

## Chapter Six

### Recasting the Barbarian

#### Thickening the Plot

One day in the early fifth century BC, the imaginary figure of the barbarian despot, gorgeous and sensual within his luxurious court, arose from his golden throne. He minced in his soft slippers from the Athenian stage and directly into the ancient imagination. There he was to remain, one of the most familiar fixtures in the cultural repertoire, throughout the long centuries of pagan antiquity. He appeared in nearly every genre -- historiography, biography, satire, epic, philosophy, mime, rhetorical exercises and the ancient novel. Some principles in his delineation remained virtually unchanged across time.<sup>1</sup> All the ancient sources agree, for example, that the guiding principle of the Persian élite was *pleasure*. ‘Lend yourselves to pleasure (*hēdonēn*) every day, despite the current difficulties, since wealth is of no use to the dead at all’, Darius enjoins the chorus in Aeschylus’ *Persians*, as he returns into the Stygian gloom (840-2); it was pleasure that the fifth-century medical tradition already regarded as the ruling principle of Asiatic communities (Hippocr., *de Aër.* 12.40-4); in Heraclides Ponticus’ fourth-century philosophical dialogue *On Pleasure* the Persians were regarded as the most luxurious of all barbarians;<sup>2</sup> it is still Xerxes to whom Cicero alludes when discussing the absurdity of the notion that man’s highest aim in life was the pursuit of pleasure (*De Finibus* 2.111-12; see also *Tusc. Disp.* 5.20).

The sheer staginess of the barbarian tyrant offers another thread of continuity. The entertainments on offer during the Second Sophistic, for

example, included dramatic enactments of the arrogance and frivolity of the barbarian character, delivered during the course of showcase declamations. The sophist Scopelianus of Clazomenae, a renowned declaimer, had a particular talent for speeches involving Darius and Xerxes (probably including the *Xerxes* composed by his own teacher of rhetoric, Nicetes); these histrionic enactments involved ‘lurching around like a Bacchant’ (Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, 519-20).<sup>3</sup> This era also retained a clear visual picture of Darius, Xerxes, and their ilk: the Philostratean description of a painting of Themistocles calls its subject a ‘Greek among barbarians, a man amongst non-men’ (*Hellēn en barbarois, anēr en ouk andrasin*). Themistocles is lecturing the Persian king and his eunuchs, who are theatrically posed before him, iridescent in gaudy costumes against an opulent palace setting (*Imagines* 2.31).<sup>4</sup>

A new understanding of the longevity, within Greco-Roman antiquity, of the politically potent images of the Oriental monarch has been one factor in making ethnic difference in theatrical performance become of late a more, rather than less, pressing issue. Another reason is that the ethnically charged confrontations in Greek tragedy have struck such a chord with global audiences at a time when race, statehood and religion are at the forefront of international politics. This is connected with the stress that has been placed on ethnic stereotypes in contemporary cinema, theatre and television programmes by cultural critics committed to civil rights and anti-colonial movements;<sup>5</sup> stereotypes have come been under such scrutiny that interest in their cultural ancestry has inevitably been attracted back to their archetypes in ancient theatre.<sup>6</sup> Imagining how Greek tragedy worked on the cusp between

collective ideology and individual subjectivity can also be enhanced by consulting recent work in Film Studies, where there have been some sophisticated demonstrations of how cinema trains ethnic consciousness at a 'middlebrow' level.<sup>7</sup>

A further factor has emerged from the scrutiny of the ancient dramatic texts by performance-oriented scholars, whose founding fathers were, in the case of comedy, Solomos and Russo in the early 1960s, and in tragedy, Taplin in the 1970s.<sup>8</sup> Subsequent to these foundational studies, there has been far greater interest in precisely those material, histrionic and choreographical aspects of Greek theatre which most reveal its exoticism, spectacle, and the elaboration of its mimesis. Tragedy, especially, was a genre which revelled in decorative clothes, crowns, sceptres, and the staging of fantastic royal courts; in studies of tyranny, powerful women and sexual deviance; in musical modes of exotic provenance; in extravagant chariots, retinues, and rituals of prostration before royalty; even in characters whose gait and vocality were represented as ethnically inflected. The fancy dress of Greek stage tyrants, at least by the end of the fifth century, became difficult to distinguish from the costumes worn by stage barbarians. This fascination almost certainly had something to do with Dionysus. If I were to rewrite *Inventing the Barbarian*, which was completed in early 1988 and published the year after, it would now explore the Dionysiac dimension of the fifth century's delight in representing ethnic alterity. It is partly a result of the insatiable appetite for research into Dionysus that scholars have now become fascinated by ancient Greek tragedy's fascination with otherness.<sup>9</sup> The stage barbarian had always been central to this dynamic.

The ideological content of Athenian tragedy was inevitably conditioned by the historical society that produced it. But I have become less certain about the exact nature of the antitype at stake in Athenian dramatic discourse surrounding the barbarian. Tragedy's content is undoubtedly peculiar to Athens, in the sense that the Athenians saw the tragic competitions as a medium through which they displayed, indeed advertised, their polis to the larger Greek world.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, in its 'myth-napping' of important non-Athenian heroes, tragedy reads the archaic Greek myths from a profoundly Athenocentric perspective.<sup>11</sup> The Athenian promulgation of the image of the barbarian offers a contrast to the thought-world of the Spartans who did not even use the term *barbaros* (Hdt. 9.11.12);<sup>12</sup> presumably the Athenians' outlook on the world differed, likewise, from the way that the citizens of any other polis defined their own ethnic identity and those who did not share it.<sup>13</sup> The barbarian bolsters the notion of Panhellenism, which was a crucial part of the system of ideas by which the Athenian Empire expanded and maintained itself; the barbarian is therefore undoubtedly an imperial image; moreover, the classical Athenian image of the barbarian may furnish an example of what has recently been described as 'pre-colonial' discourse, an ideological project by which a foreign territory is subdued in the coloniser's imagination prior to actual military subordination, as it can be argued that Persia and Egypt were controlled through archaic and classical Greek image-making in preparation for their conquest by Greeks from further north, in Macedon.<sup>14</sup>

The stage presentation of the ethnic alien satisfied not only Athenian and imperial ideological requirements, but also whatever sentiments were espoused by the democratically selected judges who awarded Aeschylus the first prize in 472 BC with the tetralogy including *Persians*. Yet Rhodes' recent

critique of the currently fashionable view that Athenian tragedy is in essence a democratic art form has led me to modify some thinking. Several of the key Greek ideals at stake in *Persians* -- freedom of speech, protection under the law, and the accountability of magistrates -- were indeed exclusive neither to Athens nor to democracies,<sup>15</sup> even if they happened to be particularly prominent in Athenian self-definition at the time when the *dēmos* was in power. That these ideals were not inherently objectionable to non-democrats is suggested by the early revival of *Persians* in Syracuse commissioned by the tyrant Hieron.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, the traditional dating of the first tragedies means that they were established under a tyrant, Peisistratus, even if he was an unusually populist one.<sup>17</sup> Yet we have no parallel case against which to measure the Athenian achievement in tragic theatre: no other state, democratic or otherwise, ever challenged its claim to supremacy in this genre, at least until Hellenistic times. Although tragedy began to be exported to the decidedly undemocratic kingdom of Macedon after 413, we will never know what a tragic canon that was developed from scratch in a classical Greek tyranny or oligarchy would have looked like, although Euripides' genealogical compliment to the Macedonian royal house in his fragmentary *Archelaus* offers clues.<sup>18</sup> In my view it is incontrovertible, moreover, that barbarians would have been portrayed differently in Athenian tragedy if the *Persians* had succeeded in returning Hippias to power as a result of Xerxes' invasion.

Over the last fifteen years the discipline of Classics has assimilated into mainstream thinking the seismic intellectual and ideological shifts of the late 1960s to mid-1980s.<sup>19</sup> It has stopped deriding feminism and gender studies and accepted their premises, for the most part wholeheartedly; it has begun tentatively to wrestle with its own implications in the history of empire and

racist thinking, and to see the relevance of the contemporary notion of 'multiculturalism' to the study of ancient societies;<sup>20</sup> it has modified its initial passion for too-simple binary structuralism; it flirted with deconstruction only to return to an insistence upon the need for historical contextualisation. It also discovered Bakhtin's views on speech genres and Italian Narratology, both of which would have been useful in the analysis of the representation and suppression of barbarian voices in ancient drama.<sup>21</sup> Since 1989, several books and articles have appeared which I fervently wish had been published earlier because they would have supplemented, supported or refined my own thinking. A few have made me seriously question aspects of my approach to the cultural construction of ethnicity; on the other hand, a small group has made me think that I must have stated the case with insufficient clarity or trenchancy (see sections 4 and 5). But writing a new edition of a book so bound up with its particular historical moment -- the Cold War circumstances under which it was written -- would constitute a project overloaded with contradiction. Since the representation of ethnicity and Orientalism are matters of urgency in the third millennium, it seems more appropriate to offer an update, but a freestanding one.

Two publications of which I was shamefully unaware at the time that I completed *Inventing the Barbarian* were DuBois' *Centaur and Amazons: Women and the Pre-History of the Great Chain of Being* (Ann Arbor MN 1982), and (Suzanne) Saïd's article 'Grecs et barbares dans les tragedies d'Euripide: le fin des différences?'<sup>22</sup> The first makes important points about the way that the polarisation of Greek and Barbarian was grafted onto a pre-existing 'grammar' of oppositions and analogies (many of them gendered) in Greek mythical cosmogony, anthropology and aetiology; the second attempts

to understand a single tragedian's negotiations with the category *barbaros*, and as such would have provided an important stimulus to my own analysis of some Euripidean passages. It is not so clear that it would have been advantageous to have read the one volume then available of Martin Bernal's *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization, The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785–1985*; this had been published in 1987, which could have been just in time to affect the contents of *Inventing the Barbarian*. On the whole I think it was better that I remained unaware of it at the time; not because I think it is a bad book -- on the contrary, it makes a convincing case for the invention by some Enlightenment thinkers of ancient Greece in the image of their own ancestors. But I would certainly have been sidetracked from my own argument by feeling the need to engage with Bernal, who emphasises the importance of the category of biological ethnicity even while attacking some of its worst consequences in human history; this is a radically different version of left-wing thinking from my own approach, which emphasises the ideological and social construction of ethnic difference and consciously avoids discussing the 'true' genetic makeup of any members of the human race, past or present.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, if I had read Bernal I would have been warned about the un-detonated bombs littering the publishing arena that I was so naively about to enter; I had far too little sensitivity towards the tension surrounding race issues in North America.

Indeed, chief among the many publications that it would have been good to have read in the 1980s is Henry Louis Gates' *Figures in Black: Words, Signs and the Racial Self* (1987), which is the most sophisticated discussion in existence of the issues involved in the literary representation of race and slavery. Whether on the social potency of metaphor, the complexities of the

representation of agency and subjectivity, or the relationship between genres and social hierarchies, Gates coruscates continuously.<sup>24</sup> I would also have learned a great deal from Anouar Abdel-Malek's seminal article 'Orientalism in Crisis', published as early as 1963, fifteen years before Edward Said's *Orientalism* brought such ideas into mainstream Anglo-American academic discourse and thereby to my personal attention.<sup>25</sup> Abdel-Malek brilliantly juxtaposed the considerable positive achievements in the field of traditional 'Oriental Studies' with its problematic objectification and essentialist conception of the human beings and human discourses that constituted its field of study. Above all, he drew attention to the implication of traditional Classics in the crisis even of meaning in the word 'Orientalism'. Classics paid attention to Greek and Roman cultures that had been 'reborn' in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, while preferring to see the achievements of the 'Orient' as past and dead, thus ignoring the very vital presence of Arabic language, literature and culture in the contemporary world. If I had read this article before I began research, I think I would have been so alarmed by its implications for the sheer ideological potency of the project on which I was embarking that I might have rethought my plans altogether.

From a theoretical perspective it is regrettable that I had not in 1989 discovered Alain Grosrichard's virtuous *Structure du sérail: La Fiction du despotisme Asiatique dans l'Occident classique* (1979), partly because it demonstrates so persuasively the importance of the fantasy of oriental despotism to the era of the Enlightenment, which was the very period at which the basic political structures of modernity emerged, along with the bourgeois western subject and the particular shape of his conscious identity.<sup>26</sup> More importantly, however, Grosrichard's work was the first to regard the exercise

of documenting and analysing cultural fictions and fantasies of the Orient as a serious intellectual business. Grosrichard is convinced, as a thoroughgoing (although not usually explicit) disciple of Jacques Lacan, that the very efficacy of ideas often lies in their fantasised correlatives: fantasy, however far removed from material or documentable reality, often explains how political mechanisms of enmity or control can operate.<sup>27</sup> The ‘serious’ western discourses centred on Liberty, Equality, and Masculinity partly operate through the pleasurable fiction of the oriental sexual paradise. Fantasy dressed up in fiction or performed mimesis offers *pleasure*, and thus appeals to its consumers in their role as subjects of desire, a role which reinforces their status as *political* subjects. It is in the intersection between our capacity for enjoyment — aesthetic and/or libidinal — and our political subjectivity as citizens that fantasies such as the luxurious oriental court find their most effective sphere of action. The author of an introduction to the recent translation of Grosrichard’s work into English, Mladen Dolar, argues that behind every political concept there may lurk such a ‘phantasmic kernel’ which makes it function through mental *enjoyment*.<sup>28</sup>

The last decade has seen a corresponding advance in the sophistication of the scholarly understanding of the relationships between slavery, sexuality, and pornography, and of the aesthetic reflections of the fetishisation in the 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries of the ethnically different and subordinated body of the slave from the imperial colonies.<sup>29</sup> Much of this work suggests questions that might fruitfully be asked of ancient texts: the most extended and detailed sex scene in ancient literature takes place between a free man and a female domestic slave, from the free man’s perspective.<sup>30</sup> Saharan sands and sexual fantasies, especially in cinema, have borne a particularly profound

relationship to imperialism in North Africa; thus, closely related to the savouring of pleasure in the consumption of political ideas, is the last item written before 1989 that would undoubtedly have altered the actual course of my argument: the Antillean psychiatrist Frantz Fanon's article 'Algeria unveiled'. This was first published in 1959 at the height of the Algerian struggle for independence, a cause to which Fanon was passionately committed.<sup>31</sup> As an exploration of how one material item can come to symbolise a whole nexus of issues in the power relation between coloniser and colonised, this article remains unsurpassed either in the penetration of its insights or the lucidity and grace of its expression. The veil or *haïk*, as seen by the eyes of the westerner, conceals alluring objects of fantasy -- untold beauty to be ravished -- but also implies the fearsome danger, plots, and secret resistance, which demand unveiling and extirpation. This is bound up with the personification of the land of Algeria as a mysterious, dark, female to be enjoyed, subdued and possessed.

### **Barbarians Answer Back**

The most prescient feature of Fanon's article was, however, that it examined the veil as a contested symbol, from the perspective of both sides in the Algerian war: his readings are conducted from the viewpoint of the imperial Frenchman, the French woman, the Algerian man, and above all the Algerian woman. Recent reappraisals of 'Orientalism' under the British Empire have been stressing how much colonial subjects shaped the ideology of their imperial masters, rather than focussing exclusively on Orientalism as a one-way process.<sup>32</sup> Investigations of the images of the barbarian in the works of Byzantine authors are beginning to be balanced by studies of the Arab

perception of Byzantium.<sup>33</sup> Analogously, the most exciting development from the perspective of the ancient Greeks' experience of non-Greek cultures has been the growing insistence that the 'barbarians' were active agents and participants in the production of Mediterranean and Near Eastern culture. An outstanding recent article by Ian Moyer, for example, has urged that Herodotus' accounts of the Egyptian past need to be reappraised in the light of the dynamic presentation and mediation of that past as developed by Egyptians more or less contemporary with him; the priority now is to recognise the agency, rather than the passivity, or Herodotus' Egyptian informers.<sup>34</sup> Johannes Haubold has also argued persuasively that the Persian kings appropriated Greek mythology and history in their own propaganda, and that the fifth-century meanings imposed, for example, on the *Iliad* may well reflect Persian as well as Athenian cultural intervention.<sup>35</sup> Although I was indeed concerned in both *Inventing the Barbarian* and the commentary on *Persians* to emphasise the extent to which, for example, Egyptian literature or the Persian royal family's own self-representations were reflected in Greek perceptions,<sup>36</sup> I was not equipped to do this with any degree of expertise, as Sancisi-Weerdenburg pointed out in an undeservedly charitable review.<sup>37</sup> In any case, in the 1980s and early 1990s it still seemed overwhelmingly necessary to demonstrate the potency of the *Greek* ideological agenda behind Greek thinking about ethnicity, and the unreliability of both their imaginative constructions and their empirical observation, however self-evident this may all now seem to younger scholars, born at least a decade after the murder of Martin Luther King.

Yet western discourse about the Orient does now need to be reassessed as just one component in a dynamic and unceasing exchange between the two,

rather than a view from one side of a conceptual wall; as Whitby has shown, Greek elites in and around the north-west regions of the Persian Empire cultivated close and warm relationships with the courts of the King and his satraps.<sup>38</sup> There were, moreover, large numbers of individuals living in ethnically complicated civic communities, above all in the Black Sea and Asia Minor, whose input into the Athenocentric classical Greek sources on Asia has rarely been systematically investigated, at least not using the type of up-to-date theoretical models which have recently been developed by societies actually forged in interaction, such as the large Anglo-Indian community in India,<sup>39</sup> or indeed the sophisticated anthropological and sociological models of ethnicity that Jonathan Hall has recently applied to the more mainstream Greek evidence.<sup>40</sup> One work that would have helped me to see the possibilities of this approach, had it been published earlier, would have been the third chapter of Pericles Georges' *Barbarian Asia and the Greek Experience*.<sup>41</sup> Georges makes an original attempt to see Persian manoeuvres in operation behind the ideas about Persia and reports of Persian deeds that appear in Greek sources. His emphasis is less on what the Greek image of Persia tells us about Greek self-definition, than on the dialectical interpenetration of culture and especially propaganda. The Persian kings and their satellites used Greek intermediaries through whom they communicated with the Greek-speaking public, whether under their jurisdiction in Asia or in free Greek cities to their west, and undoubtedly tried to present themselves in ways that would have appealed to Greek sensibilities. Georges' approach kept attention on far more of the humans involved in the generation of ethnic identity in the fifth-century Aegean than did my own Athenocentric and literary focus.

More recently, Amélie Kuhrt has argued that the interplay of Greeks and Iranians was ‘an intricate one, and by no means unidirectional’, and that progress could be made towards understanding how the Greeks’ eastern neighbours saw the Greeks.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the evidence she accumulates suggests that the antithesis between Greek and barbarian which was imposed on the world by Athenians and their allies in the early fifth century essayed a violently binary over-simplification of hazy entities: the enormously diverse Aegean and Near Eastern spheres need to be visualized, instead, ‘as a mosaic of highly individual and distinctive cultures, which had overlapped and interacted more and less intensely over several thousand years’ even by the eighth century BC.<sup>43</sup> The essays collected by Irad Malkin, studying ancient perceptions of Greek ethnicity (2001), includes explorations of what both the Achaemenids and the Jews made of the Greeks and Greekness.<sup>44</sup> Parts II and III of Pierre Briant’s monumental *Histoire de l’empire perse* (1996), available in English translation (2002), are now also required reading for anybody interested in the authentic self-representations of the Persian royal family and court officials, whose curious Greek-speaking theatrical surrogates sang and danced so outlandishly together on Aeschylus’ Athenian stage.

### **The Barbarian Spectator?**

Anyone embarking on a study of ethnicity in the classical Athenian theatre would now be fortunate enough to have access to the astonishing new papyrus of Simonides’ poem about Plataea (*POxy* 3965). This offers an elegiac account of the defeat of the barbarians in a battle of the Persian Wars which can make some claim to rival Aeschylus’ *Persians* in scope if not quite scale. It also demonstrates the subtlety of interplay between history and myth that was

possible in the early fifth century, above all in drawing connections between the defeat of Troy and the repulse of Xerxes.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, it would now be possible to widen considerably the brief of any discussion of theatrical foreigners in terms of drawing inferences from the representation of barbarians, both mythical and quotidian, in drama;<sup>46</sup> the situation has improved even more in the case of the visual arts, above all Attic pottery.<sup>47</sup> It would also be possible to investigate more fully the presence of ‘real’ barbarians in Attica. Over the last few years several fascinating publications have studied evidence for non-Greeks offered by inscriptions on gravestones, nomenclature, and references in ‘real-world’ texts such as Thucydides’ mention of a suburb -- or ghetto -- known as ‘Phrygioi’ in Athens (Thuc. 2.22.2).<sup>48</sup> The evidence for individual non-Athenian residents of Attica has been assembled in a single volume.<sup>49</sup>

It is now a matter of urgency to reassess the theatrical texts from the perspective not only of the indigenous Athenian citizen spectator, but the potential spectator of metic or servile status from Thrace, Scythia, Phrygia, Lydia, Syria and all the other territories from which the Athenians drew their slaves: what did the barbarian who lived in Athens think -- if anything -- about the portrayal of ethnic issues on the public stage? There has, moreover, been increased scholarly interest during the last decade in fifth- and fourth-century performances beyond the city-centre of Athens. In Attic deme theatres, the opportunities for watching revived plays became ever more numerous: even Kollytos, a deme in the heart of the city centre, had incorporated drama into its local festival programme by the 370s.<sup>50</sup> By 380 centres of theatrical activity had mushroomed elsewhere in mainland Greece – at Corinth, the Isthmus, Eretria, and Phigaleia.<sup>51</sup> Performances in more farflung theatres are attested

from as early as the 460s in Sicily, and from 413 onwards in Macedon and Megale Hellas, as well as on temporary stages erected in market-places by travelling players;<sup>52</sup> in such cases it becomes impossible for the modern scholar to exclude low-status spectators from ancient performance spaces. By Plato's day, reactionary males began to deplore the fact that not only women and children, but also 'the entire crowd' (*ton panta ochlon*) now all had their opinions on tragedy, and were influenced by it (Plato, *Laws* 7.817b-c, see also above pp. 000).

In Athens, amongst the resident foreigners classified as 'metics', there were undoubtedly individuals with a barbarian upbringing, or if they had been born in Athens (like the 'Egyptian' Athenogenes discussed below) an ethnic identity informed by barbarian parentage and possibly bilingualism. Metics may have been present in some numbers at drama competitions, at least at those held at the Lenaea, where they were even allowed to fund choruses.<sup>53</sup> They are not known to have been excluded from at least *watching* plays at the Dionysia. Moreover, although evidence is thin on the ground (not least, presumably, because a naturalised citizen would be unlikely to want to draw attention to foreign origins), it was at least possible for a metic to become a citizen. The issue of naturalisation in classical Athens is admittedly beset by problems and controversy. The situation changed several times (especially after Pericles' citizenship law of 451 BC). In addition, it is not always clear whether the ancient evidence that a slave who was freed (of which there are plenty of examples) is also implying that he was enrolled in a deme and received the full rights of a citizen, and the ability to pass them to legitimate offspring. Freed slaves tend to disappear from the historical record. Indeed, it is partly **its** singularity that adds the frisson to the remarkable **stories** of the

banker Pasion (father of the orator Apollodorus), who acquired Athenian citizenship after using his status as metic to confer generous benefactions upon the city, and his 'bought' slave Phormion, said to speak with a strong foreign accent, who was manumitted by his master, and eventually also naturalised. But Pasion, also, had originally been neither metic nor citizen; he was himself once a slave, probably from Phoenicia.<sup>54</sup> It seems most unlikely that such a publicly prominent figure never attended a theatrical performance once he had become a citizen: the only questions are how often he had attended in his earlier lives, and whether his changes in status were as atypical as some scholars have asserted. Any ex-slave who became a citizen would have been well advised not to draw too much attention to his lowly past.

Indeed, the participation of both slaves and ex-slaves in the consumption of classical Greek theatre is a topic that deserves more consideration. Some scholars have argued that Socrates is only talking hypothetically when in *Gorgias* he describes tragedy as a form of rhetoric that aims solely at giving pleasure, as much to slaves, women and children as to the male and free (502 b-d). But Theophrastus implies that by the later part of the fourth century, at least, it was standard practice for any Athenian citizen who could afford it to be attended by a personal slave who placed the cushion on his seat at the theatre (*Char.* 21.4), as well as for the habitual sponger to trick other people into subsidising a seat at the theatre for his children's *paidagōgos* (*Char.* 9.5). Much earlier, in the late fifth century, there were almost certainly state slaves such as the Scythian archers present at the Dionysia, because one of their official roles was the regulation of crowd behaviour at large gatherings of people in public spaces. They may not have paid close attention to the performances, but the question of their responses,

especially when they were themselves impersonated in comedy, can scarcely be dismissed altogether.<sup>55</sup> Slaves were often skilled musicians: we simply do not have the evidence to prove whether or not an attested slave *aulētēs*, known to have been active in Athens in 415 BC, had ever experienced the representation of any barbarian character in any of the performance arts.<sup>56</sup>

The most important group, however, is constituted by the slaves who were emancipated as a reward for rowing alongside Athenian citizens. Xanthias in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (405 BC), whose slave role is unprecedented in its development and authority, certainly constitutes an aesthetic reaction to the very recent emancipation and almost certainly naturalisation of a large number of male Athenian slaves -- many of whom may have been non-Greeks -- in recognition of their contribution as rowers in the battle of Arginusae the previous year.<sup>57</sup> The sheer scale of the chaos and crisis in Athens in 406, along with the acute shortage of manpower, made even the desperate expedient of the mass enfranchisement of slaves seem, for once, acceptable. The Old Oligarch was probably exaggerating when he claimed that Athenian slaves were impossible to distinguish from free men in Athens by their clothes and appearance (1.10), but the passage may illuminate the comparative ease with which former slaves could, at least at Athens, assume new roles as citizens. There is, moreover, little reason to suppose that the new citizens enfranchised by Arginusae were not actually yet present in the audience at the première of *Frogs*: indeed, several of the lines in the dialogues involving Xanthias and in the parabasis seem consciously designed to cultivate their applause (33-4, 190-2, 693-9).<sup>58</sup> And their responses to, for example, the humiliation of Dionysus in the flogging scene (605-73), would have differed considerably from the reactions of those who had never experienced slavery.

The opportunities to react to theatre were not, of course, restricted to actual full performances at festivals. Plays needed to be rehearsed for weeks -- indeed months -- before performances, and were much discussed after them. Speeches from tragedy were, by the time of Aristophanes' *Clouds* (1371-2), being recited at symposia; scenes from drama, or myths regularly enacted in drama, were painted on the vases from which slaves served their masters, and Sian Lewis has recently reminded us that vase-paintings were 'an open form of communication, available to every gaze', and their meanings were therefore construed in the minds of slaves as well as those of free people.<sup>59</sup> It is of course impossible to be sure how an individual metic or slave might have responded to Aeschylus' savage Egyptian herald in *Suppliants*, to Euripides' obtuse Crimean monarch Thoas, or to the loyal pedagogue in Sophocles' *Electra*. But that does not mean that we should avoid asking the question. If the male slave from Colchis who was sold at Athens in 414/13 ever witnessed, or heard about, a production of Euripides' *Medea*, or even saw a vase on which this tragedy was painted, can his reactions to her and her nurse have been identical to those of an Athenian Greek?<sup>60</sup> The largest group of barbarian slaves at Athens came from Thrace: at least one Thracian slave, Sosias, was in a position of some importance as *epistatēs* of other slaves working in the mines, in 420 BC; this was just four or five years after the Thracian king Polymestor's shocking scenes in Euripides' *Hecuba*, and probably the famous *Tereus* by Sophocles, in which another Thracian monarch had raped and mutilated a freeborn Athenian princess.<sup>61</sup> The playscripts of Athens only acquired their multiplicity of original meanings at the point that they were realised in the mind of each spectator, even if the vast majority of these spectators, like the authors, were indeed free and enfranchised *politai*.

The largest category of non-Greeks in Athens was undoubtedly constituted by slaves. Indeed, it is difficult to over-stress the intimacy of the connection in the ancient mind between ethnic difference and suitability for slavery; the idea may have reached its most developed theoretical exposition in the first book of Aristotle's *Politics*, but it is implicit in much of the discussion of slavery prior to that. It is certainly an issue, for example, in Plato's *Lysis*, where Socrates emphasises that a young citizen boy has less liberty than a slave. Indeed, he is ruled by a slave in the form of his *paidagōgos*: Socrates remarks that it is a terrible thing for a free man (*eleutheros*) to be ruled by a *doulos* (208c-d). At the end, he remembers (223a-b),

...there arrived the *paidagōgoi* of Lysis and Menexenus, like supernatural beings (*daimones tines*), bringing with them the boys' brothers; they called out to them, telling them it was time to be off, for it was already late. At first both we and the bystanders tried to drive them off, but they took no notice of us at all, and became annoyed and carried on calling out in their barbarian speech (*hupobarbarizontes*). They seemed to us to have become a bit tipsy at the Hermaia'.

The elevated Greek conversation is thus contrasted with the drunken barbarisms of the boys' slave-class minders, theatrically presented like *daimones* suddenly appearing on stage: the word used of their speech implies that they had a pronounced foreign accent. If these semi-barbarian *paidagōgoi* could move freely around the town, and attend an obscure festival

of Hermes, who is to say that they were necessarily excluded completely from any of the public festivals of Dionysus?<sup>62</sup>

It is always a struggle to remind ourselves of the ubiquity of slaves in classical Athens, and what must have been the theatregoer's almost daily experience of dealing with individuals who were both not Greeks and almost completely powerless.<sup>63</sup> It is only over the last fifteen years that theoretical models have even begun to be developed for investigating the nature of the relationship between the large-scale use of slaves in Mediterranean antiquity, and the aesthetics that underlay Greek and Roman cultural products.<sup>64</sup> The boundary between Greek and barbarian was less a 'vertical' curtain encircling the areas of the Mediterranean and Black Sea mainly populated by Greek-speaking communities than, in Athens at least, a 'horizontal' slicing across the heart of the community, both within the city walls and beyond them in more rural demes. Slavery imposed an intellectual pressure on the class of owners, forced to create elaborate rationales to justify the everyday conviction that one ethnic group was either naturally, or culturally, more slavish than another (see below).<sup>65</sup> The level of emotional pressure that slavery imposed both on slaves and on masters is most devastatingly illustrated by the assumption in Plato's *Republic* that the slaves of a rich man would instantly kill him, together with his wife and his children, if they were given the opportunity to do so (*Republic* 9.578d-79c). The property confiscated by the state from the Athenian metic Cephisodorus in 425 BC (*IG* i<sup>3</sup> 421) remains one of the most eloquent reminders of the type of slave being transferred from one owner to another in classical Athens at the time when Euripides and Sophocles were writing their tragedies.<sup>66</sup> Among his possessions, he had counted women, men and children from Thrace, Caria, Syria, Scythia, Lydia, and elsewhere. This ethnic mixture

would have been approved by the venerable Athenian in Plato's *Laws*, who regarded it as an important principle of slave management to keep apart slaves who could speak the same barbarian language (*Laws* 6.776). Thinking harder about the cultural resonance of each ethnic label in classical Athens would also be desirable: although dating from the later part of the fourth century, it is fascinating to find Theophrastus, for example, say that a sign of the man of petty ambition (*mikrophilotimia*), is that he wants to impress people by choosing an African slave to attend him on public outings (*Char.* 21. 4).

One of the problems with investigating Athenian slaves is that they themselves left little easily perceptible trace on the prime texts which constitute our understanding of everyday reality, for example forensic oratory, since slaves could not litigate in person (see below, ch. 12, pp. 000). But the tensions surrounding ethnic difference, which can be an explosive issue in theatrical texts, are indeed well illustrated by some ancient legal speeches. Athenian comedy cracks jokes at the expense of what are said to be 'Egyptian' businessmen, the purveyors of drugs and fragrances, for example an Egyptian perfumier named Deinias mentioned in a fragment of Strattis.<sup>67</sup> But the comic poets could only win laughs by poking the finger at 'Egyptian' merchants because of attitudes inherent in their audiences, which had themselves been nurtured by poetic and theatrical images since at least as early as Aeschylus' *Suppliants*. The cunning Egyptian tradesmen became, through a combination of 'real-life' experiences and culturally transmitted images, a vivid, instantly recognisable member of the theatrical cast of Athens. It is hardly a surprise, therefore, that the identical stereotypes, with their concomitant prejudices, should be exploited by the speech writers should an Egyptian or person of actual or alleged Egyptian descent ever become involved in litigation. In

Isaeus' fifth oration, *Melas* (whose name, 'the black one', may also be ethnically significant) is labelled 'The Egyptian' every time he is mentioned, in order to ensure that the jury never forgets that they are not dealing with an Athenian Greek (Isaeus 5.7, 8, 40).<sup>68</sup>

An Egyptian perfumier is to be found in the 'real' context of a speech by the orator Hyperides (oration 3), probably composed around 330 BC. This speech was famous enough in antiquity for the author of the treatise *On Sublimity* attributed to Longinus to cite it as an example of its author's fabled charm in oratory on a small scale (34.4) The plaintiff, who appears to be called Epicrates (although the problematic state of the text renders this identification uncertain), is conducting a private prosecution for damages against Athenogenes, a perfumier resident in Athens. Athenogenes is said to be 'Egyptian' (although his name may well mean that he had been born there, and he may have lived there all his life).<sup>69</sup> The plaintiff alleges that 'the Egyptian' tricked him into buying a business which was already badly in debt. Since there was actually a written contract between the two, which had been agreed without any duress and in front of witnesses, the plaintiff is skating on thin ice in bringing the prosecution; everything had to depend 'on the presentation of the two individuals concerned.'<sup>70</sup> The version of events relayed by the Athenian citizen Epicrates (who seems to have delivered the speech himself) runs as follows: Athenogenes owned three perfume businesses. One of them was run for him by a slave called Midas whose two sons (also slaves of Athenogenes) acted as his assistants.<sup>71</sup> Epicrates became infatuated with one of the two boys. Athenogenes tricked him into buying not only the boy, but the business, the father, and the brother, by sending one Antigone, a *hetaira* with whom he had himself once been sexually involved, to 'persuade' the hapless

Epicrates. The lovelorn Epicrates was so desperate to get his hands on the boy that he consented, and finalised the agreement, unaware that with the business came considerable debts, all mention of which had been omitted from the document.

In this speech Epicrates relies on arousing sympathy from his fellow Athenian jury by impugning the character of the non-citizen. He casts himself as the credulous but honest and honourable victim of an alien's cunning, thus appealing to his compatriots' shared prejudices. The tone is set in his attack on Antigone, the prostitute and accomplice in fraud (3): 'what do you think she has in mind now she has taken as her partner Athenogenes: a speech-writer and marketeer fellow (*agoraios*), and to cap it all an Egyptian?' (*to de megiston, Aiguption*).<sup>72</sup> The implications of the defendant's ethnic origins are thus seen as telling the jury more about his character and the likelihood of his guilt even than his dodgy choice of female associate, or his communication skills.

Such few factual details as can be extracted from the speech imply that Athenogenes really was a force to be reckoned with. He was well established, having two generations of perfume vendors behind him (19); he had owned three perfumeries until the sale to his prosecutor. He had avoided fighting at Chaeronea (28-9), and had previously found his way into the civic administration at Troezen (33). He probably wrote his own speech in his defence (3). Egyptian metics as a group had indeed by this date established themselves comfortably at Athens; they had recently been officially allowed to establish a cult of Isis there. But the significance of the speech lies in the prejudices to which Epicrates believes he can appeal, especially the prejudices held towards such a prosperous 'barbarian' metic. Athenogenes is accused of

the cunning stereotypically imputed to Egyptians (*deinotēs*, 13) and of mendacity (*pseusamenos*, 14). He adds three further types of culpable behaviour very often 'exported' in the Greek imagination to the barbarian world: brazen effrontery (*anaideian*, 23), the moral degradation implied in the adjective *ponēros* (31), which it is emphasised is 'true' – *homoios* -- to his (Egyptian) self, and especially great cruelty (*ōmōs*, 32).

The rhetorical strategy is to argue that the Athenians have been nurturing a snake in their own civic bosom. Although it is factually entirely irrelevant to the case in hand, the speaker reminds the jury that the daughters of this alien had been nurtured on the prosperity provided by them, the citizens (29). The 'debt' which the Egyptian had thus incurred had been betrayed when he had defected to Troezen rather than fight at Chaeronea (28-9). In order to emphasise his point, Epicrates orders the recitation of the law decreeing that no metic could leave the city in time of war. But, implies Epicrates, the draft-dodging metic has become a sinister entrepreneur in the political sphere as well as in commerce. At Troezen he had hitched his wagon to the traitor Mnesias, and won an appointment as a magistrate despite his barbarian provenance. The unspoken implication is that Athenogenes is the 'enemy within', whose success at Troezen may yet be repeated at Athens. By arousing fear of his opponent Epicrates, therefore, uses the strongest possible weapon against his adversary: today it would undoubtedly be classed as incitement of racial hatred. And yet by arousing fear of his opponent, a prosperous metic, he also invites *us* to ask what on earth Athenogenes might have made of the Egyptians whom he may well have had an opportunity to see represented on stage.

## Identity and Identification

Those who are inclined to perceive ‘liberal’ and cosmopolitan texts and subtexts in classical Athenian theatre should remember that the men who sat on the juries, and to whose tastes and prejudices Hyperides’ insidious rhetoric is directed, were the same men who formed the core of the Athenian theatregoing public. Reading Hyperides’ third oration offers a useful reminder of the potency of the ethnic stereotypes circulating within the Athenian adult male population. Yet several reviewers of my earlier work have objected to what they see as my exaggeration or over-simplification of the ethnocentric bias of the Greeks in general and of Aeschylus’ *Persians* in particular.<sup>73</sup> The stern reviewer in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* judged that my edition relentlessly looks in Aeschylus’ text for ‘grist’ to its ‘ideological mill’. It ‘has a serious flaw’ in being conditioned by the ‘contemporary fashion that may be called anti-occidentalism, the dangerous myth that western culture is inherently and uniquely racist, imperialist and chauvinist’.<sup>74</sup> I do indeed think that western culture has indeed always been racist, imperialist and chauvinist, but not uniquely so. Every single known human society thus far has been both xenophobic and chauvinist, but this is not inherent — we can *imagine* a multicultural society which is neither. The reviewer’s opinion is legitimate, and internally consistent. His only mistake is to regard himself as free from any ideological agenda of his own; but this view is compromised by his use of the term ‘anti-occidentalism’, a transparent gloss for a much more contemporary political concept, and a very specific and potent one: Orientalism.

In answer I would actually underline even more emphatically my view that the best way to read the *effect* of the play on fifth-century Athenian sources would be to see what they made of it at the time. The evidence, in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, at least, suggests that its patriotic undertow was widely acknowledged: Aeschylus claims that the play always made its audiences yearn for victory over their enemies (1026-7). Another way to explore the effect the play might have had is to investigate its emotional register, which is dominated explicitly by terms expressing terror, hate, and longing for the dead. Yet my emphasis on looking at emotional signals when conducting an exercise in cultural hermeneutics has led at least one other scholar who to question my interpretation from another trajectory altogether. In *The Emptiness of Asia*, Thomas Harrison agrees that the import of the play in its original context was self-congratulatory.<sup>75</sup> His objections are, rather, to my view of how this may have operated psychologically.

Unlike Harrison, I recognise that the play as a whole enacts a prolonged crescendo of ritual mourning. Sociologically speaking, an act of collective sympathy in a cultural, performative context creates its primary bond less with the sufferer than between the fellow sympathisers; this was certainly the case with the group identities sustained by the affective power of middlebrow expressions of communal sympathy in American Cold-War representations of Asia.<sup>76</sup> Acknowledging that a particular audience had an affective response to a representation of suffering need not entail acknowledging that the audience felt remotely sorry for the real sufferer undergoing representation, especially when he was hundreds of miles away in Persepolis or Susa. For this reason, while I do not share the premise of Kuhns' analysis of *Persians* (published in 1991) as poetically replicating the

universally constituted human psyche's propulsion through the different stages of mourning, it is worth reading because Kuhns does justice to the dynamic emotional details accumulated in the play.<sup>77</sup> Similarly, the part of the interpretation to which Harrison objects most is when he says that Hall 'falls back' on a psychological explanation when discussing the cognitive experience of an Athenian audience when *Persians* was performed.<sup>78</sup> I suggested that the Athenians could 'feel' two different things at once -- jubilation and remembered pain -- while 'projecting' their pain onto Persia. The process of psychological projection entails the casting of an image of one's own desires and experiences onto the blank 'screen' constituted by another individual's psyche. Projection is what is happening when a child who is afraid of a parent assumes (as the child inevitably will unless s/he acquires, and is able to draw inferences from, experiences to the contrary) that *all* children are afraid of a parent. Projection is a key process in psychoanalysis, where a patient's own desires and assumptions can be dissected with the analyst after they have been brought to consciousness through controlled and observed projection. Projection is the process at work when, after I have had a hard day, it strikes me forcibly that *my husband* looks like he needs a drink.<sup>79</sup>

This initially difficult idea appears self-evident to those who have studied or experienced formal psychoanalysis, but often strikes non-believers as silly psychobabble. Even less consensual is the notion, distrusted or not comprehended by most commonsensical empirico-positivist Anglo-Saxon critics, that an experience can be *dialectical*. It was Heraclitus who first articulated the philosophical principle of the dialectical unity of opposites -- 'that one or other apparent opposition is actually a unity in dynamic tension'.<sup>80</sup> The notion is now usually illustrated by the example of the North

Pole and the South Pole, which constitute both opposites and an indivisible unity; it has been an elementary concept in Continental philosophy since Hegel, and is a linchpin of Marxist cultural theory.<sup>81</sup> If the mental effort can be made to see how the excitement of victory only meant so much to the Athenian survivors of the Persian Wars *because* of the degree of loss and terror which had accompanied it -- that the two emotional registers of triumph and misery constituted opposites in a unity as indivisible as the North and South poles -- an understanding can emerge of what *Persians* may have meant to its first audience.<sup>82</sup> The Athenians really could subliminally address their own battle trauma, pain, bereavement and humiliation, while feeling delight in revenge and victory; the way to do it was by watching their hated invader, who had smashed up their city and slaughtered their fathers, sons and brothers, going through loss and humiliation. Even war films made in the UK and the USA in the 1950s permit expressions of terror and sorrow on German and Japanese faces,<sup>83</sup> but this hardly means that much prominence was given in the minds of many people in the UK or USA watching these films (who had felt some terror and sorrow themselves) to contemplating profundities such as the universality of human suffering. It would be to the credit of the audiences if they had dwelt on these humanist abstractions, but any conversations with battle-scarred Britons born in the 1920s suggest that it is most unlikely.

Another area where the dialectical principle can help to illuminate the way that the barbarian functioned in the Athenian imagination is to acknowledge that one ethnic group or nation-state can feel what may initially seem entirely inconsistent and contradictory emotional responses towards another one.<sup>84</sup> The Athenians certainly hated the Persians after the 480

invasion; the more democratically minded of them without a doubt despised the more obsequious aspects they discerned in the Persian court and administrative hierarchies, and feared that the Persians might once again attempt to support a non-democratic government in Athens. Yet the Persian monarchy was conceptually *inseparable* from aspects of the Asian lifestyle that not only impressed the Athenians, but made them feel distinctly aspirational if not actually envious. As Margaret Miller has shown, Persian material culture -- art, metalwork and textiles -- had a significant impact on taste, clothing and design in classical Athens, especially but not exclusively in wealthy elite circles. The process may more accurately be described as adaptation than imitation, but it is undeniable.<sup>85</sup> The form and decoration of Attic grave monuments also seems to have been influenced by the perception of Persian and other barbarian memorials to the dead.<sup>86</sup> There have been some important works published recently which have advanced our understanding of the way that Athenians used 'coded' comparisons of particular activities and indeed individuals with different types of barbarian; one is example is the sympotic conceit of 'drinking like a Scythian' (see also below, ch. 8, p. 00).<sup>87</sup>

An illuminating parallel to this bifurcated vision is offered by British views of France during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, for much of which the two countries were furiously at war somewhere on the planet, whether the battles were fought in the Netherlands, North America, Canada, or India. Between the Act of Union in 1707 and the French revolution, the British increasingly defined themselves as Protestant, masculine, mercantile, enlightened, modern, and anti-monarchical against their rivals and 'Others' just over the Channel, thought to be festering in a Catholic, effeminate, feudal, reactionary and

despotic ancient regime.<sup>88</sup> English Literature of this period displays a tension between artistic admiration for French cultural achievements and artistic models (exhibited in the self-regarding acknowledgements of French sources in, for example, the prologues and prefaces to English dramas), and a profound anti-French prejudice of a political and ideological nature.<sup>89</sup> Denunciations of French social mores and political institutions sit everywhere alongside the wholesale import and imitation of French manners, vocabulary, delicacies, fashions, ceramics, interior design, music, poetry and fiction. In ethnic contexts, hatred and fear can coexist beside envy and emulation without any of the difficulties many classical scholars have supposed.

### **Gender and Ethnicity in Interaction**

British masculinity routinely defined itself in opposition to perceived Continental (Italian and Spanish as well as French) effeminacy, and one aspect of the argument presented in *Inventing the Barbarian* that would not be changed is its account of the role of gendered thinking in the construction of ethnic difference. In Classics and Ancient History circles this notion has -- somewhat bafflingly -- proved controversial, and thus seems to require clarification. Aeschylus' *Persians*, first performed in 472 BC, is not the source of the earliest scene in western theatre concerning which substantial information is available. That honourable position in theatre history is held by the opening of the play on which *Persians* was based, Phrynichus' *Phoenician Women*. The iambic prologue of this drama was delivered by a barbarian eunuch putting out cushions on seats for a meeting of Persian imperial magistrates (*tois tēs archēs paredrois*), while informing his spectators that Xerxes had already been defeated.<sup>90</sup>

This information is passed down to us in exactly eighteen ancient Greek words.<sup>91</sup> The impression is that even in the earliest known fifth-century playwrights, a certain repertoire of images still familiar today already defined the Orient.<sup>92</sup> The cushions for the magistrates introduce the customary trope of softness, luxury, and plentiful textiles; the meeting is for magistrates of *empire (archē)*: the status of eunuch compromises the masculinity of the east, as well as drawing attention to its practice of cruel bodily mutilations. The lines in this primordial theatrical scene were spoken by a Greek actor pretending not only to be Not Greek, but Not Genitally Intact either. The body of Phrynichus' eunuch invites our curious gaze; he represents a symbol of the actor's art, of the mutable sexual identity at the core of the western theatrical tradition.<sup>93</sup> Even some of the earliest sources on tragic actors imply that they were perceived to be less than fully male.<sup>94</sup> This effeminised, mutilated, servile figure is a theatrical fantasy born out of conflict and triumph: he oversees historically a period of struggle for imperial control of the Aegean. The scenic, poetic and histrionic effort to which the Athenian citizens put themselves in the aftermath of the Persian wars was central to the development of their social imagination.

Although most reviewers approved of my emphasis on the reliance of ancient ethnic thinking on categories of gender,<sup>95</sup> a few distinguished scholars (all, as it happens, male) have objected to it explicitly. In his fascinating book *From Melos to My Lai* the Vietnam veteran Larry Tritle argues that 'feminist literary theory' vanquished my ability to listen to the authentic experience recorded in the play.<sup>96</sup> It would have been helpful of Alison Keith to have published her excellent study of gender categories in Roman epic, which has met widespread approval, thirteen years earlier.<sup>97</sup> I would like to have been

able to draw on the subtle problematising of the elision of gendered and ethnic heterogeneities in Lisa Lowe's *Critical Terrains*, published in 1991.<sup>98</sup> Even more particularly, I wish that I had known about Joan Scott's brilliant work on gender as an analytical category in the analysis of historical experience, initiated in an article published in 1986, which has been taken very seriously even by conservative Modern Historians.<sup>99</sup> Yet even the weight of Scott's authority might have made little difference to those Ancient Historians who think that the investigation of imagery, semantic complexes and metaphorical structures 'goes too far' when it comes to reconstructing the realities of experience. A scholar either think it matters that in *Persians* there are serial images of defeated or lamenting barbarian women, some of them in bedroom environments, or s/he will not. S/he either thinks that the traces of psychological experience recorded in imaginative and fictional sources have an important place in the records of 'real' history, or that they should be excluded from it. My own view is that imagery of this kind can be the most important of all tools in uncovering ideological currents, since, like myth, it 'transforms history into nature'.<sup>100</sup> I have, with reluctance, come to the conclusion that this still needs spelling out in rather more detail.<sup>101</sup>

It is not controversial to acknowledge that there was an asymmetry of power in Greek culture between men and women. Athenian men controlled their wives and daughters sexually and economically, and deprived them of political agency. Nor can it be any more regarded as debatable that the hierarchical duality of the human species came to inform other conceptual hierarchies and polarisations. The Pythagorean table of opposites, 'an explicit expression...of much older Greek beliefs',<sup>102</sup> opposed man, light, right and good to woman, darkness, left, and evil (Aristotle, *Met.* 1.986 a 22-6). Male

supremacy over the female was considered to be natural and right; sexual relations were conceived as hierarchical, with man coming out on top.<sup>103</sup> By drawing a parallel between male and female and the relationship between Greek and barbarian, Greek ascendancy over non-Greek cultures was 'naturalised' and thus legitimised.<sup>104</sup>

The Greeks' use of the possession of women, and victory over them, as metaphors for the defeat of Asia is one historically specific example of a widespread tendency in human history for categories of gender to articulate ideas about warfare.<sup>105</sup> Men active in peace movements have often been maligned as effeminate cowards. When Woodrow Wilson was reluctant to take the USA into World War I, Teddy Roosevelt accused him of 'lack of manhood'.<sup>106</sup> In military training, even where women are recruited alongside men, gendered insults litter the language used both to stimulate aggression and to identify the enemy.<sup>107</sup> The idea (and, historically, all too often the practice) of rape has been a key trope for victory.<sup>108</sup> When warfare concerns the conquest of territory, the land itself is often metaphorically feminised, and the winning of new domains conceptualised as sexual union.<sup>109</sup> One of the imperial reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, for example, depicts a muscular Claudius standing triumphantly over the prostrate figure of Britannia. He pulls her loosened hair and prepares to strike the death-blow with his spear: she, semi-naked, struggles to prevent her dress from slipping off her shoulder. On another relief Nero, equally muscular, supports the naked, slumping figure of Armenia, her hair spilling over her shoulders, between his wide-striding legs.<sup>110</sup> It was customary for America to be represented as female in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century discourses of the European conquerors. In iconography Europe is male, and

stands over the relaxed and / or naked figure of the New Continent. America may by turns appear as a dangerous Amazon, an erotic seductress inviting penetration, or a modest maiden shyly giving up her virginity.<sup>111</sup> In Ben Jonson's drama *Eastward Ho* (1605), the song performed in the tavern by Seagull, the sea captain, begins, 'Come, boys, Virginia longs till we share the rest of her maidenhead'.<sup>112</sup>

Such imagery holds no surprises for students of the ancient poetics of colonisation. Raping a virgin and marrying a maiden are metaphors for sacking a city.<sup>113</sup> Siege or foundation myths often revolve around a pivot involving the sexual union, whether through rape or marriage, of a Greek hero or male Olympian with a female.<sup>114</sup> The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* provides a mythical *aition* for Greek colonisation of the eastern Mediterranean by tracing back to Io, impregnated by Zeus, the genealogies of numerous barbarian peoples in North Africa, Egypt and the Levant. The cyclic epics provided other paradigms of colonisation in their reports of Greek heroes' fleeting sexual encounters with foreign women on distant shores.<sup>115</sup> In Pindar's 9th *Pythian*, the colonisation of Libya is symbolised by both Apollo's seduction of the athletic Cyrene, and Alexidamus' marriage to the daughter of the Libyan Antaeus. The possession of newfound territory is illustrated by the metaphorical possession of women.

Non-Greek, defeated, and female were therefore categories that, through metaphor, became elided. Since woman was the ancient Athenian's primary 'other' and, with barbarian slaves, the most immediate object of his power, he used her as an image for the ethnically alien, transferring from the asymmetrical power-relation embedded in her difference from the patriarchal male to the sphere of international power struggle.<sup>116</sup> This affects the

narratives recounting the Persian wars. First, the oppositions man-woman and rapist-raped are transferred to the non-Greek relationship; Greek ascendancy over Persia is made to appear 'naturally' sanctioned. Second, the ambivalence towards woman's otherness, as source and symbol of desirability, danger, and potential anarchy, is transferred onto the foreign culture against which war continued to be waged for years after 472 BC. This process contributed to the ideological project by which Athenian imperialism sought to weaken Persian influence; it helped to perpetuate the notions of panhellenism and its corollary, the 'barbarian peril'.<sup>117</sup>

The male-female polarity has subsequently conditioned most European conceptualisations of the non-European, but of all Europe's 'others' -- Africa, America, Australasia -- the one most systematically feminised has always been the Orient.<sup>118</sup> Asia has been 'routinely described as feminine, its riches as fertile, its main symbols the sensual woman and the despotic...ruler'.<sup>119</sup> Herodotus' Asiatic tyrants -- their feminine ways, their transgressive women, their eunuchs and their luxury -- created an implied reader who was not only victorious, but also emphatically Greek, self-disciplined and masculine. In *Persians* Aeschylus trapped the oriental court inside the theatre of Dionysus, where its cast presented a tableau, as in many Athenian tragedies (except those set at Athens), in which the court is portrayed as lacking a phallic authority figure -- an adult male hand steering the rudder of government.<sup>120</sup> The males in the play are the senescent chorus, the dead Darius, and the (largely) absent Xerxes. The text also combines numerous implications of the bereft, the erotic, the soft and the threnodic, which work cumulatively, and often subliminally, to create the impression of a 'female' continent, vulnerable

to Greek 'male' domination. The idea is conveyed that virtually the entire military has been wiped out.

It still seems to me that the West did and does routinely define its relationship with the East as sexual, conceiving the West as the male, penetrative agent.<sup>121</sup> Yet it would have been beneficial to have explored in more depth what such a metaphorical sexual act might mean in ideological terms. It has been argued, for example, that what makes the routine myth of oriental effeminacy necessary is the apprehended virility and fertility of Arab men. Since the advent of Islam, **at an rate**, polygamy, large families, the masculine power and sexual potency of the Prophet himself -- all this has paradoxically become transformed by Orientalist psychological imperatives into a tabu on taking that very sexuality seriously.<sup>122</sup> The phallic Orient is symbolically castrated. It is, as Said says of exactly this paradox of representation, 'in the logic of myths, like dreams, exactly to welcome radical antitheses. For a myth does not analyze or solve problems. It represents them as already analyzed.'<sup>123</sup> On this account, it becomes important to fuse a reading of the Orient as unmanned with an apprehension of what it meant to an Athenian to have seen his homeland penetrated and ravaged by a large and hostile army of powerful men with terrifying military hardware.

For, in Aeschylus' *Persians*, the dominant image of Asia construes her as a woman in mourning. She is either a fruitful, maternal figure (see below) or a young wife, aching with desire for her bridegroom. The slaughtered Persians are mourned by their parents, but also by their wives, who pass the days 'in long-drawn-out grief' (63-4). The marriage beds of Persia are filled with tears brought on by yearning (*pothos*) for husbands (133-4); the grieving Persian widows, who have sent forth the partners of their beds, are left alone

to think ‘man-desiring thoughts’ (*pothōi philanori*, 134-9), The chorus recall how once before, after Marathon, the beds of the Persian wives were left empty of men (288-9). In the great central dirge, the audience hears how the ‘softly wailing’ Persian women long to see again their recent bridegrooms, to enjoy the ‘pleasures of luxuriant youth’ on ‘soft-sheeted’ nuptial couches; instead, however, they must mourn in insatiable lamentation (541-5).

The alternative female image personifies the Earth of Asia (*chthōn Asiatis*), who put forth her like flowers (59-62), but has now fallen to her knees in prostration (929-30); Susa is a mother in mourning (946). A entirely consistent view of Asia, as a fertile but soft and feminine continent, is presented in the treatise *On Airs, Waters, Places*, attributed to Hippocrates and probably an authentic fifth-century work. It connects the diversity of physiology and medical conditions in different human communities with the climate and environment to which they are subject. From ch. 12 onwards the writer embarks on a systematic comparison of Asiatics and Europeans. In Asia, he says, everything grows beautiful and large, and the character of Asiatics is gentle: it is the temperate climate which causes these characteristics (12.7-16). Since Asia suffers extremes of neither drought nor cold, it enjoys plentiful harvests of both wild vegetation and cultivated crops; its cattle are the sturdiest to be found (12.24-35). Fine natural development is also to be found in the humans there, who are of fine physique and uniform size (12.35-8). But there is a disadvantage, the treatise argues, in this natural wealth: it is impossible for a temperate zone to engender courage, endurance, industry, and high spirits, i.e. the characteristics that define the European, who is bred and tested in a harsh and changeable climate. Indeed, the Asiatics, whose

cowardice and sloth are environmentally determined, will always, inevitably, be ruled by the principle of pleasure (12.40-4).

The uniformity of the seasons in Asia are said to lead its inhabitants to lack courage. They are subject to none of the physical changes that harden humans to passion and action (16.3-12). The political constitutions (*nomoi*) of Asiatics are a contributory factor, it is argued, for people have no motivation to improve their lot if ruled by monarchical masters (16.16-33). At this point the writer is suggesting two independent reasons for the inherent passivity of the Asiatic temperament: one from *physis* (the natural environment), and one from *nomos* (political constitutions). But, taken as a whole, the treatise demonstrates that these two factors interconnect; the Asiatic temperament *gives rise* to such forms of government, which would never be tolerated by the rugged individualists of Europe. To explain the unequal size of Europeans, even within a single city, the writer invokes the speed at which the foetus forms in the womb. Its forms by a process of coagulation; changes of season disturb the speed of the process, leading to variations in individuals' size. In Asia, where the temperature is alleged to remain stable, people are all the same size. More significantly, however, the changes of season while the foetus is in the womb also affect character, for shocks to the mind caused by changing environmental conditions engender wildness and independence, whereas uniformity imparts slackness and cowardice. The theories here developed, during the fifth century, thus represent the earliest attempt to base the superiority of Greek culture on arguments from natural science.<sup>124</sup> The Asiatics whose roles were played on the Athenian stage were genuinely believed, at least by some spectators, to be more feminine, and more slavish, according to natural rules whose operation could be *proven scientifically*.

## Changing World, Changing Stages

Finally, the recent investigation of the afterlife of Aeschylus' *Persians* has inevitably coloured attitudes to this seminal play.<sup>125</sup> This is possibly at the cost of some objectivity, since a clear view of what was going on in 472 BC is not *necessarily* enhanced by studying what cultural adventures have been had subsequently by a text written at that ancient date. Yet the two perspectives, if handled judiciously, can be mutually illuminating.<sup>126</sup> Aeschylus' *Persians* has played an indisputable role in the perpetuation of the ideological conflict between East and West that has recently re-erupted with such terrible violence. It has historically helped to reinforce the adoption by the Christian mindset of a primary Other in the shape of Islam. The third-millennial vilification of the Arab world has a long history which cannot be dissociated from the rediscovery of *ancient* Greek xenophobia and prejudices against non-Greeks in the east.

In the late Roman, early Christian and Byzantine eras the complexities of ethnic and religious identity surpassed anything that had gone before, as notions of Greekness, 'Roman-ness' (or *Rōmaiosynē*) and Christianity were constantly contested and redefined. This process acquired a fresh intensity after the Normans attacked Byzantine territory in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century, and the supreme Others of the medieval Byzantines became the western Christians: Anna Comnena could even call them *barbaroi*.<sup>127</sup> But a new world order was in gestation. The attention of the Renaissance West was first attracted back to Aeschylus through the Aldine printed edition (1518), and Jean Saint-Ravy's influential Latin translation *Aeschyli poetae Vetustissimi Tragoediae*, published in Basel in 1555. But these books came into a world that had

changed since the triumph of Christianity, above all in the arrival as a world presence of the Ottoman Turks. It had been the first crusade of 1095 which made Islam familiar in the more northerly countries of the West.<sup>128</sup> Their notion of both the Prophet and the religion was thus born in triumph after the Christian taking of Antioch and Jerusalem, and gave rise to a popular image -- comprising savagery, depravity, sexual profligacy, pagan darkness and satanic evil -- of astonishing tenacity. The ground was laid for the identification of Islam with the pagan ancient Persians by one strand in the medieval picture of Mahomet, in which he was seen as a *magus* of demoniacal power, operating in barbarian lands at the time of the Emperor Theodosius.<sup>129</sup> By the time of the Renaissance it was the Turks, by now synonymous with Islam, who were regularly presented in the west as descendants of the Herodotean Scythians, and thus the heirs to the ancient Greek prejudices against the barbarians around the Black Sea. This view legitimised constant military action against them, not as a war against infidels but as an atavistic *bellum contra barbaros* with noble antique precedents: as Rodinson put it in *Europe and the Mystique of Islam*, 'to those Europeans brought up on Herodotus and Xenophon, this was an enticing notion'.<sup>130</sup>

It was in the context of this perception of the Ottomans that Aeschylus' *Persians* was first discovered by the European Renaissance. It was recited at an event which explicitly equated Achaemenid Persia with the Ottoman Empire, thus, for the first certain time in the western tradition, seeing Aeschylus' cast members through a lens conditioned by Christian views of Islam. For in 1571 a western naval alliance, including the Venetians of the Heptanesian islands and led by John of Austria, had defeated the Ottoman fleet at the Battle of Lepanto. The performance of *Persians* took place,

probably in an Italian translation, possibly in ancient Greek or in Saint-Ravy's Latin, in the private house of a member of the Venetian nobility who then ruled the Heptanesian island of Zante (Zakynthos).<sup>131</sup> By the time of Milton, although Aeschylean scholarship was slow to develop in the later 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, Xerxes, as ancient barbarian and imagined cultural ancestor of the Turks, can be suggestively aligned even with Satan. John Milton compares Satan's bridge from heaven to hell in *Paradise Lost* book 9 with Xerxes' Hellespontine contrivance.<sup>132</sup>

The Enlightenment forged a fundamental Oriental antitype that fused inherited images of the ancient Achaemenids with the contemporary picture of the Islamic Ottoman empire.<sup>133</sup> It was not until the 1760s that the Ottoman Empire ceased to look like an immediately pressing threat to Christian civilization at large, and more like a promising pawn in Northern European superpower politics. The turning-point was the Russian-Turkish war of 1768-74, by the end of which the Austrians, and nearly everyone else, agreed that that the Russians were a far worse threat to European stability than the Turks. The possibility was raised of reviving the spirit of the crusades in order to re-annex Constantinople, whose 1453 seizure by the Turks, and its status as the capital of Islam, had remained a constant irritant at least to western Europeans.<sup>134</sup> Then in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Aeschylus suddenly became available in modern languages, and *Persians* was visualised exclusively in Ottoman terms;<sup>135</sup> responses to its depiction of the barbarian court were informed by countless abduction plays and operas of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in which Christians are held captive at the court of a Muslim monarch, to face threats of torture and sexual slavery.<sup>136</sup> The best known of these -- and, astonishingly, one of the least xenophobic taken overall -- is

probably Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, which premièred in Vienna in 1782, and in which the janissary Osmin is as greedy, gullible, sadistic and lecherous a Muslim stereotype as ever walked the stage. In English literature, the ancient Persians, just like the contemporary Ottomans, became 'the turban'd tyrant';<sup>137</sup> in a 19<sup>th</sup>-century German illustration of the battle of Marathon, the barbarian's clothes, turbans and moustaches are indistinguishable from those worn by Turks in art contemporary with it.<sup>138</sup>

The fate of *Persians* as a key text in the western ideological war against Islam was sealed forever by Shelley's *Hellas*, an adaptation published in 1822 and dedicated to the Prince Alexandros Mavrokordatos, a refugee from the Turkocracy. Shelley's Preface twins the Aeschylean Greek tragic vision of the struggle for freedom with the 1821 uprising, setting the scene at Constantinople, in the seraglio of Mahmud II, who was the Ottoman sultan between 1808 and 1839. Islam becomes the open enemy of western *liberty*. In *Hellas* Shelley was unable to liberate himself sufficiently from the contemporary stereotypes of Islam, and the Christian rhetoric of the crusade, to leave the notion of a religious war back in the medieval period where it belongs.<sup>139</sup> The stirring politics and utopian idealism of *Hellas* are compromised by its complicity in the ideology of the Christian crusade. The notion that the greatest threat to cosmic Liberty is the Islamic faith, a notion which is still causing such problems today, was grafted onto the founding myth of western democracy by *Hellas*, and Shelley's status as canonical poet of western liberalism must mean that some of the blame for the inherited prejudices must, regrettably, be laid at his door.

Indeed, the final way in which the stage barbarian would be presented differently today from the way s/he was discussed in *Inventing the Barbarian*

is connected with the radically altered historical circumstances under which intellectual work is now conducted. The scholarly perspective on the ancient stage barbarian obviously can not be the same in 2004 as it was in 1984, when I began my doctoral research. Although nobody knew it at the time, the mid-1980s were the penultimate years of the Cold War, just before the sudden collapse of the Soviet Union and its authority in the German Democratic Republic. *Inventing the Barbarian* was published only a couple of months before November 1989, when the Berlin wall was actually breached. Some scholars have objected to what they have perceived as the overly simple structuralism underpinning some of the analysis, which they have often paired, rather misleadingly, with Hartog's much more purist structuralism and pyrotechnical style of textual analysis in *Le miroir d'Hérodote : essai sur la représentation de l'autre* (1980). Yet perhaps there is a similarity, if of rather a different sort than is usually alleged: the two books are both, transparently, products of the final stage of the Cold War. Their model of Self and Other was certainly inseparable from the experience of two superpowers defining themselves, and what they each felt to be their core values, against their enemy of several decades. For the Soviet Union, the key images encapsulating the West represented destitute men without jobs, homeless children, and heroin-injecting prostitutes: for the USA and western Europe, the crucial ideals of personal liberty and plentiful commodities were routinely defined against images of intellectuals being injected with sedatives, and mile-long food queues in Moscow. Now, however, since the fall of the wall and the Gulf War, all this has completely changed. The key images of the West's Other now portray breast-beatings, ululations, beheadings, amputations, beards, veils, rifles, and explosives. The role of Great Barbarian has been completely

recast. How different *Inventing the Barbarian* would be today, when the image of the sinister technocratic Soviet communist has been replaced by what is presented as a far more medieval-looking and unknowable Islamic extremist, it is thus quite impossible to say.

- 1 See Clough (2004), and the Introduction to Bridges, Hall and Rhodes (forthcoming). For an analysis of the sources of all the early appearances of each element in the stereotypical picture -- awnings, peacocks, eunuchs etc. -- see Tuplin (1996), 132-77.
- 2 Heraclides Ponticus fr. 55, quoted by Athen. *Deipn.* 12.512a, in Wehrli (1953), 21-2; see further Tuplin (1996), 156-7 and n. 55.
- 3 For an excellent discussion of the mimetic elements in the performances of the orators of the second sophistic, and their attraction to themes from the glory days of the classical Athenian past, see Conolly (2001), especially 84-5.
- 4 The Persian king, in tiara and *kandys*, sits on his golden throne; other traditional details include the imposing arms of his guards, and the burning of costly myrrh and frankincense. The *ekphrasis* professes to describe a painting on private display in a Roman villa in Italy, but probably derives from a familiar scene in Greek art. For detailed discussions see Borchhardt (1983), 213-14 and Gabelmann (1984), 73.
- 5 See e.g. MacKenzie (1995), 176-99 on Orientalism in the theatre; Hallam and Street (2000) on ethnicity in mass media; Coyne (1998) on American identity and ethnicity in 'westerns'; Ignatieff (1998) on the heroic ethnic minority warrior in popular culture; Basinger (2003) on

- World War II combat movies, including discussions of the ethnic stereotyping within them.
- 6 See Favorini (2003); Hall, Macintosh and Wrigley (2004), especially the Introduction and the chapters by Hardwick and Hall.
- 7 Christina Klein's analysis of Rodgers and Hammerstein's *The King and I* (1956) is particularly stimulating for those studying the ancient texts involving visitors to fabled eastern courts, from Herodotus and Ctesias to the ancient novel (Christina Klein (2003), 191-222). See also N.Z. Davis (2000), an exemplary study of the representation of slavery in the cinema.
- 8 Solomos (1961), Russo (1962); Taplin (1977) and (1978).
- 9 Bibliography in Zeitlin (1993), 152.
- 10 A point well brought out by Carter (2004), 11-12, in his careful response to Goldhill (1987).
- 11 This is argued from the perspective of the Athenian tragedians' appropriation of the non-Athenian heroes Oedipus, Heracles, and Orestes in E. Hall (1997).
- 12 Perlman (1976); Baslez (1986).
- 13 It is one the virtues of the essays edited by Malkin (2001) that they emphasise the plurality, variety and mutability of the consciousness of 'Greekness' and the identities that were invoked as its opposites, both synchronically across the Greek-speaking world and diachronically over time. See especially Malkin's introduction, 1-28, and the discussion of Herodotus by Rosalind Thomas (ch. 7).
- 14 See Vasunia (2001), especially 245-61.

- 15 Rhodes (2003), 116. A similar case, but using rather different arguments, is made independently by Carter (2002). I am grateful to Professor Rhodes for drawing my attention to the latter article.
- 16 See Taplin (1999), 41.
- 17 Cartledge (1997), 3; see Rhodes (2003), 107 n. 15. For a different perspective, which stresses tragedy's focus on elite ruling-class families, see Griffith (1998), 23-30.
- 18 On which see the edition by Harder (1985); Hall (1989), 180.
- 19 See Hall (2004a), 37-42; Leonard (forthcoming).
- 20 The way in which 'anyone today thinks about ancient Greece is inseparable from two hundred years of European colonialism...an Egyptian, Iranian, or Indian is going to respond very differently to Herodotus than a white European who has been raised in the Anglo-Saxon tradition' (Vasunia (2003), 96). On imperialism and (post)colonialism see also e.g. Goff (forthcoming); Vasunia (2001); on multiculturalism see especially Levine (1992); Dougherty and Kurke (2003), 2-6.
- 21 See Branham (2001); de Jong (1991) and (2001); de Jong, Nünlist and Bowie (2004). On the struggle for narrative control in texts by Afro-Americans see the brilliant work of Stepto (1987).
- 22 S. Said (1984).
- 23 See E. Hall (1992).
- 24 Equally suggestive are the explorations of the centrality of the race and slavery issues to the 19<sup>th</sup>-century foundation texts of North American literary narrative in Stepto (1987) and Gardner (1998).
- 25 Abdel-Malek (1963); Said's *Orientalism* was first published in 1978.

- 26 See also Nippel (2002), 304-10.
- 27 On the Lacanian correlation between enjoyable fantasy and political organisation, see especially Stavrakis (1999).
- 28 See Grosrichard (1998), xi. Slavoj Žižek, a controversial Slovenian philosopher who draws on both Marx and Lacan, signalled the real focus of the argument in his instant philosophical classic on the way that popular culture shapes political belief, *For they Know Not What They Do* (1991), through its subtitle *Enjoyment as a Political Factor* (see also above, ch. 1, pp. 000).
- 29 See e.g. Marcus Wood (1999) and Marcus Wood (2002), especially 87-140 and 181-254.
- 30 This is the encounter between the hero of the Greek *Ass* novel attributed to Lucian (7-10), which is much more physical and realistic than the corresponding scene in Apuleius' *Golden Ass*. See further E. Hall (1995).
- 31 Fanon (1959).
- 32 See e.g. Codell and Macleod (1998), especially the Introduction (1-10).
- 33 See especially El Cheikh (2004).
- 34 Moyer (2002).
- 35 Haubold (forthcoming *a*); in another paper (forthcoming *b*), he looks at what bridging the Hellespont might have meant from the perspective of the new leader of a Persian regime, attempting both symbolically and militarily to reinforce and validate his claim to empire. I am grateful to Dr Haubold for his advice on this section.
- 36 See e.g. E. Hall (1989), 94, 158-9, 206.
- 37 Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1993).

- 38 Whitby (1998). For the importance of reading the Persian and Babylonian sources when reconstructing the slightly later period of Alexander the Great's conquests, see Lendering (2004).
- 39 See Moore-Gilbert (1986), ch. 27; Macfie (2000), 7. For an excellent study of 'shades of Greekness' amongst the populations of Roman Asia Minor, see however Spawforth (2001).
- 40 See Jonathan Hall (1999) and (2001).
- 41 'Tabula Rasa: The Invention of the Persians', in Georges (1994), 47-75.
- 42 Kuhrt (2002), 8.
- 43 Kuhrt (2002), 9-10.
- 44 Sancisi-Weerdenburg (2001); Gruen (2001); see also the sophisticated study by Rajak (2000)
- 45 The new Simonides papyrus also made possible the identification as Simonidean of another previously published papyrus (*POxy* 2327). They were first brought together and published under the name of their author in the second edition of vol. ii of M.L West's *IEG* (1992). There is a large amount of extremely useful scholarship on the Plataea poem, including much new material exploring the cultural shaping of the conflict with the barbarians, in Boedeker and Sider (2002). This also includes an excellent translation of the fragments by Sider (2002), 13-29, and, on the mutual assimilation of the narratives of the Trojan and Persian wars, especially Boedeker (2002), 155-8; Rutherford (2002), 40-4; P.-J. Shaw (2002).
- 46 See the elegant literary interpretations of the place of ethnicity in Euripides' *Hecuba* produced in the early 1990s by C.P. Segal (1990) and Zeitlin (1991). For ethnographic material in tragedy and comedy

- see e.g. the useful discussion of tragedy and comedy in Tuplin (1996), 133-6 and 141-52, especially 144-5 on the material connected with the 'persistent subtext of Persian parallels' in *Acharnians*.
- 47 There is a useful overview of the Athenian visual image of the foreigner in Lissarrague (1997). See also, besides the extensive evidence in the articles on 'barbarian' mythical figures in *LIMC*, M. Miller (1997) on Persians in classical Greek art; M. Miller (1988) on Midas; Rein (1996) and Roller (1999) on the Greek iconography of Phrygian cults; M. Miller (2000) on Busiris.
- 48 See e.g. M. Miller (1997), 81-5 with table 3.c; Tuplin (1996), 132-77, who points out that Miller tends to assume that Persian names suggest dead Greeks who had been given fashionably Persian names rather than dead Persians; Bäßler (1998); De Vries (2000), 339-41; Hagemajer Allen (2003). I am very grateful to P.J. Rhodes for help on this issue.
- 49 Osborne and Byrne (1996).
- 50 See Csapo (forthcoming), Hall (forthcoming *b*).
- 51 See above, p. 000 n. 000.
- 52 Taplin (1999), 38.
- 53 D.M. Lewis (1968), 380.
- 54 For the colourful careers of Pasion and Phormion, see the testimonia and discussion in M.J. Osborne (1981-3), vol. iii, 48-9 and 55; Bers (2003), 'Introduction'.
- 55 On the Scythian archers, see further, below ch. 8, pp. 000. There is some suggestion that even in the fifth century the eight official slaves attached to the Council sat in the theatre with the Five Hundred whom

- they served, in the prestigious seating section called, in Aristophanes' *Birds* (794), the *bouleutikon*. See especially Goldhill (1994), 364.
- 56 Hikesios, of unknown ethnicity: see Andocides 1.12; Byrne and Osborne (1996), 338, no. 7724.
- 57 See *Frogs* 31-4, 693-4; Xenophon *Hellenica* 1.6.24; Hellanicus 4 *FgrH* fr. 171, and the other testimonia assembled and discussed in M. Osborne (1981-3), vol. iii, 33-37; Dover (1993), 43-50; Peter Hunt (2001).
- 58 Although some scholars have been reluctant to believe that the Arginusae slaves can have become fully naturalised Athenian citizens, the evidence offers no reason to doubt this, as the majority of recent scholars, following the detailed arguments of M. Osborne (1983-3), vol. iii, 33-7, 181, are agreed. See e.g. Cartledge (1993), 92-3, and Peter Hunt (1998), 92-3, with bibliography.
- 59 Sian Lewis (1998/9), 74. As she trenchantly states (p. 75), 'all members of the household must be potential viewers (and interpreters) of the scenes, whether or not they could read, or even understand Greek'.
- 60 The Colchian was a slave belonging to Cephisodorus, a wealthy metic (IG<sup>3</sup> 421.44, no. 7782 in Osborne and Byrne (1996), 341).
- 61 For Sosias, whose owner was Niceratus Cydantides, see Xenophon, *Poroi* 4.14 and Osborne and Byrne (1996), 109, no. 2585.
- 62 For a collection of other passages mentioning or assuming the presence of slaves in Platonic dialogues, see Gera (1996). A rather different note is struck by the former slave Epictetus, who implies around the end of the first century AD that a place that runaway slaves would be likely to

- try to evade recapture by mingling amongst the audience at the performance of a play (*Discourses* 1.29.9).
- 63 A point made with sustained passion and rigour in P. DuBois (2003).
- 64 The relationship between slavery and literary form and content has however been taken seriously of late, in e.g. P.W. Rose (1992), Thalmann (1998), Fitzgerald (2000), some of the essays in Joshel and Murnaghan (1998), McCarthy (2000), Keith Bradley (2000).
- 65 There has been some exciting work recently on the fifth-century intellectual pyrotechnics on ethnicity and their reflection in e.g. Herodotus: see especially Rosalind Thomas (2000).
- 66 The inscription is translated in Austin and Vidal-Naquet (1977), 283-4, no. 75.
- 67 See T. Long (1986), 58, 80, 110.
- 68 On the stereotype of the cunning Egyptian see also E. Hall (1989), 123; Whitehead (2000), 287; Demosthenes 21.163 provides a rhetorical reference to a metic suggestively labelled 'the Egyptian, Pamphilos'; for a discussion of what we would call 'racist' invective in the Athenian law courts, see Whitehead (1977), 112.
- 69 For a succinct discussion of all the evidence concerning this speech, the metics who conducted trade in perfume, and of the proper name Athenogenes, see now the excellent commentary on Hyperides by Whitehead (2000), 265-71, 287-8. There are several attested Egyptian tradesmen in Athens, including one Hermaios, during the fifth and fourth centuries: see Osborne and Byrne (1996), 11 (nos. 214-22).
- 70 Whitehead (2000), 269; see also MacDowell (1978), 140.
- 71 The name Midas probably suggests Phrygian origin: see Strabo 7.3.12.

- 72 Translation from Whitehead (2000), 272.
- 73 E.g. Rosenbloom (1998), 38. It is worth remembering that the ancient Greek imagination could generate a myth in which even *birds* could respect the difference between Greeks and barbarians; on the island Diomedea in the Adriatic, the local birds allow all Greeks to visit Diomedes' shrine, but kill barbarians who disembark there ([Aristotle], *de Mirabilibus* 79 = 836a8-18).
- 74 Sommerstein (1998a), 211-12.
- 75 Harrison (2000), 9, describes the relationship between our studies of *Persians* in slightly different language.
- 76 See Christina Klein (2003), 100-42.
- 77 Kuhns (1991), 11-34.
- 78 T. Harrison (2000), 104-5.
- 79 See the first definition offered under the heading of 'projection' in Reber and Reber (2001), 570: it is a symbolic process 'by which ascribes one's own traits, emotions, dispositions, etc. to another person.' Typically, this projection implies 'an accompanying denial that one has these feelings or tendencies.'
- 80 Wardy (2002), 4 (a fascinating reading of Plato's *Symposium* from the starting-point of Heraclitus' proposition of unity-in-opposition).
- 81 For an example of the fruitful use of the concept in decoding the paradoxical language of Greek mystery cult, see Seaford (2003).
- 82 I am full of admiration for the subtle study of kings in Greek tragedy, including Xerxes, by Griffith (1998), who is similarly interested in the illumination which psychological theory can bring to the study of the impact made by ancient drama. He rightly emphasises that theatrical

performances invite members of their audiences ‘to adopt different subject positions’ (39), and actually require a degree of psychological ‘splitting’ in terms of the subjects with whom they identify during a play. But, as he acknowledges, these phenomena ‘are notoriously difficult to track and analyse empirically in any detail’ (*ibid.*).

83 For a fascinating filmography of World War II combat movies until the early 1960s, see Basinger (2003), 275-302; on the depiction of Germans, see also 24-6, 260-1; for Japanese, *ibid.* 28-9, 32-3, 55-6, 124-5, and especially 147-54, on *The Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949), whose cast included real veterans of combat.

84 There are some perceptive remarks on the issue of Greek and Athenian hatred for Persia in Tuplin (1996), 153-4.

85 M. Miller (1997), 135-258; see also the remarks of Tuplin (1996), 173-6; Cohen (2001).

86 K.H. Allen (2003).

87 Lissarrague (1997).

88 Colley (1992).

89 Hall and Macintosh (2005), 33-8.

90 The hypothesis to Aeschylus’ *Persians*, which claims to be quoting a work on plotlines by an ancient scholar named Glaucus (see E. Hall (1996), 105-6). This is perhaps the late fifth-century Glaucus of Rhegium, author of the treatise *On Poets* which heavily informed Plutarch’s influential *On Music*. On Glaucus and other early literary historians, see Ford (2002), 139-40.

91 *plēn ekei eunouchos estin agellōn en archēi tēn Xerxou hēttan, stornus te thronous tinas tois tēs archēs paredrois.*

92 It must be acknowledged that John MacKenzie (1995) has argued with  
considerable cogency that Said's theory of Orientalism in the period of  
European Imperialism was excessively binary and simple. MacKenzie  
argues that Orientalism was endlessly protean, as often consumed by  
admiration and reverence as by denigration and depreciation. But  
certain key elements in the Oriental fantasy have proved remarkably  
tenacious from Ctesias to the twentieth-century cinema; and, as I argue  
above, hostility and admiration can be as co-existent, indeed as co-  
dependent, as the North and South Poles.

93 Case (1985); Solomon (1997), 2.

94 See below ch. 10, pp. 000 on the perceived effeminacy of members of  
the tragic acting profession, and E. Hall (2002a), 22-3 on the practice  
of genital ligation by male performers who wished to sing at a high  
register.

95 See e.g. Bakewell (1997).

96 Tritle (2000), 111 n. 34; see also 107 n. 19. This is a fair criticism, at  
least from Tritle's perspective. I remain unhappy, however, at being  
represented as someone who underestimated the impact that being a  
Persian war survivor would have had on Aeschylus, since this --  
especially the death of his brother as a result of a terrible **would**  
inflicted at Marathon -- is something that I have been almost alone  
amongst *Persians* scholars in stressing. See e.g. E. Hall (1996), 3, 14.

97 A.M. Keith (2000), especially chapters 1 and 3.

98 Lowe (1991), especially 1-29 and 75-101

99 Joan W. Scott (1986), elaborated in Joan W. Scott (1988).

100 Barthes (1973), 129; MacDonald (1987), 3.

- 101 An earlier version of the remainder of Section 5 of this chapter was first published as part of an earlier publication: E. Hall (1993), 118-27.
- 102 Geoffrey Lloyd (1996), 49.
- 103 Halperin (1990), 266.
- 104 For the canonical study of the conceptual overlap and interplay between the Greek male's different 'Others', see Cartledge (1993). It was, of course, not only non-Greek territories that became conceptually feminine in relation to Athenian imperialism; on the complexities of gender symbolism in Eupolis' comedy *Demes*, see the excellent study by Rosen (1997), especially 158-9, 170.
- 105 Porter (1986), 232.
- 106 Wiltsher (1985), 172; MacDonald (1987), 21.
- 107 MacDonald (1987), 16.
- 108 Porter (1986), 232; Dougherty (1993), 61-2, 64-9, 75-6, 85-8, 88-9; Dougherty (1998). On the feminisation of the defeated in early Greek literature, see Vermeule (1979), 99-105. Seamus Heaney's poem *Act of Union*, a poem about British imperialism in Ireland (in Heaney 1975) ironically subverts the traditional *topos*.
- 109 Kolodny (1973); Porter (1986), 232; Dougherty (1998).
- 110 R. Smith (1987), 115-20, with plates 14 and 16.
- 111 Hulme (1985), 17.
- 112 Act III, scene iii.15 in the edition of Van Fossen (1979), 127. *Eastward Ho* resulted from Jonson's collaboration with George Chapman and John Marston. See also Carr (1985), 46.
- 113 Hanson (1990), 326.
- 114 Zeitlin (1986), 124-5.

- 115 Rougé (1970), 309-10.
- 116 Cartledge (1993).
- 117 Perlman (1976); Baslez (1986).
- 118 See the elegant remarks of Briant (2002), 202-3 on the relationship between the Greco-Roman myth of Persian decadence and the perceived femininity of the Persian court.
- 119 Hartog (1988), 330-9.
- 120 E. Hall (1997), 103-9.
- 121 See above all E. Said (1975), in Macfie (2000), 93.
- 122 E. Said (1975), in Macfie (2000), 95; E. Said (1985), 23; for some of the earlier examples of this process, see Daniel (1960), 144-6, 242-3, 267, 355-8.
- 123 E. Said (1985), 23.
- 124 Backhaus (1976); Jouanna (1981), 11-15.
- 125 See further E. Hall (forthcoming c), part of a project on cultural responses to the Persian Wars conducted with Professor P.J. Rhodes and other members of the Department of Classics and Ancient History at Durham University, resulting in Bridges, Hall and Rhodes (forthcoming).
- 126 E. Hall (2004c).
- 127 Browning (2002), 270-1. For the Arab perception of the Byzantines at this time, see El Cheik (2004).
- 128 Southern (1962), 27-8.
- 129 See Metlitzki (1977), 199-203.
- 130 Rodinson (1987), 36.

- 131 See E. Hall (1996), 2; Hall and Macintosh (2005), ch. 10; van Steen (forthcoming).
- 132 'So, if great things to small may be compared, / Xerxes, the liberty of Greece to yoke, / From Susa, his Memnonian palace high, / Came to the sea: and, over Hellespont / Bridging his way, Europe with Asia joined, / And scourged with many a stroke the indignant waves.'
- 133 See Valensi (1990); Grosrichard (1998); Nippel (2002), 304-10.
- 134 W. Daniel Wilson (1985), 81-2.
- 135 See the chalk cartoons illustrating *Persians* by George Romney, one of which is reproduced in Hall & Macintosh (2005), ch. 7, and another in Bridges, Hall & Rhodes (forthcoming).
- 136 See the excellent discussion in W. Daniel Wilson (1985).
- 137 See Hall and Macintosh (2005), ch. 4.
- 138 The illustration, which is anonymous, is reproduced from von Rotteck (1842) in Witschel (2002), 6 fig. 2.
- 139 See the perspicacious remarks of Daniel (1966), 222-3; *Hellas* is discussed in much greater detail in E. Hall (forthcoming c).