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Pausanias' Careful Language of Sexual Violence

Rape, Race, and Agency in the Periegesis Hellados

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Abstract

This article considers the vocabulary of sexual violence in the *Periegesis Hellados*. The vocabulary of sexual assault in the *Periegesis* encompasses the related noun and verb pairings ἀρπαγή and ἀρπάζω, αἰσχύνη and αἰσχύνω, βία and βιάζω, and ὕβρις, ὕβριζω. All denote 'rape' defined as 'nonconsensual sex' (though matters of consent are sometimes ambiguous), but they are not used interchangeably in the text. Several patterns emerge from this analysis: first, the language of violence and sacrilege correlates with suffering in Pausanias' usage, so the more explicitly violent and transgressive the sexual assault, the more likely it is that aspects of the victim's experience and agency will be included in the account. Second, racial formation is a key operator in the narratives of sexual assault, so Greek stereotypes about barbarian alterity are amplified in the representations of rape in Pausanias' text.

Keywords

Pausanias – word choice – rape – race – women – agency

1 Introduction

If they take the ship, they'll rape us to death, eat our flesh, and sew our skins into their clothing. And if we're very, very lucky, they'll do it in that order.¹

1 Zoe to Mal and crew on first series encounter with a Reaver ship (*Serenity* 1.1).

Joss Whedon's sci-fi fan-favourite series *Firefly* and feature film sequel *Serenity* present futuristic Cowboy-and-Indian narratives set in space. Scholars have noted the correspondence between Whedon's Reavers and the negative stereotype of the 'savage Indian', though they disagree about whether Whedon's Reavers replicate or deconstruct and attack the stereotype.² This article is not actually about Reavers or the metaphors of the 'Whedonverse', and I introduce them here only because they offer a contemporary science-fiction parallel for Pausanias' representation of Gallic atrocities committed during Brennus' invasion of Greece in the 3rd century BC. The Reavers' racially-coded association with cannibalism, the lethal sexual violence, and dehumanized otherness echoes Pausanias' portrait of the Gallic forces in his account of the sack of Aetolian Kallion. Just as Whedon's Reavers are the stuff of nightmares, so Pausanias characterizes the Gallic atrocities, which include infanticide, cannibalism, and lethal serial gangrape, as the most unholy crimes he's ever heard of (Paus. 10.22.3-4). Although scholarly perceptions of Pausanias and his text have changed since the publication of Habicht's seminal Sather Lectures on the *Periegesis*, the narrative of 'pedestrian' travel through Roman Greece is not exactly high-drama.³ The *Periegesis Hellados* describes the sites and sights of Roman Greece in ten carefully constructed books.⁴ These books present the fruits of the author's numerous travels and careful textual research over the course of several decades in a unified composite itinerary.⁵ The structure of the *Periegesis* comprises both 'sights' (*theoremata*) and 'stories' (*logoi*) that flesh out the *lieux de mémoire* in the topographical frame-narrative.

The subject matter of Pausanias' 'digressions' is notoriously variegated; myths, rituals, art and architecture, local lore, faunal and botanical oddities, and historical accounts all find their place in the *Periegesis*.⁶ But gender remains an underexplored aspect of this text. The various *logoi* and *theoremata* in Pausanias' oeuvre are replete with goddesses, heroic women, priestesses,

2 See Rabb and Richardson 2008, 127-138 and Curry 2008.

3 Habicht 1985. See Frateantonio 2009, 20-23 for a synopsis of the shift away from compilation towards thematic treatments in Pausanias studies. Jones 2001 provides a useful summary of recent scholarship that follows the publication of Habicht's monograph. Jones characterizes the edited volume by Bingen *et al.* 1996 as a reevaluation of historiography in the *Periegesis*, Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner 2001 as a treatment of art history, and Knoepfler and Piérart 2001 as a study of textual criticism and the manuscript tradition. See also Pretzler 2007 for the *Periegesis* as travel writing, and Akujärvi 2005 and 2012 for a narratological study of the text. See also Hutton 2005, 20-29 for scholarly attitudes toward Pausanias as an author.

4 Habicht 1985, 4, 424-429.

5 See e.g. Elsner 2001, 3-20; Akujärvi 2005, 131-145. See also Habicht 1985, 9-10 and Bowie 2001, 21-24 for date of composition.

6 This is an aspect of the text is well articulated by Akujärvi 2012, 327.

courtesans, female poets, mothers, daughters, and sisters.⁷ This article will provide a focused analysis of one particular aspect of female representation in the *Periegesis Hellados*, namely as victims of sexual violence. This survey of representations of rape in the *Periegesis* considers the vocabulary of sexual violence, the identities of the victims and the perpetrators through an intersectional lens, and the victims' agency in the consequences of the assaults. Several patterns emerge from this analysis: first, the language of violence and sacrilege correlates with suffering in Pausanias' usage, so the more explicitly violent and transgressive the sexual assault, the more likely it is that aspects of the victim's experience and agency will be included in the account. Second, racial formation is a key operator in these narratives, so Greek stereotypes about barbarian alterity are amplified in the representations of rape in the *Periegesis Hellados*.

2 Defining Rape

In the preface to *Rape in Antiquity*, published more than twenty years ago, Deacy and Pierce state “[r]ape is as topical as ever”.⁸ But they also acknowledge that the ‘rape’ remains a contested term. Consent, they say, is easily identified as a key concept in its definition, but what exactly constitutes consent varies between jurisdictions. This remains true today. Freedman reiterates, “*rape* remains a word in flux”.⁹ She explains:

At its core, *rape* is a legal term that encompasses a malleable and culturally determined perception of an act. Different societies define which nonconsensual sexual acts to criminalize, which to condone, and how forcefully to prosecute the former. Indeed, the history of rape consists in large part in tracking the changing narratives that define which women may charge which men with the crime of forceful, unwanted sex, and whose accounts will be believed. The meaning of rape is thus fluid, rather than transhistorical or static.¹⁰

Taking a cue from Freedman's observations on the cultural specificity of definitions of rape, rigorous historical and literary contextualization of the

7 As yet, no study of representations of women or gender in the *Periegesis Hellados* has been published.

8 Deacy and Pierce 2002, vii.

9 Freedman 2013, 1, 7. She cites Arthur S. Brisbane, editor of the New York Times for the phrase, 291 n. 1.

10 Freedman 2013, 3.

representations of sexual violence in the *Periegesis* is certainly a *desideratum*. A growing body of research on gender and sexuality in Imperial Greek texts, most notably in the genre of the ancient Greek novel, sheds light on normative discourses of sexuality.¹¹ Morales observes the proliferation of scenes of sexualized violence in the ancient novels and considers the “sheer relentlessness with which women are threatened with rape” a striking aspect of the genre. She further notes that while the heroines of the novels are never actually raped, “their narratives repeatedly take pleasure in the fantasy of their defilement at the same time as they exhibit them as paragons of chastity”.¹² But more wide-ranging investigation of the discourse of sexual violence Imperial Greek literature awaits. This study aims to make a modest contribution to the question through its narrow focus on the language of sexual violence and its deployment in the *Periegesis Hellados*.¹³

As Harris succinctly observes, “the ancient Greeks had no word that is the precise equivalent of our word ‘rape’”.¹⁴ In order to get a clearer sense of ‘rape’ in Pausanias’ text, the first task at hand is to collect the relevant terminology used in the various narratives of nonconsensual sex transmitted in the *Periegesis Hellados*. Then, probe the semantic distinctions and overlap between terms, the intersectional identities of the victims and perpetrators, and clarify whose consent is sought, given or withheld in each instance. The vocabulary of sexual assault in the *Periegesis* encompasses the related noun and verb pairings ἀρπαγή and ἀρπάζω, αἰσχύνη and αἰσχύνω, βία and βιάζω, and ὕβρις, ὕβριζω.¹⁵ All denote ‘rape’ defined as ‘nonconsensual sex’ to a certain extent (though

11 Foucault 1986 focuses on the “new erotics” in the novels celebrating heterosexual relations with the desired *telos* in marriage, and the ‘sterility’ of pederasty in the period. Konstan 1994 elucidates the formal symmetry in the erotic relationship between heroes and heroines of the Greek novels in contrast to Roman novels and other genres. Goldhill 1995 analyzes male desire in the Greek novels through philosophical discourse and literary allusion. See Haynes 2003 for constructions of femininity; Morales 2008 reexamines Foucault’s reading of the novels through four themes: the intersection of sexuality and civic discourse, the reception of homoeroticism in the novels, the female ‘desiring’ subject, and finally sexual violence. Richlin 2017, 115–135 coins the term “retrosexuality” to capture representations of sex in the texts of the Second Sophistic (1st–3rd centuries AD).

12 Morales 2008, 53.

13 For other examples of representations of rape in particular authors, see Walcot 1978 for study of rape in Herodotus, Reeder 2017 for wartime rape in Josephus. On sexual assault in New Comedy, see *inter alia* Brown 1991; Fantham 1975; Harris 2006; Leissner-Jensen 2002.

14 Harris 2006, 41. Note that Harris defines ‘rape’ according to American legal statutes, 42 n. 2 and appendix, 79–80.

15 Reeder 2017, 366 includes δαμάζω; because the occurrences of δαμάζω in the *Periegesis* are limited to poetic quotations and do not refer to sexual assault, I have omitted it from the terms under investigation.

matters of consent are sometimes ambiguous), but they are not used interchangeably in the text. Lexical searches on the relevant terms total 45 instances in the *Periegesis* in reference to approximately 27 events.¹⁶ Of course, it is not possible to give an exact figure for the number of sexual assaults signaled in the text, because some involve multiple victims, multiple perpetrators, or an extended period of time, but the quantity does suggest that Pausanias is more interested in statues, cities and the sacred than sexual assault.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the survey of references to sexual assault in the *Periegesis* traces the nuances between the relevant terms in order to clarify the language of ‘rape’ in this specific text, and provide a basis for future comparison in contemporary usage in other genres and texts.

3 Rape(?) in Myth: ἀρπαγή and ἀρπάζω

The *Periegesis Hellados* is acknowledged as a rich source for Panhellenic myth and local variants.¹⁸ It is significant that the structure of Pausanias’ description of each region begins with heroic foundations and ancestry of the local elites.¹⁹ Productive sexual unions are central for these genealogies. These unions may be presented as marriages, divine epiphanies, or, as anyone with basic familiarity with Greek myths knows, rape. Both in the *Periegesis*, and in Greek literature more broadly, the noun ἀρπαγή and verb ἀρπάζω can designate ‘rape’. It is significant that ἀρπαγή and ἀρπάζω conflate two acts: physical abduction and sexual assault.²⁰ In the *Periegesis*, the use of ἀρπαγή and ἀρπάζω to designate ‘rape’ (as opposed to ‘seizure’ or ‘robbery’) is restricted to the abduction (and presumably violation) of figures from divine and heroic myth.²¹ Morales suggests that the sequestering of the description of sexual violence “in dreams, descriptions of pictures, and mythological tales” in the Greek novels is a “process of disavowal”.²² The restricted use of ἀρπαγή and ἀρπάζω to designate sexual

16 This figure is corrected to exclude usages of ἀρπαγή and ἀρπάζω, αἰσχύνη and αἰσχύνω, βία and βιάζω, and ὕβρις, ὑβρίζω that do not refer to sexual relations; the total number of hits is much higher. See also Pirenne-Delforge and Purnelle 1997 *ad loc.* for instances.

17 Pirenne-Delforge and Purnelle 1997, 1073–1181 give frequency lists for lemmata in the *Periegesis*. For purposes of comparison πόλις 766, ἄγαλμα 691, and ἱερὸν 675 are among the most frequent.

18 E.g. Pirenne-Delforge 2008.

19 On genealogy in the *Periegesis* see Pirenne-Delforge 2008, 48–54; Lafond 2006, 207–221.

20 Contrast the abduction and murder of Hymetho by her brother Phalces, which is patently not a sexual assault 2.28.3–7.

21 Pirenne-Delforge and Purnelle 1997, 134 give 12 instances of ἀρπαγή and 38 of ἀρπάζω.

22 Morales 2008, 56.

assault in mythological narrative in the *Periegesis* enacts a similar distancing. The rape of Persephone/Kore features most prominently (1.14.2, 38.5, 39.1; 2.36.7; 8.42.2; 9.23.4, 31.9), followed by the abductions of Helen (1.41.5; 3.12.6, 18.15, 22.1, 24.11), and Oreithyia (1.19.5, 5.19.1) among others.²³ Although rape is often considered gendered violence because of the preponderance of male perpetrators and female victims of assault, the use of ἀρπαγή and ἀρπάζω is not in fact strictly gendered in Greek myth, or the *Periegesis* in particular.²⁴ For instance, Pausanias refers to the abductions of several male youths using ἀρπαγή and forms of ἀρπάζω: Cephalus by Day (1.3.1, 3.18.12), Phaethon by Aphrodite (1.3.1), and Ganymede by Zeus and the gods (5.24.5). Both males and females are abducted for ongoing sexual relationships with gods or heroes.

Although ἀρπαγή and ἀρπάζω are often read as 'rape', the matter of consent poses an interpretive difficulty. The attitude of the victim is often elided in the narrative, and where consent is mentioned, it is the consent (or lack thereof) of the father or *kyrios* that is operative. Pausanias' account of the heroic union of Epopeus and Antiope illustrates this dynamic (2.6.1-4).²⁵ On matters of consent, Pausanias states that he does not know whether Epopeus asked Nycteus for his daughter's hand (οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε γυναῖκα αἰτήσας, 2.6.2), or whether he had planned to abduct Antiope from the beginning (ταύτην ... εἴτε θρασύτερα ἐξ ἀρχῆς βουλευσάμενος Ἐπωπεὺς ἀρπάζει, 2.6.2). Because Nycteus sent Theban troops after Epopeus in retaliation, the logic of the narrative suggests that Nycteus as *kyrios* had not consented to the union.²⁶ Pausanias makes absolutely no mention of Antiope's consent (or lack thereof), but he does report that Nycteus, after being mortally wounded in the confrontation with Epopeus, bid his brother, Lycus, not only to seek vengeance on Epopeus, but also to punish Antiope if he should bring her into custody (2.6.2). Nycteus' injunction may imply that Antiope was a willing partner in her relationship with Epopeus, and if this the case, the use of ἀρπάζω in this passage would align more neatly with seduction than contemporary notions of rape.²⁷ The use of ἀρπάζω here

23 Antiope 1.2.1, 2.6.2, the unnamed wife of the Thesprotian king by Theseus 1.17.4, Ariadne 1.20.3, Aegina by Zeus 2.5.1, the daughters of Leukippus by the Dioscuri 3.17.3, the bride of Peirithoos by the centaur Eurytion, 5.10.8, Marpassa by Apollo 5.18.2, Melia by Apollo 9.10.5.

24 See Stehle 1990 and Lefkowitz 2002.

25 Several variations of the myth of Antiope and the birth of her twin sons Amphion and Zethos are transmitted. See Hom. *Od.* 11.260-265; Ps.-Apollod. 3.5.5; Ps.-Hyg. *Fab.* 7-8.

26 Cf. 9.10.5: Caanthus is sent by his father to retrieve his sister Melia, who was abducted by Apollo.

27 Morales 2016, 61 n. 2: "The Greek language does not distinguish between abduction and seduction. Most modern societies would view these as two very different acts, with abduction a crime and seduction a pleasure, but in Greek and Roman thought, both were

indicates a violation of homo-social relations that need redress (τιμωρήσασθαι), and so the matter of Antiope's consent is not a factor. The distinction between legitimate marriage (ἐγγύη and γάμος) and abduction (ἄρπαγή) ultimately turns on paternal consent, and this fact reflects the status of daughters as commodities to be traded in agreements between men.²⁸

4 Rape(?) and Shame: αἰσχύνη and αἰσχύνω

Because the primary purpose of marriage in Ancient Greece was the production of legitimate offspring, a daughter's value could be diminished or destroyed by any illicit sexual relations, whether those relations constitute seduction or rape.²⁹ It is therefore unsurprising that αἰσχύνη and αἰσχύνω, which connote shame and dishonor,³⁰ also present serious ambiguities about consent. When αἰσχύνη and αἰσχύνω are used without further qualification, it is often unclear whether seduction or rape is implied. A good example of this ambiguity comes from Pausanias' account of the competing traditions about the death of the epic poet Hesiod (9.31.6). His brief account comprises three parts: a statement about conflicting traditions related to Hesiod's death (ἐναντία ... ἐστὶν εἰρημένα), consensus about the revenge of the brothers and consequences of their impiety toward Poseidon (οἱ πάντες κατὰ ταῦτ' αἰρήκασιν), a further statement about the ambiguity of Hesiod's guilt (οἱ μὲν ἄλλου τοῦ φασιν αἰσχύναντος ... οἱ δὲ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον). Fortunately, the death of Hesiod is more fully related by Plutarch (*Sept. sap. conv.* 19 [= *Mor.* 162c-d]) and in the *Contest of Hesiod and Homer* (225-249).³¹ Intertextual analysis provides an interpretive foothold to clarify the usage in the *Periegesis*.

Plutarch puts the story of the fate of Hesiod (ἀνθρώπινον πάθος) in the mouth of Solon, the Athenian lawmaker and statesman, who appears as a character delivering an *ainos* at a dinner party. Hesiod and a man from Miletus were both guests for some time at the home of a third unnamed man in Locris. When

crimes against the woman's male 'guardian' *kurios*." See also Lefkowitz 1993, and essays collected in Deacy and Pierce 2002.

28 For legal aspects of marriage in Classical Athens, see Just 1989, 26-75. On the chronological and cultural heterogeneity of marriage customs in Ancient Greece, see Foxhall 2013. See Harris 2006, 52-62 on rape as wrong committed against the husband, father or other male relative rather than the female victim in Classical Athens.

29 See Ogden 2002, 25-41 on rape, seduction and legitimacy of offspring in Classical Athens.

30 LSJ s.v. αἰσχύνη: "1. shame, dishonour, 2. αἰ. γυναικῶν *dishonouring* of women"; s.v. αἰσχύνω: "2a. mostly in moral sense, *dishonour, tarnish*, 2b. esp. *dishonour* a woman".

31 Cf. Th. 3.96.

it came to light that the daughter of the house had been conducting a secret liaison, Solon says that the family unjustly (ἀδίκως) suspected that Hesiod not only knew about the affair from the beginning, but also helped to conceal it (ὥς γνούς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ συνεπικρύψας τὸ ἀδίκημα). The girl's brothers then murdered both the poet and his attendant Troilus in retaliation, and impiously threw their bodies into the sea. Plutarch's account leaves no doubt about who has committed the offense, because the grammar of the passage unambiguously indicates the identity of the guilty party: the Milesian, in the genitive case (Μιλησίου), occupies the most emphatic place at the opening of the sentence, and the reader must wait for three lines to come upon the participles that complete the genitive absolute and the sense. It is the Milesian in the genitive case, and not Hesiod in the nominative, who secretly had sex with the host's daughter (τῇ τοῦ ξένου θυγατρὶ κρύφα συγγενομένου) and was later discovered (φωραθέντος). Plutarch's account suggests that the affair was ongoing (ἀπ' ἀρχῆς), and although he does not specify how the liaison was revealed, it is plausible to infer that the unwed daughter fell pregnant. While Plutarch does refer to the affair as a crime (τὸ ἀδίκημα), there is no suggestion of rape. He uses a neutral construction (συγγίγνομαι with a dative complement) to indicate sexual intercourse. The *Certamen* presents two slightly different versions, citing two different sources. According to Alcidas' *Museum*, the brothers suspect that it is Hesiod himself who has seduced their sister, and they kill him (230–331). The operative term here is μοιχεύειν ('commit adultery, debauch'). The second version, which is attributed to Eratosthenes, refers to the affair as a φθορά, which generally implies 'seduction' or 'ruin'.³² The responsible agent is named unambiguously as Hesiod's companion Demodes (φθορῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τινος ξένου συνόδου τοῦ Ἡσιόδου Δημόδου ὄνομα). In both Plutarch and the *Certamen*, Hesiod is either wrongly implicated in or himself suspected of shaming his Locrian host Ganymetor and his sons through the 'seduction' or 'ruin' of the daughter of the house.

The certainty of Hesiod's innocence in Plutarch's version (μηδενὸς ὦν αἴτιος) and the *Certamen* is replaced by ambiguity in Pausanias' version. This ambiguity extends to the exact nature of the offence. Like Plutarch, he refers to the incident as a crime (τὸ ἀδίκημα), but Pausanias uses αἰσχύνω to refer to the sexual relationship, and it is unclear whether Pausanias' version suggests rape or seduction.³³ The various sources use different terms to refer to the sexual

32 LSJ s.v. φθορά 4, 'seduction', but also citing Str. 6.1.6 'rape'. Although 'rape' is also a possible rendering, the context here suggests the primary meaning 'seduction'.

33 Perhaps there is a distinction to be made around the implied duration of the offense. In contrast to Plutarch's indication of an ongoing affair ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, in the *Periegesis*, there is

relationship (συγγίγνομαι + dat. compl., μοιχεύω, φθορά/φθείρω, αἰσχύνω), and these terms carry different connotations regarding consent. The combination of terms related to adultery and seduction in the *Certamen* suggest that the crime committed is a violation of proper guest-host relations. In both Plutarch and the *Certamen*, the sexual relationship between one of the guests and the host's daughter is a crime because it is nonconsensual sex, but it is the father's consent (or lack thereof) that is operative, while the daughter's consent does not factor at all. It is certainly possible that the meaning of αἰσχύνω in Pausanias' account connotes seduction and is therefore consistent with other two sources, and particular narrative parallels support this inference. First, in all three texts, the girl is only described relationally: she is the anonymous sister of the young men, and/or the daughter of the host, and there is absolutely no elaboration of her personal attributes. Second, the daughter is instrumental in every version of the narrative, but in each case, the emphasis is actually on the relationship between Hesiod and the girl's male relations. In Pausanias' version, the use of αἰσχύνω evokes the shame related to the destruction of social value of the maiden daughter, and makes the fate of the girl, her agency, and her consent irrelevant. These aspects are therefore elided from the narrative.³⁴

One reason that the exact nature of allegations against Hesiod is unclear is spatial;³⁵ whether Ganyctor's daughter was a willing partner or not, sex with a maiden in her father's home brings shame upon the family.³⁶ The point is illustrated by Pausanias' brief account of the assault on Alcippe, daughter of Ares, which is suggestive of rape. As above, Pausanias uses αἰσχύνω to describe what Halirrhothios, son of Poseidon, does to Alcippe (Ἀλὶρρόθιον θυγατέρα Ἄρεως Ἀλκίππην αἰσχύναντα, 1.21.4). The emphatic mention of her identity as the 'daughter of Ares' makes it hard to judge on the surface whether αἰσχύνω here suggests seduction or rape, but the fact that the assault is set outside of the paternal home and near a sacred spring favors the latter interpretation. Also, it is clear that Ares' wrath toward Halirrhothios was murderous (ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ

the suggestion of an isolated event through the gloss of 'the crime' (τὸ ἀδίκημα) as 'the deed' (τὸ ἔργον).

34 Both Plutarch and the *Certamen*, citing Eratosthenes, relate suicide of the daughter after the affair.

35 Lefkowitz 1993, 20–21 observes that in the Gortyn code ii.4, seduction in the house of a father, brother, or husband carries the same fine as rape of a free woman, namely 100 *staters*.

36 Compare contestation between Aristodemus and his daughter's fiancé over who has rights (κυριώτερος γίνεσθαι) over the bride after the betrothal (ἐγγύη). At the suggestion that the daughter has already been made pregnant by her fiancé, Aristodemus cuts her belly open to deny the allegation and reveal an empty womb, Paus. 4.9.7–8.

Ἄρεως).³⁷ The myth is also transmitted in Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*, and there is no question of seduction in this version because Apollodorus uses the verb βιάζω to explicitly refer to forcible rape (ταύτην βιάζόμενος Ἀλιρρόθιος, 3.14.2). As the two passages about Alcippe and Halirrhothios are closely parallel, it is reasonable to interpret the use of αἰσχύνω in Pausanias' account similarly to mean 'rape'. This interpretation is in fact consistent with the more common sense of αἰσχύνω in the *Periegesis*. For instance, Tereus' rape of Procne, which includes the mutilation of the victim's body and the sisters' vengeance, exemplifies this use of αἰσχύνω to designate rape (1.5.4). Further examples include the Argive Bryas' rape of an unnamed bride on her wedding procession (2.20.2), and the Arcadian king Aristocrates' rape of the virgin priestess of Artemis Hymnia (8.5.12, 13.5). Pausanias' account of the priestess' assault leaves no ambiguity about her consent, as he reports that she resisted Aristocrates' advances (οἱ πειρώντι τὴν παρθένον ἀντέβαινεν αἶ), and fled her attacker (καταφυγοῦσαν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν) before being raped near the cult statue (8.5.12). Pausanias also emphasizes the violence of the assault on the priestess by combining αἰσχύνω with βία ('force') to specify the manner (βία ποτὲ ἤσχυνε, 8.13.5).

5 Rape and Violence: βία and βιάζω

The most common occurrences of βία and βιάζω in the *Periegesis* cluster in battle narratives and connote a more general sense of violence.³⁸ But in several passages, the specification of the victim or victims as maidens clearly indicates that the violent assault is rape. Relevant examples include the attempted rape of Spartan hostages by men under the command of Aristomenes (πρὸς βίαν ἐτρέποντο τῶν παρθένων, 4.16.10), the rape of an indigenous maiden by one of Odysseus' sailors (ἕνα τῶν ναυτῶν παρθένον βιάσασθαι, 6.6.7), and Heracles' assault on Auge (ἐπὶ ταύτῃ βιασθῆναι τῇ κρήνῃ φασὶν Ἀὔγην ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους, 8.47.4). When βία and βιάζω refer to rape, the emphasis is on the violence in the sexual assault rather than shame or dishonor, although these are not mutually exclusive. For instance, Pausanias relates both the Messenian and Lacedaemonian traditions about the death of the Agiad king Teleclus in his fourth book (4.4.2).³⁹ According to the Lacedaemonians, some Messenian

37 Ares' murder of Halirrhothios is given as the *aition* for murder trials on the Areopagus, Paus. 1.21.4.

38 E.g. Messenians and Acarnanians at 4.25.7; Achaeans and Romans at 7.16.3.

39 Pausanias also mentions the death of Teleclus at 3.2.6, 7.4, and 4.31.3 but without the sexual assault of the maidens, and his herōon at 3.15.10.

men assaulted (βιάσαιντο) Spartan maidens on their way to celebrate a festival at the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis. Teleclus, they say, was killed trying to protect the women. The Lacedaemonians also claim that the victims of this assault (τὰς βιασθείσας τῶν παρθένων) subsequently killed themselves out of shame (διεργάσασθαι λέγουσιν αὐτὰς ὑπὸ αἰσχύνῃς). According to Pausanias, the Messenians claim, on the other hand, that Teleclus came to the festival with beardless youths, who, dressed in drag and armed with daggers, planned to assassinate the Messenian elite while they rested. They say the plot was foiled when the Messenian men fought back, killing the youths and the king in the process (4.3.3). Pausanias does not endorse either version of the events, and with a Herodotean nod invites the reader to decide for him- or herself which account is more credible.⁴⁰

The contrast between the Messenian and Lacedaemonian traditions presents an interesting case because in one account there was no sexual violence at all, and in the other the consequences of sexual assault are dire.⁴¹ In many of the examples of sexual assault examined above, the victim's experience—consent, trauma—is elided or suppressed, and it is the reflected shame and agency of male relations that takes precedence in the narrative. But it seems that emphasis on the violence of an assault begins to bring the victim's experience into focus. This can be seen in the example of Aristocrates' rape of the virgin priestess of Artemis Hymnia (8.5.12, 13.5), which is explicitly qualified as violent (βίᾳ ποτὲ ἤσχυνε, 8.13.5) and equally explicit about her lack of consent, if not her trauma. The Lacedaemonian account of the rape of the maidens at the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis also emphasizes the violence of the assault, and includes details about the victims' agency in response to the assault, which is suicide.⁴² Without looking too closely, it would be tempting to consider the emphasis on the stated motive for their suicide (ὑπὸ αἰσχύνῃς), which is shame, as an insight into the emotional effect of this assault, in essence a window into the victim's point of view. But Pausanias' pairing of the Lacedaemonian account with the rebuttal from the Messenians account undermines this

40 References to the incident in Strabo corroborate the Lacedaemonian account as to the sexual assault of the maidens 6.1.6, 3.3, and the murder of Teleclus 8.4.9, but not combined as parts of the same episode. Berg 1998, 40–41 gives Ephorus as the source for Strabo's treatment of the rape of the maidens and death of Teleclus. It is worth noting that Strabo uses φθορά, βιάζω, and ὑβρις interchangeably to designate the assault.

41 On the role of this narrative for the outbreak of the so-called First Messenian War, see Luraghi 2008, 24–25, 80–83.

42 Berg 1998, attributes the detail of the suicide of the maidens, not mentioned in Strabo (Ephorus), to the Hellenistic historian Myron of Priene, whom Pausanias names and critiques as one of his two sources for the Messenian Wars, 4.6.1–5.

interpretation. The emphasis on shame aligns more closely with a patriarchal projection of the emotional consequences of rape and better serves the political purpose of *casus belli* between the Messenians and Spartans.⁴³

A similar logic underlies Pausanias's account of the rape of the maiden daughters of Skedasus in his Boeotian *logos* (9.13.5), and their assault is tied to the spectacular defeat of the Spartans by Theban forces under Epaminondas at Leuktra in 371 BC.⁴⁴ According to Pausanias' account, two Lacedaemonian youths, Phrurarchidas and Parthenius, raped (βιάζονται) the maiden daughters of Skedasus. Details about the daughters flesh out the account: they are named as Molpia and Hippo, and specified to be in the bloom of youth (ἐς ὦραν ἤδη). The assault is not only characterized as explicitly violent with the use of βιάζω, but the prepositional phrase 'beyond established custom' (παραθέμιδα) additionally insists on the particular heinousness of the crime.⁴⁵ As in the case of the Spartan maidens assaulted at Limnai, Pausanias says that Molpia and Hippo hanged themselves directly after the assault (παρτυίχα). He specifies the reason for their suicide was their inability to bear the trauma of the assault (οὐ γάρ σφισιν ἀνεκτὰ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῆς ὕβρεως, 9.13.5).⁴⁶ In narratological terms, not only is the perception of the assault as 'unbearable' focalized through the dative σφισιν to reflect the thoughts of Molpia and Hippo, but the very characterization of the emotional consequences of the assault as 'unbearable' (ἀνεκτὰ) brings the victim's interior emotional world to the fore. The trauma of τὰ τῆς ὕβρεως surpasses the limit of their capacity for suffering. This attention to the victims' point of view supports the inference above that, in the *Periegesis Hellados*, the more violent and heinous the assault, the more attention is paid to narrating the victim's experience.

It is also observable that the increased focus on trauma correlates with an increase in the victim's agency in Pausanias' text. In several instances in the *Periegesis*, a violent sexual assault occasions revenge on the perpetrator in the interest of justice (δίκη).⁴⁷ For instance, the rape and mutilation of Procne

43 For structuralist analysis of the semantics of the myth in the Lacedaemonian account, the Messenian account, and Pausanias' account of Aristomenes' Spartan hostages at Caryatis, see Calame 1979, c-1-30. Calame argues that these narratives have structures consistent with etiologies for cult foundation.

44 Cf. X. *HG* 6.4.7; D.S. 15.54; Plu. *Pel.* 20.3-4; Ps.-Plu. *Mor.* 773b-774d for other accounts of the rape of the daughters of Skedasus.

45 Cf. Paus. 2.10.4: ἥ μὴκέτι θέμις παρ' ἄνδρα φοιτῆσαι for priestess' abstinence as part of cult practice. There are references to Themis personified at 1.22.1; 2.27.5; 5.14.10, 17.1; 8.25.7; 9.22.1 and 25.4.

46 The word 'trauma' seems to be the best way to interpret 'the things related to the assault' (τὰ τῆς ὕβρεως).

47 Berg 1998, 42: "The Greeks took seriously the need to pay recompense for such outrages".

precipitated the sisters' revenge on Philomela's husband Tereus (ἤγαγεν ἐς ἀνάγκην δίκης τὰς γυναικίνας, 1.5.4), and the bride-to-be raped by Bryas blinded her attacker during night after her assault (τῆς νυκτὸς τυφλοὶ τὸν Βρύαντα ἡ παῖς, 2.20.2). Both cases emphasize the agency of the victims as they seek retributive justice. This same pattern is repeated and amplified in Pausanias' account of the rape of Molpia and Hippo. Pausanias introduces the possibility that justice for their assault will be enacted through their father's agency only to dismiss it. He says that Skedasus tried unsuccessfully to seek justice from the authorities in Lacedaemon (οὐδεμία ἐγένετο αὐτῷ δίκη, 9.13.5), and then returned home to Leuktra, presumably in despair, and committed suicide.⁴⁸ In contrast to Skedasus' impotence, the agency of the girls is emphasized in Pausanias' account; not only do Molpia and Hippo take action immediately after the assault and commit suicide, but when their father is unable to get justice on their behalf through institutional means, their wrath against the Lacedaemonians grows to truly heroic proportions (μήνιμα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων εἶναι τῶν Σκεδάσου, 9.13.5). In the *Periegesis*, μήνιμα overwhelmingly refers to divine wrath for serious offenses against the gods with dire consequences for the transgressors.⁴⁹ Indeed, the daughters of Skedasus achieve heroic status, as Pausanias reports that Molpia and Hippo received offerings and prayers from the Theban general Epaminondas (ἐνήγιζε τε καὶ εὐχετο) on the eve of the Battle of Leuktra to deliver Thebes and avenge themselves on the Spartans (οὐ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Θηβαίων ἢ καὶ τιμωρίας ἐκείνων, 9.13.6).⁵⁰ Pausanias traces a direct link between the trauma and rage of the daughters of Skedasus and the outcome of the Battle of Leuktra, which marked the end of Spartan hegemony and which Pausanias qualifies as the most famous victory of Greeks over Greeks (9.6.4; 13.11).⁵¹

48 Harris 2006, 58 interprets shame as the reason for the suicide of the daughters and the father, but the evidence of the text does not support this.

49 With the exception of the wrath of Alexander the Great toward Thebes 7.17.2, all instances of μήνιμα refer to divine and/heroic wrath, e.g. τὰ μηνίματα ἔκ τε ἡρώων ὁμοῦ καὶ θεῶν 3.4.6. The following instances refer to divine wrath: 1.14.7, 20.7, 33.2, 36.3; 2.32.8; 3.4.6, 10.5, 13.4, 17.9, 23.5; 4.24.6, 27.1; 5.1.7; 6.11.8; 7.18.10, 19.3, 21.3, 24.6, 25.1; 8.2.5, 7.6, 25.6, 34.3; 9.5.15, 19.1, 25.8, 30.5; 10.3.1. The following refer to heroic wrath: 3.12.7, 19.13; 6.20.17.

50 Cf. Paus. 9.14.3 for oracle about the battle that makes mention of Skedasus' daughters. See Overmark Jul 2010, 95–96, 106–108, 238–239 and 264–265. See also Fontenrose 1978, 147–148, for a study of oracles predicting the defeat of the Spartans at Leuktra in various permutations and sources that highlight the wrath of the Skedasus' daughters.

51 The quasi-heroic Messenian Aristomenes is also credited with the victory at Leuktra, Paus. 4.32.4. Note that Aristomenes' enduring hatred against the Lacedaemonians is characterized as τὸ μῖσος, not μήνιμα in the passage.

6 Rape as Sacrilege: ὕβρις and ὑβρίζω

In his account of the rape of Molpia and Hippo Pausanias uses βιάζω to connote the violent nature of the assault. But when he relates their subsequent suicide, he glosses the sexual assault as ὕβρις. The LSJ lexicon gives one definition of ὕβρις as 'an outrage on the person, esp. violation, rape';⁵² and ὑβρίζω 'in legal sense, commit a physical outrage on one' where the 'outrage' is understood as sexual assault.⁵³ Of course, usage of ὕβρις and ὑβρίζω in the *Periegesis* is not limited to sexual assault; the term is also used to connote political violence, the insolence of tyrants, impiety more generally, and even the odd unruly cow or donkey.⁵⁴ In fact, across the ten books of the *Periegesis*, Pausanias employs ὕβρις or ὑβρίζω to refer to sexual assault in only three episodes: the gangrape of a barbarian woman by satyrs (1.23.6), the assault on Molpia and Hippo described above (9.13.5), and the mass rape of the Kallian women by Gallic forces under the command of Orestorius and Kombutis (10.22.4). It is not coincidental that in his account of the rape of Molpia and Hippo, Pausanias qualifies the finite verb βιάζονται with prepositional phrase παρὰ θέμιδα, which he then glosses as ὕβρις, and this suggests that in the *Periegesis* that ὕβρις and ὑβρίζω connote rape that is imagined to be particularly depraved, violent and sacrilegious, and as further analysis will show, fundamentally dehumanizing for both perpetrator(s) and victim(s).

7 Rape and Race: φύσις τῶν ἀστέγων βαρβάρων

Despite his own narration of the rapes of Molpia and Hippo by Lacedaemonians, and of the Spartan maidens at the festival of Artemis Limnata by Messenians, Pausanias distances violent sexual assault from Hellenic *mores*. For instance, he paints Tereus' rape and mutilation of Procne as emblematic of his Thracian barbarism by insisting that he was 'not acting according to the custom of the Greeks' (οὐ κατὰ νόμον δράσας τὸν Ἑλλήνων, 1.5.4). He also ventriloquizes the Messenian Aristomenes, who intervenes to prevent his men assaulting their maiden Spartan hostages (πρὸς βίαν ἐτρέποντο τῶν παρθένων), to say that rape is just not something that the Greeks do (οὐ νομιζόμενα Ἑλλήσι δρῶντας, 4.16.9).

52 LSJ s.v. ὕβρις II.2

53 LSJ s.v. ὑβρίζω II.3.

54 Political: 1.43.3; 2.1.1, 20.2; 3.3.2, 9.10; 4.14.5, 35.5; 6.22.2; 7.7.6, 14.3; 8.5.11; 9.15.1. Impiety: 1.20.3, 33.2; 2.2.7, 26.6; 3.23.4; 5.21.2; 6.11.6; 9.5.4, 8.2, 27.7; 10.6.6, 33.2. Animals: 2.35.6; 10.18.4. Topography: 1.28.5.

Ironically, Aristomenes kills those youths who did not listen. Pausanias tries to excuse the violent impulses of the Messenian youths by calling attention to their tender years and suggesting drunkenness as a root-cause for their behavior (ὑπὸ μέθης οἱ νεανίσκοι δοκεῖν ἐμοί, 4.16.10).⁵⁵ He thereby maintains the fiction that Greeks in their right minds do not rape Greek maidens. While the evidence from the *Periegesis* manifestly does not support this idea, the representations of violent and sacrilegious rape in the text are often racially inflected and the worst atrocities are perpetrated by barbarian 'Others'.⁵⁶

In his Attica *logos*, Pausanias relates a traveller's tale he attributes to a certain Euphemus the Carian (1.23.5-6).⁵⁷ According to Euphemus, a Greek ship sailing to Italy was blown off course into the outer sea and forced to put in at one of the Islands of the Satyridae. The sailors were apparently not eager to do so, because they had previous experience of the inhabitants, who are described as 'wild men' (ἄνδρας ἀγρίους), but circumstances forced the sailors to take their chances and land (βιασθῆναι δ' οὖν καὶ τότε). The physical description of these 'wild men' explains how the islands got their name; the inhabitants are red haired and have tails 'not much smaller than those of horses' (ἵππων οὐ πολλὸν μείους ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰσχύοις οὐράς). These wild men are hybrid creatures, satyrs, living far from usual path of sailors (ἐς τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν, ἐς ἣν οὐκέτι πλέουσιν) and civilization.⁵⁸ Despite their identification as wild 'men', they are clearly imagined as other than human. The satyrs are not only bestial in their physiques, but also in predatory their instincts (τούτους, ὡς ἦσθοντο, καταδραμόντας), and lack of language (φωνὴν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἰέναι). But it is also significant that their sexual appetites are equally unrestrained. Their prey are the (presumably) Greek women on the ship. The sailors' decision to throw one woman overboard results a heinous multiple perpetrator sexual assault. The satyrs violate her (ἐς ταύτην οὖν ὑβρίζειν) 'not only in the established way' (οὐ μόνον ἢ καθέστηκεν), but more grotesquely, in every part of her body (ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως σῶμα). In this narrative, the satyrs represent the radical 'Other', distinct in bodily form, language and *mores* from the stranded travellers.⁵⁹ The

55 Cf. Fantham 1975, 54-55 and Harris 2006, 43-48.

56 On racial formations in antiquity and critical terminology, see McCoskey 2012; on the use of the terms 'race' and 'ethnicity' in Classical scholarship, see McCoskey 2003; on 'marked' bodies, see Holmes 2010.

57 Otherwise unknown.

58 On Ocean and the disorder of the *apeiron*, see Romm 1992, 17-26.

59 Fisher 1992, 121 n. 248: "Satyrs, notorious for general insolence and drunken rapes, are naturally often held be hybristic." See esp. 500-505 for a summary of conclusions on hubris and the 'Other' and entries for barbarians, centaurs and satyrs in the index. Cf. Paus. 5.10.8: depiction of sexual violence of centaurs in the pedimental sculpture of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

satyrs embody a racially-coded extension of the unrestrained sexual excess projected onto non-Greek peoples to a hyperbolic degree.⁶⁰

The satyrs exemplify the monstrous othering of perpetrators of sexual violence in the *Periegesis Hellados*, but it is equally significant that the victim of their assault is herself explicitly marked as a 'barbarian woman' (βάρβαρον γυναίκα). Aristotle maintains that it is not cowardly to feel fear when faced with the violation of your wife and children,⁶¹ and the sailors' fear at the satyrs' onslaught (δείσαντας τοὺς ναύτας) demonstrates similar concern for the women on board. But it is also clear that their concern does not extend equally to all members of their party. The sailors' solution to the threat posed by the satyrs suggests a hierarchy of victimhood in which barbarian racial formation is operative. The logic behind the sailors' choice is not quantitative—better to sacrifice one for the good of many, but qualitative—better to sacrifice a *barbarian* woman and spare the others. This suggests that sailors do not value the barbarian woman's suffering, or perhaps their hesitation suggests they have some qualms (τέλος δέ), but there is no other indication of empathy for the victim. Indeed, the rest of the narrative presents none either; her trauma is completely elided from Euphemus' travel tale, which concludes with her complete dehumanization, reduced to a mere body (σῶμα) to be abused.⁶² Did she survive the assault? Was her body retrieved? The narrative does not say. In the other passages in the *Periegesis Hellados* where sexual assault is described as violent (especially when signalled by ὕβρις or ὑβρίζω), the episode includes the victim's agency in response to the assault and justice for their suffering. But despite the horrific assault on the anonymous barbarian woman, there is no mention of consequences or retribution at all.⁶³

The notion of a hierarchy of victimhood extends beyond Pausanias' report of Euphemus' story to the broader context of the *Periegesis*. With some exceptions like Helen of Troy and some of the Kallian women, the female victims of sexual assault in the *Periegesis* are overwhelmingly *parthenoi*.⁶⁴ There is also an indication that the rape of a maiden is considered to be worse than the rape

60 For interpretation of the collective identity of the satyrs as a racial formation, compare Paus. 8.29.2: Κύκλωπας καὶ τὸ γιγάντων ἔθνος.

61 *EN* 1115a 22–23: οὐδὲ δὴ εἴ τις ὕβριν περὶ παίδας καὶ γυναῖκα φοβεῖται ἢ φθόνον ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων, δειλὸς ἐστίν.

62 Paus. 1.23.6: ἐς ταύτην οὖν ὑβρίζειν τοὺς Σατύρους οὐ μόνον ἢ καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως σῶμα.

63 It might be suggested that 'barbarian' here implies that she is a slave, but the narrative does not comment on her status, only her non-Greek identity, so racial formation seems to the operative criterion.

64 Victims explicitly identified as *parthenoi*: 2.20.2; 4.4.2, 16.10; 5.10.8; 6.6.7; 8.5.12, 13.5; 9.13.5; 10.22.4. Status as *parthenos* implied by relationship to family or tradition: 1.2.1, 5.4, 14.2,

of a woman with sexual experience. For instance, in response to Aristocrates' rape of the maiden priestess of Artemis Hymnia, the Arcadians alter their practice and stop appointing a maiden as priestess, presumably in order to avert future assaults.⁶⁵ Instead they appoint a woman who has 'had enough of intercourse with men' (γυναῖκα ὀμιλίας ἀνδρῶν ἀποχρώντως ἔχουσιν, 8.5.12). It is not immediately evident why a woman who has sworn off men should be immune from sexual assault, so the implication appears to be that rape of a *parthenos* is worse than that of a sexually experienced woman.⁶⁶ In both the case of the barbarian woman and the new priestess of Artemis Hymnia, the lack of concern for the victim's actual or potential suffering could be tied to social status, if 'barbarian' is interpreted as code for slave, and 'had enough of intercourse with men' as too old and otherwise unsuitable for marriage.⁶⁷

The monstrous othering of perpetrators of particularly heinous sexual violence and implicit hierarchy of victimhood in Euphemus' story resonate with the most startling example of sexual assault as ὕβρις in the *Periegesis*. Pausanias' account of the sack of the Aetolian city of Kallion by Gallic forces under the command of Orestorius and Kombutis in 279 BC is part of a longer, more sustained historical excursus on Brennus' invasion of Greece (1.4; 10.19.5-23).⁶⁸ Although the passage offers a tantalizing opportunity to interrogate gender, source criticism and historical method, the current analysis will focus on violence, racial formation and agency. The narrative of the atrocities at Kallion will serve as the capstone case for the correlation in the *Periegesis* between the violence of the assault and agency of the victim on the one hand, and racial formation and dehumanization of the perpetrators of sexual violence on the other.

Pausanias frames the rape of the virgin priestess of Artemis Hymnia as the most sacrilegious of Aristocrates' acts (ἀνοσιώτατα ἔργων ἐς θεοῦς, 8.5.11), but he even more emphatically states that the deeds of Gallic generals Orestorius and Kombutis were the most unholy and inhuman he has ever heard of (ἀνοσιώτατά τε ὦν ἀκοῇ ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ οὐδὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώπων τολμήμασιν ὅμοια, 10.22.3). The particular atrocities are described in two parts according to the gender of the victims. Pausanias begins with the slaughter of all the Kallian males, young and

19.5, 21.4, 38.5, 39.1; 2.5.1, 6.2, 20.2, 36.7; 3.17.3, 18.11; 5.18.2, 19.1; 8.42.2, 47.4; 9.10.5, 23.4, 31.6, 31.9.

65 Cf. Irwin 2007, 16-17.

66 Consider the emphasis on fear and shame (ὕπὸ δαίματός τε καὶ αἰδοῦς) in the suicide of a Tegean maiden who killed herself to preserve her virginity in Pausanias' foundation narrative for the sanctuary of Artemis Hegemone, at Tegea, 8.47.6.

67 Deacy 2002, 43 defines *parthenoi* as "marriageable but unmarried females".

68 On the Gallic invasion of Greece, see Nachtergaele 1977, 1-205.

old alike, and cannibalism of infants. The horror and *pathos* of the slaughter is amplified by the details: the suckling infants are killed at their mother's breasts (τὰ νήπια ἐπὶ τῶν μητέρων τοῖς μαστοῖς ἐφονεύετο), the Gauls select the fattest of the breast-fed infants to consume (τούτων δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ γάλακτος πιότερα). The second part of the atrocity narrative, marked with a coordinating δέ, is the graphic account of the lethal assault on the Kallian women (10.22.4).⁶⁹

Pausanias' account employs emphatic language; the women are not simply abused, but are subjected to every kind of *hubris* (ἐς ιδέαν ὕβρεως πᾶσαν), and as the text specifies, under violent compulsion (μετὰ ἀνάγκης ἥγον ἰσχυράς). The expression ἐς ιδέαν ὕβρεως πᾶσαν recalls the aggravated sexual assault by the satyrs on their victim (ὕβριζεν ... τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως σῶμα) from Euphemus' travel narrative. Like the hybrid satyrs, the Gallic assailants are characterized as inhumane by their very nature, or more specifically devoid of the human emotions pity and desire (ἄτε ἴσον μὲν ἐλέου, ἴσον δὲ τὰς φύσεις καὶ ἔρωτος ἀπέχοντες, 10.22.4). Their inhumane nature is directly connected to their racial identity; Pausanias describes the Gallic assailants as 'incontinent barbarians' (ἀστέγων βαρβάρων). The diction graphically evokes the mass rape as an on-going succession of assaults by multiple perpetrators on multiple victims (ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις ὕβριζόντων). The final gruesome statement of the passage points to the indiscriminant and lethal nature of the mass gang rape; Pausanias says the Gallic forces had sexual intercourse equally with both the dying and dead (οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀφείσαις τὰς ψυχάς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἤδη νεκραῖς συνεγίνοντο ὁμῶς, 10.22.4).

Pausanias' narrative does not present the Kallian women as an undifferentiated monolithic population, nor does it reflect the same age-based cohorts that applied to the Aetolian males (infants, fighting age, old men). Instead, the Kallian women are divided on the basis of personal qualities or circumstance. The narrative begins by distinguishing the wives and maidens as a subset of the general population (γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἐν ὥρᾳ τῶν παρθένων), and this group is immediately subdivided into 'those with any φρόνημα' (ὅσαι μὲν φρονήματός τι αὐτῶν εἶχον) and the rest. This distinguishing quality φρόνημα is often translated as 'mind' or 'spirit',⁷⁰ and Pausanias reports that the group of women with a modicum of φρόνημα committed suicide before the city was taken (ἐαυτὰς ἐφθησαν ὥς ἡλίσκετο ἢ πόλις διειργασμένη, 10.22.4). It is possible to interpret φρόνημα here as 'courage' or 'spirit', and so bravery would be the quality emphasized here for the first group of Kallian women. But because these women presumably understood better than the rest what would happen

69 Cf. Cundy (forthcoming).

70 LSJ s.v. φρόνημα I.1 'mind, spirit'. Cf. Paus. 8.11.9 and 10.22.5: ἀναμεμιγμένοι δ' ἦσαν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης τε καὶ φρονήματος καὶ οἱ γεγηρακότες.

to them once the city was sacked and killed themselves in anticipation, the expression φρονήματός τι favors the secondary interpretation of ‘thought’ or ‘will’ emphasized in the root of the word.⁷¹ Those women who did not have the foresight to kill themselves in advance of the sack, he refers to as the ‘still remaining’ or ‘surviving’ women (τάς δὲ ἔτι περιούσας). This group, which forms a subset of the initial wives and maidens, was subjected to severe physical and sexual abuse, which Pausanias characterizes as ‘every kind of outrage’ (ἐς ἰδέαν ὕβρεως πᾶσαν μετὰ ἀνάγκης ἦγον ἰσχυράς). The extent of the suffering of the Kallian women is emphasized by second subdivision of the remaining women: those who were fortunate enough to get their hands on a Gallic blade and kill themselves (καὶ ὅσαι μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν ταῖς μαχαίραις τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπετύγχανον, αὐτοχειρίᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἠφίεσαν, 10.22.4).⁷² Finally, the women who were not able to kill themselves before the city was taken, or get their hands on a weapon and kill themselves after the fact, were then subjected to starvation and sleep-deprivation (ταῖς δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ὑπάρξειν τὸ χρεῶν ἔμελλεν ἢ τε ἀσιτία καὶ ἡ ἀνυπνία, 10.22.4) and serially gang-raped to death.

Pausanias’ narrative of the Gallic atrocities at Kallion centres both the Kallian women’s agency and their suffering. Although many of the Kallian women were subjected to horrific and lethal abuse, Pausanias’ account eschews straightforward objectification of the victims and highlights both the women’s (limited) capacity for self-determination through suicide in avoidance or response to trauma. Rather than erasing the women’s perspective from his account, Pausanias pays as much attention to what they did and what they experienced as to what was done to them.⁷³ This is reflected in the choice of diction and at the syntactical level. For instance, he uses an active construction to convey the collective suicides of the wives and maidens ‘with any φρόνημα’,

71 LSJ s.v. φρόνημα I.2 ‘thought, purpose, will’. Cf. the characterization of the Gallic queen Chiomara, who had her rapist killed through her careful planning. Plu. *Virt. mul.* 259–260 [= Plb. 21.38]: ταύτη μὲν ὁ Πολύβιός φησι διὰ λόγων ἐν Σάρδεσι γενόμενος θανατάσαι τό τε φρόνημα καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν.

72 While it should be noted that in the second division of women those who had the opportunity to kill themselves through access to a weapon, Pausanias does not explicitly mention the maidens, and instead specifies ὅσαι μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν, but the context suggests that γυνή should here be viewed as inclusively ‘woman’, LSJ s.v. γυνή I, rather than in the narrower sense as ‘wife, spouse’, LSJ s.v. γυνή II, for several reasons. 1) There is no further mention of the fate of the Kallian maidens if they are not included in this group. 2) Pausanias’ describes how the Gauls subsequently pillaged the houses and temples, and set fire to the city before withdrawing (10.22.6). There is no mention of captives. 3) There is no mention of captives in the subsequent Aetolian assault on the Gallic column. See Gaca 2018 for alternative interpretation.

73 Contrast Hdt. 8.33: καὶ γυναῖκάς τινας διέφθειραν μισγόμενοι ὑπὸ πλήθεος.

who are both the grammatical subject of the finite verb (ἐφθησαν) and direct object (ἐαυτάς) of the complementary infinitive (διειργασμέναι). The use of φθάνω, which connotes striving, outstripping, making haste, coming first, emphasizes their agency and self-determination.⁷⁴ Similarly, the women who were lucky enough to get their hands on a Gallic blade also form the grammatical subject of the active finite verb (ἠφίεσαν) and conceptually the direct object of the same verb by synecdoche since 'their souls' (τὰς ψυχάς) stands in for the women themselves. The dative of means 'by their own hand' (αὐτοχειρίᾳ) further emphasizes their agency. But in addition to their agency, the focus on the victims' personal qualities (φρονήματός τι) and embodied experience (ἧ τε ἀστυία καὶ ἡ ἀυπνία) humanizes the victims. They are imagined as real people, not mere extensions of their male relations, and their suffering is equally real. As with the other examples of violent and sacrilegious rape explored above, the narrative of the sack of Kallion conforms to the paradigm that such assaults require retributive justice. Pausanias insists that the barbarian invaders were punished for their sins, being subsequently harried and picked off by Aetolian forces, including armed Aetolian women (10.22.5). Less than half the initial force of 40,000 troops made it back to their camp at Thermopylae alive (10.22.7).⁷⁵

8 Conclusion

The preceding survey of references to sexual assault in the *Periegesis* suggests some general conclusions. The semantic field of rape in the *Periegesis* encompasses the terms ἀρπαγή and ἀρπάζω, αἰσχύνη and αἰσχύνω, βία and βιάζω, and ὕβρις, ὕβριζω. The usage of these terms suggests different but overlapping semantic ranges in the text. The majority of the accounts non-consensual or unwanted sex relate to figures from heroic myth using ἀρπαγή or ἀρπάζω, and in most of these cases the *kyrios*' consent (or lack thereof) that is operative, while the victim's attitude and agency is elided from the narrative. Some passages use αἰσχύνη and αἰσχύνω primarily to indicate sexual assault (though seduction is also possible), and highlight violations of honour, and therefore a maiden's proper place relative to her natal or matrimonial relations. The characterization of these victims in the text is for the most part relational, and so limited to their connections to the men in their lives, but there are exceptions. The

74 LSJ s.v. φθάνω.

75 Cf. Paus. 10.18.7 for the Aetolian *tropaion* at Delphi commemorating the punishment of the Gauls for their cruelty to the Kallians.

use of βία and βιάζω indicates violent, forcible rape, and this type of sexual assault requires just retribution. Accounts of violent sexual assault in the *Periegesis* often includes the death of the perpetrator or victim, or sometimes both. Murder, suicide, and even divine vengeance are all attested outcomes of a violent sexual assault. A relatively rare subset of violent sexual assaults in the *Periegesis* uses the language of outrage and sacrilege, ὕβρις or ὕβριζω. These assaults are particularly heinous and the narratives simultaneously foreground the trauma and suffering of the victims and dehumanize the perpetrators. Accounts of sexual ὕβρις in the *Periegesis* are racially inflected; not only is violent sexual assault described as a violation of Greek norms, but the most heinous assaults are perpetrated by non-Greeks. Conversely, the abuse of Greek maidens is framed as worse than the violation of sexually experienced and non-Greek women. The preceding analysis has traced Pausanias' careful language of sexual assault, and as a basis for comparison, provides an invitation for further inquiry into representations of sexual violence in other Imperial Greek authors.⁷⁶

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