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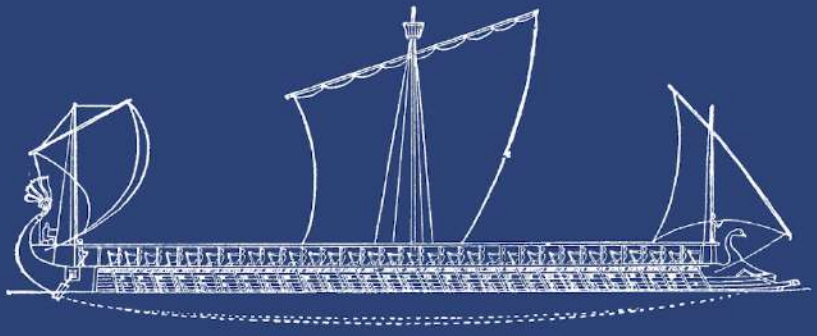

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Contents

Editor's Note

Plebeian XI is the start of a new decade, and as such, it is only appropriate that it takes a new approach to the field of Classics. I began my tenure as Editor-in-Chief with the goal of making this journal known across the University of Toronto—a rather ambitious goal, I might say. This was spurred in part by my own programs; as an Archaeology major with minors in History and Classical Civilizations, I believed Classics students would be enriched by exposure to the myriad passions held by students outside the department. Like many endeavours, passion drives this journal, and it is clear to see in each academic niche showcased in this volume.

Seven authors answered the call to write clever and unique papers borne of their deep dives and academic obsessions, and we are all the better for it. In this volume, not only do they push beyond the influential geographical cores of Greece and Rome, but they explore the impact of cultures across time. This volume's authors challenge the insular atmosphere of Classics with their interdisciplinary curiosity, drawing on the knowledge and skills they have honed through their other academic focuses. The lateral application of method and theory is incredibly important to our learning, and it is a habit we must cultivate if we are to make ourselves known—not just as budding Classicists, but as worthy scholars in our own right.

We must ensure that we guide our own paths, and remember that the boundaries drawn between Classics and other fields are simply not real. We must allow ourselves to break those boundaries and immerse ourselves in everything we can. Though this journal is the culmination of almost a year's hard work, it really is only the beginning. I hope that you, dear reader, take this to heart, and remain open to all you can possibly learn.

Nihil verum est. Omnia licita.

Anoushka Banerjie, Editor-in-Chief

May 2025

Something Rotten in the City of Tyre: Atypical Constructions of Love in Greek Romances

Elisa Kogan Penha

Abstract

The ancient Phoenician city of Tyre on the coast of modern-day Lebanon was a popular setting in many of the Ancient Greek novels, including Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*, Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, and Chariton's *Callirhoe*. In each case, the physical space of Tyre and its peripheries function as a conduit for interpersonal relationships and instances of transgressive genders and sexualities. Expressions of love in Tyre blur the lines between *eros*, sexual and erotic love, and *philia*, virtuous and courtly love. Stories centred in Tyre are given an ephemeral quality which permits the crossing of this boundary between *eros* and *philia* in a way that does not leave lasting impact on the narrative. Conversely, characters who are from Tyre in heritage carry the characteristics of the city with them as they travel, and their plots centre on a desire to escape its perversity rather than becoming embroiled within it, demonstrated primarily through one protagonist, Clitophon. Through a close reading of these novels, and an analysis of select Early Modern reception such as Shakespeare's *Pericles*, I will explore the use of Tyre in Greek literature as it allows for atypical performances of love and gender. Drawing on instances of homoeroticism, incest, and subversive depictions of gender identity, I posit the non-Greek quality of Tyre allowed the novelists to explore deviance in a manner inconsequential to Greek interiority.

Something Rotten in the City of Tyre

My adventures are really like fiction.

—Clitophon in *Leucippe and Clitophon*, Achilles Tatius

Tyre, a coastal city in contemporary Lebanon, was once a hub of fantastical erotic heroes who helmed the narratives of Ancient Greek prose fiction. In the land of Tyre, as well as in the peripheral spaces of travelling to and from the city and its neighbour Sidon, sees countless pulpy, bloody, and sexually charged plots of love and equally intense comedies of errors. Of the Ancient Greek romances, three of them prominently feature Tyre as a crossroads for the absurd and the moral: *The Ephesian Tale*, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, and *Callirhoe*. Tyre is a liminal space where sexualities are heightened both in avenues of deviance and virtuousness, and a place where the line between *eros* and *philia* blur. I am partic-

ularly interested in the existence of Tyre as a locational conduit for interpersonal relationships and as a space to challenge the correctness of diverse manifestations of romance and erotica. This paper will dissect the role of Tyre in a close reading of these novels including a proposed analogy to Euripides' *Hippolytus*, and survey their Early Modern and Renaissance survivals through the pseudo-Shakespearian and Shakespearian works: *Apollonius of Tyre* and *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*. Thus, I will catalogue the behaviours present in Tyre and their constructions of homoeroticism, hetero-romance, and incestuous families, each monikered beneath the name of "love." In Tyre, the intersection between sexual impulses that are sensical, versus those that are complex, and versus those that are deplorable, often triangulate into dynamics which a contemporary reading might posit as queer.[1] This happens not only by means of queer desire, but meta-textually, as what I shall call "Tyrian plots" meander through criteria of "good love," "bad love," and othering. Simply: order is allowed to be questioned in Tyre because it is ephemeral; introspections breed in Tyre as the result of an emotional lawlessness imbued by the city. Furthermore, in contrast to characters who come *to* Tyre to exert their self-actualizations, characters *from* Tyre, by nationality, often find themselves as servants to the literary purpose of their homeland. Their plots, conversely, centre their escapes from its perverseness, whereas people who come to Tyre are there to express it. To surmise, the Greek romances have long made Tyre into an entity in which stories are conducted as an expression of ideas rather than in accordance to the established interiorities of characters; permitting them to use "Tyrian plots" to examine atypical performances of love and gender.

The *Ephesian Tale*, or *Ephesiaca*, by Xenophon of Ephesus follows the respective odysseys of young lovers Habrocomes and Anthia after they are promptly separated by a number of outrageous happenings not long after their first meeting. Habrocomes is disillusioned with romance until he meets Anthia, and decides they must be married. In Ephesus, Habrocomes and Anthia are both compared to gods in their beauty and revered for their winsome unattainability. There is high praise of the infallibility of their chastity, a matter which characterises both protagonists, along with informing the social culture of Ephesus' values. The *Ephesiaca* brings the reader to Tyre in the latter half of its first book. Habrocomes and Anthia are kidnapped by a band of pirates who are conveying them to Tyre in order to sell them into slavery. The captain of the pirates, a young man named Corymbus, falls in desperate love with Habrocomes after spending several days on the ship with him: "During the course of the voyage Corymbus fell passionately in love with Habrocomes from

1 Throughout this paper, I use both the terms "queer" and "proto-queer" when describing relationships and dynamics across the novels. My use of "queer" is, as this is partially a reception paper, a term I use for ascribing what modern-day readings would constitute of same-sex relationships, while also keeping beneath an umbrella term rather than pigeonholing characters of antiquity to particular sexual orientations.

seeing him so often every day, and being at close quarters with the boy inflamed him all the more."[2] Here, the performance of Corymbus' attraction to Habrocomes en-route to Tyre is one of habitual love and repeated sight. This, as will become apparent, is a cornerstone of the manner in which Tyrian plots instigate passion: the habitual construction of love opposes what attachment normally appears as in Greek fiction. Jean Alvares begets the idea of habitual love in the following way: "In other words, these characters are attracted not only to the physical beauty of the hero and heroine (which would inspire only a desire to possess physically) but even more so their characters […] the behaviour characteristic of *eros* can join that of *philia*."[3] The dichotomous nature of *eros* and *philia* present as something Tyre does exceedingly; in this case, *philia* governs Corymbus' love for Habrocomes, and arrival to Tyre engenders *eros*. The novel continues to describe that: "after they had put in at Tyre he [Corymbus] could no longer contain himself."[4] This line, which I find uncontested in significance, demonstrates the arrival to Tyre as inciting the confession of Corymbus' fancy for Habrocomes through a seemingly spontaneous discontainment of Corymbus' inhibitions. Corymbus tells his friend Euxinus about his feelings for Habrocomes, and Euxinus is pleased, revealing that he too has fallen for Anthia, and he suggests they help one another in capturing their respective affections. Corymbus is "a large young man with a fearsome glance, whose hair hung loose and unkempt,"[5] and the matter of his male youth being in love with another male youth is offset by his position of power over Habrocomes—otherwise, this relationship would be nearly identical to any other male-female romance or pining found across these literatures. It is not an example of pederasty, but it is also not allowed to be unadulteratedly both queer and sensible without being narratively explained away by an imbalance in power. It is a "good love:" structurally sound, and combined between *eros* and *philia*, but it is forbidden from being virtuous. After Habrocomes and Anthia are released into Tyre, they are sold to the chief of the pirates, Apsyrtos. Habrocomes finds himself enwrapped in a complex predicament when Manto, the daughter of Apsyrtos, similarly falls for Habrocomes, and accuses him of rape when her affections are not requited. Manto is also drawn to Habrocomes through habitual sighting: "This Manto was captivated through daily contact with Habrocomes, was uncontrollably smitten, and did not know what to do about it."[6] Her state of uncontrollable helplessness for Habrocomes rouses in her what she deems to be unsuitable feminine feelings. In her confessing letter to Habrocomes, Manto writes: "Manto is in love with you and no longer able to stand it: unseemly perhaps for a girl, but

2 Xenophon of Ephesus, *The Story of Anthia and Habrocomes*, ed. and trans. Jeffrey Henderson, 1.245.

3 Alvares, Jean. "The Drama of Hippothous in Xenophon of Ephesus' 'Ephesiaca.'" *The Classical Journal* 90, no. 4 (1995): 393–404.

4 Xenophon of Ephesus, *Anthia and Habrocomes*, 1.245.

5 Xen. Ephes., 1.241.

6 Xen. Ephes., 1.255.

compulsory for a girl in love."[7] Her unseemliness is characteristic of the wayward nature of Tyre, and the presentation of her gendered infatuation in such a manner separates the idea of binary womanhood from that of being a woman in love. This effectively figures both versions of Manto as separated gendered identities. Manto's letter disconstructs the typicalities of lovers in Tyre as another kind of mental configuration entirely.

I would like to draw attention to what seems to me to be a possible allusion to the Hippolytus myth as it is told by the play by Euripides in this particular episode of the novel. The play *Hippolytus* follows the tragedy of a young man being accused of rape by his step-mother, Phaedra, and having the truth revealed to his father by discovering the lying woman in question had romantic feelings for the accused man. Hippolytus is exiled by his father and ends up killed by his own horses, but before he dies, he forgives his father. Though the following differences should be acknowledged: Hippolytus' chastity is born of his hatred for women, and Habrocomes of his devotion to Anthia; Manto being the daughter of the slavemaster and Phaedra being the step-mother of Hippolytus; the discovery of truth being divine in the case of Hippolytus (Artemis reveals the lie to Hippolytus' father) and not in the other. Nonetheless, what is most striking in importance beyond the broad strokes of the storytelling is the connection made through this allusion to the virgin goddess Artemis. Hippolytus is a fierce devotee of the goddess, and Habrocomes and Anthia meet at one of her festivals at her temple in Ephesus. In contrast, the soon-to-be-dissected novel *Leucippe and Clitophon* begins with an unnamed narrator in Sidon making prayers to the goddess Ashtare, also known as Ishtar, the Phoenecian goddess of sexuality and love, and equated with Aphrodite. This narrator is then greeted by Clitophon, a Tyrian himself, awaiting at this temple. I am inclined to extract meaning from these beginnings, especially an implication of Tyre's ruling force being that of intense sensuality, *eros* as opposed to *philia*, and subversive binary-hopping. In and around Tyre, love is performed theatrically; it is a city where those initially governed by chastity and romantic spurning are provoked in the opposing direction, typified by the different religious structures present in the start of these stories. Furthermore, *Leucippe and Clitophon* will also write the following of Tyre: "It happened at that season to be the festival of Dionysus Lord of the Vintage; for the Tyrians claim him as their own proper deity."[8] It is a city not just where its citizens will pray to Aphrodite for their resolutions in love, but one that holds its patronage in Dionysus, holistically held in place by deities of sex and inebriated selves.

7 Xen. Ephes., 259.
8 Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, trans. Stephen Gaselee. (Boston: Loeb Classical Library, 1969): 2.1.57.

Clitophon, the eponymous protagonist of *Leucippe and Clitophon* by Achilles Tatius, is, as mentioned, a Tyrian man. His drama began at the discovery that he has been embroiled in an incestuous betrothal to his half-sister, Calligone. The intrigue of this frame-narrative is that it transposes the outlook of the tale onto the character who sits on the *inside* of a perverse relationship, rather than being enrolled in one from the outside—as will be the case with Apollonius and Pericles—and therefore must wrench his way free. This is the escape that Clitophon finds for himself with Leucippe. Interestingly, Tatius has Clitophon recount his story in the first-person, the established framing device being that Clitophon is giving a cautionary tale about the woes of Eros to the unnamed narrator praying to Love. In many ways, Clitophon is just as stalwart a representation of Tyre's conventionalities. He is far from an ideal romantic hero. Like Habrocomes, Clitophon begins the novel untempted by romance, and has already been harmed by the prospect of love as he is being forced to marry his half-sister. Clitophon is also similarly thunderstruck with romantic desire when he meets Leucippe, as Habrocomes was for Anthia. However, Clitophon's enamourment with Leucippe is not one of undying faith like that of Habrocomes towards Anthia—he does not want marital union, he wants sex. Loukas Papadimitripolous writes, "*Leucippe and Clitophon* systematically and consistently subverts the social and literary norms of its genre" and calls Clitophon's attitude "highly unorthodox."[9] Clitophon and Leucippe not only wish to consummate their relationship before marriage, but twice, Clitophon is adulterous towards her. Though not in any legal capacity, but in their proto-courtship, he kisses two other women, one of whom he beds. Clitophon, in this case, is the sovereign representative of Tyre's wiles which he brings with him in ventures outside the city. Clitophon narrates his asking Clinias for advice about love when Clitophon, previously apathetic, falls for Leucippe. This is intriguing, as it mirrors the framing-device of Clitophon himself being asked for advice when the novel begins, implying Clinias as somebody knowledgeable on matters of love—as Clitophon narrates, "one of Love's adepts."[10] Clinias is himself still a young man, only two years Clitophon's elder, with a preference for other men, and in a relationship with a youth named Charicles. Clinias and Clitophon, I posit, represent moving Tyrian plots, as the characteristics of the city follow with them on their search for Leucippe, no longer contained to the land, but rather to their nationalities. Upon the morose discovery that Charicles has been engaged to marry a woman, Charicles says, "Now, at any rate, I am going riding. I have never made use of your present since you gave me that splendid horse; the exercise will

9 Loukas Papadimitropoulos, "Erotic Transgression and Knowledge in Achilles Tatius' 'Leucippe And Clitophon,'" *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 110, no. 2 (2015): 153–173.
10 Ach. Tat., 1.7.23.

lighten the grief on my mind."[11] However, it is not much later that the news comes that Charicles has been killed in a horse-riding accident, for which Clinias blames himself completely. Though Clinias is an intelligent nobleman and connoisseur of love, he is stripped of it: contrasted to both Clitophon and Habrocomes, both of whose girlfriends (Leucippe and Anthia, respectively) are thought to be dead and then wake up again several times, Charicles does not get to come back, because their love was never going to be a love that remained.

A third of the Greek prose novels, entitled *Callirhoe*, also features Tyre as a key setting. *Callirhoe* follows the dysfunctional love story of noble Chaereas and the beautiful Callirhoe, the daughter of a Peleponnesian war hero. Chaereas (who shares a name with a pirate from *Leucippe and Clitophon*, though this seems to be coincidence) sieges Tyre, in an event deeply congruous to the 332 BCE siege of Tyre by Alexander the Great during his campaign against the Persians. Alexander's siege of Tyre was supposedly divinely inspired. Arrian writes in his *Anabasis of Alexander*:

> By this speech he easily persuaded his officers to make an attempt upon Tyre. Moreover he was encouraged by a divine admonition, for that very night in his sleep he seemed to be approaching the Tyrian walls, and Heracles seemed to take him by the right hand and lead him up into the city.[12]

Tyre, even absent of romantic constructions, is a land of the other: a place that does not abide to the utmost standard of Greekness, and is used instead as a scapegoat for nonconformist stories to be told in a place that is distinctly "elsewhere;" not like *us*, the *self*. I find the timing of Chaereas' arrival to Tyre also congruent to the city's narrative purpose. After being led to believe his wife Callirhoe has been unfaithful to him, Chaereas kicks her in the diaphragm[13] so hard that she falls into a coma. She is presumed dead and subsequently entombed. It is only after this happens that Chaereas leaves for Tyre—after he has committed a grave inter-marital crime. Callirhoe is found to be alive by pirates who ransack her tomb and intend to sell her into slavery. Tyre, for Chaereas, is punishing: where he must run after violating a virtuous union.

The rebirth of women in their false deaths is, too, a peculiar expression of female gender across the novels: it allows for women to evolve in bodily, visceral manners, without compromising their virginities. They can transform in palatable

11 Ach. Tat., 1.7.29.
12 Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, trans. E.J. Chinnock, 122.
13 Chariton, *Callirhoe,* edited and translated by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library 481, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 1.4.49

ways. In the *Ephesiaca*, Anthia, believing she will never see Habrocomes again, asks for a poison, but is duped into taking a sleeping hypnotic drug: she "dies" briefly and is returned. When she wakes up, she attempts to starve herself, but is thwarted by pirates intending to sell her. Each time that Anthia returns she is more angry and more spiteful. She is more "Tyrian" after her escape from the city. Willing to lie and scheme, eventually telling a king who wants to rape her that she is consecrated to a love god and cannot be violated.[14] Meanwhile, In *Leucippe and Clitophon*, a man named Callithenes who had previously unsuccessfully pursued Leucippe, hears that if a man raped a virgin he could be forced to marry her as punishment. So, Callisthenes sets off to Tyre pretending to be a holy ambassador in order to enact the crime. There, in an attempt to kidnap Leucippe, eight of Callisthenes' men dress up as women and hurry into the city disguised.[15] Putting in at Tyre means they can present something other than who they really are: transgressing both in gender and rank. In the place of Leucippe, because it is dark, they kidnap Calligone instead and Leucippe is presumed dead. From imaginary grief to the new realisation of Leucippe's body, she can be reborn. Likewise for Calligone, she may be absolved of her previous self embroiled in an incestuous betrothal to Clitophon by the imposition of a presumed identity. Death is not terminal, but erotic, in the arm's length city of Tyre.

Later in *Leucippe and Clitophon*, Clitophon and Clinias meet an Egyptian man named Menelaus, who narrates his own tale as such:

> I loved a fair youth, who was a passionate huntsman […]. The boar made a spring and charged right at him […]. I poised my javelin without taking sufficiently careful aim, and let fly. The youth crossed the line and received it full. If I had any feelings at all, they were like those of a living death. More pitiful still, while he yet faintly breathed he stretched out his hands to me and embraced me […] he gave up the ghost embracing my murderous hand.[16]

His story brings Clinias to tears: "Clinias wept as the Trojan women wept over Patroclus; he remembered Charicles."[17] Returning to the allusion of *Hippolytus* by Euripides, the youth's forgiveness of Menelaus as he dies is similar to that of Hippolytus to his father. The conflation of ancient queer relationships with those of parental units is another way the intricacies of Tyre operate through alleyways of social discomfort. *Leucippe and Clitophon* concludes with two weddings: one

14 Xen. Ephes., 3.4–5.303.
15 Ach. Tat., 2.16–18.91.
16 Ach. Tat., 121.
17 Ach. Tat., 121.

in Byzantium, of the protagonists, and then at last a return to Tyre, where Callisthenes marries Calligone. The relationship born of the more sinful pair must happen in the city of debauchery. Though Callisthenes is said to be redeemed by his newfound love for Calligone, the marriage was entirely one shepherded by Tyre's deceit.

Finally, I am drawn once again to the *Ephesiaca*, in which, in a very similar fashion, Habrocomes encounters a bandit named Hippothous, who recounts yet another tragic tale of how, when he was young, he loved another boy his age, but this boy drowned during their escape together, which drew Hippothous into banditry. Though this story does not take place in Tyre, its nature of self-exile and protagonists encountering travellers with unresolved love stories, is characteristic of a Tyrian plot. Thus, the Greek prose novels offer three figuratively identical stories of proto-queer, non-explicitly pederastic relationships between men, all of which appear to necessitate some narrative punishment. The love of these men, who loved other men in their youth, is venerable despite the caveat of their partners' deaths. Tyre permits the exploration of themes of queerness, but it cannot follow through, and these relationships must be fleeting and only recounted for exposition, never lived in present storytelling.

Several threads of the *Ephesiaca* are strewn into the tale of *Apollonius of Tyre*: a story with many lives, though it reigned most popular in retellings of the middle ages, and of which "no Greek original"[18] survives. In brief, the legend is that of Apollonius, a Tyrian man who, after solving a riddle which reveals the incestuous relationship of the king of Antioch and his unwilling daughter, is persecuted and hunted by the king's men. Apollonius, in his flight, undergoes many adventures which congrue to stories of Habrocomes and Anthia, and it participates in the tropes of the tradition of all the Greek prose novels. In addition, the English literary Renaissance bridged the narratives of the *Ephesiaca*, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, and *Apollonius of Tyre* into the aptly titled *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, a play co-written by Shakespeare. In *Apollonius*, the eventual discovery of the death of the King of Antioch and his daughter comes as follows: "After a time a vessel from Tyre put into port bringing the news that Antiochus and his daughter had been killed by a lightning stroke, and that Apollonius was heir to the city of Antioch with all its riches, and the whole kingdom."[19] This "vessel" in a literal sense, from Tyre, delivers a piece of news which is conflicting. The deaths are tragic, especially that of the daughter, but it is unclear if the reader meant to be shocked, or instead see the striking down of the king as divine retribution for his crimes, and that of the

18 Albert H. Smyth, "Shakespeare's Pericles and Apollonius of Tyre." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 37, no. 158 (1898): 206–312.
19 Smyth, "Shakespeare's Pericles," 208.

daughter as a mercy killing, having been defiled. It is the message being borne from Tyre, from Tyrian speakers, that allows this to appear grey. In addition, the message from Tyre also absolves Apollonius of his responsibility to his own city, giving him respite elsewhere. When Apollonius does eventually make his way back to Tyre, he "had a dream in which he was commanded of an angel to sail unto Ephesus and to go to the Temple of Diana."[20]

Continuously, he is urged to leave Tyre for somewhere better suited to his character. He must abandon the city ruled by Dionysus in favour of that ruled by Diana—exchanging *eros* for *philia*, or shame for virtue. In fact, both *Apollonius* and *Pericles* feature the daughter of the respective titular hero becoming a priestess at this very temple of Diana at Ephesus, circling the narratives back to the entry point of the *Ephesiaca*. Apollonius, in spite of his Tyrianness, remains on the outside of perversion, but it is still only he who can recognise it: he is the only suitor able to solve the riddle of Antioch's incest, when dozens of others failed. Apollonius is, no matter how much the narrative forces his head in other directions, by nature a product of Tyre and is not exempt from the manner Tyre fashions its characters. *Apollonius* and *Pericles* are stories which, as their predecessors do, twine together various constructions of love. However, both adaptations also keep themselves entirely absent of ideas of modern queerness or anything that might be construed as such, which is vastly different from the source novels themselves. This omission ends up leaving a black hole at the centre of these receptions: they are not whole, nor do they show the full extent of the manner in which the Greek prose novels sift through love.

Consider the ancient location of Tyre, in Phoenicia, and the ancient Greek perspective which tunneled in on them. There is an inherent and contemporary queerness to this function of Tyre; a cursory realm of exploration, where relationships and extrapolated gender constructions must be annihilated before they can breach the boundaries of the city to which they are confined to exist inside of. Tyre, in Greek prose literature, is a fascinating coalescence of the diverse powers of love. Tyrian plots are the literary device which render the city invaluable in metatextual meaning; a mysterious space of transgression. For a moment, in Tyre, before characters are encouraged to leave for better, more chaste places, people can experience each farcical corner of what romance might have to offer, or to peer into the disastrous, scandalous dramatics of others. Tyre is more than a city alone. It is a character: as vibrant and personable as the peculiar people who grace it in travel and hail from it in birth.

20 Smyth, 210.

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Codification in Early Cretan Legal Inscriptions

Raquel Lewin

Abstract

Information about Crete's early social and political development largely comes from mid-sixth- and fifth-century legal inscriptions. These inscriptions show that Archaic Cretan communities expressed the progression of their legal system through the public display of laws. However, much of the scholarship interprets them as fragments of codified laws. This flawed assumption systematically influences their conclusions about the purpose and meaning of the archeological record. This paper seeks to clarify the meaning of "legal codes" when describing the Cretan archaeological record and determine how these inscriptions should be examined. I compare two instances in the archaeological record to reconstruct their meaning and evaluate them as "codes." First, I evaluate the significance of contemporary literary commentary on Cretan constitutionalism. Second, I summarize the Dreros and Gortyn codes and their accepted interpretations. Third, I define "codification" and evaluate both inscriptions against this definition. This evaluation reveals that instances of public legal inscriptions in the Cretan record do not support a uniform method of analysis in relation to the socio-political progression of the island. This conclusion supports recent scholarship that reconstructs the development of Archaic Cretan society by reinterpreting the Cretan archaeological record.

Introduction

Despite its geographic distance from the influence of the mainland city-states, Crete's socio-political structure has long captured the interest of both modern and ancient scholars. The island is home to a rich corpus of literary and material evidence, although this paper primarily synthesizes available information on two significant early law codes from Crete, the sixth-century Dreros Law Code and fifth-century Gortyn Code, in order to assess the diversity of political development across Crete over the course of the Late Archaic period. This paper argues that a comparative analysis of these two epigraphic fragments reveals highly different approaches and purposes to written law, which demonstrates diverse socio-political development across Crete both geographically and from the sixth to the fifth century. First, I will describe each inscription and provide a basic outline for interpretation. Second, I will discuss literary context around Cretan socio-political development, assessing Aristotle's *Politics* as a typified literary model that

fails to corroborate archeological evidence. As such, *Politics* must be disregarded as a significant source in order to thoroughly assess archeological evidence. Third, I will offer a critical perspective to the usage and meaning of codification. Fourth, I will demonstrate that both inscriptions cannot be fragments of law codes because the purpose of creation and intended reading of either inscription are so fundamentally different that one must be categorically disqualified in order for the other to be considered a law code. Finally, I will argue that the Dreros Law Code is a law code created for the purposes of establishing substantive norms, while the Goryn Code is an inscription meant to monumentalize exceptions to substantive norms through legal aesthetic form.

Overview: The Dreros Law Code and Gortyn Code

The Dreros Law Code is an epigraphic fragment belonging to a collection of eight separate inscriptions made from common Cretan limestone.[1] This fragment is particularly significant because it dates to the late seventh to the early sixth century BCE, making it the oldest known example of written law in Ancient Greece. The artifact was excavated and published by Pierre Demargne and Henri Van Effenterre in 1937,[2] while the other seven inscriptions were published later in 1946. It was excavated in the fill of a cistern near a Temple of Apollo and an *agora* in the settlement of Dreros, Crete.[3] The original placement of the inscription is not certain, however, scholars have put forth suggestions that the inscription was initially placed facing inward into a civic building.[4] While not wholly understood, the current accepted translation is as follows:

> May God be Kind [?] The city [*polis*] thus decided. When a man has been *kosmos* [Chief Magistrate], the same man may not be *kosmos* again for ten years. If he does act as *kosmos*, whatever judgements he gives, he shall owe double, and he shall lose his rights to office, as long as he lives, and whatever he does as *kosmos* shall be nothing [void]. The swearers shall be the [*kosmos*] and the [*damaii*] [people's representatives] and the Twenty of the City.[5]

1 William A. McDonald, "Note on a Fragment of an Archaic Inscription from Dreros," *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 25, no. 1 (Jan.–Mar. 1956): 70.

2 Henri Van Effenterre and Pierre Demargne, "Recherches à Dréros," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 61 (1937): 5–32.

3 Refer to Figure 1 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'

4 McDonald, "Note on a Fragment," 72.

5 James Whitley, "Archaic Cretan Inscriptions: Texts or Things?," *Gaia: Revue interdisciplinaire sur la Grèce Archaeique* 27 (July 2024): 5.

In short, the Dreros Law Code is designed to prevent one man from becoming tyrant through his position as *kosmos*. The law itself describes the legal procedure for punishing a *kosmos* who has violated his terms of office by being *kosmos* at least twice within a ten-year period. This law code was presumably created by a joint agreement from three distinct political bodies: the *kosmos* at time of writing, the people's representatives, and the Twenty of the City.

The Gortyn Code is a group of fragmented texts engraved on the walls to the Temple of Apollo, built approximately 500 meters southeast of the city centre.[6] Archeologist Federico Halbherr uncovered the inscriptions during his digs from 1884–1886, publishing his findings in a series of articles in the *American Journal of Archaeology* from 1896–1902. The inscription consists of twelve columns of text, written over time from the mid-sixth century to the late-fifth century, making it the longest extant legal inscription in Greece. The Gortyn Code deals with a group of subjects that broadly concern the classifications of people and laws pertaining to specific cases regarding property law.[7] Second to the contents of the code are the physical characteristics of the wall it is inscribed on. The inscription is 8.71 metres wide and 1.7 metres high, with approximately 15,000 engraved characters. It is inscribed over forty-two stone blocks that form a concave wall. Research suggests that there were at least eight other columns of text, now lost.[8]

While the Dreros and Gortyn codes are both legal inscriptions, they are remarkably different in terms of form and the specific contents they entail; the Dreros Law Code discusses legal procedures pertaining to the characteristics of the civic process, whereas the Gortyn Code does not discuss the nature of the magistrate class, and is rather largely concerned with specific instances of legal violations.

Aristotle and the "Pan-Cretan" Constitution

In the fourth century BCE, the writings of Plato, Aristotle, and Ephorus (via Strabo) featured a literary trend that treated Crete as though it was a society with one pan-Cretan Constitution. Of the three main authors, this literary trend seems to be articulated most clearly in Aristotle's *Politics*. Aristotle's discussion of the Cretan Constitution is contained mainly within Book II, Chapter X, wherein he outlines the model of Cretan organization. Aristotle describes the Cretan Constitution indirectly, discussing organizational aspects of the Cretan political body that the Constitution implies, rather than directly summarizing. This creates several issues

6 Paula Perlman, "One Hundred-Citied Crete and the "Cretan ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ," *Classical Philology* 87, no. 3 (July 1992): 182.
7 Refer to Figure 2 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'
8 Antoine Chabod, "The Great Wall of Gortyn without a Reader? The So-Called Code as a Civic Ceremonial Monument," *Cahiers des études anciennes* 59 (2022): 6.

in determining the reliability of his literature. Several of Aristotle's assertions do, at first glance, appear to map roughly on to the archeological evidence. Aristotle describes a group of ten aristocrats, the *Kosmoi*, that is similar to the Twenty of the City detailed in the Dreros code.[9] Furthermore, Aristotle describes issues in the selection of the *kosmos*, as he claims it was a position prone to corruption and violation of terms.[10] This issue is detailed within the Dreros Code as well.

Though Aristotle presents a clear model of Cretan organization, comparative analysis between the literature and material evidence demonstrates that *Politics* more often directly contradicts archeological evidence than corroborates it. First, Aristotle's discussion of Crete uses the organizational legal structures of Sparta, Crete, and Carthage to highlight their deficiencies in contrast to the ideal state. In other words, the goal of *Politics* is to construct a narrative that casts the communities in question as unbalanced and inherently lacking in some quality or another. For example, Aristotle argues that the pan-Cretan polity effectively functions as a dynasty instead of a republic because of constant conspiracy by the *kosmos* and their lack of written law.[11] Inscriptionary evidence from Dreros actually argues the contrary, demonstrating that written mandates were put in place to ensure that the position was under scrutiny by the *polis*. Evidence from Linear B documents from Knossos and later from Homer suggest that Crete was home to around one hundred individual city-states from at least the fourteenth century BCE to the eighth century BCE.[12] The collective term for Cretan peoples, Κρήζ or Κρηταιεύζ, does not appear on Crete until the third century after the domination of Gortyn and Knossos, leading to the development of κοινόν.[13] Therefore, it is highly doubtful that social and political organization on Crete was unified until at least the Hellenistic period.

Given the superficiality of Aristotle's conclusions and his motivations, *Politics* cannot be included as significant evidence for Cretan political organization *solely* by virtue of being one of very few available literary accounts of Cretan political organization. Evidence shows that *Politics* only corroborates archeological evidence in a general and superficial way. Therefore, *Politics*, and the literary trend of pan-Cretan constitutionalism it supposes, must be disregarded as a valid expla-

9 Aristotle, *Politics,* trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library 264 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), 2.10.1272a3–4.
10 Arist., *Pol.* 2.10.1272b7–8.
11 Arist., *Pol*. 2.10.1272b7–8; 2.10.1272a6.
12 Perlman, "One Hundred-Citied Crete," 193; cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 19.174; John Bennet, 1985. "The Structure of the Linear B Administration at Knossos," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89 (April 1985): 231–249.
13 Perlman, "One Hundred-Citied Crete," 194. See collected examples in André Gerolymatos, "Nicias of Gortyn," *Chiron* 17, no. 4 (1987): 83.

nation for Cretan political development.

Evaluating "Codification"

Karl Holkeskamp defines codification as "a uniform and internally consistent body of statutes, substantive norms, and procedural rules."[14] Along this definition, in order to prove that an inscription is a code, it must:

1. have strong internally consistent relationships between the individual provisions, and;

2. establish substantive norms and procedural rules through the individual provisions.

Interpretation of the Dreros and Gortyn inscriptions as "codes" implies that the inscriptions were originally created for the purpose of organizing and publishing the law so that everyone was made aware of it.[15] In treating the inscriptions as codes, however, scholars risk misinterpreting the inscriptions, as their arguments rely on an unsubstantiated premise of codification. This implication traps interpretation in a tautological cycle: the Dreros and Gortyn inscriptions are codes because they have similar purposes and intended readings, evident from their status as codes. Therefore, it is necessary to reevaluate the inscriptions as fragments of a whole code.

Gortyn

The Gortyn Code does not meet the definitional qualities of an ancient code because it lacks thematic coherence, which suggests that the contents of the inscription are reactions to violations or exceptions to established substantive norms and procedural rules. Furthermore, the presentation of the inscription is highly consistent, suggesting that the Gortyn Code was created with the intention of being viewed as a monument to the law, rather than a codification of it.

First, each provision is clarified in precise language that details specific and unambiguous circumstances for each rule. To highlight the highly specified circumstances for provisions, as well as the exceptions to these provisions, I will summarize Provision X, which describes the procedure following the death of an heiress' father.[16] It roughly follows that the heiress will marry her oldest uncle on her father's side. If there is more than one heiress, they will each be married to

14 Karl-J. Holkeskamp, "Written Law in Archaic Greece," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, no. 38 (1992): 91.
15 Chabod, "The Great Wall of Gortyn," 6.
16 Ronald F. Willets, *The Law Code of Gortyn* (Boston: De Gruyter, 1967): 14.

the next eldest uncle, respectively. If there are no uncles, but there are cousins, the heiress(es) will each be married to them in the same order. The provision then goes on to detail multiple cases in which the uncle or cousin may be unable to marry her, and the procedures that each case entails. The pedantic and specific wording of circumstances in Provision X is one example of highly detailed language throughout the text. However, precise wording alone does not prove that the Gortyn Inscription is a code. Holkeskamp argues that the Gortyn Code is more concerned with the exceptions to substantive laws and social norms. He states that:

> A concrete description and differentiation of the issue, and of all conceivable individual cases that seem related to it and are considered to stand in need of regulation, go to such excessive lengths that it is not the relatively general rules or norms themselves which form the major part and real essence of a statute. In fact, it is the exceptions, deviations from, violations of the rules that constitute the most important/central issue of the regulations as a whole.[17]

The Gortyn Code implies substantive norms that already exist, and need further clarification for individual extraordinary cases that transcend these norms; they are reactions to specific needs provoked by incidents that betray the normal state of things. The precise language of the Gortyn Code is for the purpose of coming to a clear solution to individual cases, not for the purpose of creating general substantive laws and social norms.

Second, the Gortyn Code lacks internally consistent relationships between the individual provisions that comprise the whole. The individual provisions span a wide range of subjects, often without discernible connection to their neighbouring provisions. Furthermore, the provisions that do refer back to previously cited provisions scholars have interpreted as later additions to the inscription, possibly for the purpose of clarifying the specific cases.[18] The purpose of precise language in the Gortyn Code is to clarify exceptions and extraordinary circumstances to the substantive laws and norms which reasonably existed prior to the creation of the Gortyn Code. This explains why the discourse of the code seems disjointed, even though the language is precise—because the inscriptions were created in reaction to individual cases, rather than constructed together to address a coherent group of related issues.

While the contents of the Gortyn Code is disjointed, the aesthetics of the code are

17 Holkeskamp, "Written Law," 92.
18 Perlman, "One Hundred-Citied Crete," 186.

visibly consistent, indicating that visibility is integral to how they are meant to be interpreted. The inscription has an internally consistent system of paragraphing written in boustrophedon, meaning that each block begins with an initial retrograde line, which either stands alone, or is followed by either a line from the left or another retrograde line.[19] The inscription also follows a "one course rule," meaning that the masons chose to keep each "theme" of provisions contained to one block each.[20] The inscription is also too big to be viewed in its entirety up close.[21] The sizing of the letters suggest that the inscription was meant to be read by a large number of people, or that it was large in order to communicate its grandeur in relation to its religious context. I argue the latter over the former; it is important to note that reading and writing was likely not practiced on a personal level by the majority of Cretans.[22] On a level of functional literacy, where specialized individuals would have been able to read and/or write items relevant to their specialization, the scope of the inscription likely would have made it largely impossible to read in its entirety. In other words, the writing structure does not necessarily guarantee that viewers are able to read and interpret the inscription. The inscriptions were also likely placed facing inwards within one of the main religious structures in Gortyn, indicating that it was only visible to a few individuals at any given moment.[23] While the positioning of the monument does not necessarily indicate exclusivity and a separation of private and public space, it does suggest that the inscription performed a different function than inscriptions that may have faced outwards where they would have been easier to casually view.

The Gortyn Code's location within a religious space indicates that the inscription code may be of secondary importance to the intended viewer. The primary importance of the Gortyn Code would be the inscription aesthetics.[24] By outlining the specific provisions that stand as extraordinary cases in such rich detail and grandeur aesthetic choices, as well as placing it within a holy space rather than outside it, the Gortyn Code becomes a monument that stresses the existence and importance of laws central to Gortynian society.

Dreros

It is difficult to assess the Dreros Law Code in relation to other laws because, unlike the Gortyn Code, only the single provision survives. Thus, instead of assess-

19 Perlman, 186.
20 Perlman, 186.
21 Chabod, "The Great Wall of Gortyn," 18.
22 Cf. James Whitley, "Cretan Laws and Cretan Literacy," *American Journal of Archaeology* 101, no. 4 (October 1997): 635–661.
23 Chabod, "The Great Wall of Gortyn," 18.
24 Holkeskamp, "Written Law," 100.

ing the law as though it is one provision among many from which broader conclusions can be drawn, we must instead assess it in isolation based on its contents. Echoing Holkeskamp's definition of codification, to be considered part of a code, the Dreros Law Code must demonstrate that the inscription was made within the context of a formal legislative body that could enforce the procedural rules within a broader structure of substantive norms.

The oath at the inscription's end states, "The swearers shall be the [*kosmos*] and the [*damaii*] [people's representatives] and the Twenty of the City." [25] Scholarly discourse on the nature of this oath focuses on the ambiguity of the phrase "the swearers shall be" because it is unclear what the act of swearing means in this context and consequently, what effect the oath has.

Victor Ehrenberg puts forth a convincing argument that the passage could indicate that the purpose of the inscription is to record the swearers' confirmation of the code into law.[26] This interpretation assumes that the oath-takers were members of the aristocratic class, that they were able to depose *kosmoi* who violated their terms using legal measures, and that the oath is a symbolic action that subordinated the powers of the individual aristocratic families to the *polis* as a distinct entity.[27] Based on this interpretation, the inscription created procedural rules and enshrined them as normal codes of conduct for not only the aristocrats, but also Dreros as a conceptual political structure. The inscription enshrined the norm that prohibited term violations into law and created procedural consequences for violating the norm.

However, Ehrenberg's assertion is complicated by the interpretation of *kosmos* as a collective noun. Gagarin argues that Ehrenberg's interpretation uses *kosmos* in a collective sense, as though the law is talking about the position of the *kosmos* generally.[28] He goes on to further discuss how the nature of the oath more likely refers to a specific instance of a *kosmos* violating his terms, rather than a general provision regarding the position. Furthermore, Gagarin suggests that, because the law mentions an oath, but does not describe the contents of that oath, the nature of the oath must be common enough to not need clarification.[29] Oaths are usually mentioned in the context of legal trials, which leads Gagarin to believe that the last sentence of the inscription refers to the officials swearing the oath upon the

25 Whitley, "Archaic Cretan," 5.
26 Victor Ehrenberg, "An Early Source of Polis-Constitution," (January–April 1943): 17.
27 Ehrenberg, "An Early Source," 17.
28 Michael Gagarin, *Early Greek Law* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987): 82.
29 Gagarin, *Early Greek Law*, 82.

trial of an alleged violation of the law.[30] The inscription institutionalizes norms by announcing the provisions and penalties of violations of that rule. Furthermore, the Dreros Law Code establishes the norm through the mention of the oath-takers because the provision establishes the norm as legally binding. This is done by writing in the other legislative bodies as policing forces.[31] It is implied that the other legislative bodies were meant to read this law, as it would have no force behind it if it could not be recognized and interpreted.

Conclusion

The treatment of both the Gortyn and Dreros inscriptions as fragments of larger law codes is problematic because both cannot definitively be considered law codes. The Gortyn Code details exceptions to the norms, while the Dreros Code affirms them. Therefore, either the definition of "codification" lacks the necessary qualities to include both, or the Gortyn Code cannot be considered a code; the latter is more likely the case.

This paper has argued that the Goryn Code was created as a monument for the purpose of stressing the significance of the political system of laws governing Gortyn, while the Dreros Law Code confirms the political system. These two inscriptions demonstrate how the purpose, strategy and intended interpretation of legal writing in Crete evolved uniquely in significant ways across region and time in the Late Archaic period, underscoring the sociopolitical diversity of the island. Furthermore, this essay also highlights key methodological issues in the study of ancient inscriptions, such as misnomering, that can carry implicit assertions about the meaning of inscriptionary evidence.

30 Gagarin, 84.
31 Holkeskamp, "Written Law," 94.

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Figure 1. *The Saddle of Dreros (fig. 42)*, illustration, from Prent, Mieke. *Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults: Continuity and Change from Late Minoan IIIC to the Archaic Period.* Leiden: Brill, 2005.

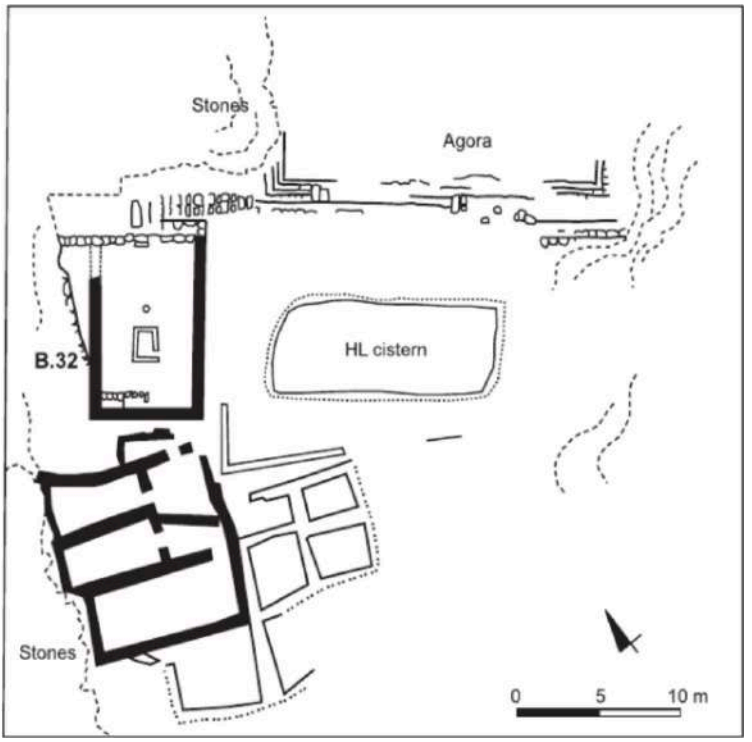

Figure 2. *Explanation of inscriptions by column from the Gortyn Code,* adapted from: Chabod, Antoine. "The Great Wall of Gortyn without a Reader? The So-Called Code as Civic Ceremonial Monument." *Cahiers des études anciennes* 59 (2022): 1–13. http://journals.openedition.org/etudesanciennes/1769.

I	Provisions relating to the seizure of a person, free or slave.
II	Rape, adultery, divorce, and the distribution of property within these contexts.
III	Inheritance.
IV	Status of children and servants.
V–VI	Inheritance and dowry.
VII–XI	Rules relating to the status of the heir daughter.
X	Adoption.
XI–XII	Disjointed measures which return to the various provisions written in the preceding columns.

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De Linguis Orbis Terrarum: Republican Roman Reception of Foreign Language Through Varro's *De Lingua Latina*, *Liber* V

Marco Costantino-Strzelec

Abstract

The Late Republican Marcus Terentius Varro's work, *De lingua Latina*, Book V, details a plethora of non-Latin etymologies for Latin words. Through phonetic and sociolinguistic analysis of the original Latin and examinations of validity and modern criticisms, this paper seeks to show that the Latin language heavily drew upon non-Roman cultures when discussing the natural world. While much of modern scholarship explores Hellenic influences on Roman development, this essay seeks to place a focus on non-Athenian sources, such as dialectical Greek and indigenous Italic languages. Varro applies many Greek terms to describe the technicalities of his study, such as "etymology," highlighting his personal education in Athens under Antiochus. Additionally, in Book V, Varro opts to specify the dialects from which he draws on in the regional Greek, such as his insistence on describing Aeolian variants over the more common Attic Greek. Varro draws etymologies from many non-European sources, such as Phoenician, Persian, and Armenian. This generous attribution to foreign languages suggests that in the academic space of the Late Republic, which Varro was a significant figure within, Rome was tolerant—if not accepting—of world languages' direct relations to Latin. *De lingua Latina* is fundamentally a cross-linguistic work, one that exemplifies the broad Roman perspectives on language and its use.

Introduction

Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BCE), a Reate-born praetor and scholar, is touted as the "third great light of Rome" by Petrarch.[1] Despite being listed behind Vergil and his colleague Cicero, Varro is argued to be the most prolific author of the three, with an estimated seventy-five works made up of 620 books.[2] Little of this impressive catalogue survives—partially due to his place on the Second Triumvi-

1 Robert A. Kaster, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
2 David Butterfield, *Marcus Terentius Varro*, (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographies, 2014).

rate's proscription lists. However, *Res rusticae* remains, having been transmitted in its entirety through manuscripts, while several other works survive only via quotation fragments. What does make it into modernity is five of twenty-five books concerning the Latin language. This treatise, *De lingua Latina,* was thought to be written in 43 BCE with extant books 5–10. *Liber* V discusses nuances in Latin etymology, particularly in reference to the origins of geographical, natural, and similarly household terms. Throughout this chapter, one in a series dedicated to Cicero, Varro includes an impressive amount of foreign etymologies for extremely common Latin words which he seems to faithfully preserve and acknowledge. This also goes for non-Hellenic roots, as he sometimes outright ignores a Greek origin for a Semitic one. Varro also attributes much to his native Sabine, illustrating what contemporary thought towards other Italic languages would have been, regardless of linguistic accuracy. The correctness Varro does strive to enshrine relates more to dialectical Greek and Latin, illustrating specific variations and overlaps between the "standard" dialects and each other. His description specifically calls attention to Roman Latin as an exception, rather than the "default." Finally, his use of the word "etymology" is unprecedented in classical Roman scholarship up to that point,[3] proving a strong tie to Hellenistic schools of thought and their scholars. These factors in *De lingua Latina* go to show that the study of Latin and ancient linguistics as a whole is an inherently cross-cultural and lingual one, and these two aspects cannot be separated from each other without losing coherence and value to findings.

Varro's Linguistics

In order to examine Varro's findings, one must fully gauge what he intends to demonstrate. *Liber* V's etymology deals with two distinct qualities of the nature of words, as detailed in its introductory paragraph. This split is described as "a qua re et in qua re vocabulum sit impositum / from which thing and to which thing a piece of vocabulary is put."[4] Varro's understanding of this division also outlines his discussion of the definition and practical use of a term, and to a greater extent the direct origins of the word. What separates Varro's research and modern linguistics is the nature of the information that is sought. Linguistics in its current form is defined by the University of Buffalo as "the scientific study of language and […] the characteristics of language as a whole,"[5] an approach capable of

3 As discussed later, the term "etymology" is also exceedingly rare in Hellenists' scholarship at the time of Varro's writing.

4 Varro, *De lingua Latina*, ed. and trans. Roland G. Kent. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 5.2; due to the nature of research concerning word choice in the original Latin, I consistently provide both texts. Unless otherwise specified, all translations are my own.

5 *What is Linguistics*, University of Buffalo, 2025.

elucidating the abstract of human languages. This is not, in fact, what Varro is doing. He instead cares about the intertwining of the actual languages that make the Latin lexicon. Nothing of his analysis says anything about language, only of the people who speak it.

Scholarship on Varro supports this view, claiming that his investigation through words is merely a method to research the nature of his subjects.[6] David Blank neatly summarizes Varro's conclusions: "by showing how the members of an entire family of words are related to one another, Varro shows the ways in which the things named are related as well."[7] Using a commonly formatted entry of *Liber* V as an example, "arvus et arationes ab arando / *arvus* 'ploughed land' and *arationes* 'a ploughing' [are] from the verb *arare* 'to plow.'"[8] Applying Blank's process to the passage, simply by acknowledging the connection between the words that represent "plough" and "to plow," a connection is drawn between the physical things and concepts themselves. One makes *arationes* in an *arvus* by doing *arando*. While a potentially straightforward and redundant line of thought, Varro extracts explicit knowledge (connection of concepts) from implicit knowledge (an acquired lexicon). A well-read classicist may argue that this type of etymology is bound to have flaws as cautioned by Plato's dialogue *Cratylus*, wherein Socrates scolds a young Cratylus for searching for the meaning of names rather than looking at the world around him.[9] What this argument fails to consider, however, is that the naming of things hinges on human perception of any given thing that is to be named. The evolution or changing of names, which Socrates is careful to trust in, is inherently formed by the language's speakers and the environment they live in, which are valuable pieces of information within themselves. Varro seeks to learn more about a people through their created language, which proves to be an effective method.

In addition to the semantic connection that can be drawn from these etymologies, Varro consistently highlights differences between words that are phonetically similar in Latin, as well as contrasting them with foreign equivalents. *Liber* V details these practical pronunciation differences primarily via spelling differences. Varro recognizes this in the word choices of his own etymology's formats, using words like "say" or "call." Despite not having tangible sound variances due to the discussed languages no longer being spoken, this would still fall into the purview

6 David Blank, "Varro and Antiochus" in *The Philosophy of Antiochus* ed. David Sedley. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 282.
7 Blank, "Varro and Antiochus," 283.
8 Varro, *Ling.* 5.39.
9 Plato, *Cratylus,* ed. and trans. Harold North Fowler. (Harvard University Press, 1992). 438.d.

of phonetics, however theoretical it may be in this application. As such, this paper uses the standard notation in accordance with the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to describe the specific sounds that are associated with letters. In addition to this, technical phonetic terms for consonants are employed to denote place of or manner of constriction in the airway. For vowels, there will be references for terms shown in the IPA vowel chart below.[10]

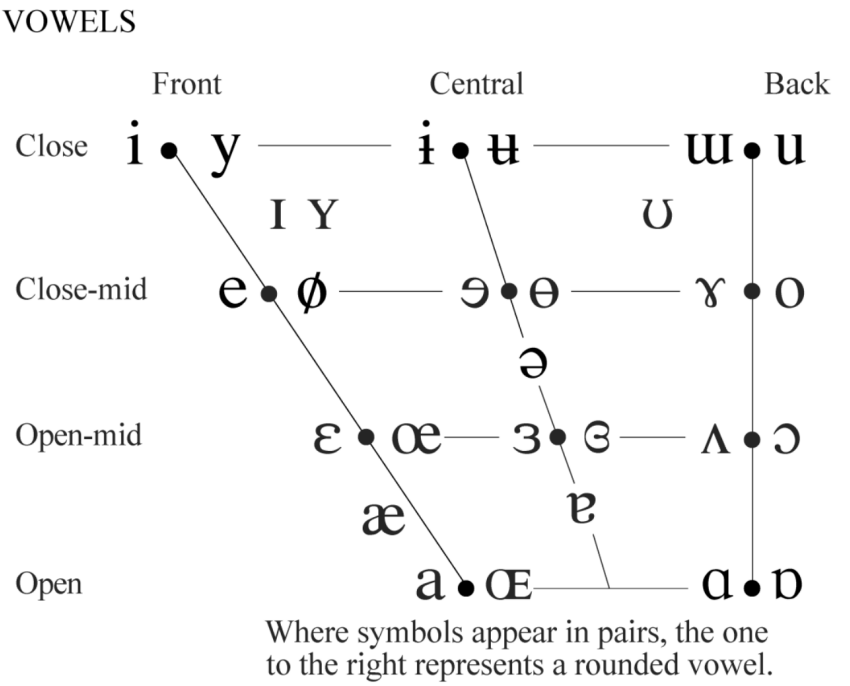

Figure 1. The vowel categorization chart as found on the official International Phonetic Organization's website.

Foreign Influence in Varro's Studies

While Varro's use of etymology is impressive, more so is the fact that he uses the word "etymology" itself. There is a great deal of importance placed upon Greek in the technical portions of *De lingua Latina*, exemplified in the first paragraph which it self-describes as containing "in quibus est de disciplina, quam vocant ethimo-

10 Note that this chart represents human anatomy at a cross-section, tracking the place of the tongue root. "Front" vowels have a constriction closer to the lips, and "back" vowels are made closer to the pharynx.

logicen [ἐτυμολογικήν][11] / it is in these [books] about the study which they call etymology."[12] The word is very clearly a transliterated Greek loanword, here with the suffix *-κήν* (Latinized *-cen* in Manuscript F) to refer to the study as a whole.[13] Importantly, Varro uses an indefinite third person plural subject in *vocant* when talking about who calls etymology such. While it is later clarified in the same introduction that "Graeci vocant ἐτυμολογίαν (ethimologiam) / the Greeks call [it] etymology,"[14] it leaves enough room between the specification and original mention to have the Hellenic roots of the word be implied. The circle that Varro is writing for and in would be commonly bilingual, as any Roman elite worth their salt would be competent in at minimum Athenian Greek.[15] Cicero's dedication in *Liber* V is also a clear sign that the target audience is expected to know Greek, as he is well known to swap between it and Latin within a single oration.[16] This fact compounds onto their mutual teacher, Antiochus, being a Greek philosopher who studied out of Athens.[17] Not only is Varro well versed in Antiochus' teachings seeing as he was used as the school's spokesperson by Cicero in *Academia*, but is also described by Blank as "probably the most read, most-learned Roman of his time, and there were many influences on his thought and work."[18] Varro would have had to have an excellent grasp of Hellenistic scholarship, to the point where it would be impossible to consider him non-fluent. This rings especially true considering the name recognition he evokes in "non solum ad Aristophanis lucernam, sed etiam ad Cleathis lucubravi / I have studied at night not only by the lamp of Aristophanes, but also that of Cleathes."[19] With Varro attributing his authority on the topic to the knowledge of two large Hellenic scholars,[20] there is very little doubt that Varro was a large participant in the Roman academic world, especially

11 The Greek term is provided as many editions of the published text choose to revert back into Greek.

12 Varro, *Ling.* 5.1; the discrepancy between the Greek and Latin transliteration is most likely a fault of the sound shift over time, as orthographically "th" was used to describe the aspirated alveolar stop /tʰ/ in Latin for the Greek θ, which then later drifted to the interdental fricative /θ/.

13 Per Professor Grace Caldwell; Wolfgang David Cirilo de Melo, *Varro: De Lingua Latina, Vol 1: Introduction, Text, and Translation.* (Oxford Scholarly Editions Online, 2019), 5.1.

14 Varro, *Ling.* 5.2.

15 Bruno Rochette, "Greek and Latin Bilingualism" in *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language* ed. Egbert J. Bakker (Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2010), 284–285.

16 Rochette, "Greek and Latin Bilingualism," 287.

17 Blank, "Varro and Antiochus," 250.

18 Blank, 251.

19 Varro, *Ling.* 5.9.

20 Superfluous to the argument made, Varro also mentions Pythagoras of Samos in the same paragraph.

when it came to Greek language and philosophy.

The Greek influence is preserved similarly in "περὶ σημαινομένων / about semantics (literally '*of those things being meaning*')."[21] The technical Greek plays a large part in Varro's introduction as there are fewer ways to succinctly share the same information in Latin, seen in his use of "quemadmodum vocabula essent imposita rebus / the way in which words are put to things."[22] During *De lingua Latina*'s time of writing, however, etymology is a quite poorly attested term, as its variants that occur before the writing of *De lingua Latina* are limited to surviving fragments mentioning Chrysippus' titular work; on the other hand, those of semantics have been in circulation since Plato's aforementioned *Cratylus*.[23] This combined with Varro's use of an explicit Greek subject to describe these studies more than implies that the task he himself is now undertaking is by nature Greek, with Greek critics. In order to make the most of this field and precedent, Varro styles himself as a Greek-educated linguist, one born outside of Rome, studying Latin.

De lingua Latina frequently uses non-Latin words in reference to Latin etymologies, resulting in the philosophical and sociological ties that are inherent in Varro's design of etymology. Quite surprisingly, this includes that of the iconic Tiber alongside a bold mission statement: "Tiberis quod caput extra Latium, si inde nomen quoque exfluit in linguam nostram, nihil ad ethimologon[24] (ἐτυμολόγον) Latinum / The Tiber, because its head is outside of Latium, if from there the name also flows out and into our language, is nothing to an etymologist of Latin."[25] Varro dictates what an etymologist of Latin *should* do: disregard foreign influences in respects to the proper nominal noun. The name itself should then be considered "Latin" in his eyes upon adoption, and is not worth studying were it not. However, in the following chapter, he offers a possible Etruscan origin and specifically points out the tension between its claim: "nam et suum Eturia et Latium suum esse credit, quod fuerunt qui ab Thebri vicino regulo Veientum dixerunt appellatum, primo Therbim / For both Etruria and Latium believe it theirs, there were those who say it was named first Thebris for Thebris, a neighbouring king of the Vei-

21 Wolfgang David Cirilo de Melo, *Varro: De lingua Latina Vol 1: Introduction, Text, and Translation* (Oxford University Press, 2019), 5.8; Greek translation consulted with Professor Jackson Hase.

22 Varro, *Ling.* 5.1.

23 Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1901): 704.

24 A grammatically Greek word, here listed in the Latin alphabet in the manuscript and given the additional Greek spellings in de Melo and Kent's editions to conform to other surviving manuscripts.

25 Varro, *Ling.* 5.29. Translated with aid from Professor Michael Dewar.

ians."[26] Varro contradicts his own advice here, seeming to disqualify himself from the category of a *Latin* etymologist. A consensus of modern scholars including de Melo write off this Etrurian origin in favour for the subsequent Roman one provided,[27] however, the fact that this belief was prevalent enough to preserve is intriguing. There is an active choice here to not indulge Roman nationalism in a rare instance of impartiality. Varro, in fact, does care about where the name originated. The action itself of including the alternative Estrucan etymology demonstrates through Blank's model that the Tiber is inherently dividing and argued by nature. Etymological divisiveness is just as much information as a solid answer, especially when the tension is consistent with near constant historical tension.[28] To Varro, Latin and Rome are not inseparable, and the words that flow into it are worth cataloging, region notwithstanding.

Varro's Dialects

Many of Varro's favoured references are from Greek, something unsurprising for mid-Late Republican scholars, as Greek was for a "foreign language […] an integral part of Roman society."[29] This Greek emphasis is shown in full force through the separate regional dialects Varro presents as evidence for his etymologies. He observes that "Olea ab ἐλαία; olea grandis orchitis quod eam Attici ὄρχιν μορίαν / Olea [olive] is from ἐλαία [olive]; a fully grown olive tree is *orchitis* (a species of olive tree) because it was called by the Attics ὄρχιν μορίαν (roughly 'the sacred olive berry')."[30] Varro continues to claim Greek sources, giving separate reasons depending on the dialect as "antiquum Macellum […] ea loca etiam nunc Lacedaemonii vocant μάκελλον, sed Iones hostia hortorum μακελλωτάς hortorum, et castelli μάκελλα / the ancient *Macellum* 'vegetable market' [...] this place still the Spartans call μάκελλον, but Ionians [call] the entrance of a garden the μακελλωτάς of gardens, and [the entrances] of small settlements μάκελλα."[31] These examples show that the specific geographical dialect of a region changes the conclusion that can be made, as well as highlight the scope of Varro's research. Additionally, both "olives" and "vegetable markets" are terms for extremely common words that are both socially and culturally significant to Rome. Varro's etymological inquest reiterates the belief that Greco-Roman culture is Greek first, Roman second.

26 Varro, *Ling.* 5.30.
27 de Melo, *Varro: De lingua Latina.* 5.30.
28 Liudmila Shmeleva, *Improving the Level of Historical Education: Rome and the Etruscans* (Universidad San Ignacio de Loyola, 2021): 1–2.
29 Rochette, "Greek and Latin Bilingualism," 284.
30 Varro, *Ling.* 5.108.
31 Varro, *Ling.* 5.146.

However, Varro also focuses on dialects that do not have any denotative difference. This extra interest concerns Aeolian when cataloging terms applied to fresh water: "puteus; nisi potius quod Aeolis dicebant ut πύταμος, sic πύτεον / [it is] *puteus* 'well' […] because Aeolians used to say πύτεον as in πύταμος 'river.'"[32] The more standard variant *ποταμός*, "river," in most other Ancient Greek dialects shows this particular distinction, where the close-mid back vowel [o] becomes the open-high back [u]. Either variant would have been suitable to be considered a cognate to Varronian standards, both based on their phonetic similarity of other examples that are completely valid connections. Varro's actual standard is exemplified in his use of "Tryblia et canistra quod putant esse Latina, sunt Graeca: τρύβλιον enim et κακοῦν dicuntur Graece / *Tryblia* 'bowls,' and *canistra* 'breadbaskets,' which are thought to be Latin, are Greek: for τρύβλιον 'bowl' and κανοῦν (a contracted form of κανειον) 'breadbasket' are said in Greece."[33] *Canistra* here is attributed to the generalized Greek "κακοῦν" but are wildly different phonetically. Only the first three phones, the velar /k/,[34] the low front /a/, and the alveolar nasal /n/[35] are retained, with the consonant cluster /s/, /t/ being unattested in the Greek. This is quite a leap to be directly taken from one language to the other, something that Varro acknowledges as the unpopular opinion with his use of "putant / they think" being read often as "people think."[36] These features make Varro's assertions potentially false, however semantically close they might be,[37] but the objective truth is once again of little concern when discussing Varro's own beliefs. Varro choosing Aeolian over any other dialect is a direct choice to be as specific as possible with what he has readily available, opting in this case for conciseness over the most commonly known possibility.

This is not Varro's general rule, however, as Attic and Sicilian Greek are listed in conjunction with already coherent connections in order to illustrate how lexically different they appear. When discussing financial terms, Varro describes the variance in "dower"—more simply "a gift given for a purpose or in celebration of marriage:" "Graece δωτίνη: ita enim hoc Siculi […]. Ut Aeolis δόνειον, et ut alii δόμα et ut Attici δόσιν / From Greece δωτίνη 'gift;' thus indeed it is in Sicily[38]

32 Varro, *Ling.* 5.25.

33 Varro, *Ling.* 5.118.

34 Velar being a constriction at the soft palate and the back "dorsum" of the tongue.

35 Alveolar as in a constriction with the blade of the tongue and the alveolar ridge above the teeth, nasal describing a sound quality where airflow is allowed to secondarily flow through the nostrils as well as the oral cavity.

36 Varro, *Ling.* 5.118.

37 Likely possibilities point to either a common ancestor or medial form, though this is unsubstantiated.

38 The complete overlap between what Varro simply leaves as "Greece" and Sicily is interesting, though irrelevant for the sake of this argument.

[...] as Aeolian δόνειον 'gift,' and as it is to others δόμα ,'gift,' and as to the Attic δόσιν 'gift.'"[39] Only the alveolar /d/ is consistent across all three, with vowel length, quality, and even grammatical gender being quite varied between listed dialects. Explicit differentiation of dialectical forms only appears on a handful of entries, this example being the most extreme extent of it. This is further evidence for the aforementioned stretches that Varro commonly makes in phonetic qualities and their validity. The fact that these forms derive from the Latin *donum* takes the backseat to the variance of the Greek, and in such a case solely the Aeolian or whom else Varro refers to as "others" would be strictly necessary to establish a reasonable connection due to their use of a nasal. There is no hesitation to use a variety of forms to illustrate a point and likewise when there is no point to be found. Varro's sections on Greek dialects support the belief that he opts to diversify his claims when possible concerning forms, as well as possible lines of reasoning.

Varro's interest towards non-Latin sources continues into his discussion of gods as he makes sweeping claims over "Mars […] quod Sabinis acceptus ibi est Mamers / Mars [named so] […] because he has been welcomed by the Sabines as Mamers,"[40] as well as "Feronia, Minerva, Novensides a Sabinis / Feronia, Minerva, Novensides [are all] from the Sabines."[41] It is important to note that Varro never uses any phrase akin to "Sabine Latin." This points to him considering Sabine its own distinct language from Latin rather than a dialect of the same language, only ever referring to it as "Sabini / [the language of] the Sabine people."[42] The list of deities is composed of very important figures, and while they have Italic equivalents, the direct loaning or evolution from Sabine is not attested.[43] Regardless of whether the assertion is factual, the notion that Varro believed them separate is valuable regarding the amount of non-Roman languages to which he keeps returning to.

Varro is likewise surprisingly careful in the following documentation of Sabine's dialectical differences in comparison to Latin. His own native dialect is recorded in direct comparison to Latin as "Hircus, quod Sabini fircus; quod illic fedus, in Latio rure hedus / *Hircus*, 'buck,' which the Sabines [call] *fircus*; what there [is]

39 Varro, *Ling.* 5.175.
40 Varro, *Ling.* 5.73.
41 Varro, *Ling.* 5.74.
42 Varro, *Ling.* 5.97.
43 Wolfgang David Cirilo de Melo, "Varro and the Sabine Language in *De Lingua Latina*" in *Roman Perspectives on Linguistic Diversity* ed. Adam Gitner. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023): 44–45. Mamers is especially attested in Oscan as detailed by Georg Olms' 1974 grammar of Osco-Umbrian.

fedus, 'kid,' in rural Latium [is] 'hedus.'"[44] The most intriguing part of this description is the use of "in Latio rure hedus"—in rural Latium. Not only does this clearly demonstrate a preservation of non-Roman dialects, but also a great amount of care being put into the specification between Rome proper and its surrounding area. Varro continues to clarify that "in urbe ut in multis A addito haedus / in the city [Rome], like in many [words] with another added A, [it is] *haedus* 'kid.'"[45] Here, Varro presents this variance as if the whole of Latin speakers outside the city say it *hedus* with the close-mid front vowel [ɛː] and that only Rome was the outlier that lowered and diphthongized the sound into an [aɪ].[46] This change is nearly identical to the *πύταμος*/*ποταμός* dichotomy presented earlier, a mid vowel changing height to an extreme. On the other hand, he does not explain the circumstances or commonality of labiodental fricative [f][47] being favoured over the glottalic [h][48] in the Sabine *fircus*. According to de Melo, this is very notably not a feature of the Italic Sabine language but is instead more likely to be a Middle Faliscan loan due to hypercorrections present that signify contrary to the grammar of a native speaker.[49] Varro describes a full linguistic pattern of what happens to words in certain environments, and while he does not specify if this change also applies to other classical diphthongs, he does do an adequate job at detailing the requirements and location of it. Varro's Sabine entries reveal the diversity in Roman language, including evidence of the decentralization of Rome as a linguistic standard.

Language Diversity in *Liber* V

According to de Melo, it is counter intuitive of Varro to present mere parallels rather than a fully-fleshed etymology, such as when he draws attention to the falsely attributed Sabine.[50] What he fails to consider is Varro's parallel of the principal deities of the Earth and Sky: "Hi dei idem qui Aegypti Serapis et Isis […]. Idem principes in Latio Saturnus et Ops / These gods are the same which are in Egypt Serapis and Isis […]. The same first deities in Latium are Saturn and Ops."[51] Not only are these pairs not linguistically connected, but this is the *only* mention of Egyptian within *Liber* V. Varro draws on these parallels because he

44 Varro, *Ling.* 5.97.
45 Varro, *Ling.* 5.97.
46 András Cser, *The Phonology of Classical Latin* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2020): 2; Were Varro speaking about general urban centres to describe the change, one would expect the plural "urbes."
47 A sound where the lower lip and the upper teeth are used to constrict airflow.
48 The constriction takes place at the glottis also known as the vocal folds.
49 de Melo, *Varro and the Sabine Language in De lingua Latina*, 41.
50 de Melo, 41.
51 Varro, *Ling.* 5.57.

believes them to be culturally and socially significant, rather than helpful towards his etymological argument.

This diversity is also evident in Varro's addition of Eastern Mediterranean languages. In a well known anecdote, Varro writes that "Purpura a purpurae maritumae colore, ut Phoenicum, quod a Phoenis primum dicitur allata / *Purpura*, 'purple,' from the colour of the purple sea, as a Phoenician word, was first said be brought [over] by the Phoenicians."[52] He likewise describes "Camelus suo nomine Syriaco in Latium venit / *Camelus*, 'camel,' along with its name, came from Persia."[53] In reality, this seems to be a somewhat faulty etymology, with original Semitic likely going through Greek first as καμηλος before reaching Latin.[54] Varro again does this with *tigris,* "tiger," claiming it is "vocabulum e lingua Armenia / a word from the Armenian language."[55] Kent notes how this attribution "forgot" the gifting of a tiger from Persia by Seleucus Nicator.[56] Instead of a mistake, this could be Varro making an attempt to intentionally separate Latin words from their Greek predecessors, much like his contemporary Cato's campaign to combat the increasing influence of Greek, a movement that scholars often associate Varro with.[57] However, when twelve to thirteen percent of etymological roots in all of *De lingua Latina* are claimed as Greek, there is simply too much evidence of Varro specifically emphasizing pieces of Latin's Hellenic roots.[58] Instead, Greek is ignored as a throughway, yet prioritized when it is the source. What can be inferred is that the method of transfer does not interest Varro or his conception of etymology, as demonstrating the Greek method says nothing more than the attribution to its Semitic sources does. Instead, the implied connection made is that things (*tigris*, *camelus*, *purpura*) come from completely different language families than Greek or Latin, demonstrating their foreignness and abstraction from the Greco-Roman world and languages. The need for external sources and references shows that in order to know the truth behind any given language or vocabulary, one cannot treat that language as an isolate. Varro does this to a significant extent, consciously choosing to include roots that are further away from the Greco-Roman sphere when it would be easier to attribute etymologies to a middle man. *De*

52 Varro, *Ling.* 5.113.
53 Varro, *Ling.* 5.100.
54 R. G. Kent, 5.100 n. e; A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting* (Brill, 1990), 136. This Proto-Semitic root, /gamal/, is not said to appear from any specific language, although the most logical would appear to be Aramaic due to its use as a *lingua franca* between Greece and the Near East.
55 Varro, *Ling.* 5.100.
56 Kent, 5.100, n. c.
57 Rochette, *Greek and Latin Bilingualism*, 284.
58 de Melo, *Varro and the Sabine Language in De lingua Latina*, 36.

lingua Latina seeks to genuinely learn from the languages it interacts with, not feed into the insular culture of Rome.

Conclusion

Varro's work in *De lingua Latina*'s fifth book effectively shows the academic acceptance and value of foreign languages in Latin linguistics. The evidence provided, while not nearing an extensive catalog of included extralinguistic roots, is integral to key entries in Varro's etymologies. Varro's linguistic inquiries are inherently cross-linguistic, by the goal of said studies and by the very nature of the terms studied. They link together words in a way that reveals information about the people and things which named a given word and why. His study is one pioneered and created by Greeks in Greek, which was studied in Greece by Varro, something he acknowledges and pays homage to seeing as he dedicates the work to Cicero, a famous bilingual. This not only takes him out of Rome and out of the Italian peninsula, but across and out of the Greco-Roman world, something that he actively leans into by providing both superfluous and necessary dialectical evidence to widen the geographical area pulled on. Varro's perceived Sabine and Semitic records also give a window into language distribution and contemporary thought on Italic peoples' relation to Roman history and culture. While it is a tragedy that more of Varro's work is lost than survives, what is found is extremely valuable to understanding how Late Republican Rome thought, and what they themselves valued both academically and culturally. *De lingua Latina* shows that the answer is significantly more than what may be initially assumed, with a substantial part of the known world being attested to in just one preserved book.

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πολύ- and περί-φρονες: Gender-Subversive *Metis* in *Odyssey* 1

Tallulah Valliere-Paul

Abstract

The trait of *metis*, typically translated as "cunning intelligence," is displayed by several major characters in the *Odyssey* and forms a central theme of the epic. I assert that Homer's depiction of *metis* requires gender fluidity. Focusing on *Odyssey* 1, I will argue that Penelope, Athena, and Odysseus—all exemplars of *metis*—derive some of their power through their ability to blur the lines between masculine and feminine spheres, which in turn allows them more courses of action through which to achieve their goals. Through a close reading of Penelope's entrance and speech to Phemius in *Odyssey* 1, I will analyze the ways in which Penelope blends gendered realms to increase her autonomy while disguising her *metis* under fear of male suspicion. The complexity of Penelope's gender expression is also reflected in her physical positioning, as she stands on the boundary between the male and female areas of the house. Turning to Athena, I will study the ways in which Athena's androgyny increases her cunning while allowing her further license to challenge Zeus. Odysseus' gender fluidity connects him to his wife and to the central theme of manyness in the *Odyssey*, as his combining of the masculine and feminine creates a multiplicity of gender that allows him many paths to achieve his objectives. In this essay, I hope to highlight the ways in which Homer depicts gender fluidity with a positive valence, combatting the common assumption in modern scholarship that the Greeks thought of gender subversion in overwhelmingly negative terms.

Introduction

In its opening four lines, the *Odyssey* contains four uses of the root *poly*, or "many." This theme of manyness carries through the *Odyssey* and manifests in a number of different ways, making it a rich and multifaceted text to analyze, as well as one from which no simple conclusions can be drawn. *Metis*, a trait which features prominently in the epic and forms the basis for its central hero's *arete* (heroic excellence), likewise displays this manyness, including in its repeated blending of the masculine and feminine. In this essay, I will explore the ways in which the *Odyssey* represents *metis* and those characters who possess it as gen-

der subversive, with a particular focus on *Odyssey* 1. After defining my terms, I will analyze the characterization of Penelope, Athena, and Odysseus, highlighting how their displays of *metis* in *Odyssey* 1 put them in liminal gendered positions. Penelope, whose status as a woman restricts her autonomy, deftly blends masculine and feminine spheres of influence to increase her authority and accomplish her objectives.[1] As a deity, Athena has more agency, but her gender fluidity both increases her cunning and allows her to act without being registered as a threat to her father. Meanwhile, Odysseus' *metis* is largely emphasized in his connection to the women and goddesses in his life, and his ability to blend the masculine and feminine opens up more potential courses of action, earning him his title as "many-wayed."

Defining *Metis*

Metis is most commonly translated as "cunning intelligence," though it is quite a difficult term to capture in its entirety. The personified Metis in myth was Zeus' first wife, whom he ate before she was able to have a child. In doing so, Zeus neutralized the threat of his offspring deposing him and absorbed the previously female-only power of birth—Athena, their child, sprung from his head alone. The word *metis* stems from a Proto-Indo-European verb meaning "to measure," tying it to physical crafts.[2] Both Penelope and Athena's weaving and Odysseus' construction of their marriage bed fall under this category. It is also associated with the metaphorical weaving of plots, such as Odysseus' Trojan Horse trick. Detienne and Vernant describe *metis* as a "twisting" and "polyvalent" force which allows a person "to devise the straightest way to achieve his end," emphasizing the adaptable, ever-changing nature of those who possess it.[3] Indeed, in Apollodorus' version of the myth, Metis shape-shifts in an attempt to avoid Zeus' sexual assault,[4] reflecting this fluidity on a physical level. This aspect of *metis* is evident in

1 While Penelope experiences marginalization due to her gender, it is important to note that as an upper class woman, she has far more in common with aristocratic men than with any other class. Gender subversive *metis* exists in far more marginalized characters in this epic, including Eurycleia, whose enslaved status further complicates and restricts her *metis*, and who exists in a more liminal space than Penelope. A study of Eurycleia is, however, outside of the scope of this paper. I encourage reading Judith Fletcher's "Women's Space and Wingless Words in the *Odyssey*" for an analysis of the *metis* and agency of enslaved women in the epic.

2 Ann Bergren, "The (Re)Marriage of Penelope and Odysseus Architecture Gender Philosophy," *Assemblage*, no. 21 (1993): 8.

3 Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991): 5–6.

4 Lillian Eileen Doherty, *Siren Songs: Gender, Audiences, and Narrators in the Odyssey* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1995): 4.

the *Odyssey*, perhaps most obviously in its themes of physical transformation and disguise, such as the Mentor guise that Athena adopts in Book 1. However, it is also reflected in characters' ability to move between social boundaries, including those of class, status, and gender. *Metis* typically works through manipulation and deceit, and it is thus commonly tied to misogynistic fears about women's cunning and infidelity in ancient texts.[5] While the *Odyssey* has a more positive depiction of *metis*, it is still caught up in these associations, thus complicating the gender, morality, and agency of its most cunning characters.

Penelope: Liminality and Limited Agency

Homer's depiction of Penelope simultaneously praises her *metis* and shows the significant limitations that misogynistic suspicions place on her agency. Penelope possesses intelligence comparable to her husband and is likewise capable of achieving *kleos* (heroic glory). Though both spouses achieve it by means of their *metis*, Penelope gains fame through remembering and staying faithful to her husband, whereas Odysseus' glory comes from his heroic exploits.[6] However, due to her gender, Penelope is under additional pressure to disguise her *metis* at the risk of prompting male suspicion that could put her in a dangerous position, in a phenomenon that Shulamit Almog calls "the Metis Syndrome."[7] Though the *Odyssey* devotes a significant amount of time to exploring Odysseus' thoughts and feelings, Homer does not provide us with an extensive look into Penelope's interiority.[8] Her physical veiling is reflected in an obfuscation of her mind, and her motivations are disguised for us as well as for her internal audience. These factors make it more challenging to pick up on Penelope's use of *metis*, but through a close reading of the text, one can notice the ways in which she expertly navigates an extremely gendered world, utilizing feminine spheres to give herself authority in male spaces.

From her very first words in *Odyssey* 1, Penelope manipulates gender roles to her advantage, using a feminine mode of expression to justify her presence and power in a masculine sphere. Coming down from her room at the sound of Phemius'

5 Shulamit Almog, "The *Metis Syndrome*: Women and Law in the *Odyssey*" in *The Origins of the Law in Homer* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2022), 89.
6 Helene P. Foley, "Penelope as Moral Agent" in *The Distaff Side: Representing the Female in Homer's Odyssey*, ed. Beth Cohen (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995), 95; Sheila Murnaghan, "The Plan of Athena" in *The Distaff Side: Representing the Female in Homer's Odyssey*, ed. Beth Cohen (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995), 23.
7 Almog, "The *Metis Syndrome*," 93.
8 Almog, 98.

nostoi (homecoming journeys) song, she says:

> Φήμιε, πολλὰ γὰρ ἄλλα βροτῶν θελκτήρια οἶδας,
> ἔργ᾽ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, τά τε κλείουσιν ἀοιδοί•
> τῶν ἕν γέ σφιν ἄειδε παρήμενος, οἱ δὲ σιωπῇ
> οἶνον πινόντων• ταύτης δ᾽ ἀποπαύε᾽ ἀοιδῆς
> λυγρῆς, ἥ τέ μοι αἰεὶ ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλον κῆρ
> τείρει, ἐπεί με μάλιστα καθίκετο πένθος ἄλαστον.
> τοίην γὰρ κεφαλὴν ποθέω μεμνημένη αἰεί
> ἀνδρός, τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ᾽ Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος.
>
> Phemius, you know many other enchantments of mortals,
> the works of both men and gods, things which the bards also
> sing about.
> Sing one of these while you sit by them, let them drink
> wine in silence. But stop this song,
> this mournful one, which always wears out my own heart in
> my chest, since unceasing grief touched me most.
> For, calling it to mind, I always yearn for such a person, I mean
> my husband, whose glory is throughout the whole of Greece.[9]

This speech is rhetorically masterful. It employs a number of poetic devices: the alliteration of taus and thetas on line 338, the repetition of sound across lines with the ending words οἶδας, ἀοιδοί, and ἀοιδῆς, and the enjambement emphasizing the unceasing nature of Penelope's grief. It is also unsuccessful, as Telemachus sends his mother back to her room, characterizing the speech as a *mythos* unsuitable for a woman to deliver.[10] In his analysis of Telemachus' speech, Matthew Clark explains that in the *Iliad* and sometimes the *Odyssey*, the term *mythos* is marked. Unlike *epos*, another term for "word," *mythos* refers specifically to "formal public speech of a person exercising power,"[11] certainly applicable in this scenario, as Penelope is issuing a command to a group of men. In his study of the *Iliad*, Richard Martin argues that women only successfully deliver *mythoi* in the form of lament, a characteristically feminine mode of expression.[12] Penelope's speech can be categorized as a lament due to her emphasis on her own grief,[13] which I argue is a deliberate tactic on her part. She addresses the men using imperatives, but by

9 Homer, *Odyssey* 1.337–344.
10 Hom., *Od.* 1.359.
11 Matthew Clark, "Was Telemachus Rude to His Mother? 'Odyssey' 1.356–59," *Classical Philology* 96, no. 4 (October 2001): 352.
12 Clark, "Was Telemachus Rude," 341.
13 Many thanks to Izzy Friesen for initially making this observation and allowing me to expand upon it in this essay.

shielding their force in the language of lament, she attempts to frame her command in gender-sanctioned terms. Penelope's choice to obey her son's command when this tactic does not work can be explained by the Metis Syndrome—by silently withdrawing, she avoids the risk of exposing her use of *metis* to manipulate the men, thus allowing her to continue stalling the suitors.[14]

While her speech to the suitors blends gendered modes of expression, physically, Penelope is in a liminal position between masculine and feminine spaces. In his rebuke of his mother, Telemachus tells her to "εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα" / "go into the house,"[15] notably excluding the main hall from the rest of the house. Judith Fletcher explains this division of the *oikos* as indicative of the growing disorder and social inversion caused by Odysseus' absence, in which gendered spaces get more and more rigidly separated, to the point where the *megaron* becomes so public that Penelope is excluded from it. Homer emphasizes this spatial division in Penelope's introduction:

> τοῦ δ᾽ ὑπερωιόθεν φρεσὶ σύνθετο θέσπιν ἀοιδὴν
> κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρων Πηνελόπεια:
> κλίμακα δ᾽ ὑψηλὴν κατεβήσετο οἷο δόμοιο,
> οὐκ οἴη, ἅμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δύ᾽ ἕποντο.
> ἡ δ᾽ ὅτε δὴ μνηστῆρας ἀφίκετο δῖα γυναικῶν,
> στῆ ῥα παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο,
> ἄντα παρειάων σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα:
> ἀμφίπολος δ᾽ ἄρα οἱ κεδνὴ ἑκάτερθε παρέστη.
>
> From upstairs, she took in his divine song in her heart,
> the daughter of Icarius, thinking-around Penelope.
> She stepped down the high staircase from her room,
> Not alone—two slave girls were following together with her.
> When she reached the suitors, the brilliant one among women,
> she stood beside a column of the well-made roof,
> holding glistening veils in front of her cheeks.
> A diligent slave girl stood next to her on each side.[16]

Penelope's first action in the epic is to move from the women-designated space upstairs to the men's area below. Rather than fully entering the hall, she hovers on its edge to address the suitors, standing beside a column flanked by her slaves. As

14 Almog, "The *Metis Syndrome*," 104.
15 Hom., *Od.* 1.356; ἰοῦσα, though a participle, takes on the imperative power of the main verb in this line: ἀλλ᾽ εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ᾽ αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε.
16 Hom., *Od.* 1.328–335.

is protocol,[17] she wears a veil, putting a physical, semi-barrier between herself and the men, which further emphasizes her liminal position in the space. This passage introduces Penelope with her main epithet, περίφρων,[18] a compound word meaning "thinking-around." In addition to highlighting the ways in which her *metis* allows her to think through and cleverly navigate difficult situations, the first half of the epithet, *peri*, conveys her liminal spatial status—she exists on the perimeter. Penelope's *metis* allows her to use this position to her advantage as she straddles the gap between the masculine and the feminine.

Penelope's speech in *Odyssey* 1 is one of many times that she achieves her objectives by using gendered realms to her advantage. As in this passage, Penelope spends much of her time weeping. In doing so, she plays into the expectations placed on her as a woman, using her lamentation to disguise her *metis* and her remembrance of her husband to emphasize her fidelity, thus combatting the male suspicion of women characteristic of Almog's Metis Syndrome.[19] She also attempts to use her crying to keep the suitors at bay, repeatedly telling them that her sorrow over Odysseus' absence has destroyed her beauty.[20] This both emphasizes her faithfulness and downplays her desirability. Penelope's shroud trick, her most famous tactic to delay remarriage, likewise finds its justification in gender roles. By refusing to marry until she had finished Laertes' shroud, Penelope combined two feminine spheres—care for the dead and weaving—to perform a duty so socially acceptable that the suitors could not reasonably object to it. As men with no knowledge of weaving, they also took a long time to realize that she was unweaving her work at night, ultimately only catching her with the help of women. Throughout the *Odyssey*, Penelope's *metis* comes through subtly, as she manipulates those around her through her expert navigation of gendered realms and spaces, scheming to achieve her goals while maintaining her appearance as the perfect wife.

Athena: Power Through Gender Fluidity

The goddess Athena likewise utilizes her *metis* by combining masculine and feminine traits in order to achieve her goals. Though she is Metis' daughter, she sprang from Zeus' head following his overpowering and absorption of Metis, meaning that the Greeks often viewed her as the child of Zeus—a male deity—alone.[21] She is also a virgin goddess, which, as Sheila Murnaghan points out, means that she has no ob-

17 E. D. Karakantza, "Odysseia or Penelopeia? An Assessment of Penelope's Character and Position in the *Odyssey*," *Mètis. Anthropologie des mondes grecs anciens* 12 (1997): 171.
18 Hom., *Od.* 1.329.
19 Almog, "The *Metis Syndrome*," 105.
20 Foley, "Penelope as Moral Agent," 96.
21 Most famously in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, line 736.

ligations to a husband or to children; Athena's loyalty to her father is undivided.[22] As a result, Athena is allowed agency that was denied to her mother, because her displays of *metis* are not viewed as a threat. She takes full advantage of this by combining her masculine and feminine traits, as Almog describes: "Athena makes powerful use of the skills that had been quashed in her mother—sagacity, shrewd strategizing, and inventiveness—and combines them with the martial skills inherited from her father."[23] This gender fluidity increases her power. While she operates in the male sphere of war, she applies the female trait of *metis* to it, allowing her a level of strategy and restraint that, according to Murnaghan, Ares is denied.[24] It is this feminine trait of strategic, *metis*-driven thinking that allows her to plan Odysseus' homecoming and control the plot of the *Odyssey*, yet in the enactment of her plans, she often takes on male personae. Like her mother before her, Athena's *metis* manifests through shapeshifting, but while Metis changes into animals, Athena's shapeshifting crosses the boundaries between mortal and divine, male and female. She adopts the guise of several men throughout the *Odyssey*, including Mentes in Book 1. This allows her to better orchestrate events to her liking, as she is able to operate in the homosocial spaces of men and women alike.[25] Athena-as-Mentes' gender ambiguity is called attention to in *Odyssey* 1 as, after watching Athena fly away, Homer says of Telemachus: "ὀίσατο γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι" / "he thought them to be a deity."[26] Rather than the feminine form θεά, the masculine or gender-neutral θεός is used, indicating an uncertainty on Telemachus' part of the identity of the god he just talked to. This crossing and blurring of gender boundaries is both a characteristic of Athena's *metis*, and also enhances her *metis* by providing her with more ways to reach her objectives.

Athena's gender fluidity, combined with her status as a deity, allows her to directly challenge her father, successfully delivering *mythoi* where Penelope failed. In *Odyssey* 1, Athena confronts her father in front of all the gods assembled on Olympus, openly questioning his judgement regarding Odysseus in a scenario that fits Martin and Clark's criteria of *mythoi* as commands in a public sphere.[27] She begins her speech with a flattering address; "ὦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε Κρονίδη, ὔπατε κρειόντων" / "Our father, son of Kronos, highest of kings."[28] Though this is a stock line in Homer, it is nevertheless a clever use of flattery on Athena's part: by emphasizing both their familial relationship and Zeus' absolute power, she

22 Murnaghan, "The Plan of Athena," 74.
23 Almog, "The *Metis Syndrome*," 126.
24 Murnaghan, "The Plan of Athena," 62.
25 Murnaghan, 66.
26 Hom., *Od.* 1.323.
27 Clark, "Was Telemachus Rude," 352.
28 Hom., *Od.* 1.44.

reinforces her subordinate position to him so that her subsequent challenge is not seen as a threat. After agreeing with Zeus' previously stated sentiments, she turns to the matter of Odysseus:

> ἀλλά μοι ἀμφ᾽ Ὀδυσῆι δαΐφρονι δαίεται ἦτορ,
> δυσμόρῳ, ὃς δὴ δηθὰ φίλων ἄπο πήματα πάσχει.
>
> But regarding battle-minded Odysseus, my heart is torn,
> the ill-fated man, who for a long time suffers miseries without friends.[29]

She continues by elaborating on Odysseus' suffering in what Almog describes as a "stereotypical feminine mode of expression;"[30] like Penelope, she uses lament to prime her listener for the commands she is about to issue. Athena is able to go further than Penelope, openly criticizing her father's choices and eventually issuing commands to him.[31] Despite Athena's use of *metis* to shape the way her challenge is received, the fact that she is challenging Zeus still creates tension.[32] It is Athena's blending of masculine and feminine traits, coupled with her divine status, that allows her to get away with exerting such levels of agency—she is not viewed as a threat to Zeus' power.

Odysseus: Gendered Like-Mindedness and Many-Mindedness

Though a male heroic figure, Odysseus is frequently described in feminine terms which both reflect his *metis* and emphasize his *homophrosyne* (like-mindedness) with Penelope. In his conversation with the supposed Mentes, Telemachus describes how Odysseus "πόλεμον τολύπευσεν" / "completed war."[33] The word τολυπεύειν also means "to wind off" wool, imagining Odysseus, in his role as a war strategist, as a weaver. According to Murnaghan, *metis* and plotting are often likened to weaving due to their feminine associations,[34] which results in Odysseus occupying a gender ambiguous zone: he excels in the male sphere of war in a characteristically feminine way. It also ties him to Penelope, who uses the same verb to describe her deception of the suitors: "ἐγὼ δὲ δόλους τολυπεύω" / "but I wind off tricks."[35] In addition to displaying similar cunning, the spouses are in similar situations at the beginning of the *Odyssey*. E. D. Karakantza describes them both

29 Hom., *Od.* 1.48–50.
30 Almog, "The *Metis Syndrome*," 124.
31 Almog, 124.
32 Almog, 125.
33 Hom., *Od.* 1.238.
34 Murnaghan, "The Plan of Athena," 64.
35 Hom., *Od.* 19.137.

as "constrained and immobilized"—Penelope by the suitors and Odysseus by Calypso.[36] As Athena explains: "τοῦ θυγάτηρ δύστηνον ὀδυρόμενον κατερύκει" / "his [Atlas'] daughter detains the miserable man, who is lamenting."[37] This puts Odysseus in a feminized position as, deprived of his autonomy, he can do nothing but weep. Both Odysseus' and Penelope's grief is emphasized throughout the *Odyssey*, as well as their ability to endure suffering.[38] As an exemplar of *metis,* who shares a mastery of weaving and lament with his wife, Odysseus' characterization and *arete* fall in gender ambiguous space.

Odysseus' *metis* requires him to occupy a liminal position throughout the *Odyssey*, which is reflected in his gender and directly ties to the theme of manyness that opens the epic. Not once in the proem is Odysseus referred to by name, with Homer instead describing him as *andra*—"man." As a man with no name, Odysseus lacks clear markers of identity, and is thus able to adopt different disguises throughout the epic to suit his needs. This is one manifestation of his *metis*: as a πολύτροπος, or "many-wayed" man, Odysseus' fluidity of self opens up more paths to his objectives. In his analysis of the *Odyssey*'s proem, Pietro Pucci notes that the majority of Odysseus' distinctive epithets are compounds of *poly*,[39] reflecting his exemplification of *metis*, a trait which Detienne and Vernant describe as "not unified, but multiple and diverse."[40] However, this manyness puts him "on the track of otherness," as Pucci explains, necessitating his liminality because his identity is "always split."[41] The connection between Odysseus' lack of identity and his cunning intelligence is most clearly marked in his μή τίς/μῆτις ("no one"/ *metis*) pun at *Odyssey* 9.414, after he tricks Polyphemus by telling him that his name is an alternate form of "no one," but it can be found throughout the epic. Odysseus moves across class boundaries when he adopts the guise of a beggar, and he blurs the lines between mortal and immortal in his time with Calypso.[42] His complicated gender status, as described above, is yet another instance of this *metis*-driven fluidity. Odysseus' gender liminality is especially marked through his relationship with textiles and particularly veils, as Lilah Grace Canevaro details. He is given clothing by several women throughout the *Odyssey*,[43] perhaps

36 Karakantza, "Odysseia or Penelopeia," 161–162.
37 Hom., *Od.* 1.55.
38 Foley, "Penelope as Moral Agent," 95; Sheila Murnaghan, "Penelope's *Agnoia*: Knowledge, Power, and Gender in the Odyssey" in *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Homer's Odyssey*, ed. Lillian E. Doherty (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 231.
39 Pietro Pucci, "The Proem of the *Odyssey*," *Arethusa* 15, no. 1/2 1982): 51.
40 Detienne and Vernant, "Cunning Intelligence*,"* 18.
41 Pucci, "The Proem of the *Odyssey*," 51.
42 Lilah Grace Canevaro, "Object-Oriented Odysseus" in *Women of Substance in Homeric Epic: Objects, Gender, Agency* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 112–113.
43 Canevaro, "Object-Oriented Odysseus," 111.

most significantly in Book 5, when the goddess Ino lends Odysseus her veil to save him from drowning. As an item of clothing intended to put a barrier between women and the public sphere, veils create liminality, and Odysseus' use of one emphasizes his own liminal status.[44] However, as Canevaro points out, Odysseus places himself in an even more gender ambiguous zone by wearing the veil incorrectly,[45] blurring the gender binary in order to survive. Similarly, it is Odysseus' multiplicity of gender that allows him to restore order at the end of the *Odyssey*, because, as Canevaro explains, through his battle with the suitors in a domestic space, he is able to merge the masculine and feminine spheres that had previously been starkly divided in his household.[46] Like Penelope and Athena, Odysseus' gender, which is simultaneously multivalent and liminal, forms a core part of his *metis*-driven power and *arete*.

Conclusion

In this essay, I have analyzed the ways in which Penelope, Athena, and Odysseus blur gender divisions in their displays of *metis*. Penelope occupies a liminal space both physically and metaphorically, as she cleverly combines masculine and feminine spheres in order to maximize her autonomy. As a goddess, Athena is able to use her gender fluidity to better enact her plans and to challenge her father without being viewed as a threat. Odysseus' liminal gender reflects a manyness characteristic of *metis*, which both emphasizes his connection to his wife and opens up more potential courses of action in his quest to return home. These characters' ability to blur the gender binary gives them power, and through their characterization, the *Odyssey* presents *metis* as fundamentally gender fluid. While many texts from the ancient world show *metis* and its associated actions in a negative light, the *Odyssey* views it as admirable when used productively.[47] Homer depicts these three gender subversive characters favourably, presenting them as figures to be celebrated. In doing so, he challenges our notions about gender in antiquity, demonstrating that the Ancient Greeks not only imagined blurred space in their bio-essentialist gender binary, but sometimes imagined it in a positive light.

44 Canevaro, 114.
45 Canevaro, 114.
46 Canevaro, 111.
47 Murnaghan, "The Plan of Athena," 63–64.

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Roman Liberty, Roman Bondage: The Use of Ancient Rome in the Formation and Defence of American Slavery

Kate Levey

Abstract

Rome has served as a powerful model of democracy from America's inception, from the *fasces* that adorn the Senate walls to the use of the bald eagle as the nation's symbol. This essay will argue that the adaptation of Ancient Roman law and culture was an essential element to the formation and defense of American slavery. First, the essay will examine the use of Roman legal and cultural precedents to show how they were utilized to shape familial relations, household structures, and slave identities, ultimately resulting in social death for enslaved peoples. Then it will discuss how pro-slavery Southerners used Ancient Rome as a defense of their enslavement system, both as an exemplar through the ideal of *otium* and as a contrasted system through the conception that American slavery was an improvement. Finally, it will show how abolitionists rebuked these myths by arguing that slavery was responsible for the fall of the empire, and that American slavery was not a kinder system, largely because it was a racialized system while Roman slavery was not.

Roman Liberty, Roman Bondage

A *fasces* adorns the walls of the US Senate. A California high school has a motto written in Latin. An American crowd cheers when they see a bald eagle, just as the Roman people cheered when they saw the eagle emblazoned on the legionary standards in a triumph. Wherever one looks, they will see Ancient Rome embedded into American culture. As a republic and the model of Western civilization, Rome became a powerful symbol and blueprint for both the Founding Fathers who formed its democracy and the generations of Americans after them who upheld it. But just as the idea of Rome shaped American freedom, so did it shape American slavery.

This essay will argue that the adaptation of Ancient Roman law and culture was an essential element to the formation and defense of American slavery. First, I will examine how Ancient Rome was used as a model in the formation of the American

slave system as Roman legal precedents were utilized to determine the freedom of children born to enslaved mothers and the status of enslaved marriages. Then, I will show how Roman cultural precedents were followed through the practice of renaming slaves and the patriarchal structuring of the plantation households. By combining these four phenomena, I will argue that American slavery ultimately shared the same aim as Roman slavery: ensuring the social death of enslaved people. I will then examine how pro-slavery Southerners used Ancient Rome as a defense of their enslavement system, both as an exemplar through the ideal of *otium* and as a contrasted system through the conception that American slavery was an improvement. Finally, I will show how abolitionists rebuked these myths by arguing that slavery was responsible for the fall of the empire, and that American slavery was not a kinder system, largely because it was a racialized system while Roman slavery was not.

In order to legitimize its slave system, America needed to attach itself to a historical legacy. By the eighteenth century, debates between pro-slavery advocates and abolitionists in England had established the legal argument that it was only through Roman law that English slaveowners had the right to enslave people as if they were cattle.[1] This idea spread to America, and is most apparent in *Virginia's Act* XII of 1662, where William Henig added the phrase "partus sequitur ventrem" to a law determining the freedom status of children.[2] Literally translated as "the offspring follows the belly," this law determined that children would inherit the freedom status of the mother. The status of the father was ignored. Rome had justified its slavery system through the *ius gentium*, the "law of nations," which stated that all people captured in war were enslavable.[3] By using Latin in the act, Henig attached Virginia to Rome's *ius gentium*, as the child followed the mother in both laws. Additionally, Roman law affected enslaved peoples in America domestically through slave marriage. In Rome, only free people had the right to *conubium*, a legal marriage. Similarly, Southern courts did not recognize slave marriages in the colonial period.[4] While both Roman and American enslaved peoples married each other despite their legal limitations, the lack of legal recognition meant a lack of respect and legal protection for their unions.

In addition to drawing on Roman slavery's legal precedents, American slavery also called upon Rome's cultural precedents. This is most apparent in enslaved naming

1 Jennifer L. Morgan, "Partus Sequitur Ventrem: Law, Race, and Reproduction in Colonial Slavery," *Small Axe* 22, no. 1 (2018): 3–4.
2 Morgan, "Partus Sequitur Ventrem," 1.
3 John Samuel Harpham, "The Intellectual Origins of American Slavery," (Harvard University, 2019): 6.
4 Sarah Chute, "Re/production, Sexual Violence, and Kinship," HIS221: African American History to 1865 (class lecture, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, October 1, 2024).

practices. In America, it was extremely common for enslavers to force new names upon the enslaved people under their control. Biblical names were most frequently used, but these names were also commonly classical.[5] Enslaved peoples were named after Greek and Roman gods, statesmen, generals, and philosophers, and lived with names such as Venus, Caesar, Scipio, and Cicero.[6] Enslavers used classical names to show their status as classically-trained, draw connections between modern slavery and its ancient counterpart, and to be condescending and satirical.[7] This practice mirrors the Roman practice of giving enslaved peoples Greek names. By the Late Republic, slave naming practices in Rome had overwhelmingly taken on a Greek character.[8] Like in American slavery, forcing Greek names upon enslaved people in Ancient Rome reflected an enslaver's education, as the knowledge of the Greek language was essential for an elite Roman, while also degrading them and associating them with the institution of slavery.

American slavery was also culturally connected to Roman slavery through the paternal structure of the plantation. In Rome, households were run by the *pater familias,* the male head of the household. All the residents of the home, from the wife to the enslaved people, were part of the *familia* and were under the *pater familias*' control. Similarly, the male head of plantations held total patriarchal power over their own households and all of its free and enslaved inhabitants.[9] This structural similarity was not lost on the people of the time. In her pro-slavery play *Caius Gracchus*, published in 1851, Louisa McCord paints Southern and Roman paternalism in a positive light. McCord tells the story of Gaius Gracchus, the second of the two Gracchi brothers, social reformers who were murdered by the Roman elite. McCord portrays Gaius as a tragic hero willing to die for his republican values, which she directly compares to Southern, pro-slavery values, casting Gaius as a champion for the Southern cause. She has Gaius Gracchus address a crowd in the forum and wax poetic about how "slaves look to their masters for support" and "beneath our rule, protection thence we owe [our slaves]."[10] By putting these words in Gracchus' mouth, McCord uses Roman slavery as a vehicle to express the paternalistic attitude both societies held for enslaved peoples.

5 John C. Inscoe, "Carolina Slave Names: An Index to Acculturation," *The Journal of Southern History* 49, no. 4 (1983): 541.
6 Inscoe, "Carolina Slave Names," 541.
7 Inscoe, 541.
8 Clive Cheesman, "Names in -por and Slave Naming in Republican Rome," *Classical Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (2009): 517.
9 Stephanie M. H. Camp, "The Pleasures of Resistance: Enslaved Women and Body Politics in the Plantation South, 1830–1861," *The Journal of Southern History* 68, no. 3 (2002): 535.
10 Louisa S. McCord, *Caius Gracchus: A Tragedy in Five Acts,* (New York: H. Kernot, 1851), 51.

McCord's use of a Roman figure to mirror her own times demonstrates the direct link between the two societies and their approaches to slavery that existed within the minds of contemporaries.

The denial of enslaved familial hood, the renaming of enslaved people, and the structuring of enslaved households under a patriarch all serve the aim of forcing a social death upon enslaved peoples. Slavery, as defined by Orlando Patterson in *Slavery and Social Death*, is the "permanent, violent domination of natally alienated and generally dishonoured persons."[11] In other words, in order to achieve that domination, enslavers severed enslaved people from their individual identity, as well as all social and familial ties outside of their relationship with their master. The domination of slavery therefore brought about a social death of enslaved peoples, a term Patterson defined. By renaming enslaved people, both systems cut them off from their individuality, killing their old identity and replacing it with a name that was "often a badge of inferiority and contempt," marking them as dishonorable people.[12] The act of ripping enslaved peoples from their homes natally alienated them, and this alienation was reinforced by the refusal to allow enslaved peoples to form new family bonds through marriage. In the absence of marital relationships, masters stepped in as pseudo-father figures, acting as the only recognized familial relationship enslaved peoples could have. Both systems created a social death for enslaved peoples, with the aim of stripping them of any identity or community that was not attached to their masters.

Rome provided both useful models for the formation of American slavery, and as time went on, models for its defence. As the abolitionist movement rose in the North, Southerners fought to reconcile slavery with post-Revolution freedom rhetoric, in addition to shifting the idea of slavery from a morally wrong but economically necessary institution to an institution that was a positive good. Rome became an incredibly useful model for arguments in support of both ideas. Thomas Dew, a professor and pro-slavery advocate, argued, "It has been contended that slavery is unfavorable to a republican spirit; but the whole history of the world proves that this is far from being the case. In the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, where the spirit of liberty glowed with the most intensity, the slaves were more numerous than the freemen."[13] If Rome, which was such a big inspiration

11 Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 13.

12 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death,* 55.

13 Thomas R. Dew, James Henry Hammond, William Harper, and William Gilmore Sims. *The Pro-Slavery Argument, as Maintained by the Most Distinguished Writers of the Southern States: Containing the Several Essays, On the Subject, of Chancellor Harper, Governor Hammond, Dr. Simms, and Professor Dew* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, & Co., 1853), 461.

for American republicanism, had slaves, then how could slavery be against republicanism? Dew was far from alone in expressing this argument. James Henry Hammond, a governor and senator from South Carolina, argued that "slavery is the corner-stone of our Republican edifice," framing slavery as an essential building block for democracy.[14] In the eyes of pro-slavery advocates, Roman slavery was an essential ingredient to the formation of Roman civilization.[15] They alleged that without slavery, Rome never would have reached the heights it did.

To explain the success of Rome through slavery, pro-slavery Southerners directly co-opted the Roman idea of *otium*, which translates to leisure. It was only because enslaved people performed necessary labour that Rome could have a leisured class, which could participate in politics and the arts.[16] The Romans shared this conception, as Cicero highlights in *Pro Sestio* when he writes, "[i]t is that which is far the best and the most desirable for all who are sound and good and prosperous; it is 'leisure with dignity.' Those who desire this are all reckoned as 'Aristocrats,' those who achieve it as the foremost men and the saviours of the State."[17] Southerners then mirrored this sentiment, as show by George Fitzhugh, a leading pro-slavery intellectual in the nineteenth century, who writes, "[t]his high civilization and domestic slavery did not merely coexist, they were cause and effect […]. Greece and Rome were indebted to this institution alone for the taste, the leisure, and the means to cultivate their heads and their hearts."[18] This argument both naturalized slavery and democracy and framed slavery as a positive good. Because free, wealthy white people could access leisure, they could then positively engage in politics and the arts and contribute to American government and society. The immeasurable human suffering needed to create said leisure was not taken into account.

Pro-slavery advocates did not go unchallenged by abolitionists in their use of Roman slavery to justify American slavery. While Southerners argued that slavery was a positive which benefited Rome, abolitionists countered by arguing that if Rome's system ran well and should be copied, why did the empire fall? The cause of Rome's collapse became a heated debate amongst abolitionists and pro-slavery Southerners as a result. To the abolitionists, slavery was Rome's innate error and

14 James H. Hammond, *Selections from the Letters and Speeches of the Hon. James H. Hammond, of South Carolina*, (New York: J. F. Trow & Printers, 1866), 126.
15 Margaret Malamud, "Receptions of Rome in Debates on Slavery in the U.S.A," in *Roman Error: Classical Reception and the Problem of Rome's Flaws*, ed. Basil Dufallo (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 97–98.
16 Malamud, "Receptions of Rome," 116–117.
17 Cicero, *Pro Sestio,* 98.
18 George Fitzhugh, *Sociology for the South, or the Failure of Free Society*, (Richmond: A. Morris, 1854), 242.

cause of its decline. Starting with Rome's imperial expansion, first in Italy, and then in the Mediterranean, slavery began to sap away Rome's civic virtue and public morals, and invited the barbarian invasions that eventually brought Rome to its heels.[19] William T. Alexander argues in *The History of the Colored Race in America* that "ancient civilization […] was corrupted, debauched, and ultimately ruined by slavery, which rendered labour dishonorable, and divided society into a small caste of the wealthy, educated, refined, and independent, and a vast hungry, sensual, thriftless, and worthless populace, rendering impossible the preservation of republican liberty."[20] In his eyes, *otium* did not create civilization, but drained it, as it made men of both social classes surrender to their base desires without the presence of honourable work, to the result that no "virtuous and self-respecting Roman citizen of the days of Cincinnatus or even Regulus" remained.[21] Abolitionists framed slavery as a disease that destroyed Rome and now threatened to do the same to America.[22] This sentiment was summarized by William Jackson in a four-part essay that he published to the *National Era*: "[s]lavery is a disease in the body politic" that "tends to produce poverty, ignorance, vice, and barbarism."[23] Pro-slavery advocates rebutted this argument by blaming Rome's imperial expansion and the wealth it brought the empire for Rome's moral and eventual civic collapse.[24] This argument, however, ignored the fact that a large part of that wealth was rooted in the mass influx of slaves into the empire from said conquests.

Once Rome was established as a model for the co-existence of slavery and democracy, it was also used as a tool to paint American slavery in a more positive light. In one of Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Jefferson contrasts American slavery with Roman slavery to frame American slavery as the more humane system.[25] He argues that "among the Romans […] the condition of their slaves was much more deplorable than that of the blacks on the continent of America."[26] He formed his argument by stating that Roman slaves were not allowed to have children together, were sold or exposed if they got sick or old, were punished indiscriminately, were tortured in law trials, and were murdered with the rest of the enslaved household if one enslaved person killed their enslaver.[27]

19 Margaret Malamud, "Receptions of Rome," 97; 116.
20 William T. Alexander, *History of the Colored Race in America* (Kansas City: Palmetto Publishing Co., 1888), 123.
21 Alexander, *History of the Colored Race in America*, 124.
22 Malamud, "Receptions of Rome," 115.
23 Malamud, "Receptions of Rome," 115.
24 Malamud, "Receptions of Rome," 120.
25 Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia, Query XIV*, University of Michigan, *Evans Early American Imprint Collection*, accessed November 19, 2024.
26 Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 205.
27 Jefferson, 205–207.

While American enslaved people were protected from a few of these outcomes, such as being protected from torture during criminal procedures, Jefferson's portrayal of American slavery is far softer than its reality. Jefferson also identifies that enslaved Romans were often Rome's greatest artists, which he ascribes to the fact that "they were of the races of whites."[28] Here, Jefferson creates a false equivalency between American and Roman slavery by framing them both as racialized; America by enslaving black people, Rome by enslaving white people. However, unlike American slavery, Roman slavery was not racialized, as it took in enslaved peoples from its conquests all over the Mediterranean, Middle East, and Europe, perhaps the greatest difference between the two slave systems.

While Jefferson ascribed a positive force to America's racialized slavery, abolitionists were quick to point out its faults. In his address to the Universalist Church in New York City in 1809, William Hamilton stated that "no sooner was [the Roman slave] free than there was open before him a wide field of employment for his ambition and learning and abilities with merit […] [b]ut what station above the common employment of craftsmen and labourers would we fill, did we possess both learning and abilities."[29] Hamilton destroyed Jefferson's argument by pointing out that, because Rome's slavery was not racialized, freed slaves had far fewer barriers from joining society at large. They gained Roman citizenship, and many became some of the most influential men in the empire. Freed African Americans, on the other hand, struggled to live and find work because of racial discrimination. How could American slavery be considered less harsh than Roman slavery, when enslaved Romans could join society after gaining their freedom, while enslaved Americans could not?

Rome provided a model for American laws and culture surrounding slavery, granting it the status of inheriting a Western legacy. Later, as abolitionists and pro-slavery advocates battled, Rome became a powerful argument for both sides. Pro-slavery Southerners argued that Rome was proof that slavery did not go against democratic ideals, that slavery was a cornerstone of civilization as it provided *otium*, and that American slavery was an improvement on its ancient predecessor. Abolitionists rebutted these arguments by saying that Rome's fatal flaw was slavery and that Roman's un-racialized enslavement model was often kinder to enslaved peoples than America's racialized one. While Ancient Rome was used as a positive model in forming American ideals of freedom, it is equally important to remember that it was used to shape American slavery. Ancient Rome's legacy provides powerful symbols and structures of legitimacy and power. Rome was

28 Jefferson, 207.
29 William Hamilton, *Mutual Interest, Mutual Benefit, and Mutual Relief*, (New York, 1809).

a powerful symbol from American slavery's genesis to its abolishment, and as the contemporary debates over the so-called "Roman salute" prove, it remains a charged idea in American thought to this day.

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Octopode or Other? The Abstraction of Minoan Marine Style Pottery Decoration

Tessa Clare Delaney-Girotti

Abstract

Minoan Marine Style pottery from the Late Bronze Age Aegean has been of great interest to scholarship for its detailed and naturalistic style, often featuring aquatic motifs such as octopi, starfish, shells, and other aquatic creatures. Soon after it reaches its peak naturalistic form, the neighboring Mycenaean culture picks up this painting style, applying it to their own ceramic culture. Following the Mycenaean adaptation, the Minoan style then becomes increasingly abstract and stylized over time. Why do craftspeople make these choices? These potters are real people responding to a variety of events going on around them. This paper conducts a dual analysis, through a stylistic and contextual approach using representational ceramic vessels of the Marine Style—in particular, those featuring octopi figures—in order to understand potential reasoning for its transformation. In understanding craftspeople, we contextualize their artistic choices throughout prehistory. Art is affected by sociopolitical environments, and in considering these, we reinforce that it does not stand independently, but rather must be contextualized in order to be properly understood. An art historical analysis of the Minoan Marine Style with Mycenaean ceramic styles allows us to further explore their trading attitudes, thus allowing us to understand how ceramic decoration is affected by its sociopolitical environment. Trade around the Aegean is a complex system with many factors coming into play, and over time, increased contact and shifts in trade routes may have been driving forces in the change of the Minoan Marine Style.

Introduction

The civilizations that occupied the Peloponnese and the Aegean islands during the Bronze Age left behind a massive corpus of material culture, revealing many aspects of their cultural practices, which scholars have worked for years to piece together. The materials available are indeed limited, as they are confined to the surviving pieces of fragmented art, abandoned architecture, and in some cases,

clay tablets that have not yet been deciphered.[1] There is also the presence of frescoes, whose design is uniquely characteristic to Aegean communities, although they hold much similarity with Egypt and the greater Near East.[2] Many of the motifs found within these massive, elaborate frescoes are also often reflected onto the ceramic art originating in this region. Ceramics are found in abundance in the Aegean islands and on the Greek mainland. For most of the Bronze Age, the ceramic industry was vast and mobile, with trade routes expanding over thousands of islands, into the mainland, and far into the Near East.[3] The production of these ceramics was continuous, but the styles changed drastically. Nevertheless, they maintained their Aegean signature through a multitude of factors.

One of the most defining factors of Aegean ceramics is Marine Style pottery. This style of ceramic painting decoration became a known commodity not only within the Aegean, but for trade partners as well. While we cannot definitively attribute the production of material culture to one singular cultural entity, as doing so disregards the expansive cultures that appear all across the Aegean, the term "Minoan" has historically been used to reference the style of material culture that appears in abundance in this region. Thus, "'Minoan Marine Style,"' is often used in reference to the ceramic vessel decoration style originating from the Aegean, with images of marine creatures from shells, to fish, squids, and octopi.[4]

However, the Minoan civilization was not the only group producing this style. Some time after it came into popular circulation in the trade industry, the mainland civilizations also began producing Marine Style ceramics. These communities are referred to as the Mycenaeans. Once the Mycenaeans begin producing the same ceramic styles as the Minoans, the Minoans begin to move away from the extremely detailed, naturalistic Marine Style to a more abstract form. It is known that the Marine Style may be a reflection of Minoan seafaring capabilities, as is evident in comparable forms of Minoan art, such as their frescoes.[5] The decision to deviate from such a culturally distinctive style that has already been established as a commodity, and is a signature of production across the trading industry, in-

1 Jean-Claude Poursat, *Art and Archaeology of the Aegean Bronze Age: A History*, trans. Carl Knappett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2022): 2.
2 Poursat, *Art and Archaeology*, 6.
3 Vassilis P. Petrakis, "Politics of the Sea in the Late Bronze Age II–III Aegean: Iconographic Preferences and Textual Perspectives," in *The Seascape in Aegean Prehistory* 14 (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2011), 214.
4 P.A. Mountjoy, R.E. Jones, and J.F. Cherry, "Provenance Studies of the LMIB/LHIIA Marine Style," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 73 (November 1978): 144–149.
5 Avner Raban, "The Thera Ships: Another Interpretation," *The American Journal of Archaeology* 88, no. 1 (January 1984): 11.

dicates that there may be a greater reason to abandon this naturalism. Since the Mycenaeans, who copy this style, are also engaged in the trading industry of this region, it may be fair to correlate these events with one another.

In a period where economic growth through trade was a necessity for a thriving community, recognition was needed. When a distinctive style is copied, its originality is diminished and the economic appeal of the commodity loses momentum. Neighboring communities, in copying Minoan ceramic styles, could cause trading partners to conflate the two cultures. To theorize this correlation between the evolution of naturalistic Minoan Marine Style to its abstract variant, I will conduct a stylistic analysis of Minoan and Mycenaean ceramics that may further reveal what is happening here on a material cultural level. This, paired with analysis of the sociopolitical attitudes and interactions between the Minoans and the Mycenaeans, may further explain these occurrences.

Methodology

This paper will utilize stylistic analysis of the naturalistic, representational, and abstract nature of Marine Style ceramics from the Late Minoan IA (1600–1525 BCE) period, to LM IIIC (1200–1075 BCE).[6] A typological approach situating various representational ceramic vessels into categories of decoration style, arranged by level of abstraction will be used in order to do so. The goal is to highlight the evolution of specific elements within the overarching style in order to understand the order in which these changes occurred. The anticipated outcome is that the ceramic styles, put into context with the socioeconomic events of this period, may reveal further nuances of Aegean stylistic evolution. Additionally, an analysis of the Mycenaean copies of Minoan Marine Style on their ceramic vessels, in comparison to the dating of the Minoan vessels, may reveal a contextual relation. In conjunction with an analysis of the trading relationships between the Minoans and the Mycenaeans, this paper will unravel whether the Mycenaean copying of Minoan ceramic styles was a motivator for these changes. An additional layer may be revealed between the Mycenaeans' tendency to copy cultural style, and the Minoan response to this occurrence. Furthermore, it may reveal more nuances that surround Aegean trade attitudes over time, enriching our understanding of the greater Bronze Age Aegean culture.

6 Mountjoy, Jones, and Cherry, "Provenance Studies," 1; refer to Table 1 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'

Period	Crete	Cyclades	Mainland	Cretan Palatial period	Absolute Dates BC
EBA	EM I	EC I	EH I	**Prepalatial**	3100–2650
	EM II	EC II	EH II		2650–2200
	EM III	EC III	EH III		2200–2000
MBA	MM IA	MC	MH		2000–1925
	MM IB			**Protopalatial**	1925–1800
	MM II				1800–1700
	MM III			**Neopalatial**	1700–1600
LBA	LM IA	LC I	LH I		1600–1525
	LM IB		LH IIA		1525–1450
	LM II	LC II	LH IIB	**Final Palatial**	1450–1400
	LM IIIA	LC III	LH IIIA		1400–1325
	LM IIIB		LH IIIB	**Postpalatial**	1325–1200
	LM IIIC		LH IIIC		1200–1075

Terms used in this paper:

Middle Minoan = MM

Late Minoan = LM

Late Helladic = LH

Figure 1. Chronological table, adapted from Carl Knappett, Aegean Bronze Age Art: Meaning in the Making (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020): xv.

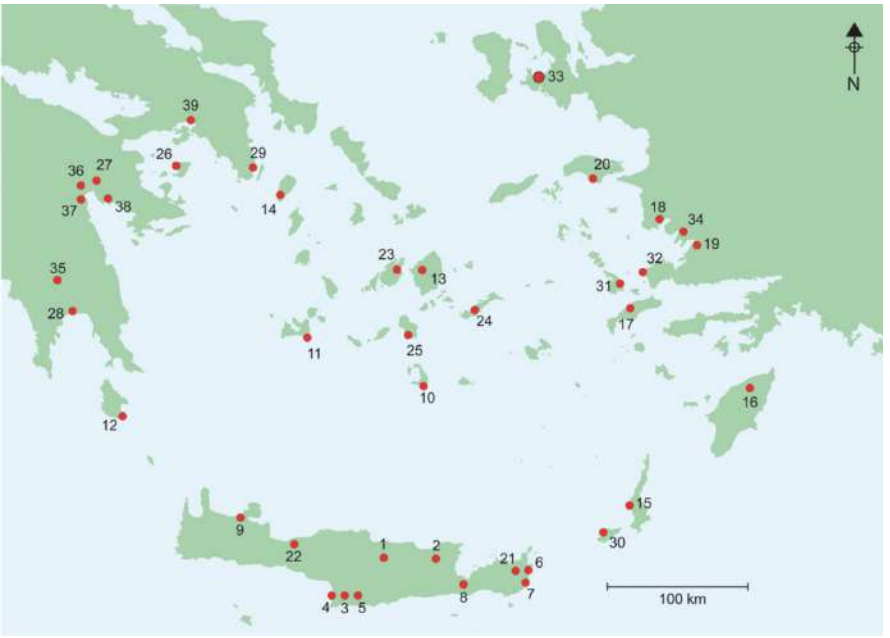

Fig. 2. Maritime Network map, adapted from Carl Knappett, Ray J. Rivers, and Tim S. Evans, "The Theran Eruption and Minoan Palatial Collapse: New Interpretations Gained from Modelling the Maritime Network," Antiquity 85, no. 329 (2011): 1010.[7]

The Minoan Marine Ceramic Painting Style

The Minoan civilization that occupies the Aegean islands holds its production centre primarily on the island of Crete. While the precise political structure of the Minoan civilization remains undecided, there is a cohesive material culture throughout the Aegean. In particular, there is an abundance at Knossos, which has left scholars to theorize that it is likely one of, if not the primary, centre of production for the Aegean communities.[8]

> The Bronze Age Aegeans, whose lives centered around the sea, were one of the earliest peoples to treat its creatures as worthy themes for art in their own right rather than as mere background for some other subject. The fluidity and constant motion of the

7 This map shows the known sites in the maritime network in the Late Bronze Aegean and peripheries.

8 Poursat, *Art and Archaeology*, 135.

> sea were easily adaptable to the concern for torsion and visual counterbalance that played such an important role in the later Minoan artistic style.[9]

Most of the artistic products found are from Knossos until about 1350 BCE, including Marine Style ceramic vessels. The Marine Style became standardized by LM IB (1525–1450 BCE), however, some proto-marine vessels can be found prior to this.[10] The Marine Style of LM IA is not difficult to identify due to its extremely naturalistic, detailed nature. However, as time goes on, in LM IB it becomes increasingly stylized, moving away from naturalism to abstraction. The standardized form of the Marine Style often appears as a seascape, including sea plants, tritons, fish, dolphins, shells, and most notably, octopi. Archaeologist Mervyn Popham, in his summary of Late Minoan Pottery, stated, "Indeed, one of the great achievements of this period is the success with which natural subjects are adapted to the surface of vases, retaining a feeling of naturalism despite their stylization and, though balanced in design, yet conveying a vivid sense of movement."[11] As the style develops further, the marine motifs appearing on the vessels become more prominent and isolated. They transform from being part of a stylistic element to being their own decorative form.[12] They also appear to be hand painted: though they are extremely detailed and would require an extensive amount of skill to paint, the figures are unique and contain visible brush strokes, especially in the later period. Thus, it can be said that even if they are standardized, they are painted individually, by hand, and not by use of stencil tools of any kind.[13]

The style itself is not regulated towards one vessel type.[14] In smaller, more cylindrical vessels, the figures may be positioned more tightly, whereas in a globular vessel they are more spread out. Beyond this, there does not seem to be any regulation surrounding the painting style of different vessel types, at least in terms of the Marine Style. It is thought within scholarship that the style originated from a particular artist or school of art that was then shared or spread, becoming popularized along the Aegean.

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9 Phillip P. Betancourt, "The Polyp Workshop: A Stylistic Group from LM IB," *Journal of Archaeology* 77, no. 3 (January 1973): 43.
10 Ina Berg, "Marine Creatures and the Sea in the Bronze Age Greece: Ambiguities of Meaning," *The Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 8, no. 1 (June 2013): 13.
11 Mervyn Popham, "Late Minoan Pottery, a Summary," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 62 (November 1967): 341.
12 Popham, "Late Minoan," 343.
13 Betancourt, "The Polyp Workshop," 333.
14 Mountjoy, Jones, and Cherry, "Provenance Studies," 149.

Fig. 3. Stirrup jar, clay, from Gournia, ca. LM IB. Photography by Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 2783.

These vessels may have been produced underneath Knossian empirical powers, especially concerning the palatial vessels appearing after the Theran eruption. The volcanic eruption is thought to have triggered a series of natural disasters that may have greatly affected trade within the Aegean.[15] It is after this point in LM IA, around 1550 BCE, that there is a shift in production.[16] It remains to be seen whether the production of these vessels was mandated entirely by the palatial sites such as Knossos, or if they were simply being produced by artisans. However, it can be theorized that post-Theran eruption, production became less commercialized as people produced their own stylized versions of the Marine Style, or the opposite: that the Mycenaeans, or other Aegean palatial powers, upon seizing power over the Aegean, enforced production at an increased rate. It is plausible that a sudden increase in production would leave artists with less time to paint these naturalistic forms, so perhaps in a rush to produce these vessels, they opt for a more minimal style. However, it is important to note that the later abstract Marine Style vessels were still being painted primarily by hand, even into the LM IIIC (1200–1075

15 A.L. Wilson, "The Presence in Crete of Volcanic Ash from Thera," *The American Journal of Archaeology* 80, no. 4 (October 1976): 419.

16 P.A. Mountjoy, "The Late Minoan II–III and Mycenaean Pottery from the 1911 Excavations at Phylakopi on Melos," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 104 (November 2009): 81.

BCE) period.

Contact and Trade Between the Minoans and the Mycenaeans

The most significant trade partner for the Minoans in the Bronze Age were the Mycenaeans.[17] They frequently overlap within archaeological contexts, although they maintain separate identities of material culture. It is widely understood that there was intensive, continuous communication between these two cultures, particularly in the Middle Bronze Age. Jean-Claude Poursat theorizes it is most likely that the Mycenaeans became more involved in Minoan trade routes while Knossos was still the primary growing power across the Aegean.[18] In doing so, the Mycenaeans became increasingly involved in the Aegean trade industry, gaining their own momentum and acknowledgement as a major producer of tradable goods. In the Late Bronze Age, objects from Minoan culture are found primarily in Mycenaean burial contexts. While at Minoan sites, these materials can be found in abundance in various contexts, it seems that the most common finding place on the mainland is within burials. The theory stands that while the Mycenaeans are using Minoan art and objects, they are not using them in the same way. While a Minoan may use a seal in a technological way—sealing letters, as a signature, etc.—a Mycenaean probably uses it as a decorative accessory.[19] Through instances such as this, the attitude towards Minoan material culture is revealed to be extremely different.

To the Mycenaeans, Minoan materials are a commodity meant to be paraded as a symbol of wealth and prestige. However, for the Minoans, they are simple, mundane aspects of one's culture. The Marine Style vessels can be placed under the same kind of lens. For the Minoans, it is known that they represent an aspect of Minoan culture that is vast, universally known, and holds significant cultural importance. Seafaring finds its way into nearly every aspect of Minoan art, and thus it is part of their core identity.[20] While the Mycenaeans do engage in intense levels of trade, they do not classify as a "seafaring" culture in the same way that the Minoans do.[21] Their palatial sites are not maritime locations, and they lack any significant material culture alluding to that identity beyond their borrowing from the Minoan Marine Style. Rather, evidence shows that they use Minoan art culture as a marker for prestige. There also is potential for a passing-down of technolog-

17 Gert Jan van Wijngaarden, *Use and Appreciation of Mycenaean Pottery in the Levant, Cyprus, and Italy (ca. 1600–1200 BC)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002): 2.
18 Poursat, *Art and Archaeology*, 269.
19 Poursat, 268.
20 Berg, "Marine Creatures," 13.
21 Poursat, *Art and Archaeology*, 269.

ical practice: some theorize that Mycenaean craftsmen may have been trained by Minoans, which would include the passing down of ceramic manufacturing techniques.[22] This interestingly further complicates the dynamic between these two cultures, as the relationship later becomes less than friendly. In the latter half of the LM period, the attitudes between the Minoans and the Mycenaeans appear to be more hostile. While this is not definitive, some evidence has shown violent events occurring that are associated with these two cultures. This began after the Theran eruption, whose aftermath caused mass destruction by way of earthquakes, tsunamis, or ash.[23] In the period following the Theran eruption, however:

> [...] the influence swung to the Mycenaean mainland, probably as a result of the disruption of trade after the loss in the Thera eruption of the busy emporium of Akrotiri, where goods from Crete entered the Cyclades. In this phase Mycenaean connections were particularly manifested in the pottery, some of which included exact copies of Minoan vessels, which clay analysis has shown were made on the mainland.[24]

It is quite possible that this added a level of desperation, which then led to tensions between the two surrounding cultures. It is unlikely that Crete was heavily affected by the natural disasters to the same extent as Akrotiri, another Minoan settlement, which was utterly destroyed by the eruption.[25] However, raids have been identified to occur on the coasts of Crete and the palatial sites on the island continually decrease, while at the same time, Mycenaean ones grow larger.[26] Due to this shift in palatial growth, it is evident that the power is shifting within the Aegean towards the west. Furthermore, Mycenaean material culture begins to appear at an increased rate on Minoan sites. Knossos is no longer the primary producer within the Minoan trade industry, instead, the power spreads and levels out. Some trade routes cease after the Theran eruption, but many continued, and Minoan ceramics were still in circulation.[27] However, they were no longer the sole rulers of the sea.

A Glimpse at Mycenaean Ceramics

"Minyan Ware" refers to the style of ceramic vessels indigenous to the Greek

22 Poursat, 270.
23 Wilson, "The Presence in Crete," 419.
24 Mountjoy, "The Late Minoan," 73.
25 Poursat, *Art and Archaeology*, 132.
26 Poursat, 269.
27 Mountjoy, "The Late Minoan," 81.

mainland, dating around the MH period (that is, pre-Marine Style).[28] It is characterized by its geometric matt-painted decoration, often creating bands that surround the vessel through patterned spirals, or other geometric shapes. These vessels are often partially burnished as well, along the matted decoration. There is no representation or iconographic elements to these vessels. Rather, it seems to follow a translational pattern of geometric designs that circumference them. The geometric designs also divide the vessels horizontally into sections, often from rim to neck, shoulder to body, and body to base. This style does continue to be produced throughout the Bronze Age, even late up to the collapse, and it evolves within its own rights. The geometric, non-representational nature continues throughout its development. In the LH I (1600–1525 BCE) period, it is theorized to have been developed at a production centre, and later spread to other smaller centres through export and schooling.[29] The primary production centre for Mycenaean ceramics in this period is still unknown, but its homogeneity suggests a core production starting point somewhere in the Peloponnese.[30]

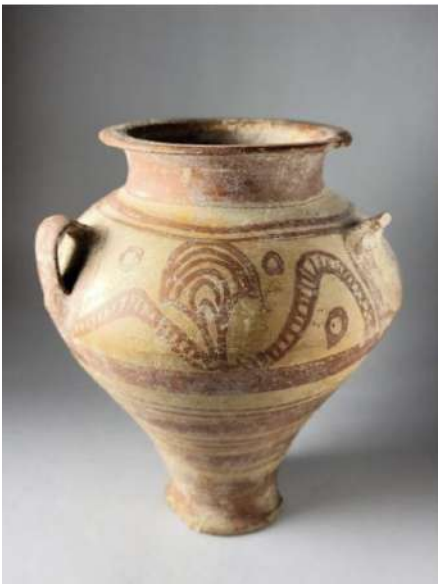

Fig. 4. Ceramic jar, clay, from Cyprus, ca. LH IIIA (1400–1325 BCE). Photography by Royal Ontario Museum, 920.39.26.

28 P.A. Mountjoy, "Regional Mycenaean Pottery," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 85 (November 1990): 248.
29 Mountjoy, "Regional Mycenaean," 247–248.
30 Mountjoy, 248.

Borrowing the Minoan Marine Style

The most common style of Mycenaean pottery finds its inspiration in Aegean styles. They adopt the Marine Style, alongside other material culture from the Aegean, and become significant producers of Minoan Marine Style ceramics themselves.[31] How they gained this skill is unknown, although there are theories starting from Mycenaean apprenticeships on Crete, to potential raids or gift culture.[32] In truth it would be difficult to ascertain how the skill was passed on, but what is clear is that these ceramics are manufactured on the mainland.[33] While these vessels copy the precise elements and forms as the Minoan Marine Style, there is some very slight differentiation between the two. The Mycenaean ones, unlike the Minoan, are more commonly painted on larger "palatial" vessels such as amphoras.[34] Such vessels were traditionally used in funerary contexts, which further implies the "prestigious" connotation that the Mycenaeans applied to Minoan objects.

In terms of stylistic differences, the Mycenaeans tended to be slightly more minimalistic, even on the naturalistic vessels. They used less fine lines and focused on larger forms, with the addition of symmetry. Rather than a natural seascape, these marine figures are placed in a more spontaneous manner.[35] Furthermore, there is a slight bilateral symmetry to the octopi depicted on their vessels.[36] Instead of the arms stretching out and looping in a fluid movement, they look more stagnant, more stiff. The arms curl at the end in the same manner, are roughly the same size, and frame the head of the octopus rather equally. They do not move freely; this octopus is stuck in poise. It is not in its natural habitat but rather it depicts an intentionally self-aware attitude. The seaweed and coral wrapping around it also portray an intention that is not present in the Minoan vessels. Philip P. Betancourt's article on the Marine Style emphasizes this:

> On a Mycenaean amphora with the same composition, however, the style is quite different. The iconography is all there: the vertical, front-staring sea creature; the crossed, writhing tentacles; and the small specks of coral used as filling ornaments. [...] The major differences, however, lie in brushwork.[37]

31 Phillip P. Betancourt, "Marine-Life Pottery from the Aegean," *Archaeology* 30, no. 1 (January 1977): 41.
32 Betancourt, "Marine-Life Pottery," 41.
33 Mountjoy, "The Late Minoan," 73.
34 Betancourt, "Marine-Life Pottery," 42.
35 Betancourt, 42.
36 Refer to Figure 4 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'
37 Betancourt, 42.

Betancourt details that the Cretan suction cups on the octopi are painted far more freely and loose, whereas the Mycenaean ones are more repetitive and methodical with "many of them certainly [having] a more static overall effect."[38]

Fig. 5. Ceramic jar, clay, from Prosymna, ca. LH IIA. Photography by National Archaeological Museum of Athens, 6725.

Minoan Vessels: A Stylistic Analysis

It has now been established that the Minoans decided to deviate away from their well established, naturalistic Marine Style. An analysis of the specific forms and motifs within various stages of the evolution is vital for revealing what particular choices potters made as they moved towards the abstract style of pottery decoration. While it is ideal to analyse the brushing techniques as well as the pigments being used on these vessels, the authors' limited access to vessels on hand would affect this analysis.[39] Thus, the focus will be on stylistic design in terms of composition. With attention being paid to the elements, motifs, and spatial relations, the design structure of these vessels may help reveal the thought process of the potter, or the overall change in cultural identity.

38 Betancourt, 42.
39 For further reading on the painting process, see Betancourt 1973.

The Marine Style is an incredibly distinct kind of pottery decoration, and it would have been recognizably Minoan in the Bronze Age Mediterranean and Near East. The abstract style is less distinct, and actually calls to mind the Minyan ceramic style more than its Marine predecessor.

Typology

Table 1 on the following page is an original typology crafted for the purpose of this paper, in order to analyze the stylistic evolution from "Total Marine Style" to "Total Abstract." The categories were created to represent the degree of naturalism, representation, and abstraction of Marine Style pots. Additionally, a relative dating of the vessel types showcases the evolution of the style over time. Descriptions of each type are established so the vessels may be sorted into their respective type. The typology organizes the categories of style by their resemblance to the "true" Marine Style.[40] The categories are concerned with the appearance of decipherable octopi or octopodes, along with the characteristic patterns and motifs that accompany them. Furthermore, the space taken up by the motifs will be considered. Total Marine Style vessels with octopi are generally encompassed by one figure on each side, with arms stretching outwards around the vessel. Other motifs often surround the octopus, such as seaweed, shells, and coral.

40 Petrakis, "Politics of the Sea," 195. This term has been used by scholars, however, it implies a certain prestige that places the naturalistic style over the abstract style, which discredits the later design and reinforces the notion that less complex ceramic decoration is more "primitive." For the purpose of this paper, the term "Total Marine Style" will be used instead.

Table 1. Typology of Minoan Marine Style Vessels based on level of abstraction.[41]

Vessel type	*Description of Painting Style*	*Approximate date*
Total Marine Style	Detailed naturalistic octopi, shells, seaweed, or other marine creatures and plants. Seascape imagery.	LM IB
Minimal Marine Style	Reminiscent of the marine style without any specific animals or plants. Still holds the same patterning and motifs. Some marine animal/plant shapes.	LM II
Quasi-Marine Style	No discernable marine animals or plants, but the geometric patterning that usually occupies other Marine vessels remains.	LM II
Aquatic-esque	Marine animals are still decipherable, but in a more stylized sense. Geometric in nature, but with some representation.	LM IIIA2
Octopode	Representation of an octopus. Marine motifs visible, with minimal Marine geometric patterns present.	LM IIIB
Abstract Octopode	An abstract octopode design, usually with swirls and long wavy lines indicating tentacles.	LM IIIC
Total Abstract	Minimal patterning, no naturalistic representation present. Octopodes still use squiggly lines for tentacles. Minimal and abstract; simple geometric designs that do not indicate seafaring motifs.	LM IIIC

41 Table 1. The vessels used in this chart are representational, and while they were chosen for their ability to closely represent as much of the various ceramic styles as possible, they do not fully represent the vast corpus of ceramic evidence that is available. For the purpose of this paper, the number of vessels was limited to a representative amount.

Observations

Vessel 1[42]

As stated above, this vessel is characteristically "Minoan Marine Style." This stirrup jar is dated to the LM IB period, and it contains the naturalistic elements that define the style itself. The octopus occupies the majority of the space on this vessel. Its head is positioned parallel to the handles, indicating that the "face" of the vessel is where the spout would be poured from (see the side profile), and the octopus' body is clear almost in its entirety. The arms spread out in a way that indicates it is swimming underwater. They hug the vessel, some even going all the way up to the neck, and swirling around it. This octopus is alive; it is in movement, and its expressive eyes act as the focal point.

Furthermore, the octopus is not in a void space. It is surrounded by other marine creatures and plants. To the right of the head, a shell is visible floating along the body of the vessel. Seaweed is prominent throughout, in a wavy fashion that indicates it is in movement as well. The spout, neck, and handles are painted dark, which separate them from the rest of the vessel. The potter that painted this vessel understood the image of a creature underwater, but the composition is still representational. There is no distinctive seabed, but rather, the figures float arbitrarily around the vessel. It is representative of a seascape, but is itself not one. Nevertheless, intense attention to detail is being paid to the realism of the paintings. It does not represent seafaring in that it depicts a scene of ships sailing, but rather it is a voyeuristic depiction of a sea creature in its natural habitat. This would be organized into the "Total Marine Style" type.

42 Refer to Figures 3 and 6 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'

Fig. 6. Stirrup jar, clay, from Gournia, ca. LM IB. Photography by Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 2783.

Vessel 2[43]

This one dates to the Late Minoan II period. It is a bridge-spouted jar that contains geometric patterning alongside representational octopi motifs. It should be noted that the Marine Style is represented on twenty-one different vessel shapes, most of which are used on Crete.[44] On the body of the vessel, the faces of the octopi are visible (two dotted eyes and the beak). However, instead of a singular or a pair of octopi encompassing the vessel, here there are several octopi heads that translate along the circumference of the vessel's body. These figures are then confined by a border—on the bottom is a rocky seabed, which is sometimes found in Total Marine Style vessels. These octopi have minimal arms. There is one arm that juts from the top of each octopi, joining the border above at the neck of the vessel. This element is also apparent in the aforementioned vessel, albeit in a more distinctive way. Instead, the suckers are represented as a dotted pattern circumferencing the neck of the vessel. It is representative: this is not an actual octopus arm, but rather a pattern that is reminiscent of such.

At the lower quadrant of the vessel's body, there are more dotted patterns. The dots do not make their way all around, but they are instead clustered in groups of six. Below this, swirling lines lead the eye to the base of the vessel. While this is

43 Refer to Figure 7 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'
44 Mountjoy, Jones, and Cherry, "Provenance Studies," 149.

not naturalistic in style, it is representational, and holds onto the motifs, elements, and spatial relation of the Total Marine Style. Thus, it should be classified as "Minimal Marine Style."

Fig. 7. Bridge-spouted jar with decoration of the standard tradition, clay, from Crete, ca. LM II. Photography by Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 1832.

Vessel 3[45]

An alabastron from the LM IB period, does not contain the same kind of naturalistic decoration. While this is more geometrical in nature, it is still visibly hand-painted, as is notable from the unevenness in the pattern occupying the shoulder of the vessel and in the centre of the star. While this vessel does not contain the usual marine creatures or plants, it has been categorized as "Quasi-Marine Style" due to several factors. The primary reason for its label is the presence of the pattern wrapping around the shoulder and neck of the vessel in a similar manner as in Vessel 1.[46] Additionally, the central figure with the red pigment is framed with a flowing, winding motion that appears to represent a seascape. The central figure of this vessel is confined on its own plane that is separated from the viewer: the framing of the flowing pigment, the minimal dots surrounding it, and the patterning along the shoulders of the vessel certainly remove the observer from the world that the figure is in. This vessel is more stylized, painted with motifs rather than naturalistic forms. It is slightly more representative in nature and bears less

45 Refer to Figure 8 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'
46 Refer to Figures 3 and 6 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'

of a free-natured composition than Vessel 1 does.[47]

Fig. 8. Marine Style Alabastron, clay, from Knossos, ca. MM III 1700–1450. Photography by Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 24298.

Vessel 4[48]

This one falls into the "Aquatic-esque" type; while it does contain some characteristic elements and forms that are present in the Marine style, it is moving in a different direction. This vessel is far more symmetrical and stylized. There is a complete loss of the natural, free-form essence that the Marine Style had earlier on. Instead, this cup displays a symmetrical octopus. This octopus is frozen in its place: it is not floating in its natural habitat, nor does it look alive or in movement. This is certainly becoming, and one could say it is now, representational. The eyes have increased in size and are the focal point of this vessel.

It is also important to note that here, the octopus faces away from the spout where the liquid would be poured. This is in contrast to Vessel 1,[49] where there are octopi on either side of the vessel. On the front side, where the spout is, the octopus was forgone for geometric designs. More specifically, a checkered pattern below arches that do bring to mind the octopi arms with their dotted suckers. Further-

47 Refer to Figures 3 and 6 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'
48 Refer to Figures 9 and 10 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'
49 Refer to Figures 3 and 6 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'

more, between this octopus' arms are more geometric designs that further take the octopus away from its naturalistic predecessor.

Here, straight lines and solid sections separate the arms of this creature, which appears to be webbed. The outer rim of the vessel is decorated with similar arches that are found on the front of the vessel, although lacking the dots inside them. While this may be representative of waves, they only occupy the area where the octopus head touches the rim. Otherwise, the vessel is painted with a solid line along its rim. C-shaped lines occupy the negative space: what they may represent is unknown, but could potentially be stylized fish hooks, seaweed, or coral.

(Left) Fig. 9. Handled cup, clay, from Crete, ca. LM IIIA. Photography by Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 2114. Reverse view.

(Right) Fig. 10. Handled cup, clay, from Crete, ca. LM IIIA. Photography by Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 2114. Side view.

Vessel 5[50]

Another stirrup jar with a false neck, from LM IIIB, however, is painted in a very different "Marine Style" than Vessel 1.[51] This vessel interestingly appears to have been painted partially by hand and partially by tools. The figure at its centre can be referred to as an "Octopode," since it contains the same basic form as the Vessel 1 octopus,[52] however, it is very different in style. The creature only has two arms, which wave out and around the vessel. There are no dotted suckers; it is a solid

50 Refer to Figure 11 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'
51 Refer to Figures 3 and 6 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'
52 Refer to Figures 3 and 6 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'

line, bordered by two thin lines alongside it. The body of the octopode is small and thin, while the eyes are larger. Furthermore, the body of this octopode looks to be upside-down. It faces the neck of the vessel and two smaller lines, which look like arms, fold over its head.

The neck of the vessel is painted solid, as are the handles and the shoulder. The body of this vessel is decorated with thin lines striping all the way to the base, where it is again filled in. Due to the spiral nature of these stripes, it can be theorized that the potter utilized a tournette to spin this vessel, held a paintbrush to it, and painted these stripes on in this manner. This is indicated by the octopus' left arm touching the stripe and the right arm not doing the same. Of course, this may be due to the hand-painted nature of the creature, but a closer look at the slight tilt in the lines further suggests they were painted in one stroke.

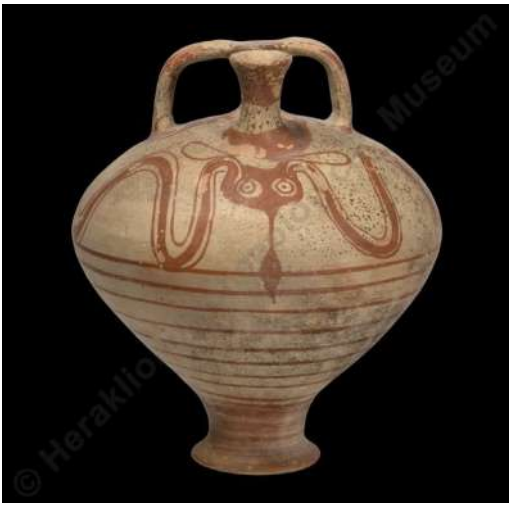

Fig. 11. Stirrup jar with octopus, clay, from Crete, ca. LM IIIB. Photography by Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 7636.

***Vessel 6*[53].**

From Knossos, this is a LM IIIC (1200–1075 BCE) stirrup jar with a false neck, also containing the octopode imagery in the previous vessel. However, this one falls under the "Abstract Octopode," type, due to the increased abstraction and stylization of the figure. This octopode only has two arms, and two shorter ones folded above.[54] The longer arms move out in steep wavy lines, ending in a small

53 Refer to Figure 12 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'
54 Similar to Vessel 5 (fig. 9), but more deliberate.

swirl. The body is painted as one thin line bulging at the bottom. The eyes are the focal point: they take up the majority of the head, sitting far apart. This marine creature is boxed in by relief attachments that are striped and bordered with paint. The top and bottom of the creature are also bordered. Beyond this finite section is a detailed checked pattern, but each dark box is filled with diagonal stripes. The handles of this vessel are striped as well, and the shoulder is decorated with diamond shapes, as well as the "C" motif seen in Vessel 4.[55] The rim is painted solid, the base as well, with a few stripes circling it. This vessel, while containing the marine creature, is vastly different from Vessel 1.[56] Rather than naturalistic rocks, plants, and shells, the octopode is surrounded by geometric shapes and symmetrical patterns. It appears as though symmetry is becoming more and more significant as time goes on. The octopode does not have free-flowing arms but they are not stiff either. They wave out from the body of the creature in a quite loose fashion. The potter was not trying to make a naturalistic image: in fact, they made a deliberate effort to style the octopode into a representational figure. It does not resemble a realistic octopus, but, rather, it represents the flowing arms and transformative bodies of octopi.

Fig. 12. Stirrup jar, clay, from Knossos, ca. LM IIIC. Photography by Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 33404.

55 Refer to Figure 9 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'
56 Refer to Figures 3 and 6 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'

Vessel 7[57]

A globular stirrup jar with minimal patterning on it. There is no octopode torso or face, only waving lines on the shoulder and body of the vessel that are stacked in three rows. The waving lines are reminiscent of the octopode arms, although a viewer unfamiliar with these styles may not recognize them as such. However, they do exhibit some of the free and flowing nature that the earlier Marine Styles do. This is contrasted with the bottom half of the vessel, where straight lines are painted.[58] Otherwise, this vessel is not decorated any further. It should be noted that this vessel has been dated earlier than Vessel 6.[59] However, the chronological evolution of pottery styles is no longer the widely accepted theory, and thus it is appropriate for there to be some overlap within styles. This falls under the "Abstract" type of Marine Style, removing any naturalism or representation and holding onto patterns and linear design. It is minimal and geometric—there is no seascape to observe here. No figures with eyes or flowing plants. This vessel is isolated; the design wraps around it fully, and the abstraction of the octopode has been fully realized.

Fig. 13. Stirrup jar, clay, from Crete, ca. LM IIIB. Photography by The British Museum, 1909,0504.1.

57 Refer to Figure 13 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'
58 Likely with use of a tournette, and seemingly were gone over a few times by the potter.
59 Refer to Figure 12 in 'Bibliography of Material Culture.'

Conclusion

The Minoans' distinct seafaring identity was heavily represented in their LM IA pottery, their clear familiarity with the sea and its creatures showing through naturalistic depictions of underwater seascapes. These vessels circulated around the Aegean and with neighboring trade partners in the east and the west. It is plausible that they were widely known for this style. At the very least, the Mycenaeans, their largest trading partner, were deeply interested in it. The level of effort applied to the designing of these ceramics shows that it was a deep aspect of cultural identity, and indeed, the Aegean connected much of the islands that these vessels can be found on. The Mycenaean tendency to adopt this style into their own ceramic culture, using it as a marker of prestige and elite status, shows the profound connection that these paintings had, not only with the Minoans, but with the broader Mediterranean. Thus, as a marker of identity, it must be important for trade recognition. However, the Theran eruption and the effects it had on trade routes, especially with the destruction of Akrotiri, clearly had an effect on this art style.

Whether the production of these vessels were empirically mandated is not known, and it has been widely theorized that the style belonged to a group of artisans that produced these, and then later continued to teach their skills to apprentice potters.[60] Regardless, it is after this point in LM IA that the Marine Style begins to rapidly shift. As Poursat states, "The prolific output of workshops during this period brings about the development of ever more pronounced stylisation and abstraction."[61] It turns from naturalism to abstraction and even slightly geometric in style. These hand painted vessels are not likely being produced by the same school of pottery making anymore, and if they are, something within it has changed. The seafaring identity seems to remain. However, the desire to explicitly depict this in their tradable materials decreases over time.During this period, a massive shift in power occurs, as the palatial sites such as Knossos no longer hold as much power over the Aegean, but Mycenaean power and wealth steadily increases. Mycenaean society reaches its peak in LH IIIA (1400–1325 BCE), and mainland manufactured material finds itself in increasing rates on the Aegean islands, and especially Crete. The geometric design of the later Minoan stirrup jars also has some resemblance to Mycenaean geometric pottery. Thus, it cannot be ruled out that Mycenae has seized control over ceramic production. However, if they so revel in the design of Marine Style ceramics, this could mean one of two things: either they are pushing for an accelerated amount of production that the Minoan artisans cannot keep up with were they to maintain the current amount of

60 Betancourt, "Marine-Life Pottery," 41.
61 Poursat, *Art and Archaeology,* 470.

detail on their vessels, or the Mycenaeans are trying to become the sole producers of the Marine Style, and they are influencing the artisans and potters to change their style into something abstract. However, evidence for empirical Mycenaean control over the Aegean is lacking, even while their wealth increases:

> Even though the actual presence of mainlanders elsewhere in the Aegean cannot be excluded, there is little evidence of a Mycenaean Aegean empire. Instead, we should envisage a cultural and technological koine in which the Argolid played a key role. In spite of this *koine*, local traditions in material culture seem to have continued in many regions of the Aegean. As is especially visible in ceramic production, the regional variations in the material culture increased towards the end of the palatial period and became particularly strong after the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces.[62]

So while there is an increase in Mycenaean palatial society, it does not appear to be empirical. If a sort of *koine*—wherein two differing Greek communities merge into one—indeed happened after the Theran eruption, this could still have affected pottery production, especially if it were being primarily produced by artisans. The introduction of Mycenaean potters could have influenced this turn to abstract/geometric style, and the Minoan potters could be applying their Marine Style motifs onto it. The question of why the Minoans turned towards an abstraction of their culturally significant Marine Style is deserving of further research, as it so far has opened up options for further nuanced understandings of the Bronze Age Aegean. The stylistic analysis of Minoan Marine Style pottery, in terms of its movement from naturalism to abstraction, has proven that there is further nuance to this change, beyond mere cultural shifting. A reassessment of the current accepted model for Marine Style evolution, in conjunction with Mycenaean production patterns, may yet reveal far more about the prehistoric Aegean world than what is currently known.

62 van Wijngaarden, *Use and Appreciation,* 2.

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Figure 1. *Chronological table,* adapted from Carl Knappett, *Aegean Bronze Age Art: Meaning in the Making* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020): xv.

Figure 2. *Maritime Network map*, adapted from Carl Knappett, Ray J. Rivers, and Tim S. Evans, "The Theran Eruption and Minoan palatial Collapse: New Interpretations Gained from Modelling the Maritime Network," *Antiquity* 85, no. 329 (2011): 1010.

Figure 3. *Stirrup jar,* clay, from Gournia, ca. LM IB. Photography by Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 2783.

Figure 4. *Ceramic jar,* clay, from Cyprus, ca. LH IIIA (1400-1325). Photography by Royal Ontario Museum, 920.39.26.

Figure 5. *Ceramic jar,* clay, from Prosymna, ca. LH IIA. Photography by National Archaeological Museum of Athens, 6725.

Figure 6. *Stirrup jar,* clay, from Gournia, ca. LM IB. Photography by Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 2783.

Figure 7. *Bridge-spouted jar with decoration of the standard tradition*, clay, from Crete, ca. LM II. Photography by Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 1832.

Figure 8. *Marine Style Alabastron*, clay, from Knossos, ca. MM III 1700–1450. Photography by Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 24298.

Figure 9. *Handled cup*, clay, from Crete, ca. LM IIIA. Photography by Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 2114.

Figure 10. *Handled cup,* clay, from Crete, ca. LM IIIA. Photography by Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 2114.

Figure 11. *Stirrup jar with octopus*, clay, from Crete, ca. LM IIIB. Photography by Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 7636.

Figure 12. *Stirrup jar*, clay, from Knossos, ca. LM IIIC. Photography by Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 33404.

Figure 13. *Stirrup jar*, clay, from Crete, ca. LM IIIB. Photography by The British Museum, 1909,0504.1.

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A Hopeful Lament: Lessons on Grief and Living Fully from Catullus' *Carmina* III

Maya Barmi / First Year Feature

Abstract

In Catullus's *Carmina* III, the death of Lesbia's *passer* (sparrow) signifies more than just the death of a beloved pet; it illustrates the inevitability of loss faced by all. Although Catullus and his poetry have largely been interpreted through romantic and satirical lenses, the poet provides his contemporary and modern audiences with insightful commentary on grief. Similarly, the sparrow is traditionally understood as both a literal bird and a phallic euphemism, but is also symbolic of innocence. In this symbolism, the sparrow and its death are closely linked to the transformative nature of grief—whether appearing because of death, heartbreak, or other forms of sorrow. This grief is relative not only to physical loss, but also to girlhood, as seen in *Carmina* III, through the intimately described relationship between Lesbia and her sparrow. The poem also emphasizes that grief is relative to that which has not yet been lost. Through this, Catullus stresses the importance of living in the present and embracing the freedom of living. To examine the role of innocence when faced with grief, this paper examines the timeline of innocence, from its existence in childhood to its fleeting nature as well as how various populations cope with the universality and inevitability of this loss. Ultimately, this paper urges its readers to understand that *Carmina* III teaches us to live fully so as not to face grief with regret.

A Hopeful Lament

"Grieve […] all the lovelier people there are: / My girl's sparrow is dead."[1]

The neoteric poet Gaius Valerius Catullus (c. 84–54 BCE)[2] was a great influence on the poets of Augustan elegy.[3] Perhaps best known for his application of love,

1 Gaius Valerius Catullus, *The Poems of Catullus,* trans. Guy Lee (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), *Carmina* 3.1–3.
2 J. E. Atkinson, "Catullus: the Historical Background," *Akroterion* 20, no. 2 (1975): 39.
3 E. Alfred Havelock, "The Poetry of Catullus." Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed on February 21, 2024.

hatred,[4] and constant reference to his lover Lesbia,[5] it is in Catullus' poetical reflections on grief—such as *Carmina* III—that his work becomes most complex, both in reception and original intent. In *Carmina* III, grief is portrayed not only as a response to loss but also as a reaction to the fear of losing something, or someone, that has not yet been lost. This reinforces the realization of the importance of living life fully and without regret. First, I will examine the sparrow as a metaphor for innocence rather than examining its literal and erotic readings, next, I will analyze the impact of religion on grief, then I will explore Lesbia's loss of innocence, and finally, I will evaluate the inevitability of loss.

Although only appearing in two of Catullus' poems, II and III,[6] Lesbia's sparrow, or *passer*, is widely recognized to represent a sweet bullfinch: in *Carmina* II, Catullus states that the sparrow's charming qualities and playful attitude serve as "a solace for [Lesbia's] pain."[7] As Green notes in her analysis of the poem, "the inclination to identify *passer* as bullfinch stems from authors of the early twentieth century, who were discussing Catullus at a time when bullfinches were familiar, popular, and coveted pets."[8] Other interpretations of the *passer* are erotic; occasionally it is introduced as a phallic euphemism but is also considered erotic in the connection between its "amorous behaviours"[9] and those of the goddess Venus. I argue, however, that in addition to a literal bird, bullfinch or otherwise, and an erotic symbol, the sparrow can also be represented in *Carmina* III as a symbol of innocence and humanity.

With the sparrow's death, Catullus highlights the fragility of life and how—like the innocence of childhood—it is fleeting. For instance, the use of "honey-sweet"[10] to describe the sparrow associates it with the irreproachability that is often tied to childhood and its somewhat carefree nature. The sparrow is also described as having "hopp[ed] around, this way, that way […] cheeping to his lady along."[11] The charming qualities of the sparrow illustrate its own journey, which begins pleasantly, unassuming, and contented, much like childhood. With his death, however,

4 Havelock, "Catullus."
5 Julia Haig Gaisser, "Catullus, Gaius Valerius," *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries: Annotated Lists and Guides* no. 7 (1992): 198. Lesbia is "Generally identified with Clodia, the sister of Publius Colodius Pulcher and wife of Quintus Metellus Celer."
6 Ashleigh Green, "Lesbia's Controversial Bird: Testing the Cases for and Against *Passer* as Sparrow," *Antichthon* 55 (January 2021): 6–20.
7 Catullus, 2.7.
8 Green, "Lesbia's Bird," 15.
9 Green, 18.
10 Catull., 3.5–6.
11 Catull., 3.9–10.

the language quickly becomes more somber and negatively connoted: "and now he's off on the dark journey / from which they say no one returns."[12] The shift in Catullus' language stresses that the innocence of childhood is negated by its fleeting nature, making it all the more precious. Grief is universal. Its causes vary—death, heartbreak, illness—but it unites humanity through emotional response. By imitating commonalities within humanity through Lesbia's sparrow, Catullus emphasizes that grief is a powerful emotion which stems from relatability, as it affects each of us and is founded on shared behaviors at the occurrence of its causes.

Catullus' invocation of the gods reminds the audience of the fleetingness of time experienced by humans. In stating "O Venuses and Loves,"[13] or "Veneres Cupidinesque," he illustrates the impact of religion on grief, as some seek divine intervention to counter and cope with the pain of loss. Though the religion of Catullus' Rome, which emphasized state ritual and household worship as well as *orthopraxis*, "the correct performance of ritual,"[14] is not necessarily mainstream in the global West today,[15] billions of religious individuals ask for divine interference in the face of grief. By asking for divine interference, these individuals defer the subsequent outcomes of these situations at a personal level by having hope and practicing faith. This highlights that although not everyone copes with grief by practicing religion, through hope for a better outcome, grief is still a universal experience. Additionally, it illustrates that regret often accompanies grief in unspoken words, missed opportunities, or fleeting moments. Catullus urges us to live without regret so that, when we encounter loss, we are not consumed by the grief of it but instead experience gratitude for a life fully lived.

In the second half of the poem, from "and he's off" to "swollen red with crying,"[16] Catullus forcefully blames the death of the sparrow on Orcus, the Roman god of the Underworld,[17] for robbing him of "so pretty a sparrow."[18] When examined through the lens of grief, Catullus is referring not to the actual sparrow in this line but instead to his owner, Catullus' lover Lesbia, and her loss of innocence. Green remarks, the "connection between *passeres* and children suggests Lesbia comes across as childish for playing with a silly bird, and later, for lamenting its death,"[19]

12 Catull., 3.11–12.
13 Catull., 3.1–2.
14 Eric Orlin, "Urban Religion in the Middle and Late Republic," in *A Companion to Roman Religion*, ed. Jörg Rüpke (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 58–59.
15 Though not as widely observed in the global West, it is important to note that some modern religions follow similar principles to these. This does not diminish their global significance or popularity.
16 Catullus, 3.11–18.
17 Hendrik Wagenvoort, *Pietas: Selected Studies in Roman Religion*, (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 139. "The god of the underworld, who took the name of the Roman Orcus."
18 Catullus, 3.15.
19 Green, "Lesbia's Bird," 18.

articulating the "deep emotional connection"[20] between the two and the profound depth of Lesbia's grief, hinting that it extends beyond the sparrow's death. As previously mentioned, *passer* represents the innocence within humanity, but it also has an erotic valence. Within *Carmina* III this innuendo is relevant when examining the grief of losing one's girlhood—specifically Lesbia's. In this context, it suggests a symbolic transition from innocence to experience through the grief tied to new-found womanhood and the societal expectations which accompany it, namely an intensified loss of autonomy through marriage and the stigma around female sexuality. In her mourning of the sparrow, Lesbia also grieves her girlhood, communicating not just the loss of her pet bird but also the end of her innocence and her resignation to the stark realities of ancient Roman womanhood.

Because of Lesbia's emotional turmoil, Catullus is more concerned about who Lesbia might become or what she may do when faced with said grief than that his "girl's sparrow is dead."[21] This concept of grieving that which has not yet been lost, but is so thoroughly affected by grief, again reminds both Catullus' contemporary audience and his modern one to live life without regret. By illustrating that the aftermath of loss can be more harrowing than its cause, Catullus argues that the freedom of life before death must be embraced. One must live understanding that death is a natural part of life and that, because of this, one must live it fully. Catullus' description of the sparrow's "dark journey"[22] casts light on an important element of the human experience: facing situations which we cannot possibly understand. These situations may have explanations which can literally be understood, such as a cause of death, but no one can explain the things we feel or our reasons for feeling them. Lesbia loved the sparrow "more than her eyes,"[23] but even with her constant love and its reciprocation,[24] it still died. Joy gave the bird no physical sustenance, nor could it stop death, just as attachments to the rest of humanity cannot shield us from the inevitability of loss.

By understanding that death is a natural event, Catullus invites his contemporary as well as his modern audiences to reflect on resilience. While both the sparrow's dark journey and Lesbia's loss of innocence are inevitable, it is through this journey that humanity learns the value of living life to its fullest. In this essay, I have examined the inevitability of loss, explored Lesbia's loss of innocence both in grieving her pet sparrow and in the advent of her womanhood, the impact of religion on grief, and finally, the sparrow as a metaphor for innocence. The sparrow's

20 Green, 18.
21 Catull., 3.3.
22 Catull., 3.11.
23 Catull., 3.5.
24 Catull., 3.6–7. He "knew his mistress well, as a girl her mother."

death serves as a reminder that life is fragile, and it illustrates why one must live in the moment. Catullus' *Carmina* III is a masterful integration of emotive language through the lens of grief, specifically its universality and inevitability from birth to death. Catullus illustrates that while life is impermanent, and there is much fear in losing that which has not been lost, it is through living authentically in the moment and savouring life to its fullest extent, that one finds resilience and hope in the face of grief. To cherish what we have, and to reflect on a life well lived, means that although grief may still ensue, regret does not overwhelm an already sorrowful situation. Catullus encourages us to reflect on the following: if grief is inevitable, what use is there in letting it define us when we can use it as a reason to live life more fully?

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What we do in life
echoes in eternity.