

LOGOS

2019/2020
#5



BRUCKSHAW | BOUTALEB | ZHAO | SEATTER | WARNER-HARDER

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We would like to begin by acknowledging that the land on which we gather is the unceded territory of the Coast Salish Peoples, including the territories of the xwməθkwəy̓əm (Musqueam), Skwxwú7mesh (Squamish), Stó:lō and Səlílwə-taʔ/Selilwitulh (Tsleil-Waututh) Nations.

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WELCOME

As editor-in-chief, it is my pleasure to introduce the 2019-2020 issue of *Logos*. *Logos* is the undergraduate journal of the Classical, Near Eastern, and Religious Studies Student Association, and their continuous support is the reason our journal is now in its fifth year of publication.

I first extend my sincere thanks to former editors-in-chief Jaymie Orchard and Julia Perroni, who generously offered their time and energy to meet with me, and provided ongoing guidance throughout all stages of this issue. These papers could not be presented here without the initial creativity and style Helena Mott invested in Outreach and Marketing, followed by the adept communication and prompt organization of Chief Submissions Officer Mena Puhl. For their commitment to making *Logos's* fifth issue exceptional, and their hard work editing, researching, and networking, I personally and wholeheartedly thank this year's editorial board—Lorrieya Zhang, Kati Shaw, Ryder McGinnis, Chloe Conley, Natasha Sundra Rajoo, Grace Guy, Cillian Davenport Brown, Claire Horner, and Tracey Schmidt. The editorial team is in turn indebted to the members of the CNERS faculty whose expert supervision has allowed this issue to live up to its highest potential, to UBC's Stephanie Savage who provided invaluable guidance in copyright policy, and to the CNERS Student Association executive board, who allocated the generous funding which fed (literally) this project from start to finish. On behalf of the whole *Logos* team, I would like them to know that they are earnestly appreciated. I thank each of the talented authors whose work is presented in this issue—Taryn Bruckshaw, Safia Siobhán Boutaleb, Ashley Seatter, Haoyue Zhao, and Keith Warner-Harder—for their collaborative spirit in editing and sharing their work, as well as all those who took a chance and submitted papers to *Logos* this year. Finally, I extend my gratitude to our layout editor Graham Butler, who dedicated many hours to reflecting the quality of *Logos's* content in every detail of the product before you, and provided unwavering assurance at every turn.

This issue contains five outstanding papers, each of which reframes, re-examines, or refocuses a traditional understanding of the ancient Mediterranean. In "Lex Talionis: A Look at the Conceptualization of the Victim in Exodus 21:22-5," Taryn Bruckshaw uses fe-

minist methodology to continue discussions of retributive justice in the Old Testament, centering women and children as the legal victims of violence enacted against them, and considering the implications of this framework for the Canadian justice system. Safia Siobhán Boutaleb's "More Than Mothers: A Glimpse at the Socio-Economic Lives of Mycenaean Women" surveys Mycenaean material culture with the insights of gender archaeology to begin filling the "glaring, woman-shaped gap" left by the traditional focus on the Mycenaean warrior patriarchy. Ashley Seatter questions the biblical depiction of the Philistines in "Was It David vs. Goliath, or Goliath vs. David?," presenting a more likely relationship of gradual cultural exchange and assimilation, rather than large-scale violence. In "Enslaved People in the House of the Faun: An Analysis on the Segmentation of the Service Area," Haoyue Zhao uses access analysis to visualize the division of domestic space in the Roman villa, which marginalized slave quarters to spatially enforce power imbalances between the homeownership slaveholder and the enslaved domestic workers. Keith Warner-Harder concludes this issue with "Male Same-Sex Desire: Its Intersection with Social Hierarchies in Middle & Neo-Assyrian Contexts," in which he corrects the assumption of hierarchal disruption created by sexual encounters between men with the Middle and Neo-Assyrian conception of intercourse, assigning the honor of conquest to the penetrating man if his partner was of sufficient social status.

As I end my term as editor-in-chief, I am honoured to pass the baton to Lorrieya Zhang, editor-in-chief for *Logos's* sixth issue, and Ashley Samsone, Chief Submissions Officer. Despite the unprecedented circumstances of the coming year, I look forward to the future of this publication with untarnished confidence and excitement.

As I conclude this letter, I again thank everyone involved from the bottom of my heart, and on our behalf, welcome you to the fifth issue of *Logos*.

Cameron Hill
Editor-in-Chief

LEX TALIONIS: A LOOK AT THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE VICTIM IN EXODUS 21:22-5

TARYN BRUCKSHAW

Abstract: This paper looks at the Septuagint and Masoretic translations of Exodus 21:22-25 and analyzes the differences and similarities in the ways that each text approaches *lex talionis* (a legal principle of retribution), personhood, and the concept of the victim. Many interpretations of these texts conclude that the victim (although not the exclusive victim) in both scenarios is the father/husband. I argue that there are two other victims which are due their consideration: the child (fetus) and the woman. I explore what these texts can tell us, through their similarities and differences, about the civilizations that created and lived by these legal codes. I also explore what judicial legacy might be evident in today's legal codes with specific reference to the Canadian justice system and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Through a feminist approach, the paper questions religious epistemology and how it relates to Ancient Near Eastern notions of justice and victimhood.

In this essay I explore two separate translations of Exodus 21: 22-25 which considers a case of brawl-induced miscarriage. I look at the Masoretic and Septuagint translations of the texts to attempt to provide a more nuanced analysis into the function of this passage.¹ This small section is part of a larger collection of laws that deal with a range of subjects ranging from property crimes, violence, and morality. While this is a relatively small passage, the differences and similarities in how these texts handle the judicial concept of *lex talionis*, a legal principle of retribution, can provide us with meaningful insights into the cultures that created these laws and were influenced by them as well as those that continue to be influenced by them. I argue that there are actually three victims present in this case law: the fetus, the woman, and the husband. These two short verses differ significantly in their descriptions of both the assailants and the victims, but they are nearly verbatim in their texts on the punishments outlined for the transgressions. I want to note here the use of the term *child* and *fetus* in this essay. While I use both, there are important distinctions between the two and they have different meanings based on the societal and temporal context. I use the modern word *fetus*, but I acknowledge the very different connotations it possesses in

our contemporary context in contrast to what we are trying to decipher about the ancient definition; for lack of a more nuanced term this will have to remain. The distinction of the terms relates to the idea of personhood and victimhood which I will discuss later in this essay; a conception of a victim is not possible if one is not first thought of as a person. I closely scrutinize the portrayal of the child and the woman in this essay because in doing so I decenter the traditional male perspective that is ever-present in biblical scholarship. I explore what implications we can derive from these variations and similarities about the context of their creation and how the differences in these translations have been used by various people such as lawmakers, particularly in the modern context of the Canadian justice system. I approach these subjects with a decidedly feminist perspective that questions the traditional sources of religious knowledge and, in this case, how it pertains to ancient Near Eastern notions of justice and victimhood.

The lex talionis

The legal principle of *lex talionis* has been subject to rigorous study and scrutiny for millennia and the interpretations of it remain varied. While the Masoretic and Septuagint verses appear quite similar, there are several contrasts which are worth exploring.

Masoretic Text (MT)

²² When people who are fighting injure a pregnant woman so that there is a miscarriage, and yet no further harm follows, the One responsible shall be fined what the woman's husband demands, paying as much as the judges determine.²³ If any harm follows, then you shall give life for life,²⁴ eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot,²⁵ burn for burn, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.

Septuagint Text (LXX)

²² Now if two men fight and strike a pregnant woman and her child comes forth not fully formed, he shall be punished with a fine. According as the husband of the woman might impose, he shall pay with judicial assessment.²³ But if it is fully formed, he shall pay life for life,²⁴ eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot,²⁵ burn for burn, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.

The *lex talionis* prescribes punishments and restitutions required in cases of wrongdoing such as "life for a life, eye for an eye,...foot for foot" (Exod. 21:23-24).² Some have taken the *lex talionis* of the Bible as a literal and "barbaric" prescription of sentencing which calls for the punishment to be equivalent or identical to the offence, and many others view the notion of "eye for an eye" as representative of a level of proportionality required in

1. The Masoretic text is a Hebrew version and the Septuagint text is the Greek translation.

2. Fish 2008, 57

sentencing. The “historical[ly] significant and enduring moral relevance” of these laws and their expression of principles of proportionality have been adopted by legal systems throughout history. This principle serves as the basis for many of the modern ideas of retributive justice that are apparent in the Canadian criminal codes.³ Still, some others argue that the basis of the *lex talionis* was restraint; it was meant to restore “equilibrium” to situations of chaos. There have been many different perspectives on how the *lex talionis* was designed to function in the Ancient Near Eastern context, but the general consensus is that it represents a principle of proportionality and social order.⁴

There are several legal codes from the Ancient Near East that scholars look to for comparison when they study those in Exodus. The most popular, and the one on which I will focus, is the Code of Hammurabi, an 18th century BCE legal code accredited to the Mesopotamian King, Hammurabi. In this code we see an example of brawl-induced miscarriage which has many similarities to Exodus 21:22-25. The law states, “If a man strike a free-born woman so that she lose her unborn child, he shall pay ten shekels for her loss. If the woman die, his daughter shall be put to death” (LH 209-210). The focus of this code is equilibrium through “mirror punishments” by imposing the punishment on a family member of the wrongdoer, something that is absent from the *lex talionis*.⁵ David Wright proposes, based on this similar content and structure, that the Covenant Laws—as Exodus 21:1-22:16 are collectively known—are based on the Code of Hammurabi.⁶ While I will attempt to draw parallels from Exodus to modern legal traditions, Wright has shown that the same parallels can be drawn to codes further in the past. The subsequent lines of text in the LH laws outline the different circumstances dependent on the affected woman’s social position, for example: if they belong to the lower, subservient class the amount of money to be paid for both the pregnancy loss and the woman’s

death decreases. In Exodus 21:22-25, we do not see examples of social stratification affecting the compensation; however, we do see how different sums are owed based on whether the child is born “not fully formed” (Exod. 21:23, LXX) or if “harm follows” (Exod. 21:23, MT). This is an important distinction, dealing with the concept of personhood which I will discuss below.

Victim: the Woman

First, I want to look at the other victim in the verse, the pregnant woman. In her work *Sources of Religious Knowledge*, Grace Jantzen questions the process by which religious knowledge becomes legitimized and canonized. She argues that in traditional claims to religious knowledge, biblical revelations are often pointed out as a “universal, neutral, objective” perspective,⁷ and the laws in Exodus are no exception.⁷ The generally agreed upon concern, or function, of Exodus 21: 22-25 is that of justice. Less agreed upon is for whom justice is served in this case of brawl-induced miscarriage. In vv. 22-23 we must ask, “who is the intended victim?” Many interpretations concluded that the victim (although not the exclusive victim) in both scenarios is the father/husband. In the case of the death of the child or early birth, the father is to be compensated due to the loss of his progeny. The larger role of genealogy within Exodus as well as the Hebrew Bible is hard to overstate. In ancient Israel, one’s ability to connect their lineage to the ancestral land was a crucial part of their culture.⁸ Exodus begins with an explanation of the sons of Israel. It would not be surprising that an act of violence that threatened the genealogical line, whether intentional or not, would be met with harsh consequences.

Jantzen points out that traditional readings of biblical texts have been rooted almost entirely from the male perspective, and have consequently reinforced male privilege in the production of knowledge.⁹ *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* even notes the legal term *lex talionis* refers to the “fair treatment of the assailant” whi-

ch, in the case of the Septuagint, is clearly indicated to be a man (Exod. 21:22).¹⁰ When the quest for justice is rooted in the perspective of the assailant, what does this tell us about the values and priorities of the societies that create and abide by these codes? As I have shown, there are examples of parallels to other legal codes, such as the Laws of Hammurabi, that give us a detailed account of the cultural values and norms.

We do not need to look centuries into the past to find other legal codes for comparison. We can see many traces of the ancient Near Eastern laws today. I attempt to draw a parallel to modern legal traditions, while acknowledging that within the scope of this paper I could not hope to concisely trace the judicial legacy of this text to modern legal systems without neglecting the “centuries of patriarchal Christendom” that came between.¹¹ That is to say, the legal system that we operate within today is a product of centuries of contribution from many cultures and perspectives, and it is relevant to our discussion to note similarities between modern and ancient systems. While one cannot draw a clear succession between these complicated institutions, the study of these ancient laws may direct us to ask questions that centre around justice as well as promote critical inquiry into our societal structures. In the Canadian context, it was not until the introduction of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 that a significant shift occurred in the way sexual assault was prosecuted in Canada. Until this time, a witness was required in most cases for criminal charges to be considered—a victim’s experience was not considered sufficient evidence.¹² This is a modern example of the decentering of the victim’s perspective in law. I also note Bill C-51, introduced to the Canadian parliament in 2017, which made crucial amendments to the criminal code that protected victims of sexual assault. This bill clarified definitions of consent and capacity which were tested in the Supreme Court of Canada.¹³ I use these

3. Fish 2008, 57, 67

4. Beaton 2016, 155

5. Fish 2008, 58

6. Wright 2009, 3

7. Jantzen 1996, 100

8. McGinnis 2008

9. Jantzen 1996, 95

10. NOAB 2018, 114

11. Jantzen 1996, 96

12. Makin 2013

13. Canadian Department of Justice 2017

examples to demonstrate the importance of questioning the epistemology of our religion and laws. When we look to these ancient texts such as the Hebrew Bible or the Code of Hammurabi, we are not simply looking at historical documents of ancient and far-gone civilizations, but at the building blocks of our own society's traditions, values, and legal systems.

Victim: the Child

As I previously alluded to, another interpretation of these texts involves questioning Ancient Near Eastern concepts of personhood and childhood. We see differences in the way that each of these translations dealt with the fetus. In the Masoretic text, no child or person is mentioned in relation to the pregnancy. A pregnancy did not equate to the existence of life; the notion of when a human is granted personhood or considered a child was a socially constructed concept.¹⁴ It outlines the consequences for causing a miscarriage, but no specific mention is made of a child. This is very different from the Septuagint translation which outlines what happens if "the child comes forth not fully formed" (Exod. 21:22). These two different interpretations of the text have implications when we try to understand the role of the child in the Bible and the concept of personhood.

Naomi Steinberg argues in *The World of the Child in the Hebrew Bible* that translating yeled as "child" in all cases can be misleading, since it misses the ways in which childhood, as a social construct, functioned very differently in Ancient Near Eastern society and our modern conception. We can look at the *talion* (retaliation) outlined in Exod. 21:22 compared to Exod. 21:23. The instance of the child being born prematurely and the pregnancy concluding unsuccessfully would result in a monetary judgement negotiable between the father and the wrongdoer. This is in contrast to the scenario in vv. 23 in which the child is "fully formed" and harm follows then payment must be "a life for a life" (Exod. 21:23). As James David Wright notes, one cannot provide monetary compensation for the taking of a life and this was true of those who had been granted

personhood under the social constructions of the concept within the Ancient Near Eastern context. In vv. 22 the fetus seems to be deemed a non-life because the punishment is monetary compensation and monetary compensation was not accepted in cases of murder, whether inadvertent or intentional. Following this argument, we see how this verse shows that a fetus was not considered a life, at least not in the same way as the woman or a full-term child.

Conclusion

In this essay, I examined how the Masoretic and Septuagint translations of Exod. 21:22-25 varied and how these differences and similarities informed the Ancient Near Eastern concept of justice. A notable connection can be found between these ancient concepts and modern understandings of crucial topics such as justice and victimhood. In an essay of this limited scope, I do not claim to make drawn-out and detailed connections between these ancient laws and the modern laws of our society. To make such claims would be incomplete and reductive; however, I do make the assertion that, in Canada's Judeo-Christian culture, it is hard to overestimate the influence that these texts have had on the subsequent formations of modern legal, social, and moral codes. A close analysis of these works encourages us to question the sources of our knowledge in all aspects of our society: law, education, and social structures. In doing this more thorough analysis, we can encompass the perspective and interests of more people into important societal structures such as our legal and educational systems.

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14. Steinberg 2013

MORE THAN MOTHERS: A GLIMPSE AT THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIVES OF MYCENAEAN WOMEN

SAFIA SIOBHÁN BOUTALEB

Abstract: The traditional view of an androcentric Mycenaean economy has been challenged in recent years by the growing subdiscipline of gender archaeology, the study of historically under-researched individuals, which has highlighted the diversity of workforces in antiquity. This research paper takes a gendered archaeological approach by outlining significant economic contributions made by Mycenaean women over a period of roughly 200 years (1450-1250 BCE), as well as their cultural significance. I argue that Mycenaean women were widely valued as not only mothers, as seen in figurines, but also active contributors to the local economy. The inclusion of women and their job titles on Linear B tablets illustrates their direct involvement in a wide range of economic areas, including textile and grain production. Furthermore, the widespread presence of maternal figurines, otherwise known as *kourotrophoi*, signifies a cultural appreciation of women in their maternal role.

Since their discovery in the 1870s, the Mycenaeans have maintained a reputation as a patriarchal empire of heroic Bronze Age warriors whose presence was taken as “proof” of the Homeric commander Agamemnon’s existence.¹ Setting aside any fanciful notions of “empire” or Homeric legend, it is true that throughout the Late Helladic III period (LH III 15th-12th century BCE), Mycenaean settlements were widespread across the Aegean. They extended from mainland Greece across the Cyclades to the island of Crete.² It is also true that funerary stelae, uncovered through archaeological excavation, depict chariot-driven battles and spear-wielding hunters, suggesting the cultural celebration of male warriors.³ Nevertheless, these warriors make up only one aspect of Aegean Bronze Age life. Women, who were undoubtedly present throughout the Mycenaean “empire,” are often not addressed in scholarship. This is largely because, despite making up roughly half the population, women have historically been secondary to men as subjects of archaeological interest.⁴ In order to better understand Mycenaean society as a whole, this paper takes a gendered approach to Aegean archaeology dating from the initial height of the Mycenaean period to early

in its decline (1450 BCE-1200 BCE).⁵ By analyzing figural iconography, specifically terracotta figurines, and references to women in the Linear B tablets, I hope to uncover the cultural and socio-economic importance of women within Mycenaean society.⁶

Gender Archaeology

As previously mentioned, there has historically been a glaring, woman-shaped gap in Bronze Age Aegean scholarship. Fortunately, archaeologists are steadily becoming more aware of this problem and are employing feminist and gender archaeology to both fill the gap in knowledge and to determine the shape that gap might take.⁷ That is to ask, what would life as a Mycenaean woman look like? Gender archaeology, a subset of feminist archaeology, aims at analyzing the archaeological record from an inclusive position by acknowledging the record’s inherent biases. It comprises, among many things, the study of historically neglected individuals such as women, children, minorities, the elderly, and the disabled. Gender archaeology also focuses on challenging our institutionalized binary approach to gender (male/female) through the recognition that gender is a social construct that is

not universal across time or space.⁸ This is a topic we do not have time to explore extensively in this paper, but one that is nonetheless relevant to our focus—women.⁹

Figural Iconography

One of the main sources of information we have for piecing together social perceptions of women in Mycenaean society is their iconographic portrayal in art.¹⁰ In this section, I will outline one distinctive form of material culture that can be found across the Mycenaean world, terracotta figurines.¹¹ It is worth noting that this brief study is somewhat limited by the absence of in-depth contextual data. Material culture, whether a figurine or tablet, is far less informative when divorced from its original archaeological context. Due to the brevity of this paper and fragmentary nature of Aegean archaeology, our interpretation will stem largely from the object’s form and content.

Terracotta Figurines

Terracotta clay figurines depicting both single women as well as *kourotrophoi* (figurines of women holding infants) began appearing at Mycenaean archaeolo-

1. James & Dillon 2012, 39; Katsapis 2006, 2

2. Boëlle-Weber 2016, 608; Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, 393; Mee 2008, 362

3. Katsapis 2006, 60

4. James & Dillon 2012, 39

5. Also referred to as Late Helladic IIB period through Late Helladic IIIB period; Shelmerdine 2008, 4

6. Budin & Turfa, *Women in Antiquity*

7. James & Dillon 2012, 38-9

8. Hamilton, Whitehouse, & Wright 2007, 27-28

9. For a more detailed approach on gender archaeology of the Aegean, see Newman (2017).

10. Billigmeier & Turner 1981, 4

11. Budin, 2016, 604, 609

gical sites dating around 1450 BCE.¹² As both the single and kourotrrophic figurines increased in popularity throughout the period, their appearance shifted from naturalistic (see Figure 1) to more schematic (see Figure 2).¹³ These schematic figurines became increasingly standardized and archaeologists were able to classify the majority into one of three styles named *phi* (φ/Φ), *psi* (ψ/Ψ), or *tau* (τ/T) after letters of the Greek alphabet.¹⁴ This standardization speaks to the popularity and manufacturing scale of the female figurines, as they were clearly in high enough demand for specialization of appearance to become a contributing factor in their creation and distribution.

These figurines are significant for understanding Mycenaean womanhood for a number of reasons: firstly, they are numerous, with Aegean prehistorian Dr. Barbara Olsen counting seventy known terracotta kourotrophoi alone in 1998. Olsen stresses that the number would be higher if the figurines had been consistently recorded and published in early excavation.¹⁵ Secondly, their inclusion of women and children is an image that has, to date, not been found in Mycenaean frescoes, making them unique markers for the societal celebration of womanhood and maternity.¹⁶ Thirdly, their context, or what we know of it, varies from adult and child grave deposits, both rich and poor (147 figurines), to sanctuaries (99 votive figurines) and settlements (519 figurines).¹⁷ The variety of cultural deposits in which the figurines were found has led to disagreements on their original use and meaning. While some scholars, such as Carl Blegen, argue that the figurines were closely associated with childhood based on their presence in child burials, others, such as Angeliki Pilali-Papasteriou, believe the figurines were votives and signify divinities or the occurrence of religious ideology, regardless of their placement in sanctuaries or ruined houses.¹⁸

While the diversity of their distribution certainly calls their purpose into question, there are a few things which are certain: these kourotrophoi and single terracotta figurines depict women at the point of physical maturation, they are prevalent, and they are valued enough to be standardized in form and interred with the dead.¹⁹ These all point to a widespread recognition of femininity and the female form which may help future archeologists to extrapolate their role in Mycenaean society.

Linear B

The Mycenaean world was not an empire but rather a series of politically organized states, otherwise known as “polities.” These states were scattered across the Bronze Age Aegean and likely had varying degrees of intercommunication, both peaceable and competitive, depending on their location. Many of these states were structured around a central palatial administration.²⁰ Linear B, an early form of Greek, was the script used on archive tablets held at these administrative centres (palaces) to record palatial involvement in redistribution, production, and dispute.²¹ The records included incoming and outgoing goods, records of animals, accounts of diplomatic feasting, craft production, property transfer, and land disputes (see Figure 3).²² The majority of the content we will be discussing in the following paragraphs comes from a corpus of translated fragments and full tablets excavated at Pylos (1,107 texts), Mycenae, Knossos (3,369 texts) and Thebes (400 texts).²³

Women's Socio-Economic Role

Scholars have been increasingly interested in the socio-economic role women



Figure 1: Example of earliest known Mycenaean kourotrophos from LH IIB period (1500-1430 BCE). Note nursing infant. Nemea Museum 489, Butler 2014.

played in Bronze Age Greece, and the Linear B tablets have been an invaluable source of firsthand, contemporary accounts of women's contribution. The majority of women mentioned in these tablets can generally be divided into one of two categories, with some fitting into both and others, mainly the elite, not fitting either category. These categories, which we will outline in detail below, are as follows: craftswomen (both specialized and inexperienced) and sacerdotal women (religious).²⁴ I want to preface this discussion with a note that although women were spectacularly active in the palatial economy, there are a number of marked differences between the (assumed) two genders. First, women's numbers are lower than those of men, Pylos and Knossos having collecti-

12. Budin 2016, 604; Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 38

13. The figurines' popularity spanned the Late Helladic III period. Budin 2016, 604; Olsen 1998, 385-86

14. Olsen 1998, 384

15. Ibid.

16. James & Dillon 2012, 48; Olsen 1998, 384

17. Olsen 1998, 386; Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 268

18. Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 76, 80

19. Standardization is a significant indicator of both mass consumption, mass production and social significance. It implies a widespread recognition of what something “should” look like, resulting in the standardized manufacture of its form.

20. Shelmerdine & Bennet 2008, 289

21. Shelmerdine 2016, 618

22. Written on wet clay and typically wiped for re-use, the tablets were fired in the late destruction of the buildings, making their preservation and discovery extraordinary. Shelmerdine 2016, 618; Shelmerdine & Bennet 2008, 289; Olsen 1998, 383

23. Burke 2016, 639; Olsen 2014, 6

24. Billigmeier & Turner 1981, 4



Figure 2: 3 terracotta female figures from LH IIIA period (1400-1300 BCE). Note two phi figurines (right) and one tau figurine (left). 35.11.16-18, Metropolitan Museum of Art Online Catalogue.

vely listed two thousand women among five thousand men.²⁵ There is also some evidence indicating that the variety of occupation may have been more limited for women than it was for men; Cynthia Shelmerdine uses the bronze and perfume industries as an example, noting that “no female workers stray into the male territory of bronze working, perfume manufacture, or military duties.” She adds that a mere seven of the two hundred recognized occupations known to us were held by both men and women; they are “weavers,” “stitchers,” “slaves,” “slaves of deities,” “wage-earners,” “decorators” and “priests” or “priestesses.”²⁶ Nevertheless, we find many skilled women, belonging to a range of statuses, mentioned in these palace archives.

Craftswomen

According to Linear B records, skilled or specialized craftswomen greatly outnumbered skilled craftsmen at Pylos, with Billigmeier et al. counting them at over 1,400 in 1981 (twice the known number of craftsmen). The women are rarely named, often marked by their occupation paired with an ideogram (symbol) for “woman.” Many of their occupations are connec-

ted in some way to textiles, with inscribed examples of “flax-workers,” “wool-carders” (preparing wool fleece for yarn), “spinners,” “weavers,” “stitchers,” and “leather-workers.” Textile work, though often culturally shrugged off as “women’s work” was (and still is) a fundamental aspect of daily life and the economy. The finished products of these textiles extended beyond clothing and bedding to saddle-bags, sandals, reins and horse halters and headbands.²⁷ Women’s direct involvement in these specialized facets of textile creation make them tremendously valuable contributors to the Mycenaean economy.

Records of women’s involvement in craftwork, however, do not stop there. Inexpert women or, “low-level workers” as Shelmerdine calls them, are recorded as “flour-grinders,” “grain-pourers,” “attendants” (of the palace) and “bath-pourers.” These women are unnamed and, along with their children who are recorded living with them, are presumed to be entirely reliant and under the supervision of the palace, with archives reporting monthly allotments of 19.2 liters of figs and wheat per woman and 9.6 per child. Notably, inexpert male workers receive the same equivalent of wheat and barley,

meaning the compensation of lower level workers was relatively egalitarian.²⁸ These children, mentioned above, are not often named through patronymics (father’s surname) and never through matronymics (mother’s surname) but are often attested simply by reference to a child. Given the wheat ration mentioned above and the inclusion of children in the archives, it appears as though the palatial system allowed young children to remain with (who we presume to be) their mothers as trainees of their craft, after which they became workers themselves alongside (who we presume to be) their fathers. Beyond this, in terms of family dynamic, we enter the realm of speculation as the palace archives do not expand much upon marriage, siblings, or generations.²⁹

Sacerdotal Women

While women lacked authority as craftswomen, sacerdotal (priestly) women did not. Two Pylian women in particular, one *hiereia* (priestess) and one *klawiphoros* (keyholder), are often the focal point when addressing Linear B land records and, in that respect, this paper is no different.

Eritha was a priestess at Sphagianes who held not only two types of land leases, but also held slaves who had leases as well; a practice known as a *geras* (“gift of honour of the priestess”). Recalling the last section, women were not often named in Linear B. We have records, however, of both Eritha’s name and title, “priestess of Sphagianes.” She is mentioned as the subject of a land dispute with the “civil authority,” or *damos*, who claimed her lease type was ordinary, while Eritha insisted it was an *e-to-ni-jo*, making it “for the deity” and exempt from any regular leaseholder requirements. Unfortunately, as is the case with much fragmentary material culture, we are left with an indefinite cliffhanger, wondering how or if Eritha’s dispute was resolved. What we do know, however, is that she wielded authority over both land and people and was a woman with enough social and economic leverage to openly challenge the *damos*. The second of our Mycenaean female powerhouses was a keybearer named Karpathia. Keybearers

25. Shelmerdine 2016, 618

26. Shelmerdine 2016, 624–26

27. Billigmeier & Turner 1981, 5

28. Shelmerdine 2016, 627–8; Billigmeier & Turner 1981, 12

29. Budin 2016, 601; Shelmerdine 2016, 630–31

were revered cult officials responsible for the literal keys of the temple and its “sacred treasure.” Karpathia, like Eritha, was a landholder, only her plot is estimated to have been three times larger than that of the priestess and on par with the landholdings of a *lawagetas* (elite military commander), the second highest-ranking official after the *wanax* (king). She is also listed as having entered a land dispute with the *damos*, whereby she refused to work her plots despite their insistence of her obligation. This is particularly interesting because, as Shelmerdine notes, that specific type of land plot (a *ka-ma*) is otherwise only owned by men, making Karpathia the only known woman to have owned a *ka-ma*.³⁰

Conclusion

Although our data may be limited by its location, narrow time period, fragmentary nature, and palatial focus, the information we have still provides us with substantial insight into the lives of a particular collection of women. The Linear B tablets have not only shown us the wide range of occupations held by both upper and lower class Mycenaean women, but

also that, when employed by a palace, these people were seemingly not forced to give up their role as mothers.³¹ This is key because it parallels the widespread distribution and increasing popularity of maternal statuary, particularly *kourotrophoi*, beginning around 1450 BCE and extending until the end of the period around 1,300 BCE.³² It is curious, however, knowing so many women participated in the state economy, that we see no figural iconography of them at work. Perhaps the intertwining of their role as mothers and trainers of future workers (i.e. their children) is the root of this emphasis on *kourotrophoi*.

Although many things have changed since the Late Bronze Age, women then, much like today, were both mothers and key contributors to the economy as craftspeople, textile specialists, food-production workers, religious officials, and landholders.³³ They were present in one form or another for all aspects of daily life as votives, burial gifts, and household items.³⁴ Gender archaeological research like this contributes not only to our recognition of women’s prevalence—in this case, in the Late Bronze Age—but also to our unders-

tanding of the wider social structures in Mycenaean communities and their diverse workforce. However overlooked they may have been in archaeology, women were, much like Schliemann’s “warriors,” essential to Mycenaean identity.

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Figure 3: Example of Linear B clay tablet from Knossos. Note translated inscription: “Poros: 20 rams, 72 ewes at Phaistos. 8 old rams.” 1910,0423.2 British Museum Online Catalogue.

30. Billigmeier & Turner, 1981, 8-9; Boëlle-Weber 2016, 611-12; Shelmerdine 2016, 619-21

31. Shelmerdine 2016, 631

32. Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 38

33. Shelmerdine 2016, 627

34. Olsen 1998, 386; Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 268

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WAS IT DAVID VS. GOLIATH, OR GOLIATH VS. DAVID?

ASHLEY SEATTER

Abstract: The Philistines were an ancient people featured prominently in the Bible, characterized as the worst of the Israelites' enemies, yet the archeological record undermines this version of events. There is new evidence at play which suggests that while the two cultures were certainly distinct, exaggerated conflict was unlikely. The biblical stories point towards a violent division, whilst material evidence suggests more amicable relations. In fact, the decline and eventual disappearance of the Philistines was likely due to their trade, intermarriage, and overall peaceful interactions with the Israelites—over time, they were completely assimilated into Levantine culture. The violent and tense narrative of the Bible is likely a later recreation of the events, edited or created for an Israelite audience in need of an enemy. In singling out one group, by using the Philistines as a foil in their conflict, the Israelites positioned them as the “other,” allowing themselves to better differentiate and solidify their own identity. By comparing the biblical narrative to archeological evidence, this paper argues that their relationship was more nuanced than previously thought.

The title of this paper refers to the old adage of David versus Goliath, now emblematic of any underdog situation. Their names are frequently associated with an imbalance of power that weighed heavily in Goliath's favour. However, the archeological record does not support this narrative—the reality was a mighty David and a meek Goliath. In the Bible, the Philistines and their warrior Goliath are portrayed as the most atrocious enemy of the Israelites and their shepherd-turned-king David. Yet, material evidence suggests that not only were relations relatively peaceful, but there was likely trade and intermarriage which led, in combination with other variables, to the complete assimilation of the Philistines into local cultures, including the Israelites'. Material data and modern DNA results show that while there were initial differences between the local Israelites and the newly arrived Philistines, the former quickly absorbed the latter. It only took a few centuries for the Philistines to be completely enveloped by their Canaanite kin. While the Bible declares that the Philistines possessed an “ancient hostility” towards the Israelites, archeology proves that ties were quite amicable.¹ I relate a biblical event of Samuel 1, according to which the city of

Gath was destroyed. And yet, there is no archeological proof that the city was even attacked in any of the relevant centuries.² I will then offer a theory as to why, in later iterations of the Bible, the Philistines were designated as the worst of the worst, namely, so that the Israelites could be united in their fear and hatred of an “other.” To substantiate my claim I find that cultural distinction and “otherness” can be verified with historical evidence. For example, the Philistines consumed pork while the Israelites did not, and this distinction can be corroborated with archaeological evidence. On the other hand, there is no substantial evidence to support the Israelite claim that the Philistines were uncircumcised and thus unclean. The point, however, is that otherness is tied to identity and while the Bible paints a picture of life in the ancient Levant as black and white, the truth is far more nuanced. The Israelites and Philistines were two unique cultures, but they were not as different as the biblical narrative suggests. In fact, they were relatively hospitable neighbours who came together in a variety of ways. The reality is that the violent and dramatic biblical narrative cannot be corroborated archeologically.

To better understand the comparison between the archeological record and the Bible, one must be familiar with the territorial boundaries of the relevant period. The Philistines occupied land at the south-east corner of the Mediterranean Sea: their five main cities, also known as the Philistine Pentapolis, were Ashdod, Ekron, Ashkelon, Gath, and Gaza.³ This area, shown on Figure 1, lay to the west of Israelite lands, but a set border never seemed to emerge or stick. One could assume that such lack of specificity would have been problematic. Two groups, with growing populations and the need to expand their territories, might claim land that the other wanted. Yet, despite ostensibly clear boundaries, the Bible offers hints that peaceful interactions did exist, even if they were somewhat rare.⁴ An excellent example is Samson: he chose a Philistine wife from Timnah and “he moves restlessly and ambiguously, both geographically and socially” within Philistine and Israelite circles.⁵ Despite his story ending badly, these dealings indicate that amicable relations did exist between the two groups.⁶

1. Ezekiel 25:15, *NIV*

2. Pioske 2018, 7

3. Pitkanen 2020, 218

4. Novak 2015, 178

5. Judges 14:1 as quoted by Novak 2015, 178; Machinist 2000, 68

6. Novak 2015, 178

In fact, the Philistines interacted with many of their neighbours and various contemporary texts prove this. While the bulk of written evidence regarding the Philistines is found in the Bible, extrabiblical texts from the Egyptians and Assyrians add to the conversation. These three cultures and their surviving documentation lead to a “triangulation of contemporary texts,” which is a huge asset when comparing the biblical narrative to physical data.⁷ When looking for ancient Philistine references, the earliest examples come from Egypt, where they are mentioned by a minimum of five separate hieroglyphic sources.⁸ There are also Assyrian texts which date from the ninth and eighth centuries BCE, yet the largest source of information is courtesy of the Israelites, and their rendering of events is arguably biased.⁹

Of the 248 references to ‘Philistine’ in the New International Version of the Bible, the vast majority describe the Philistines negatively. To summarize, “from the era of the Judges to that of the Assyrian empire, the Philistines were the arch enemy of Israel” and “the most wretched of all [their] enemies.”¹⁰ This sentiment is echoed in the Roman name for the area, Palaestina – an alternate for Philistia. Emperor Hadrian chose this name to antagonize the Israelites after the Bar Kochba revolt. By naming the region after the Israelites’ most dreaded adversary, Hadrian was able to pour salt into a fresh wound. Indeed, “the Romans were well aware of the Philistines’ symbolic power... long after they had ceased to exist.”¹¹ To provide a quick timeline, according to the Bible: the Philistines lived in the Levant from the time of Abraham, in the 19th century BCE, until Nebuchadnezzar’s invasion in the seventh century BCE.¹² They were long gone by the time of the Roman occupation, but their legacy of hostility had remained. They frequently appear in the Bible, in books from Genesis to Zechariah, but physical data does not match this supposed 1,200 year history.

The earliest biblical mentions of Philistine are in Genesis and Exodus, yet the archaeological record does not support this early occupation of the land. Peter Machinist explains that “extra-biblical indications... place the Philistines in the Levant only toward the end of the Late Bronze/Early Iron Ages,” which is centuries after the “events” of Genesis and Exodus.¹³ It was at this time that the ‘Sea Peoples’ arrived and it is generally accepted that the Philistines were among these peoples.¹⁴ Of those who suddenly appeared in the twelfth century BCE, most were probably commoners, a great percentage of which were likely farmers.¹⁵ Material remnants of the Philistines show “strong foreign attributes in the first 150-200 years after their arrival,” which included “distinctive motifs, cultic practices, ceramics, cooking installations, non-Levantine architecture, non-Semitic Indo-European names, and dietary preferences.”¹⁶ These unique items had a varying combination of Aegean, Anatolian, Cypriot, Greek, Minoan, and Mycenaean influences.¹⁷

“The acculturation strategy that the Philistines chose was never separation from the local, Canaanite culture...”

— Assaf Yasur-Landau

This individuality, however, is short lived. By the fifth century BCE, the Philistines had become so intertwined with their neighbours that they lost their identity completely.¹⁸ “The acculturation strategy that the Philistines chose was never separation from the local, Canaanite culture, as would have been expected in the

case of violent conquerors.”¹⁹ Not only does this go against the biblical narrative, but this methodology suggests that the Israelites were the larger and more dominant force. Over time, unique cultural markers disappear as local customs are adopted showing the power and influence of the native Levantine civilization.²⁰ Assaf Yasur-Landau adds that the “local Canaanite population was an integral part of every Philistine settlement from its emergence.” Philistine households possessed materials that reflected both foreign and local behavioural practices.²¹ And such interaction was not one directional: Philistine wares have been found at sites in the eastern Shephelah, while their cooking vessels are present at various highland locations. One theory is that these items were status symbols, but it is also likely they arrived via “practices such as intermarriage.”²² In Ashkelon, pottery has been found that adds to the argument of peaceful diplomacy. These “Canaanite-Philistine hybrids,” blend stylings of the two cultures, specifically “Philistine shapes with Canaanite motifs.”²³ This archaeological narrative is also supplemented by recent DNA results, which confirm the arrival and eventual disappearance of the Philistines.

In 2019, the results of modern DNA testing, taken from ancient Ashkelon, were published. These findings match the archaeological record and go against the literary account of the Bible. Samples were taken from skeletal elements found in twelfth century BCE burial plots at Ashkelon, one of the five cities in the Philistine Pentapolis.²⁴ Carbon-14 dating places these individuals at various dates ranging from the Late Bronze Age to Iron Age II.²⁵ While all possessed local genetic material, “the early Iron Age population was distinct in its high genetic affinity to European-derived populations,” whose arrival at Ashkelon would have been at the same time as that of the “Sea Peo-

7. Master & Aja 2017, 147

8. Foster 2017, 90

9. Ibid., 109

10. Novak 2015, 176

11. Ibid., 183

12. “Encyclopedia of the Bible: Philistines”

13. Machinist 2000, 54

14. Felman et al. 2019; Finkelstein 2002; Machinist 2000; Yasur-Landau 2010

15. Yasur-Landau 2010, 342

16. Maeir, Hitchcock, & Kolska Horwitz 2013, 1; Verduci 2014, 249

17. Verduci 2014, 249; Finkelstein 2002, 133; Foster 2017, 205

18. Novak 2015, 177

19. Yasur-Landau 2010, 288

20. Pioske 2018, 11

21. Yasur-Landau 2010, 340

22. Pioske 2018, 12

23. Mountjoy (2010) quoted in Master, Mountjoy, & Mommsen 2015, 236

24. Pitkanen 2020, 218

25. Felman et al. 2019, 3

ples.” Over time, the potency of the foreign resemblance diminishes and eventually disappears. The genetic samples from the Late Bronze Age are more local than those of Iron Age I, showing a spike of European influence. This shift, however, does not last. By Iron Age II, the European component has decreased so significantly that these samples are more closely matched to the earlier, Late Bronze Age samples. The data shows that individuals shift genetically from more Levantine to more European, and then back to more Levantine, over the course of approximately seven hundred years.

It should be noted that the Carbon-14 dating had an approximation of plus/minus 50 to 200 years, depending on the sample. Feldman et al. also warn that these dates are a “rough estimate” as diet can make the result older than true.²⁶ Also, of the 108 DNA samples tested, only ten “yielded sufficient amounts of human DNA,” leading the scientific team to hope for more samples and data in the future. These findings are far from complete, but they are a beginning, and they offer insight into intermarriage and assimilation. The Philistines, part of the European descendants also known as the Sea Peoples, arrived in the Levant, and slowly married themselves into the local population, disappearing into coexistence. This is in stark contrast to the biblical narrative, which would have its readers believe that the Philistines were exceedingly hostile and the most evil of enemies.

While their role in the Bible is one of an antagonistic and unclean foe, archaeology provides insight into a more nuanced and less violent version of the story. It is highly likely that relations were painted in a significantly darker light after the fact. As Israel Finkelstein argues, the Bible “should be read from the point of view of the theology and political ideology of the time of writing,” and I would add, at the time of editing.²⁷ In short, context is everything. The scriptures were edited and modified for a variety of reasons and purposes over time. Regardless of how the book “came to be, it was the end result of several Hebrew scribal hands working over the cou-

rse of a number of generations” who modified the source material as needed.²⁸ A relevant example is the Book of 1 Samuel. As it is today, 1 Samuel details the destruction of Gath after the Philistines steal the ark of the covenant and store it there, and yet there is no physical proof regarding this event. Excavations at Gath, also known as Tel as-Safi, show that relations were far more amicable than the Bible portrays. In fact:

there is no evidence for any instances of hostility between Gath and [the] highland communities to its east during the early Iron Age period. ...for a period of around three centuries we find no clear evidence that forces from Gath ever attacked or destroyed a single location within the neighbouring regions of Israel or Judah or, conversely, that it was attacked by individuals from these areas during this time. In fact, the evidence that is available suggests nearly the opposite.²⁹

This is a reoccurring reality: while the Israelite texts are the largest collection of written records for the Philistines, they cannot be corroborated archaeologically. And there may be a simple reason for this: the Israelites needed one enemy to hold their focus. By editing their history, and shifting the tale from one of peaceful diplomacy to one of action-packed adventure, the Israelites are united against a common “other.”

When the Bible first mentions the Philistines, in Genesis and Exodus, they seem like any other neighbour to the Israelites and initial interactions are quite timid in nature. “Abraham stayed in the land of the Philistines for a long time,” as did his son Isaac, yet things devolve as time marches on.³⁰ If we are to believe the events surrounding, for example, Samson and Delilah, or David and Goliath, the Philistines are the worst of the worst. There were many enemies in the surrounding area that posed a viable threat to Israel, yet the Philistines are given the cruelest description. Their culture is uniquely depicted in the Bible, with acute distinction and intense disapproval; few groups were cha-

racterized so harshly. They are portrayed as dangerously different than Israel, an opponent of the most awful kind. Their wickedness thus made them the “object of Yahweh’s wrath and righteous punishment, whether in the present or in the future.”³¹ The Philistines were so villainous that they became the principal target of the prophets, who, from Isaiah through to Ezekiel, predicted their demise.³² One theory for this exceptional treatment is that by consolidating fear and hatred onto one target, the Israelites were united against one specific “other.”

Otherness is as innately “characterized by its radicality [as] it is about excluding, even eliminating” those seen as disparate.³³ Otherness is utilized as “an indirect and negative way to think of oneself as identical.”³⁴ Instead of saying, for example, “We are this,” or “We do this,” the Israelites’ cultural mantra becomes, in a sense, “We are not Philistines,” and “We do not do as they do.” As the biblical narrative carries on, we find the most extensive and thorough depiction of the Philistines in the books of Joshua and Judges. These books fit, archaeologically, into Iron Age I.³⁵ In these stories, the focus shifts away from other enemies and neighbours, and one adversary emerges as the most important: Philistia. By simplifying the narrative, the story becomes one of “us” versus “them,” the familiar against the unfamiliar, the normal opposing the abhorrent.³⁶ The Philistines become the big, bad other, and through this otherness, Israelite identity is solidified. It didn’t seem to matter if these differences were real or not, as material data can both corroborate and contradict such dissimilarity. These cultures did make opposing dietary choices, but they were likely identical when it came to circumcision. The Bible would have its readers believe that the differences were apparent and drastic, but the reality was

26. Felman et al. 2019, 3

27. Finkelstein 2002, 132

28. 1 Samuel 8-9, *NIV*

29. Pioske 2018, 5-14

30. Genesis 21:34, 26, especially 26:29-31, *NIV*

31. Machinist 2000, 65-8

32. Psalms 83:8 and 108:10, Jeremiah 25:30 and 47, Ezekiel 25:15-17, as quoted in Machinist 2000, 65

33. Marc Auge (1987) as quoted in Fedor 2014, 322; 1 Samuel 14:36, Jeremiah 47:4, Amos 1:8, Zephaniah 2:5, Zechariah 9:1-8, *NIV*

34. Auge (1987) as quoted by Fedor 2014, 322

35. Machinist 2000, 55

36. Fedor 2017, 25

neither that nor complete sameness. The truth lies in a grey area somewhere between total similarity and antagonistic disparity.

For the Israelites, the non-consumption of pork was a choice driven by the concept of otherness. One scholarly theory is that the Israelites avoided porcine foods simply because it was a significant part of the Philistine diet. For the Israelites, "part of their-self-definition [was] vis-à-vis the Philistines." These differing dietary choices are verifiable, as found in excavations at the Philistine settlements of Ekron and Ashkelon. Here, more than 20% of identifiable bones were that of pigs. This is in stark contrast to the Israelite site of Tel Shiloh, where of the 1,350 bones identified, only one was from swine.³⁷ The disparity is so great, that "pig taboos are emerging as the main, if not only avenue that can shed light on ethnic boundaries in the Iron Age I."³⁸ Here, as mentioned previously when discussing stylistically diverse possessions, Israelite culture is separate from Philistine. These two groups are not one and the same. They were neighbours, inhabiting similar lands during the same time period. They ate different foods, but the proof of that does not mean that the violent conflicts in the Bible were real, nor does it mean that the Philistines were uncircumcised.

Throughout the biblical account, there are multiple passages claiming that the Philistines were uncircumcised, yet there is no external evidence to prove this. The authors and editors of the Bible likely chose this group to be the "archetype" of uncircumcision for their Israelite audience.³⁹ Circumcision became one of the key markers in Israelite identity and of their covenant with Yahweh. Those who chose otherwise were considered unclean and unacceptable. This distinction plays out in the Deuteronomistic narrative, in quite theatrical fashion, as, after David kills 200 Philistine soldiers, he brings "their foreskins back to Saul as a bride-price for the latter's daughter."⁴⁰ Peter Machinist

argues that David is "countering the threat of uncleanness," but I add that this intense mutilation also shows an acceptability to treat the Philistines in an appalling fashion. They become the focus of negative attention, possibly even blame, and since they were the wickedest of the wicked, disfiguring their manhood is seen as perfectly acceptable. Compared to their filthy choices, the Israelites are clean, and thus, superior. This interaction also sets the stage for David's "greater victory over the Philistines and neutralization of them when he becomes king."⁴¹ The Israelites, united in hatred, bolstered by victory, and loyal to one king, enjoy one of the most important moments in their history. This is a key biblical moment that would not have been possible without the Philistines.

For millennia, leaders have used scapegoats to unite their followers, and the Iron Age Levant was no exception. The narrative written for the Israelites paints the world in black and white: the Israelites are good and clean and better than the nasty, filthy, inferior Philistines. The truth is less glaring. While the two cultures were separate, as documented in the Bible and seen in material remains, they were not so far removed that they could not trade and intermarry. The biblical account and its exaggerated portrayal of events does not match the material data: there is no evidence to support such destruction and damage. While the Philistines were stylistically distinct, as seen in their wares and dietary choices, they were diplomatically linked to those around them. Modern excavations show an overall cohesion and, later, eventual assimilation of the Philistines. The Israelites were the larger and more potent player in the Iron Age Levant and it is their culture that has survived for millennia. David endured while Goliath did not. While they didn't leave any literature behind, it would be enlightening to hear the Philistine version of events. "What's fair to assume is that the stories would have been very different had Philistine texts survived instead of Egyptian, Assyrian and Israelite ones."⁴² As it stands, we only really have one side

of the story: an additional depiction of Philistine culture, from a different vantage point, would be illuminating. It would also be fascinating to study earlier copies of the Bible, as it was before and during the editing process. It seems likely that other enemies were described falsely, but specifics would really enhance our knowledge of life in the ancient Levant. Perhaps someday more information will become available regarding the Sea Peoples. Their entry into the Levant coincided with the collapse of diplomacy at the end of the Late Bronze Age, but we have no specifics about their arrival.⁴³ For now, we have learned more about the Philistines, but the picture is far from complete. While the story is now more grey than black and white, perhaps someday we'll know all about Goliath and his kinsmen, in full colour.

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39. Machinist 2000, 68

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42. Foster 2017, 93

43. Finkelstein & Silberman 2001, 87-9

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ENSLAVED PEOPLE IN THE HOUSE OF THE FAUN:

AN ANALYSIS ON THE SEGMENTATION OF THE SERVICE AREA

HAOYUE ZHAO

Abstract: The Roman *domus* (house) was usually a place for free citizens to treat their visitors and hold family activities, which could not function smoothly without enslaved servants. As an important institution in ancient Rome, slavery had considerable impact on different aspects of society, including domestic architecture. The division of domestic space—i.e. the segmentation of Roman houses—managed to declare the power of the owners over the enslaved servants by marginalizing the slave quarters and showing little consideration for the convenience of these servants. The House of the Faun shows how their living places were marginalized and movements were controlled. By comparing it to two other similar houses—the House of Vettii and the House of Centenary, we are able to reconstruct the living and working conditions of its household staff: they worked in small, shabby rooms around the kitchen and a long walk was needed to serve meals to the dining room.

Roman domestic architecture was a product of Roman social values, reiterating the power of the male head of the household and slaveholder. Although it served as the location for much servile activity, the *domus* articulated most eloquently the master's social position.¹ Therefore, analyzing the structure of Roman houses could help further reconstruct the activities of enslaved people who were usually "transparent" both in material culture and literature. The House of the Faun, frequently used as a representative *domus*, constitutes a good example for studying enslaved staff in the households where they worked. Since little information of the artifacts in the House of the Faun have survived, the architectural structure, especially its segmentation, is the most reliable way for analyzing social interactions and status within the house. This is because the segmentation in this house was designed to structure relations between people by controlling the body through its location and movement in space.² This article intends to prove that the long distance between the service area and the triclinia reflects the slaveholders' control over the enslaved servants and reinforces their own status as masters within the house.³ Note that because

the information on the second floor is poorly preserved, the discussion of this article is based on the reconstruction of the ground floor. In addition, some rooms may have multiple uses, but only the main function, recorded by ancient authors like Vitruvius, is discussed for each room. Some amphorae were found in certain atria, which indicates that they may have been used as storage rooms after the reception of guests.⁴

The following paragraphs will first briefly describe the structure of the House of the Faun and then introduce its service area in detail. The last sections will discuss how this segmentation maintains and consolidates the difference in status, with further comparisons between the atria and the kitchen as well as an examination of the houses' access analysis data.

The House of the Faun

The House of the Faun (Figure 1) was built in second century BCE Pompeii and remained an architectural monument until the destruction of the city.⁵ The first excavation of this house took place in 1830 CE, and continuous research provides abundant information about its structure, function, and history, which makes it an excellent subject for understanding social

interaction within Roman households.⁶ The house consisted of five distinct parts: a grand Tuscanic atrium, with the three storerooms of the house and a group of bedrooms; the tetrastyle atrium, with the living rooms, storerooms, possibly smaller dining rooms, as well as extra bedrooms; service rooms and a corridor, located in the east side of the house; a first (Ionic) peristyle with an exedra at the back; and a second (Doric) peristyle with its dependent rooms.⁷ Around 30-80 BCE, the rooms at the southeast corner of the second peristyle were rebuilt as a suite of banquet halls and ladies' dining rooms.⁸ The kitchen was found on the southeast side of the house with a corridor connecting the peristyle and the small atrium in front of it. A row of rooms between the kitchen and the stairwell is identified as a stable, latrine and bath.⁹

Slave Quarters in the House

According to some Roman authors, the enslaved domestic servant was usually housed in one of the cellae, small rooms in

1. George 1997b, 15-16

2. Grahame 1997, 146

3. Following Vitruvius' specifications (in *De Architectura*), scholars identify the fauces as the entranceway, while the triclinia, which are

the corner rooms opening onto the garden, are identified as dining rooms (Allion 2007, 270).

4. Ellis 2000

5. Richardson 1988, 107

6. Dwyer 2001, 328

7. Vitruvius' *De Architectura* (6.3) gave a detailed definition of these two kinds of atria. The most significant difference between them is that the Tuscanic ones do not have columns and rain falls into the middle of the court while the tetrastyle atria have columns under the beams (Dwyer 2001, 331).

8. Richardson 1988, 168

9. Dwyer 2001, 338

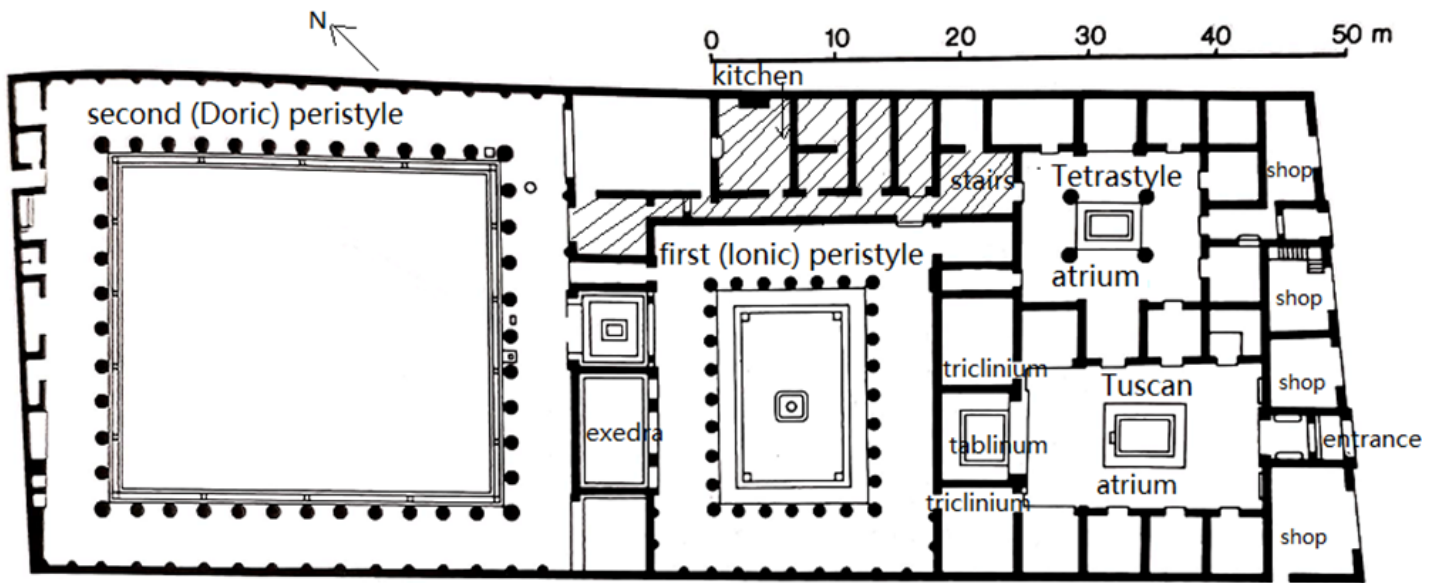


Figure 1: the House of the Faun, from Richardson (1988), pp.117. The shaded parts are the service areas and labels compiled from the information in Dwyer (2001). British Museum Online Catalogue.

Roman houses which could also be used for storage purposes.¹⁰ In Petronius' *Satyricon*, it can be interpreted from Trimalchio's boast that the rooms for enslaved servants were usually cramped (*Sat.* 77). The service areas, also referred to as the slave quarters, were those of exclusively menial or low-status activities—cooking, washing, working, and the private living and sleeping quarters of the staff.¹¹ Most scholars agree that the service area in the House of the Faun was composed of the rooms alongside the corridor.¹² In this section, I will discuss the architectural significance of this area in the House of the Faun with the comparison of two houses.

Many houses share similar architectural designs with the House of the Faun, which helps further explore the purposes of the segmentation. The first house I choose to compare with the House of the Faun is the House of the Centenary (Figure 2), for they were built in the same period, the Tufa Period (approximately 200-100 BCE), and this house is an amalgamation of architecture from a number of periods.¹³ In the House of the Centenary, the complex of reception rooms is on the north side of the peristyle. Four rooms in a row near the kitchen present a

high possibility for slave quarters, for two of them have niches in the walls that were used as beds.¹⁴ It is clear in Figure 4 that the kitchen is the center of all the service areas, which are separate from the reception areas. Since the House of the Faun was occupied and modified until destruction, I will use the House of Vettii (Figure 3) as an example for the houses in later periods. A door on the northwest side of the atrium near the fauces opened to a small atrium surrounded by four small rooms and the entrance to the kitchen.¹⁵ In all three houses, kitchens seem to be the centre of the slave quarters. In addition, these service areas are connected to the reception areas through either corridors or a smaller atrium, but they have no axial entrances, which makes them visually separate from the centre of the house. Although important for the operation of the house, Figures 1-3 show that the spaces of these areas are much smaller than the reception areas. Therefore, I summarize that the size and location of the service area in the House of the Faun is not unique. Its segmentation managed to minimize the social influence of the enslaved by diminishing their living spaces and separating their places from the center of the house.

Atria and the Kitchen

As previously discussed, the atria and the kitchen were designed for people with totally different social identities—the former for the elite people, or at least free citizens, the latter for enslaved workers. In this section, I will discuss how the kitchen and atria influence the activities of the enslaved household staff and how social ideology was expressed architecturally.

First, the marginalized kitchen has some impact on the movement of the staff. It was a long walk from the kitchen to the dining room in the House of Vettii. The same is true for the House of the Faun. Servants had to walk along the corridor, pass through the first atrium and enter the second atrium before serving meals to the two triclinia. By contrast, it would only take the homeowners and their visitors a few steps to move from the atrium to the triclinia, which is actually located within the main atrium. Each of these long treks expressed the power of the slaveholder, and it matters not that these hikes resulted simply from the marginalization of the service areas rather than a calculated mode of subjecting enslaved people. That is, whatever the slaveholders' intentions, their power over the enslaved domestic servants translated to their ability to command the staff's many steps from the kitchen to the dining room.¹⁶

10. Bradley 1994, 84

11. Wallace-Hadrill 1994

12. E.g. Dwyer (2001) and Richardson (1988)

13. Richardson 1988, 126

14. George 1997b, 18

15. Joshel 2012, 112

16. Joshel 2012, 113

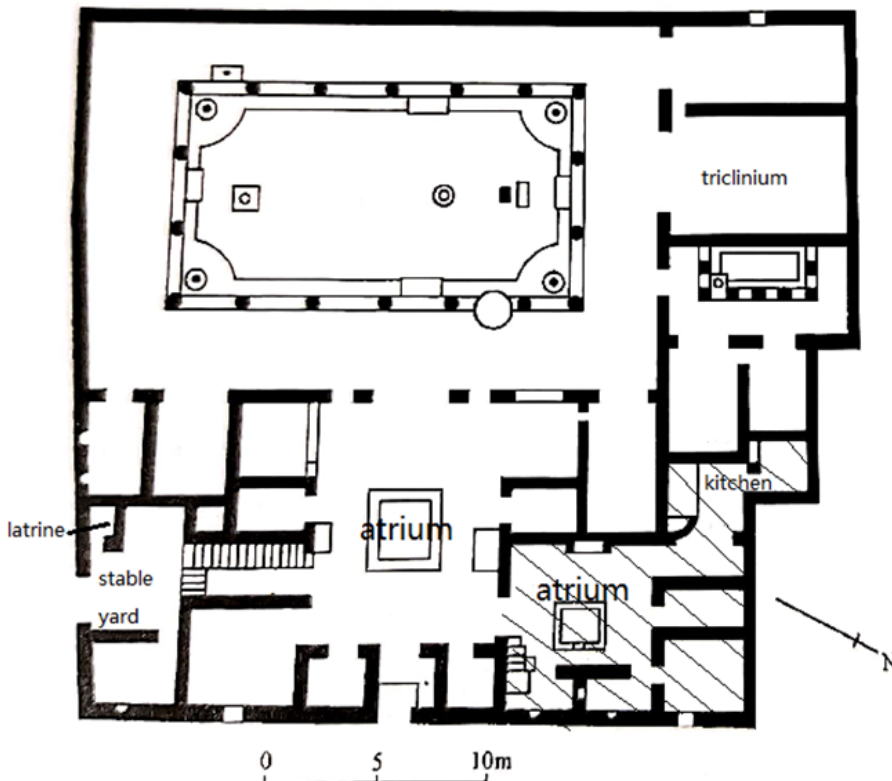


Figure 2: the House of Vettii, from Wallace-Hadrill (1994), pp.41. The shaded parts are the service areas and the labels compiled from Richardson (1988).

Another important design in segmentation is the second atrium. The second atrium of the House of the Faun provides more disparities in hierarchies—the visitor could be restricted to the first atrium and excluded from the second one. This differentiation in the hierarchy was probably created for both outsiders and insiders.¹⁷ In the House of the Faun, the Tuscanic atrium is flanked by a smaller tetrastyle atrium which creates a separate track within the house.¹⁸ Although no distinct indication suggests a different use for the second atrium, the smaller atrium was separated as the courtyard for service areas in the House of Vettii, which means that there are some possibilities that the smaller atrium in the House of the Faun

had a lower status than the larger one. In the House of the Centenary, the secondary atrium was once blocked from the first atrium, which allowed for the service quarters to be completely shut off from the staterooms.¹⁹ Although the two atria were connected in the House of the Faun, the double atria have some intention to divorce private areas from public life and thus demonstrate the different gradients of space necessary in the Roman house, and the desire to separate different groups in the domus.²⁰

Quantified Data

The access analysis proposed by Hillier and Hanson is used to reconstruct the possible movement of inhabitants in the

house.²¹ Two measurements were used in the House of the Faun to interpret how spaces interacted with people: the Relative Asymmetry (RA) and the Control Value (E).²² The former reflects how accessible or inaccessible a room is from any starting point within the building, while the latter indicates how frequently people would enter this room in daily life. Low values of RA indicate that a space is more accessible for the inhabitants of the house and high values suggest it is a marginalized space. Spaces which have a control value greater than one have a strong control of movement, while those below one are weak control spaces.²³ The difference between RA and E is that RA considers all rooms in the house, while by contrast, E only examines a room’s neighboring spaces.

The stairs and the corridor of the service area in the House of the Faun have a relatively low RA, which indicates that they could also be easily accessed by the owners of the house. Rooms in the service area, except for the corridor, all have a relatively low E, which suggests that they were not designed to be entered frequently in daily routine.²⁴ I have applied this method to the House of Vettii and calculated the RA and E of some representative rooms (see the table below).²⁵ Compared to the main atrium and the peristyle, which both held the activities of the homeowners, the small atrium and the kitchen have lower E and higher RA. The RA of the small atrium, however, is still relatively high, as indicated by the RA of small rooms around the main atrium. The data of both houses share a similarity: although most spaces in the service area are more inaccessible than the rooms of the owners, the service area contains a certain location that is much more accessible to the inhabitants, or even the visitors, than other places in that area. The slave quarters were not likely entirely inaccessible for the free people

	Main Atrium	Small Atrium	Kitchen	Peristyle	Small Rooms around the Main Atrium
Relative asymmetry (RA)	0.0751	0.1304	0.2095	0.1028	0.1542
Control Value (CV)	6.4167	2.6111	0.25	4.4444	0.1111

17. Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 239
 18. George 1997b, 307

19. Richardson 1988, 127
 20. George 1997a, 309

21. Hillier & Hanson 2011, see Chapter 3 “The Analysis of Settlement Layouts.”
 22. Grahame 1997, 150
 23. Hillier & Hanson 2011, 108-109
 24. Grahame 1997, 153
 25. For further information of the way of calculating, see Grahame (1997) or Hillier & Hanson (2011), Chapter 3.

in the house. Instead, these spaces could be easily approached. Therefore, the segmentation of the house not only secluded the enslaved servants from the slaveholders, but also provided a "window" for the slaveholders to oversee the performance of the enslaved workers. The enslaved people were both marginalized visually and under the supervision of the slaveholders. We should also keep in mind that enslaved people were omnipresent in Roman houses.²⁶ It was the enslaved who moved around the house to serve slaveholders, not the free who moved to find their servants.²⁷ The high RA of most places in the service area also restricted the movement of free inhabitants from entering them.

Conclusion

The sightline of a visitor was carefully planned, whether it be the view through the atrium and the tablinum, from the triclinium through the peristyle and its garden, or from the dining room couch, to the floor mosaics, and the wall paintings.²⁸ The House of the Faun, as well as most Roman houses, was designed with the perspective of its visitors. What the visitors should see and where they should go were carefully planned, and the living area of the enslaved staff was intentionally secluded in this plan. The service area, where the preparation of banquets took place, was marginalized and stayed invisible to the visitors. It was still possible, however, that the activities of these spaces were carefully supervised by their owners. Again, the segmentation puts the people with the highest status in more accessible places, while the lowest ranking people were hidden behind the scenes, preventing them from interacting with the wider context of the house. The restraint of enslaved persons' movements through architectural design re-emphasizes the power and control of the slaveholders over them.

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26. Joshel & Hackworth Petersen 2014, 34

27. See Seneca, *Moral Letters* 122.15-16.

28. Joshel 2012, 113

MALE SAME-SEX DESIRE: ITS INTERSECTION WITH SOCIAL HIERARCHIES IN MIDDLE & NEO-ASSYRIAN CONTEXTS

KEITH WARNER-HARDER

Abstract: This paper attempts to interrogate male same-sex desire in Middle and Neo-Assyria. To do this, social categories of men in these societies are analyzed and accounted for. These include the ruling class of men called the *awilu*, eunuchs, enslaved men, criminals, and the cult worshippers of Ishtar. The status of these categories of men is discussed in relation to each other. Next, two Middle Assyrian Laws and four Neo-Assyrian omens are examined individually. The laws and omens survey different manifestations of male same-sex desire and afford vastly different consequences for sexual relations between men. The two kinds of textual sources are then analyzed together in relation to how they present social hierarchies. The laws portray same-sex desire only in contexts of hierarchical violations, while the omens mostly portray situations where male same-sex desire uses hierarchies to auspicious ends. This paper seeks to compare and compromise these two types of seemingly at-odds textual sources. Ultimately, the two types of textual sources are reconciled and a paradigm of the relationship between male same-sex desire and social hierarchies is formed: male same-sex desire was permissible in Middle and Neo-Assyrian societies when there was a social disparity between the two men involved.

Introduction

Male same sex-desire seems to have caused some anxiety for the Middle and Neo-Assyrians. Sexual relations between two men also seem to have caused social change between the men, where one gains a higher position and the other a lower one.¹ In this paper I will look at the complexities surrounding these societally constructed beliefs about the sexual interactions between men in Middle and Neo-Assyrian societies. To do this I will first canvas different social categories of men in these societies, then I will analyze textual evidence in the form of four omens and two Middle Assyrian Laws, and finally look at how these texts exemplify a system where publicly known same-sex desire between men would have always placed those men in differing social standings within their society.

Men in Middle & Neo-Assyrian Society

There is no one definition of “man” in Middle and Neo-Assyrian society. It would be wrong to even say that these societies had a static idea of what it meant to be a man. These definitions were sub-

ject to change over time and were influenced by many factors, including religion, class, and sexuality.² There is one aspect of Middle and Neo-Assyrian masculinity that does not change, however: hierarchy. There appears to always be some kind of asymmetry in relationships between men, even as certain men’s societal roles changed. Take, for example, the *awilu*, the ruling class of men. As the Assyrians gained more territory, the hegemony formed by the *awilu* became less powerful with the incoming swathes of foreign men joining the army. The new men entering Assyrian society had upward mobility that began to uproot the *awilu* class’s rule. The hierarchies that were in place appear not to have changed much, only the men who held the power. In late Neo-Assyrian imperial art there seems to be binary of bearded and un-bearded men, regardless of ethnic origins. Long beards appear to belong to the male Assyrian ruling class, while short beards denoted a man as foreign. The beard was a signifier of power, which is why at least one reigning queen was portrayed with a beard and enslaved men and criminals were portrayed without them. Un-bearded men were not necessarily de-

prived of power, however. Eunuchs were portrayed without beards in state art, but they were also portrayed close to the king. The Assyrian kings perhaps surrounded themselves with eunuchs because they were believed to be “incapable of sexual penetration,” allowing the king to negate any ideas that he would be a passive partner to any of those around him.³

Appearing passive or effeminate seems to have been problematic to Assyrian men. *Kulu’u* and *assinnu* were, respectively, the Middle and Neo-Assyrian words for the cult worshippers of Ishtar.⁴ Leick (2008) discusses the *assinnu* (and presumably the equivalent *kulu’u*) as boundary-breaking persons, citing their ability in myth to follow Inanna into the underworld during her descent.⁵ Both those words also seem to have indicated male effeminacy. The word *kulu’u* is also used as an insult some texts. In those texts, the word is used derogatorily towards men who did not perform well in battle.⁶ The *assinnu* appears to have taken a receptive role in cult sexual acts, which is the anti-

1. Assante 2016, 50-1

2. Zsolnay 2016, 4

3. Assante 2016, 42-3, 65-8

4. Peled 2015, 752

5. Leick 1997, 128

6. Peled 2015, 753-5; Leick 1997, 128

thesis of the idealized male role in sexual relations.⁷ From the uses of these words—*kulu'u* as an insult and *assinnu* for a sexually passive cult worshipper—we can glean that the idealized Assyrian male portrayed his masculinity in ways the priests of Ishtar did not and was looked down upon for behaviour that was not compliant with prescribed gender norms.

Omens

There are four omens in the *summa alu* omens series that relate to male same-sex sexual relations. The *summa alu* series was formally collected in the seventh century BCE, while the 107 collected omens themselves were likely created over the course of a few centuries.⁸ For the most part, the omens deal with what is auspicious (or not) for men, and can tell us about the desires, fears, and needs of men from this period. The omens relating to sexual acts often involve personal or financial meanings for the men who carry them out. The omens follow a certain formula: the omen gives the act done by a man, then gives what will happen to the man.

Here are the four male same-sex desire omens that Ann Kessler Guinan parses:

"If a man has sexual relations with an *assinnu*, hardships will be unleashed from him."

"If a man has sexual relations with a *girsequ*, for an entire year the deprivations which beset him will be kept away."

"If a man has sexual relations with a male house(-born) slave, hardship will seize him."

"If a man has sex per anum with his social peer, that man will become foremost among his brothers and colleagues."

The omens cover what kinds of same-sex interactions are socially acceptable (and perhaps different-sex with the *assinnu*). The three omens that portend good luck have the receptive partner as a public-facing man, while the inauspicious omen looks inward domestically. Guinan

asserts that an *assinnu*, which I discussed earlier, is a "transgressive figure of ambiguous or, perhaps, mutable gender" and the omen declares that a man having sexual relations with an *assinnu* is auspicious. A *girsequ* is a person who works for a temple or the palace and is presumably male. This omen is also auspicious. The next omen is inauspicious, which Guinan posits that because the receptive victim, the "male house(-born) slave," is associated with personal domesticity, it will not increase a man's standing in the public sphere and instead harm him.⁹ The final omen gives an increase in status for men who have sex once per year with a social peer. The social peer omen is especially interesting because it makes out sexual relations with an equal to be beneficial for a man, while certain Middle Assyrian laws spell out the opposite.

Laws

According to Julia Assante, the following Middle Assyrian Laws, designated as MAL 19 and MAL 20, are the only ones from Mesopotamia that seek to control male same-sex relations.¹⁰ As quoted by Martti Nissinen:

MAL 19

If a man furtively spreads rumors about his comrade (*tappa'u*), saying, 'Everyone has sex with him,' or in a quarrel in public says to him, 'Everyone has sex with you, I can prove the charges,' but he is unable to prove the charges and does not prove the charges, they shall strike him fifty blows with rods; he shall perform the king's service one full month; they shall cut off (his hair?) and he shall pay one talent of lead.

MAL 20

If a man has sex with his comrade and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, they shall have sex with him and they shall turn him into a eunuch.¹¹

For MAL 19, Guinan instead translates "Everyone has sex with you" as "Everyone always penetrates you."¹² In Guinan's

translation, it is clear that a man accusing another of being a receptive sexual partner is a serious allegation, one that might have negative effects on the accused's reputation. The punishment for not being able to prove the charges is harsh. Perhaps it was the Assyrian law-maker's belief that such a punishment was suitable for trying to falsely damage another man's reputation. Even more significant is the penalty for a man who has sex with a social peer, which ends with the offender becoming a eunuch. Assante places the "comrade" as an *awilu* of equivalent social standing to the accused.¹³ Guinan notes that the laws could govern either consensual sexual relations or rape. Certainly, MAL 20 could govern the rape of one man by another, which possibly reflects the severity of the punishment. Guinan reasons that if the circumstances of a situation in which MAL 20 could be applied were consensual, there would be no need to bring it before an official.¹⁴ MAL 19 appears to cover only the accused man's reputation and not the consensuality of the sex acts he was a in which he was involved.

Hierarchies of Desire

The omens and laws I have cited above deal with issues intersecting male same-sex desire and class, in which a man having sexual relations with another man leads to social, physical, and political consequences, both positive and negative. Guinan posits that, according to the omens and laws, "the penetrating male gains position and agency which the receptive male loses."¹⁵ This positions male same-sex desire in Middle and Neo-Assyria in hierarchical terms: the penetrative partner gains a higher position in society compared to his receptive partner.¹⁶ This asymmetrical relationship perhaps reflects the asymmetry in contemporary male-female relationships. In another omen, it is foretold that if a woman takes a "sexually dominant position" during intercourse with a man, the man will lose his "personal god." The reversal of the gender roles here causes misfortune to befall the man, which is perhaps similar to what

7. Peled 2015, 761-2

8. Freedman 1998, 2

9. Guinan 1997, 462-9

10. Assante 2016, 48

11. Nissinen 2010, 75

12. Guinan 1997, 469-70

13. Assante 2016, 48

14. Guinan 1997, 470

15. *Ibid.*, 471

16. Nissinen 2010, 75

happens to a man who takes a “subordinate” position. It seems deeply important for Assyrian men to appear dominant, as discussed above, when kings surrounded themselves with eunuchs. The fact that men can be sexually penetrated appears to disturb the hierarchies present in Assyrian society. When a man rapes his equal, according to MAL 20, and his equal then brings the case to court and wins, the man is castrated, permanently removing a part of his physical masculinity. This disturbs the social hierarchy, and the man’s position in it is thus permanently lowered. But then what do we make of the omen that says this will be auspicious for the man who penetrates another man of equal status? The omens place sexual acts as having a public influence on the men who do them.¹⁷ Perhaps then the omens are also acting as metaphors; when a man sexually dominates another man, he gains prestige and power over the other man. This is true in the other two auspicious omens where the man sexually dominates an *assinnu* or *girsequ* and receives good fortune. The *assinnu* and its equivalent *kulu’u* were already seen as lesser than of an *awilu*, as their very titles were used as insults, so it would have been socially acceptable for them to be take the passive role in sex with an *awilu*. Here we find what Assante states to be true: that sex between males was acceptable when the class hierarchies were respected.¹⁸ Following this logic, the bad fortune resulting from raping an enslaved, male domestic servant occurs because the act does not increase the social standing of the *awilu*.

Conclusion

Men who acted on same-sex desires in Middle and Neo-Assyria only faced problems when their desires deeply violated the social hierarchy or when such acts did not advance their position in that hierarchy, according to the omens and laws discussed above. The asymmetrical hierarchies in the Assyrian world seem to trickle down into all facets of men’s daily lives. Personal and sexual relationships were no exception to this. Understanding these hierarchies is key to discerning how

these men lived their lives. As more textual evidence for male same-sex desire in Mesopotamian societies comes to light, we will be able to better understand the complexities of male gender performance and how it intersected with class, politics and sexuality in the ancient Near East.

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17. Guinan 1997, 465-71

18. Assante 2016, 48-9