if they want their society to flourish. Otherwise, the rule of law will be the law of the strongest and this way one will destroy the city of the other:

The law in their hands; one will destroy the city of the other	Χειροδίκαι· ἕτερος δ' ἑτέρου πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξει [189]

However, if humans kill each other, the Gods (Zeus) are not to blame because they will be self-destroyed. Isn't this the case today? Humanity has developed the means of its own complete destruction. No God is needed; unless one assumes that God send those humans to invent the tools of mass destruction. They are the modern Pandora, but it is still up to the men (and women) to use these tools, e.g., for a good cause such as producing cheap and clean electricity, or bad such as making weapons of mass destruction. This brings us back to the previous argument of Prometheus and Epimetheus.

Hesiod sketches a number of other vices of this Iron Race, which are so relevant to today's society, and to that extent, to any society because it is in human nature. The only difference is the means by which these manifest themselves. For example, the bad and good exist in all humans, but whether one overpowers the other depends on the personality of each individual. It is these social codes of the Iron Race that Hesiod wants to reinforce. What is important to note that for all these vices of the Iron Race, Hesiod uses future tense. They do not exist during Hesiod's time, but they will happen in the future.

Hesiod's Six Races Compared

This section compares the six races of Hesiod's economic history of human development. Economic history examines the past. The various stages of economic history developments are organized in terms of few millenniums while economic growth uses data from the past few years, i.e., a century at the most. In other words, it is not really clear where one can draw the line between economic history and economic growth analyses; both use the past. Cliometrics might be one way of integrating the two, but data do not exist for the deep past of human development.

Table 1 presents the six races of Hesiod's organization of economic history. Hesiod mentions six stages in his *Work and Days*, but some important information is missing as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. *Comparison of the Six Stages of Hesiod's Historical Ages (or Stages or Races)*

	Stage	Dates	Creation	Comparison	Eschatology
1	Gold	Pre-10000 BCE	Olympian Gods but it is not clear by whom. They lived during the era of Cronus, the father of Dias.	The best of all (?)	Not clear
2	Silver	Pre-10000 BCE	Olympian Gods but it is not clear by whom.	Much worse Πολύ Χειρότερον [127] Second Δεύτεροι [142]	Dias destroyed them
3	Copper	10000-1200 BCE	Zeus (Dias)	Nothing similar to silver οὐκ ἀργυρέῳ οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον [144] but not knowing if it is better or worse	They killed themselves in wars
4	Heroic (Copper)	1200-1000 BCE	Zeus (Dias)	Second to Golden Race or better (?)	They killed themselves in wars
5	Iron	Post 1200 BCE-Present	Zeus (Dias)	Worse of all, past and future.	Not known (climate catastrophe, self-destruction using weapons of mass destruction)
6	Post-Iron	Not Known	Not Known	Better than the Iron Age, but not clear how it compares with the previous to the iron race	Not Known (climate catastrophe, self-destruction using weapons of mass destruction)

One of the discussions in the relevant literature is whether Hesiod was a pessimist or an optimist? Did he believe in progress or in regress of the long economic development process? Most authors consider him a pessimist, ignoring his most important statement that he wished he was born after his (iron) times. Why would he want that if he did not believe that the next stage of human development would not be better? In addition, even in his own Iron Age he does not dismiss it, but leaves a window or an entire door open to hope. According to Hesiod, the iron stage is a mixture of good (pleasure) and bad (pain), but he does

not mention whether the sum of the pluses and minuses is positive or negative. My interpretation is that Hesiod believed that overall, the positives can cancel out the negatives if people, including his brother Perses, follow what Hesiod suggested in his book. After all, why would someone write a didactic book and suggest a change in individual human behavior at all levels of authority if he did not believe that this was for their betterment? Human development can be progressive only if people follow certain rules.

However, believing in the potential of human development does not imply that this development would be a smooth (linear) one. It is obvious from Table 1 that Hesiod did not believe in a linear trend of human development, but in very long oscillations that could last for millennia. Hesiod does not mention dates in his theory of economic history, not even for his own time, but we know that he calls his era the Iron Race. The other event mentioned that gives an idea of the historical timeline is that he mentions the Trojan War. These two dates are reported in the table and the others are filled in using archaeological evidence. This gives a sense of what Hesiod was talking about. His evidence came only from his own period. All other information had to be retrieved from what myths and stories have survived orally because no written source is ever mentioned by Hesiod.

Hesiod believed that there is no linear trend in development, but only cycles. He also believed that every race was a mixture of fortunate and unfortunate situations, sent by Gods and nature (?), but human actions can take care of them. It is true that he considers the Golden Race as the best, but what about the silver and the heroes' race? How do they compare? Similarly, how do the bronze and the iron race compare to each other? Which race is better? It seems to me that Hesiod considers the iron better than the bronze race. If this is the case, the five races not only are not linearly regressing, but they oscillate. It is not clear whether the overall trend is upward or downward. One would tend to accept that there exists a long upward trend, even though with large oscillations as a result of wars, plagues, famines, etc. Isn't this the actual economic history of the world since Hesiod's years? Very few economic historians would answer in the negative to this question.

Related to this question of the long trend of human development is the use of the four metals to describe four races of human development or five if the sixth one is counted. Are these simply an allegorical identification of the four races in terms of the prevailed morality in each stage, or do they have an economic interpretation? If there is an economic interpretation, what is it and how does it relate to the progress-regress dichotomy? It is evident that Hesiod means more than a moral standard by using the metals because the Bronze Race is described by the use of the metal to make weapons and houses, but most importantly to work with copper (χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο) because people did not know black iron (μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος), in which case it would have been used.

This description shows clearly that at least for these two races of human development, Hesiod identifies them with the economic use of the two metals,

i.e., to produce goods instead of allegorically defining some type of ethical and moral behavior. However, this is not clear for the other two stages of gold and silver. It would absurd to state that Hesiod named the Bronze and the Iron Race from the use of the two metals in the production process and the first two, gold and silver, because he wanted to relate them to the characteristic morals of these two races. It is safe to assume that Hesiod named the first two stages from the use of the metals, assuming as many other scholars did and do, that the first people used (discovered) gold and then silver. However, even if someone insists on the moral explanation, Hesiod knew that gold was more valuable than silver and this could only be evaluated if there was an exchange value for the two metals. After all, the whole myth, if it was a myth, of the Argonauts going to Colchis was about the Golden Fleece. So gold was considered valuable some time before the Minoan Civilization and people would risk a long trip to get it. Colchis, located in modern western Georgia in the Black Sea, was rich in gold and iron.

In conclusion, Hesiod was on a mission. He wanted to change his society. He wanted to make it better by writing a didactic book. *Works and Days* was such a book. He believed that society can be changed by human actions given the constraints imposed by Gods (nature). Therefore, he was very critical of the behavior of his fellow citizens, including the archons who were corrupt. He condemned all the social wrong-doings such as bribery, theft, idleness, laziness, beggary, adultery, etc. which of course exists in all, past and modern, societies as well. However, he believed in justice and well-organized societies and this made him optimistic and hopeful. After all this is one reading of the myth of Pandora's Box. Humanity can hope. Hope for what? Of course, hope that the human destiny can become better. This is progress and not regress. Hesiod believed in progress which can come only by appropriate human behaviors with the most important being honest work and fair competition. Otherwise, he would never have written a didactic book if he did not believe that human behavior could not be reoriented towards progress.

Conclusions

The analysis of this paper shows that there are some basic testable hypotheses of Hesiod's theory of economic history (human development) that I use them to conclude the paper and orient future research on this important economic historian. These are:

a) At a certain stage of human development people went from being food gatherers to becoming food producers, or at a certain stage of human development, the abundance (automatic provision) of earth's goods run out and for the first time in history the means of living became scarce.

b) Prometheus' myth shows that in any human race there are very few people who can benefit the entire human race by finding new ways of producing goods and services.

c) After the initial stage of the Golden Race, all other races of human development, past and future, will be a mixture of fortunate (virtues) and unfortunate (vices) elements.

d) Human development (the future of the current Iron Race or the post-Iron Race) can be better or worse depending on human behavior. Gods or nature cannot be blamed.

e) The process of human development is not linear, but each race will have its own mixture of negatives and positives.

f) Long periods of progress are followed by long periods of regress.

g) Each period is characterized by its own unique characteristics which are related to the use of metals (technology) in the production process.

h) Peace and justice are an integral part of progress, or what economists call economic growth.

The above Hesiod's Hypotheses of his theory of economic history can be verified by empirical evidence, which can be provided by archaeologists, anthropologists and ethnologists. Hard economic evidence (quantitative evidence) has not survived for all of Hesiod's historical human races. The first hypothesis of the Golden Age has been examined and there is evidence of nomadic living before 10,000 BCE. People were food gatherers. Now for some reasons they became food producers. The most important reason is population growth which created scarcity of the means of production, forcing people to innovate. This is a good explanation, but not very persuasive. I prefer Hesiod's story which reverses the causality and is related to exogenous versus the endogenous technical progress. Both can exist. However, my own fable or myth or story is as follows. The first human race consisted of people without education and previous knowledge. Thus, the endogenous technical progress is ruled out. We are left only with exogenous technical progress which can be the result of good luck (i.e., the discovery of fire or of a nice sharp stone object which nature made), the birth of a talented individual (you need only one), or a combination of both. Talented people are usually lucky. Good luck is part of one's talent. One such talented individual noticed that some animals can be domesticated and live with them in the same cave and therefore reproduce them. Instead of going hunting for them during the cold and rainy days of winter he can have his own milk and meat right in his backyard. This innovation reduces the risk of not finding food and the extra toil of hunting. Similarly, another talented individual noticed that some seeds that fell on the ground were able to reproduce themselves. All is required for such acquisition of knowledge is the talent of observing and thinking. This still makes a good scientist today. There is no substitute for talent, with or without education. Once people reduced the risk of finding food, then they can propagate their kind at higher rates. This increases

population and therefore intensifies the scarcity problem which in turn makes new technology or wars the only way out. Technology is preferred because it increases further population, but war solves the problem by reducing population. Hesiod's Prometheus myth describes the above sequence of events.

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