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"Athena and Arachne"

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Zeus' Domain

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List of Photographs and Artwork

Sitting in the Theater

Original image by Sarah Betensky, used with permission

In this photograph, I captured the Theatre of Marcellus (Teatro de Marcelo) and the three columns of the Temple of Apollo (Templi di Apollo Sosiano) which survive in full height today, located in the Campus Martius in Rome, Italy. The Theatre of Marcellus was built in the closing years of the Roman Republic. Emperor Augustus dedicated it to the memory of his nephew and son-in-law, Marcellus, in 13 BC. The Temple of Apollo was first built and vowed to Apollo Medicus (the healer) in 433 BC because the Romans were facing a plague. It was consequently reconstructed numerous times, and its present name derives from that of its final rebuilder, the consul Gaius Sosius.

The Chisel's in the Details: Restoring Ancient Sculpture in the Ludovisi Collection

Camille Blanco

Introduction

The rediscovery of Greco-Roman antiquity during the Renaissance sent the city of Rome into a frenzy. As popes began sponsoring excavations of Roman sculpture, their intent was to strengthen the papal seat of power through Rome's legacy as the glorious seat of antiquity. Such an interest in an albeit fragmentary ancient past suggested, to the men who engaged with it, elevated "intellectual interests" and "refined sensibilities."[1] Close to one hundred years later, the allure of antiquity for artist-antiquarians and prominent collectors lay in its capacity to be presented as whole, rather than fragmented, works of art. Thus, the profession of the sculptor-as-restorer grew in popularity as artists like Gianlorenzo Bernini and Alessandro Algardi excelled in transforming part to whole as their works boasted a dynamic weaving of ancient and modern forms that completed what time failed to protect. Once the stronghold of the Roman Empire for thousands of years, Rome again rose to prominence as the epicenter of the Baroque.

This paper investigates the specific values of antiquity that were transposed through Baroque restorations of Greco-Roman statuary depicting divinities in the Ludovisi collection. Through the cases of Bernini's *Ares Ludovisi* and Algardi's *Hermes Ludovisi*, I argue that these restorations were Cardinal Ludovisi's way of appropriating and manipulating antiquity to establish himself and his legacy through his desire to revive ancient Rome. Nevertheless, the tensions that erupted between restoration and conservation, artifice and authenticity, ancient and Baroque, and pagan and Christian in these contemporary reinterpretations erased the potential for sculptors and patrons to recreate and uncover an original vision of the ancient city. Instead, they crafted a distinctly Baroque 'New Rome', neither ancient nor modern, but something in between. In this case, then, restoration becomes a matter of reception and reception a matter of taste.

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1 Miranda Marvin, "Possessions of Princes: The Ludovisi Collection," in *History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures, Papers from a Symposium*, ed. Janet Burnett Grossman, Jerry Podany, and Marion True (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2001), 225.

The Influence of Antiquity in Baroque Rome

With the increased demand for sculpture fragments that could become reinvented wholes, the role of the collector in Baroque Rome was nothing short of a dramatic, passionate frenzy of obsession. As a result of sanctioned and unintentional excavations, princes, cardinals, and popes alike "would quarrel over finds, and farmers struggle[d] to maintain their rights over territory under which such treasures might be found."[2] Even though seventeenth-century patrons preferred whole statues to time-worn fragments, the hunt for any kind of antiquity was on the rise. After excavation, most of these were kept in store-rooms or *loggias* (covered exterior galleries) until they became fit for display, where sculptors and antiquarians alike studied them.[3] These fragments became the "foremost teachers" of Baroque artists—the "standards against which all art was measured" and the "ideal to which all sculptors aspired"—as these men sought work both as sculptors and restorers.[4]

What, then, constituted a fulfilling restoration fit for display in a princely collection? In his *Osservazioni Della Scoltura Antica* (1650), Orfeo Boselli argued that the restorations of any fragments of antiquity had to be as faithful as possible. In order to achieve this, sculptors had to:

> Study the iconography of ancient art in order to recognise the Virtue, god or person represented so as to complete its pose correctly, and give it all the appropriate attributes and the right proportions, and, most important of all, he had to execute it in the antique style, so far as anyone could hope to emulate or equal antiquity.[5]

For the sculptor-restorer, then, learning from the classical model was imperative not just for matters of authentic reproduction but also for political appropriation. To entrust the restoration of ancient sculpture to artists of great fame and recognition, as Cardinal Ludovisi did with Bernini and Algardi, was to honor these sculptors' talent in their mimetic practices. Whether these constituted a proper or faithful restoration was not as much of a concern for a papal patron as was ensuring the alignment of their lineage with the concept of *Romanitas*—especially if they, like the Ludovisi, were not of Roman origin—while embracing a more contemporary style.

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2 Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 151.

3 Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 151.

4 Steven F. Ostrow and Anthony Colantuono, "Introduction: Rome as the Center of Early Modern Sculpture," in *Critical Perspectives on Roman Baroque Sculpture* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), 2.

5 Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 151-152.

That there were discrepancies between ancient fragments and their modern restorations does not mean that sculptors deliberately rewrote classical antiquity to suit their patrons' political agendas. According to Seymor Howard, the resulting "antico emulation" and "rebellious *paragone* competition" from "these extant antique remains and heroicizing anecdotal literature" hailed them as "battered inchoate mementoes or trophies."[6] Their status as incomplete fragments of an ideal past allowed Baroque sculptors, patrons, and beholders to "invent…an 'antiquity' that perhaps never existed before" and, through experimentation and innovation, "revivify the art of sculpture itself with new works meant to rival those of the best ancient masters."[7] The power of classical antiquity to inspire a limitless Baroque imagination is directly reflected in the collection of Cardinal Ludovisi, who, along with his favored sculptor-restorers, did all of this and more.

Villa Ludovisi: The Heartland of the Boncompagni Ludovisi Collection

Though this paper focuses on the unique perspective that Bernini and Algardi brought to their restorations, it is important to situate these sculptures in the collections where they were kept, for it is the opinions and tastes of their collector that also informed the ways in which they were restored. In 1621, Ludovico Ludovisi (1595-1632), who had become Cardinal Ludovisi after his uncle Alessandro was chosen as pope, acquired many vineyards on the Pincian Hill from various Roman aristocratic families, including the Del Monte, Maffei, and, most famously, the Orsini.[8] Thus, as Adele Amadio writes in her introduction to the villa's sculpture collection, "*La villa Ludovisi sorgeva su uno dei punti più belli e panoramici della città* [The Villa Ludovisi stands on one of the most beautiful and panoramic points of the city]."[9]

On 5 February 1622, Cardinal Ludovisi bought a large vineyard from Giovanni Antonio Orsini for 15,000 *scudi* with the purpose of uniting the

6 Seymour Howard, "Restoration and the Antique Model: Reciprocities between Figure and Field," in *History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures, Papers from a Symposium*, ed. Janet Burnett Grossman, Jerry Podany, and Marion True (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2001), 27-28.

7 Ostrow and Colantuono, "Introduction," 3.

8 Carla Benocci, *Villa Ludovisi* (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato S.p.A, 2010), 111-112.

9 Adele Anna Amadio, "La Villa Ludovisi e la collezione di sculture," in *La collezione Boncompagni Ludovisi: Algardi, Bernini e la fortuna dell'antico*, ed. Antonio Giuliano (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1992), 9.; All Italian translations are my own unless otherwise mentioned.

already extant Orsini palace with plans drawn by the architect Carlo Maderno.[10] Cardinal Ludovisi had one goal in mind: he wanted a palace that would emulate its neighbor, the Villa Borghese, and be "'uno delli più belli loghi che sia dentro di Roma et fora del circoito [one of the most beautiful places inside of Rome and outside of the city center].'"[11] Other than being the cardinal's "luogo di riposo [place of rest]," it also housed a collection of sculptures, both ancient and Baroque, that he acquired and received as gifts.[12] From 1622 until 1886, when the family sold their ancestral home due to a severe financial crisis, Villa Ludovisi was the most magnificent private residence and palace in Rome.

Cardinal Ludovisi's extravagant antiquities collection reflected the attributes of Greco-Roman antiquity that he valued and the specific interests he had in their ability to bolster a version of himself that he could portray to the people of Rome. In fact, through her study of the Villa's antiquities collection, Miranda Marvin writes that "antiquities were the props and scenery for the carefully scripted drama that was princely life."[13] These sculptures, or fragments of them, were not only selected to align the cardinal with the refined sensibilities of elite Italians at the time but also meant to be "repaired, redecorated, or remodeled to serve the collector's needs."[14]

In order to revive a vision of antiquity that had been long lost to time, Ludovisi, like many others before him, enlisted the help of two famous sculptors: Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) and Alessandro Algardi (1598-1654).[15] This period of rich artistic exchange between these men and their contemporaries, including François Duquesnoy, Nicholas Poussin, and Giovanni Pietro Bellori, among others, resulted in an era of unprecedented paragone between modern and ancient sculptors. While a consideration of all the restored sculptures in the Ludovisi Collection might reveal the true nature of the cardinal's desire to consciously root his political expression in *Romanitas*, I have selected two sculptures of ancient divinities that are key examples in uncovering the relationship between collector, sculpture, and sculptor-restorer in a fanciful revival of antiquity. By comparing Bernini and Algardi's restorations of these sculptures in the collection, one finds that the two masters created a language of restoration that would inspire and advance the work of other restorers in Rome at the time and beyond.

Gianlorenzo Bernini and the *Ludovisi Ares*

10 Benocci, *Villa Ludovisi*, 111.
11 Benocci, *Villa Ludovisi*, 112.
12 Amadio, "La Villa Ludovisi e la collezione di sculture," 10.
13 Marvin, "Possessions of Princes," 225.
14 Marvin, "Possessions of Princes," 225.
15 Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 151.

As the Villa Ludovisi continued operations to retrofit the palace for its extensive antiquities collection, the cardinal spent egregious amounts of money to purchase as many works as he could by whatever means necessary. One of these sculptures had been identified as an "Adonis" in a 1622 document, which also recorded a payment of 60 *scudi* to the then 24-year-old Bernini for its restoration.[16] This sculpture is the *Ludovisi Ares* (Fig. 1) and is regarded as one of the cardinal's finest acquisitions.

Atop a thick marble rock sits a partially covered, hunched-over male figure with his arms crossed over his left knee. His bent left leg rests above his battle helmet, while his right foot (Fig. 2) juts out over the base of the sculpture. To the right of the stone base is the figure's shield (Fig. 3), which complements the sword that he grips with his left hand (Figs. 4 & 5). While the majority of the sword disappears under a draped mantle, the pommel remains visible, with an open-mouthed grotesque that caps the hilt. The figure's face is serene, yet melancholy, contrasting the mischievous grin of the putto (Fig. 6) who peeks out from behind his right leg, holding what appears to be a bow in his right hand and covering its quiver with his left.[17]

At the time of its discovery in Rome in 1621, Pietro Santi Bartoli noted its findspot near the Palazzo Santa Croce in Rione X (Campitelli).[18] Strikingly, an entry in Pliny's *Natural History* records a colossal sculpture of the god Mars, crafted by the Greek sculptor Skopos, that sat in the Temple of Mars in the Circus Flaminius at the southern end of the Campus Martius.[19] Many antiquarians at the time, and even now, doubted this attribution. They argued that the size of the Ludovisi Ares does not correspond with Pliny's use of the word *colossiaeus*, which denotes a sculpture that was larger than life. Regardless of whether or not this was the sculpture Pliny described, what has captured the attention of scholars are the lasting impacts of Bernini's seemingly 'minimal' restorations.

Bernini's work on this sculpture—the god's right foot, his shield, his right hand and sword pommel, and the putto—earned him Boselli's praise for his "straight" restoration and ability to emulate antiquity.[20] Bernini attacked the restorations with fervor, going as far as using a new type of marble to differentiate the modern additions from the extant ancient pieces through color gradation

16 Marvin, "Possessions of Princes," 226-227.

17 Alessandra Costantini, "Ares Ludovisi," in *La collezione Boncompagni Ludovisi: Algardi, Bernini e la fortuna dell'antico*, ed. Antonio Giuliano (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1992), 74.

18 Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture*, 1500-1900 (New Haven: Yale University press, 1981), 260.

19 Plin. *Nat*. 35.6.

20 Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 158.

and even letting his own personal style shine through.[21] There are, however, two striking features of these restorations: the sword pommel (Figs. 4 & 5) and *putto* (Fig. 6).

The pommel of Ares' sword directly parallels that of the commander on the *Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus*, which features a "naturalistic feline head."[22] This sarcophagus, found in 1621 on the Ludovisi property, was in the same collection as the Ares. Bernini's pommel clearly references the sarcophagus, but in "substitut[ing] a grimacing human mask, an invention completely of his own time," the sculptor has made it "the focus of the work when viewed head-on."[23] This feature has intrigued many scholars, some of whom have likened the features of this 'mask' with those of dragons. While this is not a rare characteristic of ancient Roman art—the draco was a symbol of the Roman cavalry—its meaning grows in significance if it is considered through a Baroque lens.

Interestingly enough, the Ludovisi family's coat of arms depicts a golden, winged dragon in a field of red. As Baroque sculpture restorations can and do convey political messages, then perhaps the intentionality behind this restoration does not suggest a mere want to revive antiquity after all. For the lucky few who were invited to see the collection, such a feature is an explicit brand of the cardinal's ownership, like Lorenzo de'Medici's initials on his gemstones.[24] Through this curious feature, Bernini creates a cohesive narrative between these two works, imbuing his restorations with all the accoutrements of its more ancient past and modern patron.

Something similar occurs with Bernini's *putto*, whose restorations gave "enough character to make him a scene-stealer."[25] Italian scholars, whose research comprises most of the information on the *putto*, are more interested in what this addition adds to the iconographical and symbolic meaning of the sculpture. They underscore that groups of sculptures with Ares and Cupid should usually be flanked by a sculpture of Aphrodite, "*la cui funzione è proprio quella di testimoniare il loro legame* [whose function is precisely that of bearing witness to their bond]."[26] In probing into the Ares' incomplete status, however, they notice something alarming. A polished notch on Ares' left shoulder and linear

21 Costantini, "Ares Ludovisi," 81.

22 Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 159.

23 Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 159.; Marvin, "Possessions of Princes," 227.

24 *See* Laurie S. Fusco and Gino Corti, "The Image of Lorenzo as a Collector and Antiquarian," in *Lorenzo de'Medici, collector and antiquarian* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Brown University Digital Lending, 150-151, for a detailed discussion on these inscriptions.

25 Marvin, "Possessions of Princes," 227.

26 Filippo Coarelli and Sebastian Schütze, "Ares o Achille?," in *Bernini Scultore: La nascita del Barocco in Casa Borghese*, ed. Anna Coliva (Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 1998), 144.; Costantini, "Ares Ludovisi," 78.

scars along his body, which they believe are the traces of a now lost figure, confirm its role in a larger composition. Beyond perpetuating Bernini's identified mythology or that Baroque restoration improved upon ancient sculpture, scholars propose something else entirely: that this sculpture underwent a drastic identity change.[27]

The presence of putti in ancient art is not incompatible with sculpture groups of Aphrodite and Ares. After comparing the Ludovisi Ares to a 4th century BCE sculpture of Achilles in a similar position, Filippo Coarelli and Sebastian Schütze suggest that the Ares' iconography better suits that of Achilles. They believe that this sculpture originally depicted Achilles receiving weapons from his mother, Thetis, a famous scene from the Iliad's later chapters.[28] In revisiting its findspot, they disproved Bartoli's identified location, arguing that it was instead a Temple of Neptune. They concluded that the Ares was originally commissioned by the Roman general and politician, Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, and made by Skopas for a sculptural group depicting Neptune, Thetis, and Achilles that was placed in the Temple of Neptune in the Circus Flaminius.[29] But why would Bernini go through the trouble of crafting a whole new identity for the Ares Ludovisi? I find that this deliberate identity change contributes to Cardinal Ludovisi's goal of establishing authority by making himself as Roman as possible.

Alessandro Algardi and the *Ludovisi Hermes*

After 1626, Alessandro Algardi (1598-1654) replaced Ippolito Buzzi as the main restorer of Cardinal Ludovisi's acquired antiquities. Though not as well known as the *Ludovisi Ares* and without an acclaimed origin story, Boselli and Giovanni Pietro Bellori recognized Algardi's work on the *Ludovisi Hermes* (Fig. 7) as an example of excellent restoration.[30] In 1633, the sculptor first received 10 *scudi*—four to buy the marble for the restorations and six as a good account against his invoices—and then 30 more to cover payment for the rest of the restoration.[31]

In this sculpture, Hermes stands in the nude in a subtle contrapposto with his locked left leg only marginally behind his bent right one. His slightly bowed head is covered with a *petasus* (a Greek cap with a broad brim) that sits over a

27 Marvin, "Possessions of Princes," 227.

28 Hom., *Il*., 18.428-489, 19.1-5.

29 Plin. *Nat*. 36.4.

30 Adele Anna Amadio, "Hermes Loghios," in *La collezione Boncompagni Ludovisi: Algardi, Bernini e la fortuna dell'antico*, ed. Antonio Giuliano (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1992), 94, 97.

31 Jennifer Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven and London: The J. Paul Getty Trust by Yale University Press, 1985), 401.

mop of unruly curls, while his downcast eyes gaze intently at the viewer in front of him. His body is left uncovered, except for a portion of his left arm, from his upper bicep to his wrist, over which drapes a mantle that covers the support on which the figure leans. Originally, Algardi's restorations included a caduceus and a money bag, which Hermes was supposed to hold in his raised right and lowered left hands, respectively. However, after the Italian government removed these accessories, both hands remain empty.[32]

Algardi's restorations to this sculpture, like Bernini's, were minimal: he only focused on the base of the sculpture and Hermes' feet, the brim of the petasus, the fingers of Hermes' left hand, and the god's entire right arm. According to Amadio, one of the main sources, along with Jennifer Montagu, on Algardi's restoration of the *Ludovisi Hermes*, he restored the right arm and the fingers of the left hand so that the sculpture could hold the *caduceus* and a small money bag.[33] Out of all his restorations, I am most intrigued by Hermes' right arm (Fig. 8).

In her catalog of Algardi's restorations, Montagu highlights a convincing argument by Turkish archaeologist and professor Jale Inan, which considers a striking similarity between the postures of the *Ludovisi Hermes* and a sculpture of Germanicus—the nephew of Emperor Tiberius who campaigned in Germania—at the Louvre.[34] Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny agree with this stance, for they too see a resemblance and further connect the form of these sculptures with a passage from Pliny's *Natural History*, which references that many statues were erected in antiquity to honor the politician Marcus Marius Gratidianus, who was famous for his monetary reforms during the Roman economic crisis in 80 BCE.[35] Even knowing that Algardi was inspired by Annibale Carracci's drawings of Hermes giving the lyre to Apollo and Raphael's paintings of Hermes in the *Loggia of Psyche* does not quell our curiosities about the caduceus. While the odd shape of Hermes' left hand suggests that he indeed held a money bag, the way Algardi positioned Hermes' right arm is not a comfortable one suited for carrying a weighty staff. Rather, to me, it seems more indicative of an oratorical pose—like that of the *Augustus Primaporta* or of Roman senatorial sculptures—which evokes his epithet as *Mercurio Oratore*.[36]

With regard to the sculpture's oratorical gesture, one must consider its

32 Amadio, "Hermes Loghios," 100.

33 Amadio, "Hermes Loghios," 94.

34 Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi*, 401.

35 Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 220.; Plin. *Nat*. 34.27.

36 Amadio, "Hermes Loghios," 97.; Holding the *caduceus* in this position is not entirely impossible, just very uncomfortable as the angle of the staff would cross in front of Hermes' body. I have not yet seen any examples of ancient sculpture where the subject of the work covers their body with whatever they hold out in front of them.

secondary title as the Hermes Loghios, even though scholars do not know for sure when or where this name originated. The definition of the Greek word *logios* (λόγιος) has an equally powerful meaning in both a Greco-Roman and a Biblical context. In its Greco-Roman context, it has three distinct meanings.[37] The first, found in the writings of Greek historians like Herodotus and Polybius, refers to someone who is "versed in tales or stories" or "learned in words." In the works of philosophers like Aristotle and Plutarch, it means "eloquent." The final definition refers to an "oracular" person. In the Bible, the word logios appears in Acts 18:24, when Luke wrote about Apollos, a Jewish man born in Alexandria who came to Ephesus. The King James Version translates logios as "eloquent," relating, then, to the fact that Apollos was versed in history, antiquity, and oratory as he fervently and diligently taught "the things of the Lord."[38]

While scholars have not carried out further technical studies of the Ludovisi Hermes, that I know of, since the 1980s, some of Algardi's restorations do not fully conform to the anatomy of the original. There are certain features in this work, and in Bernini's as well, that suggest a blatant disregard for the characteristics of the original to instead give it an entirely new meaning. I believe this meaning directly concerns Cardinal Ludovisi, especially in considering what he wanted to reveal about himself and how he wanted to portray himself to the Roman people through his collection.

To Restore or Receive? Restoration as a Matter of Taste

The dialogue between past and present in Bernini's and Algardi's works reveals major discrepancies in their restorations. Are they acts of defiance? Are the sculptors deliberately rewriting history? In his introductory essay to the Boncompagni Ludovisi collection catalog, Antonio Giuliano emphasizes that restorations are an impeccable document of the taste of an era and true interpretative masterpieces that reveal the same stratifications and cultural experiences that the originals had aroused for centuries.[39] Though his introduction argues against these sculptures' nineteenth-century de-restorations, this sentiment is directly applicable to the Baroque. Many ancient sculptures were reworked, restored, or even customized to suit a collector's taste. Bernini and Algardi took it a step

37 *Logeion*, "λόγιον (Logios)," (The University of Chicago, 2001), accessed December 7, 2024, https://logeion.uchicago.edu/%CE%BB%CF%8C%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%BF. The three definitions of the word *logios* are all from the *Logeion* website.

38 Acts 18:24-25 (KJV).

39 Antonio Giuliano, "Introduzione," in *La collezione Boncompagni Ludovisi: Algardi, Bernini e la fortuna dell'antico*, ed. Antonio Giuliano (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1992), 5.

further: they intentionally gave their sculptures new identities and removed most of the traces of their old ones.

The goal of sculpture restoration in Rome, if not in the Baroque world, was to "give the whole a pleasing completeness" through sculptors' expert study of antiquity.[40] Nevertheless, it is curious that the identifying attributes of these gods (like Cupid or the winged *petasus*) were not original to the fragments. They were instead added in by the sculptor-restorers. Removing all the identifying attributes of the two sculptures, therefore, would reveal works of art that look like any other seated or standing ideal male youth from antiquity. In fact, when it was first found, the *Ares Ludovisi* was identified as Adonis, then as a gladiator, and finally as Mars joking with Cupid before it was known by its current title.[41] In 1664, Bellori himself recorded the *Ludovisi Hermes* as a nude Augustus before later documents 'correctly' identified it as Hermes.[42]

One interpretation of these reinventions ascribes it to the sculptors' misinterpretations of these ancient fragments. It suggests that they did not know enough about antiquity to combat their patrons' fanciful wishes to embellish the ancient world through Baroque imagination. I am not convinced. If the learned artist-antiquarians of the time were able to recognize a sculpture of *Laocoön* from its ekphrastic description in *Natural History*, simply characterizing Bernini's and Algardi's works as a naïve and circumspect homage to antiquity undermines their artistic genius and the capacities of art to carry rhetorical weight and meaning. Thus, I propose that these restorations must have served a greater political purpose, ordained by Cardinal Ludovisi himself, to support his agenda through a pastiche of ancient and modern.

These changes in identity, then, seem to align the Cardinal with the more positive qualities of these powerful figures as described in works of ancient literature and depicted in ancient art. Achilles' negative associations with the brutality of war and the destructive furor of the human psyche were replaced by Mars' more positive qualities as a peaceful protector of Rome and overseer of civic order. Rather than being associated with Hermes Psychopompos[43] as the harbinger of death, the Ludovisi Hermes highlights the god's eloquence, savvy marketplace skills, and status as a bringer of peace as described in the *Homeric Hymns*.[44] Given that the Villa Ludovisi was near the Roman city limits as it overlooked Piazza del Popolo on the Pincian Hill and that Cardinal Ludovisi also served as a Roman statesman, it makes sense that he would want to emphasize these well-known, ancient qualities. To himself, and the Romans,

40 Marvin, "Possessions of Princes," 227.

41 Costantini, "Ares Ludovisi," 80.

42 Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 220.

43 "Hermes Ludovisi," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 56, no. 105.1 (May 2013): 490-491, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2041-5370.2013.tb02585.x.

44 *See* Homeric Hymns, Hymn 4 to Hermes for this characterization.

he was a savvy protector of his people who brought peace through his ancient-equivalent luck and eloquence.[45]

Some scholars have attempted to explain Bernini's and Algardi's restorations as products of the works they studied from their contemporaries.[46] While this argument is convincing, for it underscores the rich dialogue between past and present that characterized the sculptor-restorer and artist-antiquarian's study of the ancient world, something vital is missing. These sculptures were housed in the main galleries of the Villa Ludovisi, where all the cardinal's guests and business partners could marvel over his collection. This would be the perfect time to show off works of art where beholders could recognize the qualities of ancient history that paid tribute to the current owner's excellence. Cardinal Ludovisi was no stranger to completely rewriting the narratives of sculptures, especially as there was a "preference for works with narrative" among antiquities collectors, who also "wanted to recognize stories they knew and give-three dimensional reality to their images of the ancient world."[47] Perhaps one may call them, as Marvin does, the Baroque equivalent of a readymade, for they were available to suit the Cardinal's political and decorative needs whenever he needed them.[48] These created antiquities emphasized visions of a 'New Rome' by combining its more ancient past and modern future: a perfect description of the Baroque world at this time.

Conclusion

If completeness was an aspect of Baroque taste, then are these sculptures more Roman or Baroque? Can they be called restorations? Or are they something else entirely? These questions have interested many scholars who seem to come to one conclusion: calling these sculptures restorations is inaccurate and inappropriate. Rather, as reinterpretations of antiquity, they evoke a "'magical aura'" that "shed[s] its luster" on the way Cardinal Ludovisi led his life and created a new version of antiquity from fragments, which makes this vision of 'New Rome' come alive.[49]

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45 In considering the similarities between the Ludovisi Hermes and Germanicus, then a further connection may be drawn between Cardinal Ludovisi being the nephew of the Pope and Germanicus as that of Emperor Tiberius.

46 *See* Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 157-158 for her comparison of the *Ludovisi Hermes* to Antico's *Mercury and Costantini*, "Ares Ludovisi," 80-81 for a comparison of Cupid to Duquesnoy's *putto* in his *Giustiniani Hermes*.

47 Marvin, "Possessions of Princes," 232. *See* also Algardi's rewriting of *Hygeia* as *Athena* on pages 232-233.

48 Marvin, "Possessions of Princes," 233.

49 Marvin, "Possessions of Princes," 236.; *See* also Peter Rockwell, "The Creative Reuse of Antiquity," in *History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures, Papers*

A clear direction for future research would be for scholars to conduct in-depth investigations into Bernini and Algardi's work at the Villa Ludovisi. Such a study would be inclusive of, but not limited to, the extant documents that reference their activities and payments, sculptures that they had at their disposal from which they drew inspiration, and all the completed etchings and drawings of these sculptures before and after their restorations. At the same time, in the quest to understand the extent to which Baroque sculptors "depart[ed] from antique conventions and allow[ed] free play to his own baroque imagination in such details," perhaps a new study of these works must attempt to reconstruct the entire history of these statues, starting from what they looked like as recently excavated fragments to the later copies and works of art made by contemporaneous artists, such as Diego Velázquez.[50] Most of the studies of the influence of the Baroque on classical antiquity in the Ludovisi Collection, while modern, were completed almost 30 years ago. Thus, in order to discover more about the motivations behind these restorations, it is only fitting to try.

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50 Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 159.

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Figures[51]

Figure 1: Ludovisi Ares (Image Courtesy of Annie Maloney)

Figure 2: Closeup of the right foot of the Ludovisi Ares (Image Courtesy of Annie Maloney)

51 I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to Dr. Annie Maloney, Visiting Professor in the Department of History of Art and Architecture for the 2024-2025 Academic Year, for graciously providing access to and publication of her personal photographs of the artworks discussed in this paper. These images, taken during her research visits to the Palazzo Massimo al Terme and Palazzo Altemps, have been invaluable to my analysis.

Figure 3: The shield of the Ludovisi Ares (Image Courtesy of Annie Maloney)

Figure 4: The right hand and sword pommel of the Ludovisi Ares (Image Courtesy of Annie Maloney)

Figure 5: Closeup of the sword pommel of the Ludovisi Ares (Image Courtesy of Annie Maloney)

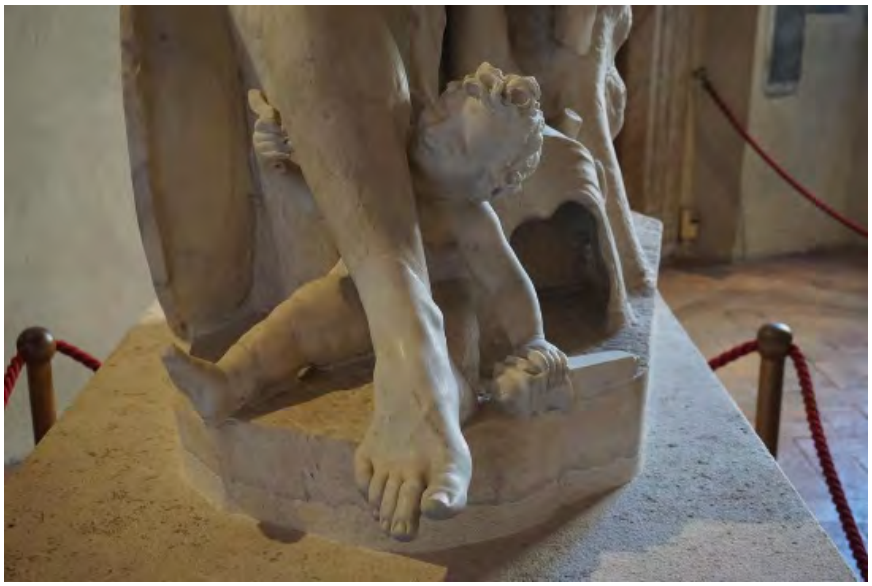

Figure 6: Closeup of the putto behind the right leg of the Ludovisi Ares (Image Courtesy of Annie Maloney)

Figure 7: Ludovisi Hermes (Image Courtesy of Annie Maloney)

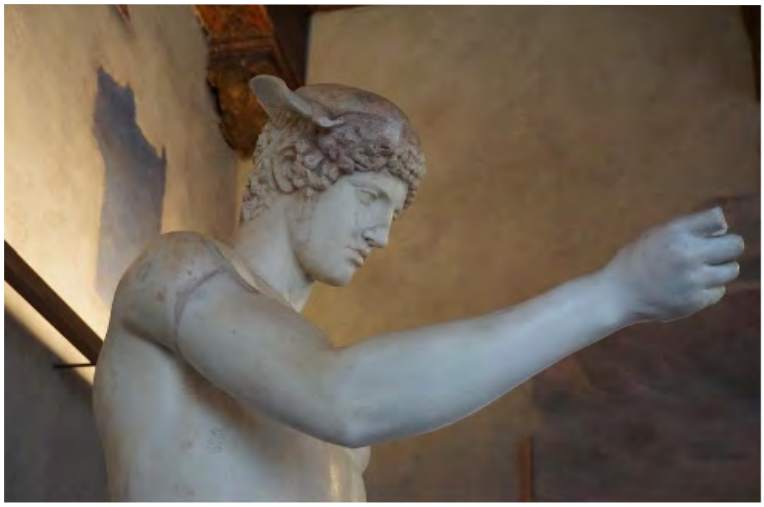

Figure 8: Closeup of the right arm of the Ludovisi Hermes
(Image Courtesy of Annie Maloney)

Making and Marketing: The Effect of Form and Function on Transport Amphorae in the Archaic Greek Export Market

Ella Blanco

Introduction

The advent of maritime trade in the Archaic period opened up contacts between diverse cultures and peoples throughout the Mediterranean, weaving an intricate web of trade routes and further strengthening the connections across the region. As export routes were established, a need for a safe and effective method of transporting olive oil and wine, two of the main staples of the Mediterranean diet, grew. The solution for the long-distance transportation of liquids was the transport amphora, vessels used to transport and store goods, which quickly became the main method through which wine and olive oil were exported. As these amphorae became more popular, individual communities began designing their own unique versions of this vessel to be used in their export markets. This paper studies the form of four extant Greek transport amphorae from the 6th century BC to argue that the unique evolution of their style is an intentional design choice used to aid in their export markets. While much scholarly energy has been dedicated to studying the form of transport amphorae from specific locales around the eastern Mediterranean, part of the challenge of researching these vessels is that scholars rarely consider them in a wider sphere of trade in the archaic Mediterranean world. A reappraisal of these amphorae together deserves its own profound analysis in order to understand the interplay between form, function, and the Mediterranean economy in the Archaic era.

Five Types of Transport Amphorae

Over the years, archaeological excavations have uncovered five main types of amphorae in the Mediterranean: Canaanite, Phoenician, Corinthian A, Corinthian A', and Corinthian B. Ample evidence of each type of amphora exists at excavations of the Ionian coast, and scholars seem to have established a clear definition of what constitutes an amphora that fits into any of these categories. While these types of amphorae have been produced since the early Iron Age, this paper focuses specifically on those from the 6th century BC.

First, I would like to explore the characteristics—such as shape, distribution, and handle style—of Phoenician and Canaanite transport amphorae. In her chapter, "The Phoenician Transport Amphora," Dalit Regev creates a

distinction between Canaanite and Phoenician amphorae, highlighting that "the Phoenician amphora made its first appearance outside the Levant as the so-called 'Canaanite jar' at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (seventeenth century BC)."[1] Through the first two figures in her article (Figs. 1 and 2), Regev illustrates some characteristics that constitute the divide between Phoenician and Canaanite amphorae. The Canaanite amphorae Regev cites have a short neck with a flat rim and an elongated body that tapers to a prominent cylindrical toe. The two handles on these vessels are situated under the neck, on the shoulders of the amphora. This design, along with the "idea of a two-handed pottery container made especially for transport" seemingly "originated with the Canaanites."[2] This type of amphora was found across the Aegean and in parts of Cyprus and Egypt and, as such, its widespread export and influence may have affected the shape of amphorae produced by the communities to which Canaan exported.[3]

In Figure 2, Phoenician amphorae seem to feature two designs: one similar to that of the Canaanites without the cylindrical toe and the other called the "Phoenician torpedo-amphora."[4] The first type is nearly identical to a Canaanite amphora, but features a round, pointed toe rather than the cylindrical one typical of the earlier version. The torpedo-amphora, however, has an elongated body that gently bulges out before tapering off to a sharp point. The necks on both types of Phoenician amphorae are short with typically flat rims, with the exception of one style that includes a tapered rim. Unlike its Canaanite counterparts, these amphorae "were apparently absent from Greece and the Aegean islands" but were "preserved mainly through local imitations" in "the Iberian Peninsula, North Africa and Mediterranean islands."[5]

Within the category of Corinthian transport amphorae, scholars have identified three distinct types: Corinthian A, Corinthian A' and Corinthian B, which they also refer to as Type A, Type A', and Type B (Figs. 3-5). While not mentioned in ancient literature, Carolyn G. Koelher notes that "archaeological evidence has made possible the identification of as many as three classes that

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1 Dalit Regev, "The Phoenician Transport Amphora," in *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean: Acts of the International Colloquium at the Danish Institute at Athens*, September 26-29, 2002, eds. Jonas Eiring and John Lund (2004), 337.

2 Virginia R. Grace, *Excavations of the Athenian Agora*, Picture Book No. 6, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade*, Princeton (1961), 6.

3 Regev, "The Phoenician Transport Amphora," 337.

4 Alexandra Villing, "Egypt as a 'Market' for Greek Pottery: Some Thoughts on Production, Consumption and Distribution in an Intercultural Environment (2013)," *Pottery Markets in Ancient Greek World (8th-1st c. B.C.), Proceedings of the Symposium Held at the Université Libre De Bruxelles 19-21 June 2008, 2013*, 78.

5 Regev, "The Phoenician Transport Amphora," 341.

can be linked with that ancient emporium [Corinth].”[6] Type A amphorae have a “globular” shape with an “elongated, cylindrical toe” and “vertical handles” with an extended neck and a flat rim.[7] While these amphorae have bulbous bodies, unlike Canaanite or Phonecian ones, they share the cylindrical toe of the Canaanite type. During the shift from the 7th to 6th century BC, there was an “evolution in shape of Type A,” which transformed the shape of these amphorae into ones with a “more compact, spherical body, a narrower toe and neck, and a less massive rim.”[8] Type A amphorae have typically been found in “coastal settlements around southeast and central Sicily and in Magna Graecia.”[9]

Type A’ amphorae, though similar to Type A, are considered different given the more ovular shape of their bodies—including their elongated body and neck which makes them appear taller—compared to their Type A counterparts.[10] Furthermore, the handles on amphorae b and c in Figure 4 attach to the base of the neck, rather than the shoulders of the amphora. In Type A’ amphorae, the neck elongates into a thin cylinder with a tapered rim, rather than sharing Type A’s short and stocky neck (Fig. 3). Much like Type A, these amphorae seemed to have “functioned largely as an export container” and were also found “primarily in Sicily and Magna Graecia.”[11]

Unlike the previous amphora types, Corinthian B, or Type B, transport amphorae began to emerge in the early 6th century BC and “were exported primarily to the west” (Fig. 5).[12] Despite being found alongside their Type A and A’ counterparts, the style of these jars differs greatly. The three styles under Type B are relatively uniform in size and are much more compact. While all relatively spherical, there were varying degrees of tapering towards the bottom as the body connects to “its separately attached conical toe,” which is noticeably

6 Carolyn G. Koehler, “A Brief Typology and Chronology of Corinthian Transport Amphoras,” *Greek Amphoras*, 1992, 265, https://to-classics.info/amphoras/papers/corab92-nt.htm.

7 Koehler, “A Brief Typology and Chronology of Corinthian Transport Amphorae,” 266.

8 Carolyn G. Koehler, “Evidence around the Mediterranean for Corinthian export of wine and oil,” in Beneath the waters of time: the proceedings of the ninth conference on underwater archaeology (Texas Antiquities Committee Publication 6), ed. J. Barto Arnold III (Austin: Texas Antiquities Committee, 1978), 235.

9 Koehler, “A Brief Typology and Chronology of Corinthian Transport Amphorae,” 266.

10 Koehler, “A Brief Typology and Chronology of Corinthian Transport Amphorae,” 266.

11 Koehler, “A Brief Typology and Chronology of Corinthian Transport Amphorae,” 266.

12 Koehler, “A Brief Typology and Chronology of Corinthian Transport Amphorae,” 267.

smaller than previous amphorae.[13] Such a variation in style is peculiar, especially since these three amphora types were all produced in Corinth. However, this could be because while "[t]here is some evidence that the third class," or Type B, was produced in Corinth, "the Corinthian colony of Corcyra seems to have manufactured at least some" Type B amphorae.[14] As such, the difference in Type B amphorae may be attributed to a unique style developed in Corcyra at the time."

If "a high level of standardization in size and volume" was expected "to control the quantities of traded commodities" and regulate "the requirements for efficiently stacking the storage-vessels in ships," why is there so much variation in amphorae from the 6th century BC?[15] If these standards were indeed important to communities, then it seems that there would be a more standardized style of transport amphora. However, this standardization may extend no further than a community or region, becoming "a quasi-standard unit of liquid measure that varied in different times and places."[16] Does the shape of a transport amphora affect export? Or were these variations simply used to identify wine from different communities?

Extant Archeological Evidence of Transport Amphorae from the 6th Century BC

With a clear definition of five different styles of transport amphorae, this section turns to four case studies from the 6th century BC. Figure 6 is an example of a Samian amphora and is thought to have been made in South Ionia sometime during the 6th century BC. Found in Cyprus, this amphora features a bulbous body that tapers off to a cylindrical toe. Its short neck with vertical handles connecting to its body seems to mirror (a) in Figure 3, classifying it as a Type A transport amphora. However, in paying closer attention to the details of this vessel, it is clear that it does not exactly fit the standard. Its toe, while cylindrical, tapers outwards and its neck is uniquely thin—unusual characteristics not found in Type A amphorae.

Furthermore, it is important to note that Type A amphorae were mainly found in Sicily and Magna Graecia, while this amphora was made in Samos

13 Carolyn G. Koehler, "Amphoras on Amphoras," *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 51, No. 3 (Jul. - Sep. 1982): 286.

14 Koehler, "A Brief Typology and Chronology of Corinthian Transport Amphorae," 265.

15 I. Finkelstein et al., "Phoenician "Torpedo" Amphorae and Egypt: Standardization of Volume Based on Linear Dimensions," *Ägypten und Levante* 21 (2013): 249.

16 Diana Twede, "Commercial Amphorae: The Earliest Consumer Packages?," *Journal of Macromarketing* 22, no. 1 (2002): 187.

and found in Cyprus. Given the similarities between these amphorae, this suggests that either Type A amphorae were exported beyond their documented find spots (and the archeological record fails to reflect that) or Samian potters were inspired by Corinthian A amphorae. Although both hypotheses are plausible, the latter seems to account for the differences that make this specific amphora unique in the archaeological record. This, however, raises fundamental questions: Why did Samian potters change the design of Type A amphoras? Was this amphora used in a different way and was a shift in design needed to reflect that? If so, why are the changes so minor?

In an attempt to answer these questions, I turn to the amphora in Figure 7. This amphora was made during the second half of the 6th century BC in Laconia, a region in the southeastern Peloponnese. The British Museum does not record a find spot for this amphora, however. Nevertheless, its stocky, spherical shape with a thin neck and prominent taper to a thick cylindrical toe most closely resembles amphora (a) in Figure 5, a Type B amphora. It appears that Figure 7 features a more spherical body than the illustration in Figure 5, but is not different enough to warrant an investigation, as Alan Johnston notes that "Type B seems particularly close to the Laconian type of amphora in its profile."[17] However, much like Figure 6, the theorized production location (Laconia) is not included as one of the known locations to which Type B amphorae were exported. This once again raises questions of how these amphorae shapes spread so uniformly with minimal adjustments, and perhaps more importantly, what role do these adjustments play?

Figure 8 introduces a shape that differs from the others discussed in this paper. Like Figure 6, this amphora is Samian: it features "a broad shoulder," a highly tapered body and concave sides, "a relatively short neck," and "handles set close under the mouth."[18] While the vessel's provenance does not narrow down a specific time frame beyond the 6th century BC, it is curious that even though both Figure 6 and Figure 8 were produced on the same island and at the same time, they have two wildly different designs. Interestingly enough, the design of Figure 8's toe would cause an amphora to become unbalanced while standing without assistance, yet seems to allow for optimal stacking during transportation. The Corinthian amphora (Fig. 6) allows for more stability, but may not accommodate as many amphorae during shipping. Regardless, it is unclear not only as to why a shift from this style of amphora to a Corinthian style was made—and in fact, if there was a shift at all—but also what purpose

17 Alan Johnston, "Pottery From Archaic Building Q at Kommos," *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 62, No. 3 (Jul. - Sep., 1993): 359, https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/uploads/media/hesperia/148198.pdf.

18 Virginia R. Grace. "Samian Amphoras," *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 40, No. 3, (Jul. - Sep., 1971): 71, https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/uploads/media/hesperia/147402.pdf.

this change served. In her chapter "Samian Amphoras," Virginia R. Grace examines multiple amphorae that mirror Figure 8 as well as Figure 6.[19] Could Figure 8 be a Samian transport amphora that was produced prior to the Corinthian influence, as depicted in Figure 6? If so, what inspired the change, and was it widespread or only intended for markets already influenced by the Corinthian transport amphora? Was this change caused by a drive for a more efficient method of transportation?

Figure 9 depicts a Lesbian transport amphorae from the 6th century BC. Unlike other transport amphorae, those from Lesbos have a round body with concave sides that lead down to a wide cylindrical toe, large vertical handles that attach to wide shoulders, and a large, tapered neck. There appears to be a "continuous tendency towards slimming and elongation" within Lesbian transport amphorae, as Barbara Clinkenbeard writes, perhaps to "facilitate easier shipping and storage."[20] Such a large difference in shape from previously discussed amphorae along with this focus on elongation allows for intriguing questions about the effect of an amphora's shape on the location to which they were exported. Strikingly, Lesbian wine was held "in highest esteem subsequent to the great vintages of the Homeric Age," and perhaps the unique shape of the amphora was a way to distinguish Lesbian wine from other wines in the market.[21] However, Clinkenbeard's attention to the efficiency of shipping prompts us to inquire whether Lesbian transport amphorae were the most effective and efficient in the market. If so, why was this style not more widespread? And, more importantly, did markets value distinctiveness between their vessels or effectiveness in shipping and storage?

Perhaps viewing the unique Samian type as serving a similar purpose as the Lesbian type may offer insight into the choices behind its shape. Scholars have identified that, in the 5th century BC, there was a large export route that connected Samos to Athens. While this date range falls outside the scope of this paper, perhaps it suggests that, during the 6th century BC, Samian amphorae may have also transported oil instead of wine as there is "nothing to indicate" that Samian wine had "any outside reputation, [or] any export value."[22] While this paper primarily focuses on the effect of an amphora's shape on the wine export market, a consideration of the design of transport amphorae meant for oil may give insight as to why specific shapes were better for wine. Since oil is lighter than wine and unfiltered oil may include particles that, while improving the flavor, are not meant for consumption, the shape of Figure 8 might allow for

19 Grace, "Samian Amphoras," Plate 15.

20 Barbara G. Clinkenbeard, "Lesbian Wine and Storage Amphoras," *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 51, no. 3 (Jul. - Sep., 1982): 251, https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/uploads/media/hesperia/147948.pdf.

21 Clinkenbeard, "Lesbian Wine and Storage Amphoras," 255.

22 Grace, "Samian Amphoras," 79-80.

easy transport while also ensuring that sediment could settle in the bottom of the amphora. Through this, it is clear that the shape of these amphoras was carefully considered to ensure quality during export.

Problematizing the Transport Amphora

The trend of communities maintaining their unique transport amphora shapes raises questions about the importance of design, specifically distinctive designs, and its role in the wine export market. With the extant archeological evidence, there is no indication that communities used a uniform design of transport amphora. Rather, it seems that individual styles evolved without external influence well into the Classical period, as each community's amphora retained their unique characteristics. Nevertheless, there does seem to have been a movement towards "the most efficient amphorae," as in the "2000 years of their use, the design and technology improved to make larger capacity vessels possible."[23] If this trend indeed existed, fueling the constant evolution of transport amphorae, would we not expect that one specific style of amphora would emerge as the 'most efficient,' and thus be adopted by merchants across the Mediterranean? Since there is no archeological evidence of this, it seems that merchants were more interested in retaining distinctive amphorae or even that all types of amphorae were equally as efficient.

The latter statement, however, is much less likely. Even if it was true, current archaeological evidence makes it nearly impossible to prove. Instead, it seems more plausible that an amphora's design was an intentional choice used to make a community's amphora "easy to recognize among the markets and merchants hawking their wares."[24] As such, it seems that the unique styles of transport amphora served as product packaging of sorts for consumers and a certification of origin for merchants: "Just like packages today, amphoras conveyed information through their shapes and labeling."[25] In the same way consumers would be able to identify an amphora by its shape, a merchant would be able to sell his product, backed by the reputation of the community to which his amphora's style was attributed.

Some scholars argue that slight variations in shape may have been a result of merchants using different local potters and that consumers were drawn to, or repelled from, products based on the shapes of amphorae. Straying from "this trademark shape" that "was so important" to communities, therefore,

23 Twede, "Commercial Amphoras: The Earliest Consumer Packages?," 187.
24 C. Mundigler, "Ancient Wine Production: The Greek World, Part III," University of Waterloo, accessed December 16, 2024, https://uwlabyrinth.uwaterloo.ca/labyrinth_archives/ancient_wine_production_the_greek_world_III.pdf
25 Twede, "Commercial Amphoras: The Earliest Consumer Packages?," 194.

meant risking sales due to the inaccessibility of identification.[26] This argument accounts for the idea that there exist amphorae that follow a specific style with some variation and those that are uniquely categorized. By preserving their unique shapes and constantly evolving to improve efficiency, communities and merchants distributed their wares while maintaining their individuality and reputation.

But how can we be certain that a transport amphora is truly from the region its shape implies it is from? Current scholarship is unable to definitively identify an amphora's "original content" given that many have been "reuse[d]," a common custom in the Archaic world that affects the results of the chemical analysis run and misleads scholars.[27] If a transport amphora was originally intended for use in the wine market but then reused for olive oil, chemical analysis of its contents (as they survived to the modern-day) might mistakenly categorize it as a transport amphora used for the olive oil industry, and we would have no evidence to refute this claim. This uncertainty imbues an extra level of variability—we cannot, with current technology, account for the categorization of transport amphorae based upon the substances (either wine or olive oil) for which they were first intended. While their design may grant some degree of clarity, as some shapes seem better suited for oil than wine (for example, Fig. 8 versus Fig. 6), contradictory analysis results can only offer hypotheses on the original uses of transport amphorae.

Given the uncertainty surrounding the contents of these amphorae, we may assume that a similar degree of variability extends to the shape and production location. Furthermore, as Pierre Dupont notes, there are "difficult typological challenges, which confuse the identification of origins" of transport amphorae as "each type is rarely ascribable to a single centre of manufacture."[28] If we assume, then, that the design of transport amphorae was a tactic to distinguish goods and allow for easy recognition of varying regional products, we can likewise operate under the assumption that, much like in modern-day markets, merchants used similar styles of amphorae or imitated a more popular merchant's amphorae in hopes of garnering more business. As such, "it is difficult to say" if merchants and potters "had their containers imitated by others" or if their sphere of influence grew enough to allow them to "open

26 Twede, "Commercial Amphoras: The Earliest Consumer Packages?," 192.

27 Robert M. Cook and Pierre Dupont, "Archaic East Greek Trade Amphoras," in *East Greek Pottery* (London: Psychology Press, 1998), 145.

28 Pierre Dupont, "Colonial Patterns of East Greek Transport Amphorae during the Archaic Period: Black Sea VS Mediterranean Areas," in *Ionians in the West and East: Proceedings of the International Conference 'Ionians in East and West', Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya-Empuries, Empuries/L'Escala, Spain*, 26-29 October, 2015, ed. Gocha R. Tsetskhladze (Peeters Publishers, 2022), 275, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv2zx9ptt.13.

branches, near or distant" and produce their amphorae in regions that differed from their home communities.[29] While we could ascribe an amphora's shape to a region based on its similarities and differences to other amphorae in the surrounding communities, problems arise when an amphora mimics a shape but is produced from clay found in a completely different region.

In his own research on amphorae from the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, Dupont introduced the term "locally made variants," which refers to transport amphorae made by communities who were inspired by a specific style.[30] These local amphorae, though visually similar, have a completely different chemical composition than their original counterparts, a fact only revealed after careful chemical analysis. Understanding the difficulty surrounding previous attempts to categorize transport amphorae, Dupont supports his claims with detailed chemical analyses and summarizes his findings in pie charts (Figs. 10 and 11). Dupont focuses on Phocaea and Miletus as case studies, concluding that, in both sites, transport amphorae from Chios and Lebsos were among the most prevalent, although Phocaea had an overwhelming amount of amphorae from Clazomenae and the blanket "Samo-prototaso" type comprised the second most common style of amphora in Miletus.[31]

From the results of Dupont's study, we must ask, why were Chian and Lesbian transport amphorae so prevalent? One potential answer relies on Lesbos' and Chios' "reputation" as "wine producing" islands along with the growing renown and popularity of their wine.[32] But what about the widespread presence of Clazomenae and "Samo-prototaso" transport amphorae in their respective findspots? Was wine from Clazomenae as treasured as that from Lesbos and Chios?[33] Furthermore, what kinds of amphorae are considered to be "Samo-prototaso" if they were not confined to a specific region? Dupont finds that at least part of the vessels categorized under the "broad blanket-term" of

29 Cook and Dupont, "Archaic East Greek Trade Amphoras," 145.

30 Dupont, "Colonial Patterns of East Greek Transport Amphorae During the Archaic Period," 288.

31 Dupont, "Colonial Patterns of East Greek Transport Amphorae During the Archaic Period," 292.

32 Antonis Kotsonas et al., "Transport Amphorae from Methone: An Interdisciplinary Study of Production and Trade ca. 700 BCE," in *Panhellenes at Methone: Graphê in Late Geometric and Protoarchaic Methone, Macedonia (ca 700 BCE)*, ed. Jenny Strauss Clay, Irad Malkin, and Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos (DeGruyter, 2017), 12, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110515695-003.

33 Looking to *Natural History* 34.9, Pliny the Elder (23/24–79 AD) regards wine from Clazomenae as one of the most popular drinks in the Roman world during his own time. While this does not mean that Clazomenaen wine was held at the same standard as Lesbian or Chian wine in the 6th century BC, potentially it could be that Greeks in the Archaic Period were beginning to drink and import wine from Clazomenae as they started taking a liking to it.

"Samo-prototaso" are instead a "Milesian variant" of a "Samian type."[34] This miscategorization, or grouping together of categories due to a lack of evidence, only perpetuates the cycle of unclear classification of transport amphorae and growing confusion.

Conclusion

With this use of blanket terms, how many local copies of amphorae are currently assumed to be examples of a different regional style? And perhaps, more importantly, what can be done to distinguish between the two? Even with the aid of chemical analysis of the clay to determine where the vessel was produced, will we ever be able to accurately categorize these amphorae based on what they originally transported and where they were made? Furthermore, knowing that these amphorae were reused, is the distinction between transporting oil and wine an important one to make?

These questions, along with numerous others, point to an unfortunate yet necessary reality for the study of these vessels: more evidence is needed. In an ideal world, future research would locate known Archaic port communities in Ionia and throughout the Aegean, discovering more examples of transport amphorae, and, through chemical analysis, categorizing them based on their clay composition. With clear and accurate classifications of these transport amphorae, a focus on recategorizing known amphorae types could minimize the current misunderstandings surrounding their styles. From this, perhaps scholars would be able to tackle the issue of determining the original content of these amphorae, or at least their intended use, with more accurate details about location and regional style serving as support for newfound arguments.

Nevertheless, this is an idealized reality. A more realistic approach would be to reanalyze the clay of all existing transport amphorae and group them into regions based on these results. After this, an investigation into shape and design is needed to understand the ways in which these communities interacted with one another with regard to the design, shape, and styles of their amphorae. With this information, a reevaluation of the content of these amphorae, based on chemical analysis, could further categorize these vessels into transporters of wine or olive oil, with the caveat that we may not know, with complete certainty, that the results of the analysis indeed reflect the original contents of these containers.

Though a monumental task, this seems to be one of the only ways in which scholars, with the scant evidence at hand, may elucidate the true production origins of transport amphorae in order to move beyond the confusion and

34 Dupont, "Colonial Patterns of East Greek Transport Amphorae During the Archaic Period," 292-293.

blanket terms that are prevalent in this area of study. Thus, as transport amphorae give us entrée into the world of trade in the Archaic Greek world, careful consideration of their origin, shape, composition, and destination allows us a unique understanding of these complex relations between communities, not just with regards to economic activity but also artistic enterprises, especially as they relate to maritime trade. Although Archaic Greek transport amphorae "have not attracted the attention they deserve," scholarly interest in these vessels necessitates a redefining of their categories to foster greater understanding and revive discussions about these amphorae that played such an essential role in Archaic Greek society.[35]

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Figures

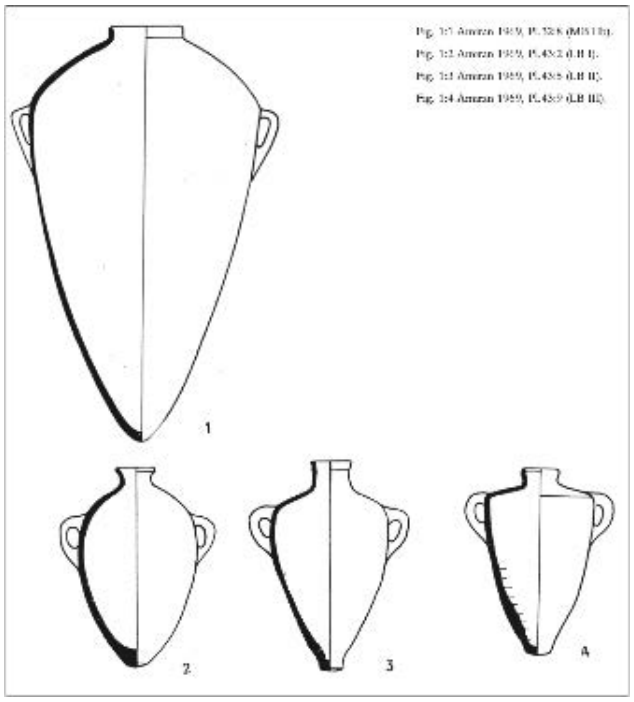

Figure 1. Four drawings of Canaanite transport amphorae, as reproduced by Dalit Regev (2004) in her chapter "The Phoenician Transport Amphora."

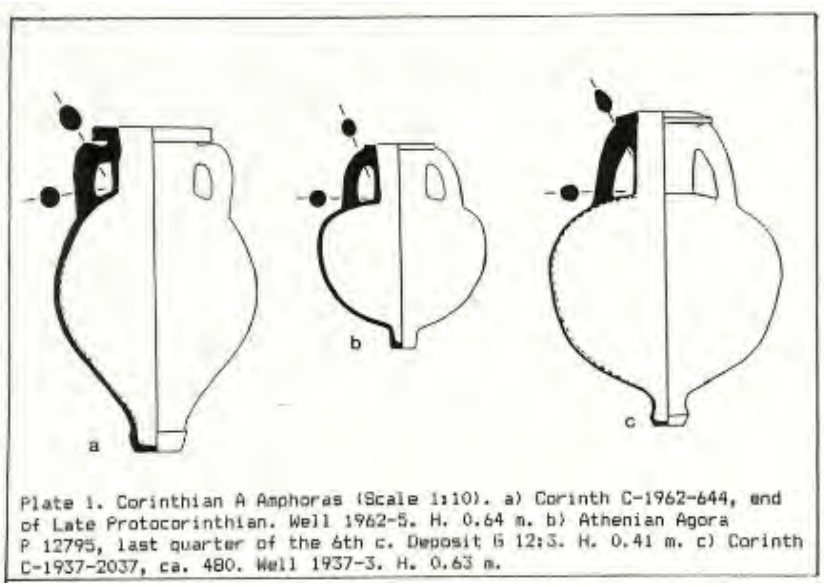

Figure 2. Six drawings of Phoenician transport amphorae, as reproduced by Dalit Regev (2004) in her chapter, "The Phoenician Transport Amphora."

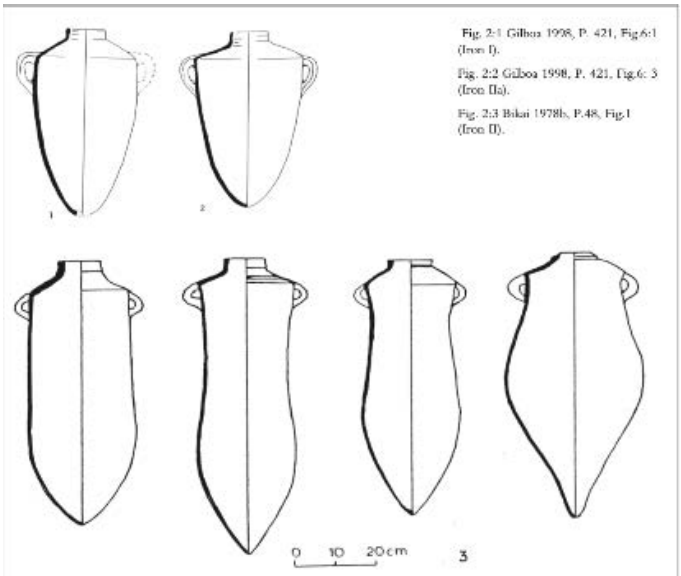

Figure 3. Three drawings of Corinthian A transport, as reproduced by Caroline G. Koehler (1992) in her chapter, "A Brief Typology and Chronology of Corinthian Transport Amphorae."

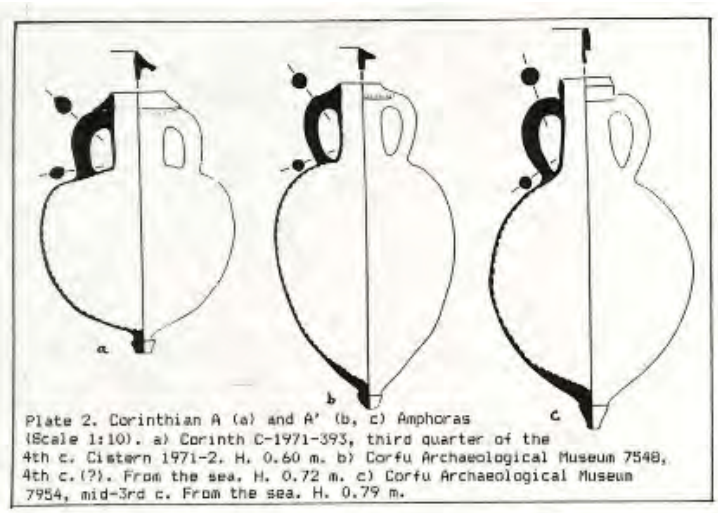

Figure 4. Three drawings of Corinthian A' transport, as reproduced by Caroline G. Koehler (1992) in her chapter, "A Brief Typology and Chronology of Corinthian Transport Amphorae."

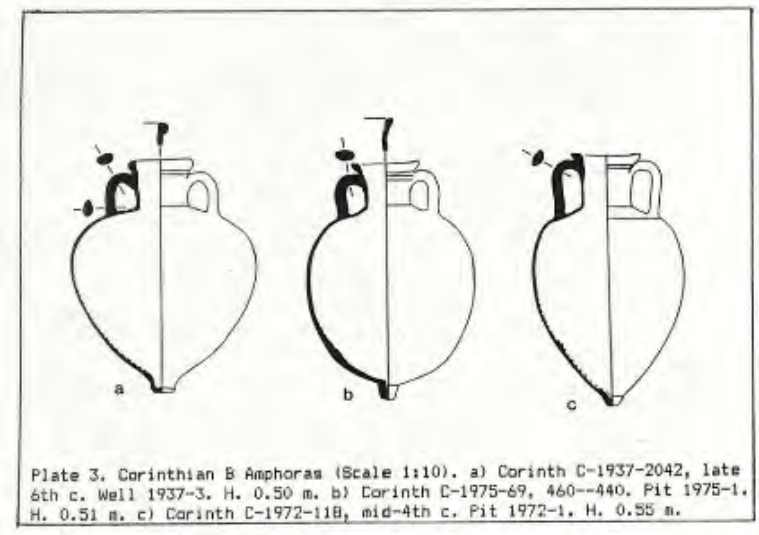

Figure 5. Three drawings of Corinthian B transport, as reproduced by Caroline G. Koehler (1992) in her chapter, "A Brief Typology and Chronology of Corinthian Transport Amphorae."

Figure 6. Unknown, Samian transport amphora, Pottery, 6th century BC, found in Cyprus, h: 52 centimeters, British Museum, ac. 1967,1102.24.

Figure 7. Unknown, Loconian transport amphora, Pottery, 550 BC-500 BC, h: 53 centimeters, British Museum, ac. 1848,0619.10.

Figure 8. Unknown, Samian transport amphora, Pottery, 6th century BC, h: 42 centimeters, British Museum, ac. 1888,0208.140.a.

Figure 9. Unknown, Lesbian transport amphora, Pottery, (early) 6th century BC, h: 48.50 centimeters, British Museum, ac. 2006,0331.6.

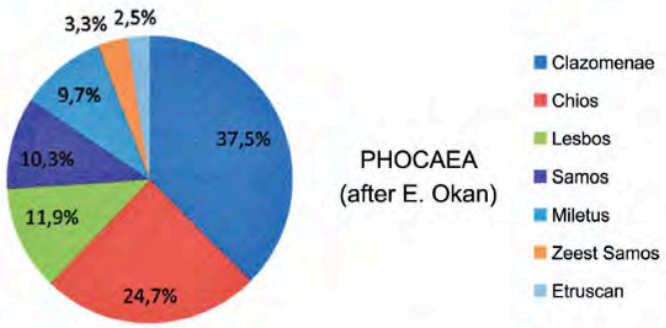

Fig. 32. Phocaea. Frequency pie chart of Archaic jars (after Okan 2010).

Figure 10. A pie chart representing the types of transport amphorae found in Phocaea, based on a chemical analysis of their clay, as reproduced by Pierre Dupont in his chapter "Colonial Patterns of East Greek Transport Amphorae during the Archaic Period: Black Sea vs Mediterranean Areas."

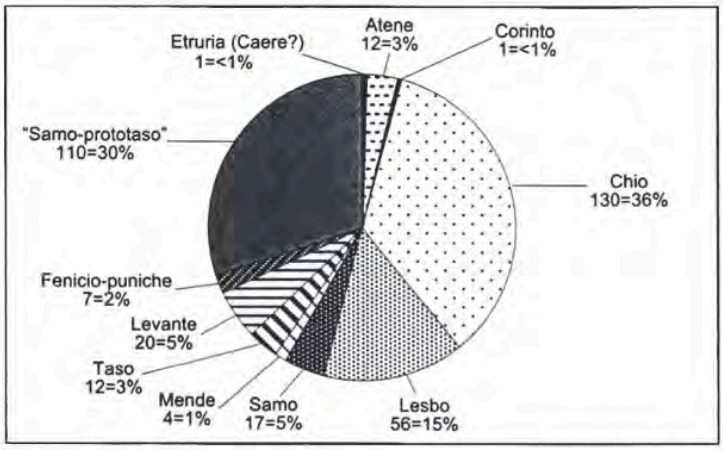

Fig. 33. Miletus. Frequency pie chart for imported Archaic jars (after Naso 2005).

Figure 11. A pie chart representing the types of transport amphorae found in Miletus, based on a chemical analysis of their clay, as reproduced by Pierre Dupont in his chapter "Colonial Patterns of East Greek Transport Amphorae during the Archaic Period: Black Sea vs Mediterranean Areas."

Challenging Divinity: Ovid and Arachne

Kailani Fletcher

Ovid's *Metamorphoses* delves into the connections between humanity, divinity, and the consequential transformations that occur in myth. The successes of heroes, the follies of mortals, the rage of gods, and the agony of love are just some of the lenses through which Ovid explores power and those who wield it. Within his portrayals of the interactions between humans and gods, Ovid emphasizes the precarity of the human condition: how quickly what one takes for granted can be squandered due to various reasons spanning from mere chance to deliberate punishment. Based on Ovid's depictions of the clashings that occur when humans and deities meet, one can judge human figures for unwise choices *and* scrutinize gods for callous behavior. For example, Ovid's retelling of the Arachne myth can at first appear to be a cautionary tale warning humans—specifically artists—against impious pride in their abilities, which can lead to implicit and explicit mocking of the gods. Arachne's story, however, illustrates how authority can be abused in the enactment of spiteful and unjust vengeance. Further, her role as an artist and the very content of her creation ultimately seem to lend representation to Ovid himself.

Book 6 of the *Metamorphoses* opens with the story of the rivalry between Athena and Arachne. After witnessing the Muses compete, win, and punish their opposition in Book 5, Athena wants to obtain similar glory:

> "To praise is not enough; I should have praise / Myself, not suffer my divinity / To be despised unscathed." She had in mind / Arachne's doom, the girl of Lydia, / Who in the arts of wool craft claimed renown / (So she had heard) to rival hers.[1]

Athena's desire for "praise" makes her seem almost childlike, jealous, and desperate for reverence. To go on without recognition would be to "suffer [her] divinity" and make her status as goddess worthless given that coexisting immortality and power are thought to be meaningless without worship. However, Athena's desire for devotion is not purely based on 'survival' nor is it based on the principle of her being, as revealed by her plot, for "Arachne's doom." Athena's plan to punish Arachne for "claim[ing] renown to rival hers" reveals her need to release her frustration on a human girl, who has no way to retaliate, to gain the unwavering praise that she believes that she deserves. Because of Arachne's hubris, she is the perfect target for Athena's wrath and

1 Ovid, *Met*. trans. Melville, Book 6, pg. 121.

punishment. No matter how extreme, Athena can claim that she is acting justifiably.

Despite Athena's somewhat gratuitous reasons for seeking Arachne out, Arachne's arrogance is unquestionable. Arachne receives endless praise for her weaving ability and refuses to pay homage to anyone other than herself for her creations. Based on her skill level, Ovid writes that "you would know / Pallas had trained her. Yet the girl denied it / (A teacher so distinguished hurt her pride) / And said, 'Let her contend with me. Should I / Lose, there is no forfeit that I would not pay.'"[2] Arachne's desperate preservation of her "pride," and its reliance on the praise she receives, likens her to Athena further. They both have the desire to be recognized for their greatness, but Arachne's status as a mortal makes this similarity blasphemous. By putting herself on par with the divine, whether her skills are equal or not, Arachne shows complete disregard for the natural order. Ovid never explicitly states that Athena did train Arachne. In fact, one could assume that such training did not take place, since Ovid writes earlier on in Book 6 that Athena has only "heard" of Arachne. Despite this, her denial of Athena's influence is a sign of impiety according to Roman standards. Arachne's confidence is so great that she invokes Athena to compete, promising that there is "no forfeit that [she] would not pay." Arachne may believe that she will never lose to Athena, or she may have faith that she will not face grave retaliation. Whatever the motivation, this statement shows that Arachne understands the risk in her boasting, yet she remains set in her conceit anyway.

Having established both of their stubborn personalities, Ovid continues the narrative with Athena appearing in disguise as an elderly woman to warn Arachne against claiming to be above a goddess in skill. While in disguise, Athena urges Arachne to, "'yield the goddess place, and humbly ask / Pardon for those rash words of yours; she'll give / You pardon if you ask.'"[3] At this moment, the outcome of their competition seems avoidable. If Arachne could manage to "humbly" put her pride aside and "yield" to Athena, all of her previous boasting could be forgiven. As aligned with her character thus far, though, Arachne refuses to heed this old woman's advice, which is what must occur according to the traditional end to this myth. Arachne's dismissal of Athena in disguise costs her, but it is not clear if Athena ever desired Arachne to heed her warning in the first place. By coming to Arachne in disguise, she decreases the gravity of her message, making it harder to heed. Athena's indirect approach suggests that this is a game to her: she is hoping for the opportunity to put someone in their place, rather than let them off unscathed.

Though the sincerity of Athena's pardon offer is flimsy, Ovid implies that Arachne may have made the same decision in the real face of the goddess. After she rebukes the elderly woman's advice and challenges Athena yet again,

2 Ovid, *Met*. trans. Melville, Book 6, pg. 121.
3 Ovid, *Met*. trans. Melville, Book 6, pg. 122.

Athena reveals herself, and all the witnesses kneel in respect. Arachne, however, remains standing,

> Yet she / Blushed all the same; a sudden colour tinged / Her cheeks against her will, then disappeared; / So when Aurora rises in the dawn, / The eastern sky is red and, as the sun / Climbs, in a little while is pale again.[4]

Arachne's blush can be perceived as embarrassment and fear over disrespecting a goddess. Ovid's comparison between her blush and the colors of the sky paints this reaction as inevitable. Though this apprehension on Arachne's part is expected, her visible worry "disappears" as quickly and as easily as the sky becoming "pale again" after dawn. This Homeric simile emphasizes how natural it is for Arachne to return to her baseline arrogance in the face of Athena. Ovid reveals Arachne's willingness to remain set in her stance no matter who she is speaking to. Her unwavering confidence makes it unclear that she would never have heeded Athena's previous warnings to obtain pardon in any case.

With both Arachne and Athena set on competition, the two begin to weave their tapestries. Athena tells the story of the "…old dispute / About the name of Athens," a competition against Neptune that she won.[5] By highlighting one of her previous victories, over another deity nonetheless, Athena establishes her credibility and implies that Arachne's chances of beating her are low. In her tapestry, Athena also depicts the "…Twelve great gods, Jove in their midst, sit[ting] there on lofty thrones, / Grave and august, each pictured with his own / Familiar features."[6] All of the divine figures are shown to be deserving of reverence on "lofty thrones" and "grave and august" dispositions that place them clearly above the way of mortals. Athena's image makes the gods appear formidable, serious, and worthy of the unwavering praise that drove her to begin this alteration in the first place.

Beyond showing the gods, including herself, to be worthy of respect, Athena also attempts to inspire fear. In the four corners of her tapestry "to provide examples to instruct / Her rival what reward she should expect / For her insensate daring, she designed / In each of the four corners for small scenes / Of contest" where mortals who challenged gods end up punished with forced transformations.[7] Athena's anger over being disrespected is conveyed through the threats in her tapestry, and for Arachne's "insensate daring" she plans on punishing her regardless of the outcome of the contest. By showing Arachne and those in the crowd these past occurrences, Athena highlights how helpless

4 Ovid, *Met*. trans. Melville, Book 6, pg. 122.
5 Ovid, *Met*. trans. Melville, Book 6, pg. 123.
6 Ovid, *Met*. trans. Melville, Book 6, pg. 123.
7 Ovid, *Met*. trans. Melville, Book 6, pg. 123.

they truly are despite her current participation. She could easily punish Arachne at any time without even going through with the competition, yet Athena still engages with Arachne, almost as equals. The notion that Athena will punish Arachne in such a way only *after* the competition, reveals that proving herself against Arachne is Athena's priority since she wishes to obtain unwavering praise for her skill first and foremost.

Arachne's chosen image for her tapestry communicates her own intention of proving herself to be better than a goddess and embarrassing the divine world as a whole. Arachne depicts a chaotic array of all of the major male gods in various debasing forms attempting to rape mortal women. She shows Zeus as a bull, an eagle, a swan, a golden shower, a flame, a shepherd, and a spotted serpent, all to take advantage of the already weaker human women. The other gods—Neptune, Bacchus, Phoebus, and even Saturn—are also shown in various forms including bulls, rams, dolphins, horses, "false" grapes, and more.[8] These scenes are in stark contrast to Athena's tapestry, which has the gods with all of their "familiar features." Arachne goes out of her way to reduce the gods to the beasts that they are willing to turn into to display their numerous crimes. In doing so, Arachne moves beyond insulting Athena's authority to insulting all deities. This bold image conveys Arachne's lack of fear and her desire to demolish the pedestals that the gods perch on. Her reluctance to give Athena credit for her talents, her desire to compete against the goddess, and the way she depicts the gods, imply that Arachne has great contempt for the model of the world that places mortals below gods who act immaturely in order to merely gain praise and play around with the lives of humans.

Once both Arachne and Athena finish their pieces, Athena also acts as a judge. Despite Athena's certainty over defeating Arachne, Athena is not appeased by what she sees: "In all that work of hers Pallas could find, / Envy could find, no fault. Incensed at such / Success the warrior goddess, golden-haired, / Tore up the tapestry, those crimes of heaven, / And… three times, four times, struck / Arachne on her forehead."[9] This is a great accomplishment of Arachne's since Athena in all sincerity could find "no fault" nor could Envy—the embodiment of Athena's jealousy or a divine manifestation—find one detail that proved Arachne to be less than Athena. In fact, it is unclear if Arachne and Athena tied, or if Athena actually lost, since Ovid does not record anyone scrutinizing Athena's work. Athena is "incensed" and throws a fit over this outcome, destroying Arachne's work and thus covering up all the "crimes of heaven" that Arachne portrayed in the process. Athena's tantrum reveals that she is insulted and embarrassed that a mortal girl could tie or potentially even beat her. Athena then acts rashly and childishly by whacking Arachne on the head. The simplicity of Athena's initial punitive act further illustrates a level of

8 Ovid, *Met*. trans. Melville, Book 6, pg. 123.
9 Ovid, *Met*. trans. Melville, Book 6, pg. 125.

immaturity, as if Athena was overwhelmed by her rage and lacking in control. The brunt force of Athena's wrath causes Arachne to hang herself, despite her close victory.

While Arachne is in the process of dying, hanging by the noose, Athena transforms her into a spider, "'Live!' [Athena] said, / 'Yes, live but hang, you wicked girl, and know / You'll rue the future too: that penalty / Your kin shall pay to all posterity!'"[10] Athena's rage drives her to snatch away Arachne's agency to take her own life and humanity, reflecting the stories on the corners of Arachne's tapestry. She also imposes suffering on all of Arachne's kin for "all posterity." This is an extreme punishment, even considering Arachne's arrogance, since Athena's motivation is based in jealousy and rage, rather than righteousness. As a goddess, Athena is allowed to punish any mortal however she wishes. Ovid uses Athena's revenge to display how those with power abuse their ability to harm others beyond what may be deserved.

In his retelling of Arachne's myth, Ovid adds complexity to the dynamic between the talented, arrogant subject and the challenged, jealous superior. While Arachne's depiction of the gods in compromising situations can be viewed as impious, the stories she illustrates are true according to myth. Ovid himself tells a great deal of the same stories that Arachne depicts throughout the *Metamorphoses*. In fact, there are many connections between Arachne and Ovid, which is interesting given the punishment that Arachne ultimately receives. Beyond both of them being talented artists who dare to illustrate the "crimes of heaven," Ovid himself reveals a similar sense of arrogance in the epilogue of this poem:

> Now stands my task accomplished, such a work / As not the wrath of Jove, nor the fire nor sword / Nor the devouring ages can destroy. / … Yet I'll be borne, / The finer part of me, above the stars, / Immortal, and my name shall never die. / … My fame shall live to all eternity.[11]

Here, Ovid puts himself above Arachne by saying that his work of art cannot be destroyed by Jove, fire, sword, or even time, unlike Arachne's, whose tapestry was destroyed by Athena. He implies that if Jupiter wanted to destroy the *Metamorphoses*, the king of the gods would not be able to. He goes on to immortalize himself and even mark himself as divine by stating that he will be "above the stars." This is a reference to the catasterism that is often wedded to the idea of deification, which Ovid depicts within the *Metamorphoses* as a form of transformation. He also claims that he will achieve the praise that both Arachne and Athena chased after so desperately when he declares that his fame will endure "all eternity."

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10 Ovid, *Met*. trans. Melville, Book 6, pg. 125.
11 Ovid, *Met*. trans. Melville, Book 15, pg. 379.

On many fronts, Ovid is arguably more arrogant than Arachne. Although he was not punished by a god and turned into a spider for such self-importance, Ovid was punished by Augustus, a man likened to a divinity in his own times and later praised as a god. It is unclear why Augustus sent Ovid into exile, but Augustus does wield great power in being able to strip someone of their citizenship. Since Ovid himself encountered being at the mercy of a superior figure and possibly witnessed others go through such in his lifetime, when reading his renditions of myths, it is not unreasonable to transpose some of Ovid's lived experiences to the experiences that he writes about. Perhaps, Ovid's ability to relate to Arachne explains why he portrays this myth in a way that allows for Athena to be scrutinized and for Arachne to be sympathized with.

Regardless of how one decides to read Ovid's Arachne myth, the complexity of both Athena and Arachne makes labeling his retelling of this myth as a didactic, cautionary tale a simplification. As a goddess, it is not outlandish for Athena to desire reverence and praise, as she is expected to be worshiped as a proper deity. Nevertheless, her treatment of the conceited yet extremely talented Arachne was cruel and more so the result of rage rather than righteousness. Ovid's depiction of this interaction conveys the general difficulty in assessing the validity of so-called justice, while also illuminating how power differentials allow for grave mistreatment. When dedication, art, reputation, and emotions are involved in any altercation, acting rashly and immaturely is possible for both parties. If one reads Ovid's version of this myth with a strictly didactic lens, rather than as an exploration of how arrogance manifests depending on status, blame can be shifted onto solely the inferior party. However, with a more critical perspective, it can be gleaned that the responsibility largely rests on the individual with more power to behave with reason and, when fitting, with mercy.

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The Menstruating Religious in the Medieval Catholic Imagination

Tigerlily Hillenbrand-Arlt

Introduction

Menstruation is as much a cultural phenomenon as it is a bodily phenomenon, where religiously motivated practices, in particular, demand certain behaviors of menstruants. In Christendom, as a consequence of Eve's transgression, women forever embodied the sinful carnality of humanity and were condemned to suffer childbirth and menstruation. If the concept of "female impurity" comprises a foundational tenet of Christianity, what of the women who dedicated themselves to a life of piety and worship? Could the menstruating feminine body be redeemed through monasticism? I am interested in interrogating questions of menstrual blood in the medieval Christian imagination to understand the implications or advantages afforded to a female religious in this context. To support my argument, I consider the female body amidst structuring factors, exploring vaginal and womb-like iconography in tandem with medieval monastic literary sources.

Ritual Impurity of the Body

Any conception of the menses in medieval Christian thought would have been fundamentally grounded in the belief of female corporeal inferiority. The taboo of menstrual blood, in particular, as conferring a ritual impurity upon its bearers finds its root within Roman mythos. Pliny the Elder, both a naturalist and philosopher, invokes a sense of mysticism and menace about menstruation through his writing on the power of the menstruating woman — establishing a precedent of fearing womanhood. After she rebukes the elderly woman's advice and challenges Athena yet again, Athena reveals herself, and all the witnesses kneel in respect. Arachne, however, remains standing,

> Contact with [menstrual blood] turns new wine sour, crops touched by it become barren, grafts die, seed in gardens are dried up, the fruit of trees fall off, the edge of steel and the gleam of ivory are dulled, hives of bees die, even bronze and iron are at once seized by rust, and a horrible smell fills the air; to taste it drives dogs mad and infects their bites with an incurable poison.[1]

1 Pliny the Elder, "Natural History," 28.23

Pliny speaks to the gross supposition surrounding women and menstruation in the ancient world, where the power held within the menses is a destructive, impure force associated with ungodly might. However, it is not merely the menstrual blood itself that commands fear, but also the menstruating woman.

> [The] women walk [...] through the middle of the fields with their clothes pulled up above the buttocks. [...] th[ey] walk barefoot, with hair disheveled and with girdle loose.[2]

A menstruating woman, unable to maintain her appearance and character, occupies a wholly uncivilized space where the impurity of her appearance reflects the woman's spiritual inferiority. The sense of fear and sexualization Pliny constructed about the menstruating woman, with disheveled hair and scant clothing, provides a natural segue into biblical ideology. Eve, in the first book of Genesis, disobeys God by eating the forbidden apple. As punishment for her transgression, Eve is cursed with the pain of childbirth.[3] Within Leviticus, the pain of childbirth is mentioned in company with the forbidden activities of the menstruating woman.[4] Contact with a menstruating woman or her effects (such as her clothing or her bed) results in being contaminated by "ceremonial impurity." Ideas of purity and impurity, then, plausibly connect menstruation to be a curse like childbirth. Gottlieb affirms the "Levitical menstrual prohibitions as divine punishment for the sinful nature of woman";[5] menstruation, therefore, becomes the divine "curse" of women.

Although formal knowledge of the church presumably varied between the laity and aristocracy, at a more generalized level, "biblical standards established normative gender roles…on female behavior."[6] The Augustinian view of creation equated the male with intellectuality and the soul; whereas women, through Eve, were connected with the carnality and sinfulness of the body, for "flesh must be subject to spirit in the right ordering of nature."[7] In this way, the woman's physical nature excluded her from the priesthood. Virginal monasticism, however, offered redemption from the limitations of the feminine body through cultivating individual spirituality. Gilchrist argues that it was this virginal monasticism that provided the potential for some semblance of sexual equality through "acceptance of a code of social inferiority and subordination of

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2 Pliny the Elder, "Natural History," 28.23

3 Genesis 3:16

4 Leviticus 15:19-33

5 O'Grady as quoted in Gottlieb, "Menstrual Taboos: Moving Beyond the Curse," 146

6 Gilchrist, "Gender and Material Culture: The Archeology of Religious Women," 15

7 As quoted in Gilchrist, "Gender and Material Culture: The Archeology of Religious Women," 15

women within Creation."[8] Therefore, it was only once a woman had recognized her lesser body that she might hope to attain intellectual equity in salvation. Associations with womanly corporeality, such as the menses or childbirth, were then perceived as a detriment, by both men and women, to spiritual salvation and mobility within the Church.

The appeal of the redemptive potential of virginity, however, proved a challenge that Daichman navigates through a plethora of satirical, historical poetry and song. Daichman finds that young women, having been forced into monastic life at a young age, express profound regret at their enclosure, assuredly grappling with the Church's condemnation of their newfound female bodies. It is worthy of note that life in the convent, as reflected in some of the aforementioned poetry and song, was far removed from the moralistic ideal of monasticism. Such medieval literature instead portrays nuns as occasionally within a ruinous moral condition.[9]

Daichman considers a dichotomy between the celestial devotions of the soul and grappling with the physicality of the female body. A young girl, about to become a nun undertook considerable efforts — "first she is clothed in black garments and her hair cut off…She disfigures her body on the outside in order that her spirit within may be beautiful and grow pure white, being filled with the love of God".[10] When thinking upon the privatization of sexual identity, it is near impossible to escape the manners in which the physical environment dictates that identity. The architecture of enclosure explains the external influence, whereas the clothing and hair cutting read as an attempt to dampen the sexual identity of a nun who would then be forced to grapple with that identity internally: She would not have the affirmations of clothing and feminine grooming to express it, but would only have how she felt — whether or not she felt a woman.

Young women actively renunciated their female physicality only later to find confusion and ostracization in and of their own bodies:

> I am a prisoner abandoned in the flower of my life in this harsh cell where I will remain as long as I live, in pain, suffering and a captive. I am buried here where I will keep on dying till the day I die. Woe is me… I was made a nun unaware of my misfortune until I became a woman.[11]

Daichman presents the challenge of rejecting sexuality, and even through

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8 Gilchrist, "Gender and Material Culture: The Archeology of Religious Women," 15

9 One example Daichman cites is that within Jacme Roig's *Libre De Les Dones*, wherein a prioress instructs a nun to abort her child in order to fake her virginity. Daichman, "Wayward Nuns in Medieval Literature," 58

10 As quoted in Daichman, "Wayward Nuns in Medieval Literature," 154

11 As quoted in Daichman, "Wayward Nuns in Medieval Literature," 73

enclosure a sense of rejecting humanity when faced with a female body. Presumably, young women would wrestle with the provisions laid out by the church that condemned women's bodies, and as a young girl entering the order, to grow into that heavily shamed body must have been thoroughly confounding.

> "I feel the sweet pain below my waist; cursed be the one who made me a nun."[12]

Some women, through the constraints of monastic life, resented the Church. Renouncing the feminine body — and female sexuality — in pursuit of spiritual equity was not enough, however, as Theodore of Tarsus, the Archbishop of Canterbury in the late seventh century, forbade women to enter a Church or to receive communion while menstruating, even if those women were nuns.[13] St. Augustine affirmed this precept, preventing menstruating women as well as women who had recently given birth from entering the Church space.[14] Contact with bodily fluids,[15] especially those of the female, was emblematic of an inner impurity that prevented access to sacred spaces.[16] However, despite virginity being the hope of salvation, Power explores the conflict many nuns may have felt between the praise of virginity within the cloister and the embrace of female sexuality in the "outside" world. What is more, frequent visitors to the nunnery, men, as well as women, coupled with the imperfect enforcement of enclosure and the "disorders of the times", were not conducive to "cloistered virtue".[17] Nunneries in particular were often in constant struggles against financial needs,[18] "leading…to many undesirable expedients for raising money…[neither]

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12 As quoted in Daichman, "Wayward Nuns in Medieval Literature," 81

13 Meens, "Questioning Ritual Purity: The Influence of Gregory the Great's Answers to Augustine's Queries about Childbirth, Menstruation and Sexuality," 177

14 St. Augustine denies men access to the Church and to receive communion if they have recently had sex with women or otherwise have ejaculated.

15 Certain bodily fluids, like menstruation and semen could be read as a wasted opportunity to conceive and thus those fluids can easily become emblematic of death and the impurity of death. So too, there is a lack of control associated with these bodily fluids which can also be linked to impurity. Menstrual blood, then, being released passively, is the least controllable boldly fluid and thus the most polluting.

Cohen, "Menstruation and Religion: Developing a Critical Menstrual Studies Approach"

16 As a potential inquest for further research, I wonder whether provisions such as those laid out by St. Augustine would have had any bearing on private chapels and the manner in which women conducted themselves therein.

17 Power, "Medieval English Nunneries," 438

18 Nunneries in general received far fewer patrons than their male monastic counterparts, placing the nuns in a condition of an "unworthy, grinding poverty, which occupies the mind with the struggle to make two ends meet and dulls it to finer

compatible with either dignity or unworldliness".[19] All this is to say that perhaps as a consequence of their poverty, female monastic communities were on some level in touch with their own bodies, at least in a privatized context.

Architecture

Taking monastic vows involved the renunciation of sexuality; yet gender identity remains a private experience, leading to the question of how does any sense of gender identity assert itself within a monastic community. Through space "gender identity can be examined in a monastic context through the process of… construction… occupation, and maintenance"[20] of the abbey. Having said this, monastic structures catered to the physical body of the woman, whilst often reflecting a semblance of the feminine-bodied devotees housed within the architecture itself.

Medieval nunneries, as opposed to their monastic counterparts, were often constructed on the peripheries of civilized society,[21] framing these institutions as purposefully separated. Nunneries were then liminal spaces, both physically and psychologically marginal. Within the ecclesiastical space, the pointed separation between male and female domains became evidenced by specific internal spaces, namely, the sacristy, dormitories, and latrines. The introduction of the sacristy corresponded with an emphasis on eucharistic devotion to a greater "regulation of the separation of male and female religious". [22]Within nunneries, the sacristy represented the male liturgical space, and as such, was accessible from the nunnery's precinct without ingress into the nun's cloister (See Fig. 1). Such was the influence of the bodily impurity associated with the female sex, despite their renunciation of that body, where the sacristy is partitioned off of any female domain and even the strictly male access to the sacristy avoids transgression (and perhaps pollution) by a female domain.

In monasteries, the sacristy is often the space most challenging to access, whereas, within nunneries, the most inaccessible spaces are the dormitories.[23] The emphasis placed then on male and female religious bodies is conveyed through the accessibility of spaces. Men, being of higher spiritual potential,

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issues."

19 Power, "Medieval English Nunneries," 438-439

20 Gilchrist, "Gender and Material Culture: The Archeology of Religious Women," 18

21 "It has been noted that of the 150 nunneries in England and Wales, only 25 may be termed in any sense urban" Gilchrist, "Gender and Material Culture: The Archeology of Religious Women," 63

22 Gilchrist, "Gender and Material Culture: The Archeology of Religious Women," 109

23 Gilchrist, "Gender and Material Culture: The Archeology of Religious Women," 164

prized the object of that worship within the protection of the sacristy whereas maintaining the chastity of the nuns, or rather limiting the outside world's view of the nun's flesh, was the paramount architectural concern of convents. So too, despite a push for private spatial segregation within religious spaces, nunneries remained relatively communal, with female dormitories, in particular, maintaining their communal status.[24]

Floor plans of medieval nunneries indicate the importance not only of accessing the dormitories but also of the proximity of the latrine to the dormitories (*See* Fig. 2). However, what might seem to be an informal acknowledgment of menstruation appears highly improbable as the condition of female latrines paled in comparison to those of male orders.[25] Male abbeys placed tremendous emphasis on sanitation, likely in recognition of emulating the spiritual purity of the male soul with physical cleanliness. Poor sanitation and "relatively lax disposal of domestic refuse [comments] on the different value which male and female religious communities placed on cleanliness".[26] Monasteries often boasted sanitary facilities that surpassed those of even their richest patrons, whilst nunneries were made content with single-drained latrines. One, perhaps the most direct, interpretation echoes male purity against female bodily impurity, however, another could be that religious women embraced poor sanitation as a sort of asceticism. Given that the menses was already an unclean symbol, transmuting and embracing that associated level of cleanliness to a materialized, rather than conceptual, level could be seen as women leveraging impurity to serve spirituality within eremitic, or ascetic living.

Perhaps the most significant and unique feature of nunnery architecture is the north-facing cloister. "The north cloister nunnery is a mirror image of the south cloister male monastery,"[27] allowing the monastic architecture to reflect the binary opposite of gender through its construction. The eucharistic and crucifixion associations of the northern areas of churches themselves Gilchrist

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24 "....more often women would seek the temporary hospitality of a nunnery when, for some reason, they wished to leave their homes. A monastic house was, on the whole, a safe refuge, and many a knight going to the wars went with a lighter heart when he knew that his wife or daughter was sleeping within convent walls." As quoted in Power, "Medieval English Nunneries," 410
What is, perhaps, most fascinating about Power's noting on the communal dormitory space of nunneries as being host to secular women is that even once the nun has taken her vows she cannot fully transcend her feminine body. Her feminine sexuality, partnered with that of her sister's, provides a welcoming space for other women through the shared acknowledgment of that womanhood.

25 Gilchrist, "Gender and Material Culture: The Archeology of Religious Women," 115

26 Gilchrist, "Gender and Material Culture: The Archeology of Religious Women," 126

27 Gilchrist, "Gender and Material Culture: The Archeology of Religious Women," 140

posits may relate to the most simple iconography of church architecture: The church as a metaphor for the crucified body of Christ.[28] Depictions of the crucifixion show the wound on the right side of Christ, a position which aptly corresponds to the north transept of a cruciform building. The wound of Christ itself is described as issuing forth both blood and water — connoting certain vaginal associations to be discussed later on. At Westminster Abbey, where a vial of Christ's blood was supposedly kept, "Christ was depicted gesturing to his wound on a central portal of the north transept".[29] In the iconography of the Passion Cycle, Mary was portrayed tending the wound of Christ. The wound is emblematic of the birth of the Church and therefore symbolizes a sort of womb. Gilchrist then hints towards the connection of wound as womb corresponding positionally to northern architecture as reinforcing a strictly female presence within the convent. Furthermore, the northern-oriented spaces of nunneries emphasize the feminine domain within the commemorations of Christ's wound as the birthplace of the church, simultaneously invoking the sanguine wound within a vaginal, womb-like context. This places Christ then as embodying both men and women. It could be argued that the Church, being born from a womb itself, would redeem women's status with men. However, despite iconography of Mary being in support of female bodily veneration, Mary remains the immaculate dissident to the feminine flesh—an exception to the rule.

Christ's Wound

Depictions of Christ's wound, and Christ's blood, display concepts of his humanity and his sacrifice. Whilst traditionally gendered blood[30] places female blood as abject, representations of Christ's blood seem to redeem menstrual impurity.

> The Gospel of John 19:32-37 describes Christ's side wound:
> Then [...] one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, and at once blood and water came out. (He who saw this has testified so that you also may believe. His testimony is true, and he knows that he tells the truth, so that you also may continue to believe.) These things occurred so that the scripture might be fulfilled [...] [a] passage of scripture

28 Gilchrist, "Gender and Material Culture: The Archeology of Religious Women," 140

29 Gilchrist, "Gender and Material Culture: The Archeology of Religious Women," 140

30 "The notion of 'gendered blood' is a concept that struggles against patriarchal traditions, which traditionally denigrate and suppress images of menstruation, while European and American art valorize women's bodies as vehicles for male scopic desire. Biologically, blood may not be gendered, but society's values transform it into female, dirty, discharge, abject, shame."
As quoted in Green-Cole, "Painting Blood: Visualizing Menstrual Blood in Art"

> says, 'They will look on the one whom they have pierced'.

The Gospel describes an opening in Christ's body that bleeds, secretes a clear fluid, and is penetrated by a phallic spear. It does not seem difficult to render Christ's wound as analogous to a vagina, and Christ's blood as menstrual blood.

Brown investigates the devotional representations of the wound in Christ's side, charting its evolution from "typological exegesis to fervid piety". Brown aptly grounds his argument within the Latinized version of the Gospel of John, comparing linguistic alterations made between that and the original Greek text. While the Greek Gospel, in rendering the passion of Christ, emphasizes a "tearing" or "cutting" of Christ's flesh by the Roman legionnaire's spear, the Latin speaks more of an active "opening" being inflicted upon Christ's flesh. Both readings could lend themselves to the interpretation of Christ's wounds as womb-like or even vaginal—the former referencing the visceral pain of childbirth undergone by Eve, the latter speaking more towards the creation of a bodily, vaginal, orifice. The agent in both circumstances is the male soldier actively penetrating ("tearing" into) or "opening" Christ's side such that the rendered female orifice is violated by a masculine presence. The result of this interaction, simultaneously wrought from violence and a gentler opening, is the blood of Christ and the baptismal waters which flow from his wound.

The wound of Christ, particularly within the medieval era, becomes a locus of symbolic meaning and passion, connecting the Passion to Christ's disciples. The large, red, oval-shaped wound is reminiscent both of the womb and of the vagina. Simultaneously invoked as Christ's heart, the sacred heart "became a site of female biological characteristics: it bleeds, it flows, it opens, it encloses. Sometimes it is overwhelmingly fleshy."

Bede institutes the notion of the mandorla, wherein the opening of Christ's side opens the fate of life, whence the sacraments of the church are born. Not only does this translation demarcate the wound as an opening, but also as a begetter of life. As Bede's "sacraments" are poured forth, so too waters flow in which humanity may be "born" again. Devotional representations of this symbolic birthing, become rather literal, wherein human figures are seen being birthed from Christ's side. In one such representation (See Fig. 3), God acts as the midwife to the birth—the birth of Ecclesia—to which clerics bear witness. The presence of both the clerics and God serves to emphasize the immediate birth of the church as an institution. Through the context of Christ's wound as birthing the church, the idea of vaginal birth becomes concomitant, whereas one orifice offers divine renewal, might the other as well? One could argue not: Christ's birth of Ecclesia displays the pointed separation of the sexual nature of the female flesh and the female reproductive capacity. Christ's blood becomes indicative of only the latter, where he is associated with an immaculate womb distinct from any sense of feminine impurity.

Brown explores the shift in devotional renderings of the Passion, observing a more "intimately personal and…. sensuous" form of worship. In this

exploration, Bernard of Clairvaux writes that the Romans "gored his (Christ's) side with a lance, and through these fissures I can suck honey". The blood and waters attributed to the wound, herein, are given a sustaining power as Bernard intimately sucks them directly from the mandorla. In Greco-Roman medical discourse, menstruation represented the body's way of purging excess food or nutrients and the menses is therefore itself a nutrient meant to sustain fetal growth during pregnancy. Through first the leaking then the ingestion of Christ's blood as a food source, parallels are allowed to be drawn between menstrual blood and that of Christ's.

William of St. Theirry documents a rather sexual penetration of Christ's wound, both visual and tactile: "I want to see and touch the whole of him and — what is more — to approach the most holy wound in his side, the portal of the ark that is there made, and that not only to put my finger or my whole hand into it, but wholly enter into Jesus' very heart, into the holy of holies''. Although what William describes reads as a sexual penetration, he does specify the grasping of Christ's heart through the wound which lends its own implications. With the wound being both vaginal and heart-like, the heart too operates as a source of life through pumping blood throughout the body. Alternatively, perhaps Theirry merely sought to enter the womb of Christ so as to become connected by blood to the source of Ecclesia and of Christ himself. Does Christ enable the sanctifying of vaginal blood? One answer would be in the purity of Christ's flesh so that even when he bleeds and births his body is redeemed by his spiritual ascension — a feat no woman is able to replicate.

Religious women have a greater affinity for Christ's passion than their male contemporaries. Catherine of Sienna describes a vision where she slaked her thirst on the blood of Christ's wound. Catherine describes a revitalization, whereby one wonders whether Christ's blood replenishes her own lost blood through the nourishment that Christ's provides. Juliana of Norwich "asked of the lord… that she experience the Passion of Christ and knowledge of his bodily suffering…she understands that this profusion of blood cleanses our sins, 'for there is no liquid created which he likes to give us so much; it is as plentiful as it is precious by virtue of his holy Godhead". Juliana of Norwich references a blood that had been sanctified as both precious and plentiful— surely menstruation is both, evidencing women's reproductive ability and it being commonly shared by women. mystic Hildegard of Bingen. In her poetry, Hildegard "expresses the meaning of Christ's wounds and the profusion of his blood", apostrophizing his blood thus: tified as both precious and plentiful— surely menstruation is both, evidencing women's reproductive ability and it being commonly shared by women. blood that had been sanctified as both precious and plentiful — surely menstruation is both, evidencing women's reproductive ability and it being commonly shared by women. hblood that had been sanctified as both precious and plentiful — surely menstruation is both, evidencing women's reproductive ability and it being commonly shared by women. blood that had been sanctified as both precious and plentiful — surely

menstruation is both, evidencing women's reproductive ability and it being commonly shared by women. blood that had been sanctified as both precious and plentiful—surely menstruation is both, evidencing women's reproductive ability and it being commonly shared by women. blood that had been sanctified as both precious and plentiful—surely menstruation is both, evidencing women's reproductive ability and it being commonly shared by women.

These women were all preceded by the mystic Hildegard of Bingen. In her poetry, Hildegard "expresses the meaning of Christ's wounds and the profusion of his blood," apostrophizing his blood thus:

> O outpoured blood that resounded on high, when all the elements folded themselves into a voice of lament with trembling: for the blood of the Creator touched them! Anoint us, heal our diseases.[31]

Hildegard exalts Christ's blood as healing, where Christ himself becomes implicated in the power of his blood so that he too commands a palliative strength. Should the wound of Christ become analogous to a vaginal orifice and Christ's blood to that of menstrual blood, it seems apt that menstrual blood might again adopt a sense of mystical power — even if that might be a destructive force.

Catherine of Sienna, Juliana of Norwich, and Hildegard of Bingen maintain a certain closeness for Christ, wherein their bloody meditations result in both a spiritual as well as physical relationship with Christ. Catherine in particular speaks to Christ replenishing her own blood, effectively mapping Christ's body onto (or rather into) her own. When considering her visions as a form of affective mediation, other devotional renderings of the passion provide similar menstrual correspondents to Christ's blood. Jean Malouel's 14th-century painting of Christ (See Fig. 4) depicts Christ's blood flowing from his wound—already associated with vaginal iconography—before pooling about a scantily clad, ambiguously male groin. Although not explicitly a part of a sequence of Passion paintings, this image tracks Christ from virginal body to bloody Passion. From the perspective of the viewer, the accompanying image describes the attributes of affective meditation and adopting Christ's suffering (and Christ's blood) as one's own. In this way, images served as devotional exemplars, instructing the perceiver on how best to venerate Christ, and in this instance, perhaps that display of devotion came from suffering the menses.

The Rothschild Canticles' text and illustrations find root in monastic meditations that abridge the "organized public prayer to the spontaneous private prayer"[32] through cultivating meditative practice and therefore visions of God.

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31 As quoted in Brown, "From the Wound in Christ's Side to the Wound in His Heart: Progression from Male Exegesis to Female Mysticism," 267

32 Hamburger, "The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300," 18

The Canticles themselves facilitate the progression from reading to meditation to contemplation as well as that of visualization — with the assistance of illustrated passages — to vision. Within convents in particular, the liturgy sought to provide devotions by means of visions, where themes of salvation and Christ's passion adopted a deeply personal application. The importance of sight as a bodily sense enabled immediate access to the holy through devotional figurative works.

The individual folios within the Canticles adopt womb-like or otherwise vaginal iconographies that would perhaps have been used to inspire a personal connection to God or Christ within a female viewer. In folios 104r (See Fig. 5), 102r (See Fig. 6), and 106r (See Fig. 7), God is rendered through a circle "whose center is everywhere, but whose circumference is nowhere."[33] The resulting impression is of the Deus Absconditus, the "hidden God," discovered through warping, womb-like depictions meant to symbolize the God's ineffability. These three visualizations of God find root as the womb within folio 64r (See Fig. 8). In which, the warping circle is grounded on Mary's lower abdomen as both a physical occupation for Christ and a manifestation of God within her womb. Folios 104r, 102r, and 106r are then read as merely abstracted "wombs", disparate from Mary's body yet retaining their symbolism as God's ineffable presence within Mary's womb.[34]

Aside from inspiring godly visions through psychedelic circular forms, the Canticles offer depictions of the holy trinity. One such illustration, folio 75r, (See Fig. 13) places God and Christ uplifted by the holy spirit within a fabriced vessel. God and Christ are situated inside of a uterine, cup-like form, lined in red which "carries" both progeny and physically manifested begetter within it. Therein emerges a consecration of the sacred womb. As often the wound of Christ is read as his heart, and the taking of Christ into one's heart describes a mode of affective meditation, should the wound be read vaginally and the interior "heart" be more womb-like, then the manifestation of both Christ and God within one's own womb seems an apt mode of worship for female supplicants.

Medieval theories on generation—inspired heavily by Greco-Roman science—hold that the menses ceases during pregnancy as it is instead nourishing the fetus in utero. With Christ's conception being immaculate, insinuating the unholiness of sexual penetration, Christ's flesh becomes entirely composed of a woman's flesh and nourished solely by the menses. The eucharistic wine then takes on a new symbolism as the continued nourishment

33 Hamburger, "The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300," 20.

34 Although modern artists may not provide any historical context that would justify the Canticle's representation of God through the womb, contemporary feminist artist Judy Chicago works to represent the womb through abstraction. Her own paintings find resonance within the Canticles, where wavering lines and concentric circles simultaneously evoke a sense of unknowability and the womb. *See* Figs. 9-12.

of Christ's own blood feeding his "children," a sentiment shared in Catherine of Sienna's visions.

Christ as the *fons vitae* in folio 34r of the Canticles (*See* Fig. 14) makes immediate reference to eucharistic wines and baptismal fonts. F. 34r finds Christ atop a fountain of souls, where the wound has been opened from which the sacramental grace welled up, pouring forth as a source of life. Hamburger argues that the font is symbolic of a desire for mystical inebriation. In other words, a desire to become drunk on the blood of Christ—"Thou, o God, shalt make them drink to the torrent of thy pleasure"[35]—to be satiated by the taste of heaven. It is challenging to escape any sense of femininity within the font as Christ assumes the role of life-giver releasing mystical fluids that cleanse and rebirth life. Catherine of Sienna describes her fastening her lips to the wound of Christ to drink from the font that flows from his side[36] such that she becomes "inundated with its overflowing goodness." Through her drinking, she becomes spiritually then bodily "enraptured with such delight," endorsing Hamburger's notion of mystical inebriation and satiety found through Christ's waters.

Folios 18v-19r (*See* Figs. 15-16) illustrate a progression in which Christ and his bride are seen embracing within the garden before the Sponsa pierces Christ's side with a spear. The sequence would, perhaps, identify the strongest with a female viewer as Christ is feminized in 19r and his relationship towards his wife is paramount. The piercing of Christ's side initiates the bleeding; not only is the piercer a woman, but the blood is also gendered in that respect as is Christ in his penetration. The images of the wounded heart represent the reciprocal penetration of lover and beloved, and while the Canticles were not written for a strictly female audience, this text certainly facilitates a feminine connection to Christ. Christ himself is entirely nude, placed in a feminine stance with delicate limbs outstretched. His phallic finger points to the wound encouraging the viewer to also touch the wound and venerate him through this action. The side wound is the source of the sacraments, however, Hamburger offers a reified interpretation rooted within this specific Christ, whereby "Christ is the arrow, the spear, the javelin of love that pierces the hardness of the petitioner's heart. The surface wound is merely the opening for an outpouring of deeply felt affection".[37] The wound then becomes a locus of affection and love. To continue Hamburger's reading, the wound is also the bridal chamber, where the Sponsa and Christ are united. Mechtild describes a moment where she envisions Christ inviting her to join him in "the bridal chamber of his heart".[38] Is the bridal chamber then not the womb rather than the heart? A place the bride penetrates upon Christ's invitation allowing his precious blood and waters to

35 Genesis 12:26.

36 *See* footnote 41 for reference.

37 Hamburger, "The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland Circa 1300," 74.

38 Hamburger, "Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent," 169.

flow forth and birth the Church?

In a disparate collection to that of the Canticles, the Sponsa is once again rendered piercing the side of Christ (*See* Fig. 17), affirming the feminine connection to the eucharistic blood. This image places a pointed emphasis on the blood as eucharistic by portraying the Sponsa catching the blood within a chalice, effectively claiming it as her own as well as perpetuating the conviction that Christ's blood nourishes when drunk.

While her visions were not explicitly prompted by a text such as the Canticles, the writings of Margaret of Oingt describe a personal dialogue between herself and Christ in which Margaret identifies an element of a feminine body with Christ that she is then able to identify within herself. She addresses Christ:

> You wanted to carry all our weariness and pain...what bitter pain would the sweet mother feel who was present and thus knew you, she who had nourished and breastfed you, when she saw you die such a vile and unjust death. And surely every creature must suffer great pain who contemplates all this well and who then does not know how to love you with all his heart. And I, weary and miserable what shall I do when I still do not know how to love you?[39]

There are two elements of import herein. The first is in reference to Christ's adoption of "our weariness and pain." If this statement is taken with the pain of Mary (which sequentially follows in Maragret's writing) then Christ assumes the suffering and pain of Mary having lost her son, and, tangentially, the pain of childbirth as a precedes that of child lost. The second point of interest arises as Margaret beseeches Christ on how to love him best and to demonstrate that affection. The answer that she reaches is to venerate Christ through her own suffering. She seeks to suffer shame as Christ did as he bled and died upon the cross.[40] Perhaps enduring the shame of menstruation as a sort of monthly stigmata could be a useful solution. Although there is no basis for such a claim, Margaret does continue to speak of Christ as mother.

> Are you not my mother and more than my mother? The mother who bore me labored at my birth for one day and one night, but you, my sweet and lovely lord, were in pain for me not just one day, but you were in labor for more than thirty years. Oh, sweet and lovely lord, how bitterly you were in labor for me all through my life! But when the time approached where you had to give birth, the labor was such that your holy sweat was like drops of blood which poured out of

39 Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "The writings of Margaret of Oingt, Medieval Prioress and Mystic," 29 (1.20), 30 (1.30).

40 Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "The writings of Margaret of Oingt, Medieval Prioress and Mystic," 30 (1.28).

> your body onto the ground.[41]

Might Christ's "labor" of thirty years be likened to menstruation as a continual symptom of women's capacity for birth through suffering? The violent, bloody birth of Ecclesia[42] is the culmination of thirty years of suffering which could be likened to the life-long plight of women and the menses. And, just as Christ is shamefully forced to shed his "precious" and life-giving blood, so might Margaret shed her own blood in shame.

Margaret then begs Christ to become "despised and disfigured"[43] as he. When taken with her prayer to suffer the labor of the Church as Christ has, it provides an interesting read into the suffering of menstruation and how one might revel in the impurity of the menses, or at least that of the female body as a sort of disfiguring and shame. As Margaret laments Christ's loss of beauty in form on the cross as a part of his suffering, his body becomes disfigured and feminized; to suffer the feminine form becomes a mode of sharing Christ's suffering.

> In the next section of her writings, Margaret turns her focus upon the blood of Christ. Then she studied the red letters, in which were written the wounds of Jesus Christ and the shedding of His precise blood. In these letters she not only learned to bear tribulations with patience, but also to enjoy them, so that all the pleasures of this world became detestable to her; and to such an extent that it seemed to her that was nothing in this world as worthy and as sweet as suffering the pains and the torments of this worlds for the love of her creator.[44]

The red lettering is meant to visually invoke such revelations through blood. Margaret's designation of the female viewer makes a pointedly feminine connection to Christ through blood. In the recounted letter, the nun is instructed

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41 Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "The writings of Margaret of Oingt, Medieval Prioress and Mystic," 31 (1.33).

42 "Oh, sweet lord Jesus Christ, who ever saw any mother suffer such a birth! But when the hour of the north came you were placed on the hard bed of the cross where you would not move or turn around or stretch your limbs as someone who suffers such great pain should be able to do; and seeing this, they stretched you out and fixed you with nails and you were so stretched that there was no bone left that would still have been disjointed, and your nerves and all your veins were broken when you gave birth to the world all in one day."
Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "The writings of Margaret of Oingt, Medieval Prioress and Mystic," 31 (1.36).

43 Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "The writings of Margaret of Oingt, Medieval Prioress and Mystic," 34 (1.63)

44 Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "The writings of Margaret of Oingt, Medieval Prioress and Mystic," 43 (2.10).

to bear out her "pains and torments" with patience for love of the creator. Her God-given plight—menstruation and childbirth—is then to be endured "as sweet…suffering" as a means of devotion. Margaret's alignment of Christ with the mother and Christ's suffering—his labor, his bleeding—as being emblematic of her own suffering is equally significant to this argument of menstruation as veneration through affective meditative visions of a menstruating Christ.

If one accepts the precept that women's ability to menstruate simultaneously exiled women from the clergy while also granting women a unique platform of Christian worship, the latter ideal becomes more compelling through the ritualized bloodletting of monks. Roman doctor A. Cornelius Celsus was of the common opinion that menstruation was necessary as a sort of purge; he instructed women who do not menstruate, and men by extension, to undergo bloodletting every so often to maintain their health.[45] Medical implications aside, Power makes an interesting case for monastic bloodletting as a sort of pseudo menstrual practice. Men, lacking a natural purgation of the blood, actively, and habitually let blood so as to cleanse the body and to enable the focus of the mind on more spiritual pursuits.[46] In this way, monks are seen as striving to mimic the letting of precious blood through a bodily orifice so as to attain a greater closeness to Christ.

Conclusion

The stigmatization of menstruation began long before biblical condemnations equated the female body with menstrual—and childbearing—impurity. However, despite those very liturgical directives diminishing the clerical mobility and spiritual practice of nuns, medieval Christendom gave rise to devotional renderings of Christ as a feminine body, thus sanctifying the female form and blood. The dual-sexed nature of Christ in turn demonstrates the shift from women being viewed as sinful to embracing the power of bleeding even, dare say, as a sign of purity. Just as Christ bleeds, and, as a mother, lactates, so too might women's bleeding and lactation serve a devotional purpose through assuming the body of Christ onto their own and Christ's suffering through blood and birth as their own. Nuns were then granted the unique privilege of accessing Christ through what the Church had classified as the spiritual detriment of their own bodies.

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45 A. Cornelius Celsus, "De Medicina," Book VI 18.6.

46 "Ye may often do so when ye feel dispirited, or are grieved about some worldly matter, or sick. Thus wisely take care of yourselves when you are let blood and keep yourselves in such rest that long thereafter ye may labor the more vigorously in God's service and also when ye feel any sickness, for it is great folly, for the sake of one day, to lose ten or twelve."
As quoted in Power, "Medieval English Nunneries," 46.

Architectural remains of nunneries evidence little emphasis on women-specific sanitary emphasis. The element of the north-facing cloister, in contrast, does serve as a signifier of the female-bodied nuns housed within the convent, and, more importantly, the association of the feminine body to Christ's wound as womb. That connection is then exalted in the visions and otherwise artistic renderings of nuns actively engaging with Christ's wound and Christ's blood. Menstruation emerges with a significance wholly desperate to that of Eve's transgression, now framed anew as a symbol of piety and as a continuation of Christ's eucharistic nourishment within oneself.

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Figures

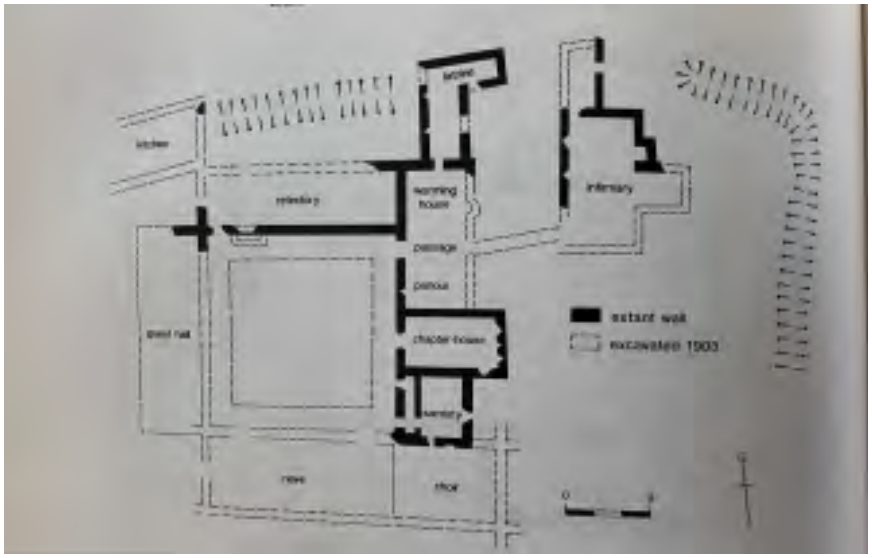


Figure 1. Burnham Abbey, floorplan. Founded by Richard, Earl of Cornwall. 1265/6 AD. Buckinghamshire, England. Source: Gilchrist, "Gender and Material Culture: The Archeology of Religious Women," 112
Image shows private access for the priest through a doorway along the eastern wall of the sacristy.

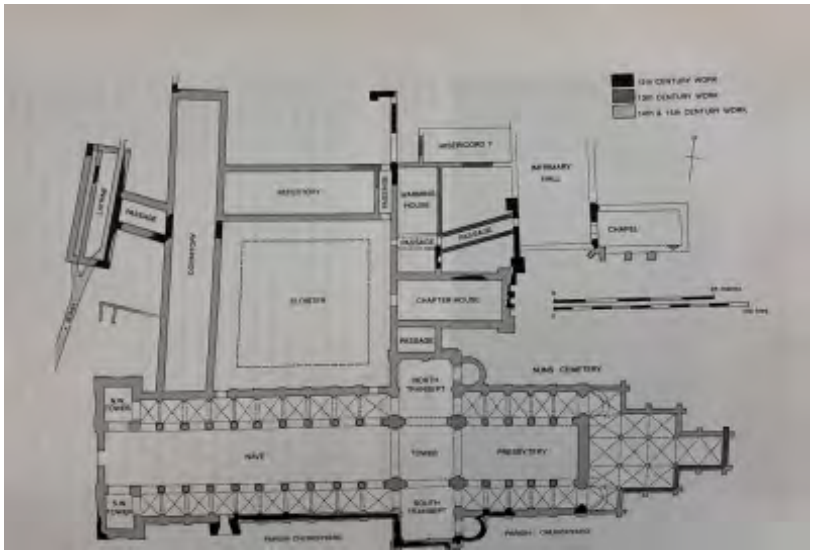


Figure 2: Barking Abbey, floorplan. Founded by Saint Ethelburga. 666 AD. Barking, England. Source: Gilchrist, "Gender and Material Culture: The Archeology of Religious Women," 114

Figure 3: Folio 3v. Bible Moralisée Codex 1179. Unknown author. Circa 1219. (estimated) Paris, France. österreichische nationalbibliothek, Vienna
Scan: https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_2246547&order=1&view=SINGLE

Figure 4: Pieta with the Holy Trinity. Jean Malouel. Circa 1400. Netherlands. Musée du Louvre. Source: https://www.artbible.info/art/large/1025.html

Figure 5: The Rothschild Canticles, folio 104r. Unknown author. Circa 1300. Franco-Flemish Origin. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. Source: Hamburger, "The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300"

Figure 6: The Rothschild Canticles, folio 102r. Unknown author. Circa 1300. Franco-Flemish Origin. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. Source: Hamburger, "The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300"

Figure 7: The Rothschild Canticles, folio 106r. Unknown author. Circa 1300. Franco-Flemish Origin. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. Source: Hamburger, "The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300"

Figure 8: The Rothschild Canticles, folio 64r. Unknown author. Circa 1300. Franco-Flemish Origin. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. Source: Hamburger, "The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300"

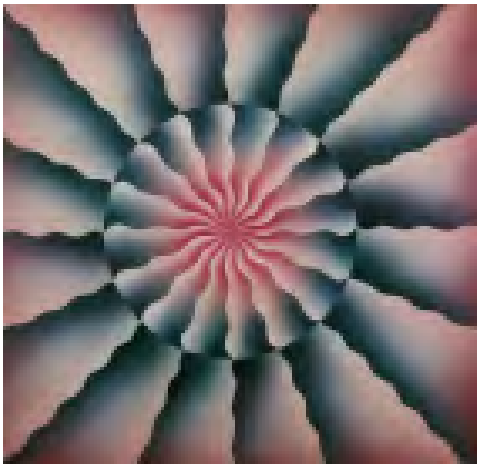


Figure 9: Queen Victoria from the Great Ladies series. Judy Chicago. 1973. Collection of Elizabeth A. Sackler.

Figure 10: Female Rejection Drawing, from the Rejection Quintet. Judy Chicago. 1974. San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, Gift of Tracy O'Kates.

Figure 11: Marie Antoinette, from the Great Ladies series. Judy Chicago. 1973.

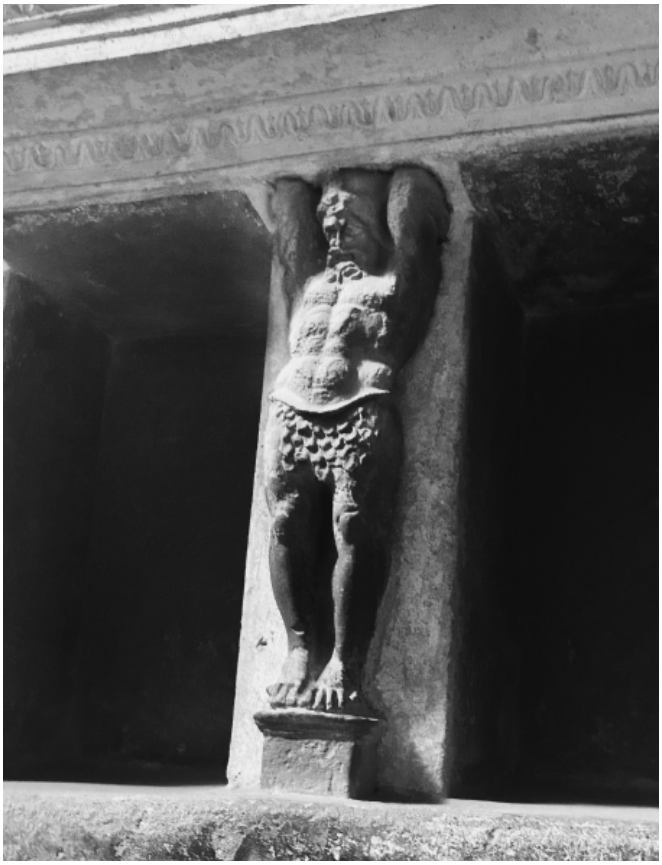
Figure 12: Potent Pussy, Homage to Lamont 1. Judy Chicago. 1973. Jessica Silverman.

Figure 13: The Rothschild Canticles, folio 75r. Unknown author. Circa 1300. Franco-Flemish Origin. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. Source: Hamburger, "The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300"

Figure 14. The Rothschild Canticles, folio 34r. Unknown author. Circa 1300. Franco-Flemish Origin. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. Source: Hamburger, "The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300"

Figure (s) 15-16: The Rothschild Canticles, folio 18v-19r. Unknown author. Circa 1300. Franco-Flemish Origin. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. Source: Hamburger, "The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300"

Figure 17: Bonmont Psalter Folio 15 Verso, MS 54. Circa 1260. Germany. Bibliotheque Municipale, Besancon.



The Weight of the World

Original image by Ella Blanco, used with permission

Strolling through the streets of Pompeii, my feet, guided by the weight of history hanging in the air, lead me to the Terme del Foro. As I weaved through the sweaty crowds, desperate to find a spot far away from the swarm of tourists to truly appreciate the glory of the Tepidarium, my gaze rose from the ground to the ornate decorations on the walls. With the telamon in front of me, I looked at my surroundings—the crowded bathhouse filled with visitors—and I could only see how every one of us was mirrored in him, each with the weight of our own world resting on our shoulders.

Contexts of Cretan Sistra

Livia Hoffman

Introduction and Methodology

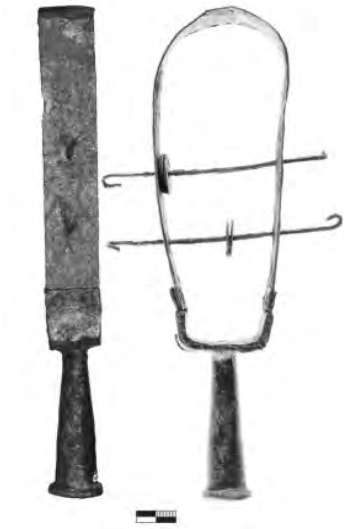
Existing scholarship on Cretan *sistra* bases the instruments' potential uses on their functions in the foreign milieu of Egypt. But hypotheses regarding the instruments' functions should be considered instead, or at least additionally, from a non-referential, Creto-centric perspective that approaches them as autonomous objects and evaluates their archaeological contexts within Crete. This chapter will thus investigate and analyze the physical examples and artistic representation of the instrument (the clay and bronze-type *sistra* and the *sistrum* depiction from the Harvester Vase, see Figs. 1-3) and their archaeological contexts.[1]

Cretan *sistra* comprise two typologies—one clay and one bronze—based on their morphologies and period assignments. Clay-type *sistra* (see Figure 1) date to the MMI-II period,[2] whereas bronze-type *sistra* (see Figure 2) date to the LMIB period.[3] There are stylistic differences between the two, with clay-type *sistra* possessing more ovular frames, and bronze-type *sistra* featuring separate handles with more angular bases and elongated loop frames. Based on its stylistic features and LMIB date, the *sistrum* depicted on the Harvester Vase appears to be the bronze-type (see Figure 3), and so the archaeological context of the vase will be considered alongside the instruments of this type. This chapter will consider the contexts of the clay-type sistra, the bronze-type *sistra* and the *sistrum* depiction from the Harvester Vase in turn.

1 Of the objects in the corpus bearing *sistra* depictions, only the Harvester Vase provides an illustrative representation of the instrument. The other objects in this subsection of the corpus bear depictions of the object as a logogram in the Bronze Age writing systems on Crete. The depictions of *sistra* on these objects thus serve a linguistic function, whereas the *sistrum* on the Harvester Vase is a purely artistic representation of the object. As such, the contexts of the objects bearing linguistic depictions of the *sistrum* will be explained in Chapter 4, which centers around examining how Cretan *sistra* feature linguistically throughout Bronze-Age Crete.

2 Soles 2011, 133.

3 Soles 2011, 133.



From left to right, **Figure 1**. Example of the clay-type sistrum from Archanes-Phourni (Image: Author). **Figure 2**. example of the bronze-type sistrum from Mochlos (From Soles 2022, pl. 73). **Figure 3**. the sistrum depiction from the Harvester Vase (Image: Author).

For each example, the general nature of the instrument's site and specific findspot will be discussed, along with the nature of the objects within their vicinity. Imported artifacts within proximity of the *sistra* will also be explored to consider whether non-Cretan material might be present in the assemblages where the instruments (or their depiction) are found, and how this material might speak to or provide insight into the socioeconomic climate of the communities where the instruments are found. The chapter will conclude with a comparative discussion of the contexts within and amongst the various typologies of the Cretan *sistra*. This discussion will facilitate an analysis of the functions and usages that will be explored in Chapter 3.

Contexts of Clay-Type *Sistra* Material

Seven intact *sistra* and two clay disks independent of a frame constitute the clay-type corpus. *Sistra* of this typology derive from three sites—Krasi, Archanes Phourni, and the Hagios Charalambos Cavern—and date from the EMI/IIA to MMII period. Although lacking specific dates, these clay *sistra* (and parts thereof) have been assigned to general time frames which can be ordered chronologically. The earliest clay-type material is the two clay disks found at Krasi and dating to the EMI/IIA-MMI period.[4] The clay *sistrum* of Archanes Phourni is assigned to the MMIA period,[5] and the six clay *sistra* from the Hagios Charalambos Cave are dated more broadly to the MMI-MMII period.[6] With the chronological placement of these materials in mind, the three sites and their specific findspots may be examined.

Dominating the village of Krasi is the "To Armi" hill. On its north side is a Mesara-type tomb wherein two clay disks were discovered.[7] Mesara-type tombs are circular stone structures, dating from the Subneolithic to MMII.[8] While most of the 78 known Mesara-type tombs are situated in the Mesara plain, the one at Krasi is located in eastern Crete outside of the plain (see Figure 4).[9] Nevertheless, the Krasi tomb is classified as of the Mesara-type based on its morphology and chronology.[10] As in other EMI/IIA-MMII dated tombs,

4 Goodison and Guarita 2005, 188.
5 Soles 2011, 133.
6 Soles 2011, 133.
7 Goodison and Guarita 2005, 188.
8 Goodison and Guarita 2005, 171. The internal diameter of the Mesara-type *tholos* tombs ranges from 3m-13m, and the wall thickness from 1m-3m. Each structure had a stone-built entrance, either of the trilithon type or with lintels resting upon stone-built supports.
9 Goodison and Guarita 2005, 171.
10 Goodison and Guarita 2005, 171.

communal burial arrangements are present both inside and outside of it.[11] Our clay disks were found at the tomb's deepest burial level,[12] alongside numerous clay vessels and metal objects.[13]

Figure 4. Map of Eastern Crete Marked with Mesara-type tombs from outside the Mesara Plain (Goodison and Guarita 2005, figure 2).

While most of the tomb's artifacts are of local production, several objects suggest a Cycladic presence. Blades from Melos were found in and outside the tomb,[14] and the predominance of silver jewelry is regarded by the site's excavators as evidence of Cycladic influence.[15] The two clay *sistrum* disks thus appear to emerge from an EBA-dated funerary context featuring Cycladic material alongside Cretan objects. Given Krasi's remoteness, the tomb's inclusion of Cycladic goods is noteworthy, as the effort and expense required to obtain and transport these materials suggest that the interred were of elevated socioeconomic status, and that the two *sistrum* disks derive from a funerary context for individuals of high standing.

West of Krasi lies Archanes Phourni,[16] a Minoan cemetery featuring an

11 S. Marinatos 1929, 110. Burials outside the tomb are concentrated in the West, with sporadic burials occurring in the South and East.

12 S. Marinatos 1929, 122.

13 S. Marinatos 1929, 115.

14 S. Marinatos 1929, 123.

15 S. Marinatos 1929, 129.

16 The name "Phourni" comes from the Greek *phournos*—an epithet likely referencing the shape of tholos tomb 1, which resembles an oven and was visible to villagers living in the archaeological site's vicinity. See Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 155.

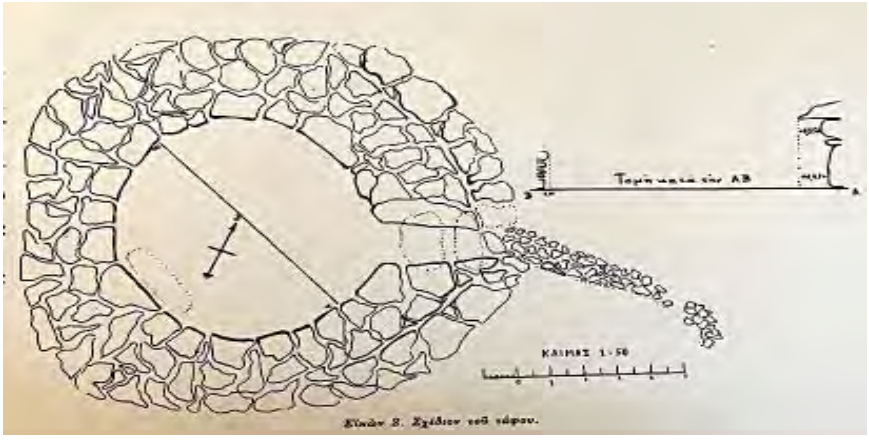


Figure 5. Illustration of Tholos tomb at Krasi, wherein two clay sistrum disks were found (S. Marinatos 1929, figure 2).

intact clay-type *sistrum* (*see* Figure 6). This cemetery was used from the EMIIA-LMIIIC (c. 2700- 1070 BCE) and offers insights into the development of Minoan funerary culture.[17] The complex consists of 26 buildings, the majority presenting tomb structures of three typologies: *tholos* tombs, rectangular tombs, and composite-type funerary buildings.[18] The *tholos* tombs, like that at Krasi, are of the Mesara type typical (though not limited, as evidenced by Archanes-Phourni and Krasi) to south Crete, and the rectangular tombs are of a funerary architectural type popular in north-central and east Crete.[19] The simultaneous use and combination of these two architectural forms—the *tholos* and the rectangular tombs—from as early as the EMII period resulted in the creation of a third burial structure typology.

Figure 6. Aerial photograph of Archanes-Phourni (Myers et. al. 1992,

17 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 155.
18 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 155.
19 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 238.

The *sistrum* from Archanes-Phourni was found in Room 3 of Burial Building 9—a rectangular tomb built as an extension to *tholos* Tomb C (see Figure 7). Occupied during the MMIA-IB period, Burial Building 9 featured three rooms.[20] Room 3 was the southeasternmost room and contained five distinct layers with 172 depositions.[21] Despite the room's numerous burials, excavators linked the clay-type *sistrum* to a nearby pithoid vase in the second burial layer.[22] The vase contained a child burial accompanied by three one-handled semiglobular cups, a small amphora, and a necklace of twelve pierced shells.[23] Additional artifacts found throughout Room 3's various burial levels included 155 sundry vases, numerous gold bands, a number of seals, and a slew of amulets.[24] As noted by the excavators, this burial assemblage indicates "the wealth of the individuals buried in this room."[25]

Figure 7. Photograph of Burial Building 9, Room (from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol. 1, figure 164).

The assemblage's inclusion of imported objects suggests the individuals buried near the *sistrum* were of the elite. One amulet found within Room 3 is an import—judging by its materiality and morphology (see Figure 8). In the shape of a squatting monkey, the amulet is constructed from hippopotamus

20 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 210. The first two rooms contained burial sarcophagi and *pithoi* in three successive layers.

21 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 211. Most burials in Room 3 were of ground-interred adults, although several infant remains (such as the one accompanying the *sistrum*) are found in vases and sarcophagi.

22 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 211.

23 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 211.

24 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 212.

25 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 212.

ivory sourced from outside Crete, most likely Egypt.[26] The amulet is datable to the EMII-MMIA period by its materiality, as hippopotamus ivory was imported into Crete only during this period.[27] Ape amulets are of Egyptian origin, too, although by this time they occur elsewhere in the Levant.[28] This amulet of (likely) Egyptian origin and influence underscores the elevated socioeconomic status coordinate to the clay *sistrum*'s findspot.

Figure 8. Photograph of amulet in shape of squatting monkey from Burial Building 9 of Archanes-Phourni (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol.2, figure 694).

In addition to the ape amulet, other objects among the clay *sistrum* at Archanes-Phourni betray Egyptian influences. A seal in the form of a fly from Burial Building 6 possesses clear Egyptian echoes,[29] as do the two scarab seals from Burial Buildings 6 and 7 that imitate traditional Egyptian designs (see Figure 9).[30] Dating to the EMIII-MMIB period,[31] these seals align with the clay *sistrum*'s MMIA-date; they are neither imported nor constructed of imported materials but are instead local objects incorporating traditional Egyptian motifs into their design. These objects illustrate the exchange of ideas between Egypt and Crete, and by their use, the urge by the Archanes-Phourni inhabitants to signal their station.

26 Betancourt 2011, 1.
27 Betancourt 2011, 2.
28 Betancourt 2011, 2.
29 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 351.
30 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 350.
31 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 202-206.

Figure 9. Photograph of scarab seal from Burial Building 7 (from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol.1, figure 328).

Foreign influences at Archanes-Phourni are not only Egyptian. Close to Burial 9 in Burial 5, a lapis lazuli cylinder seal depicting a male figure among various motifs reveals a Near Eastern origin (see Figure 10).[32] The seal's materiality confirms its imported nature, as lapis lazuli is exogenous to Crete. Its exact Near Eastern derivation is unclear; the excavators themselves suggested Syria.[33] The object is dated to the EMIII-MMIA period due to its location in Burial Building 5, and is thus proximate to the clay *sistrum* both physically and temporally. Its inclusion in the repertoire of burial goods at Burial Building 5 demonstrates the elevated rank of the individuals interred at Archanes-Phourni, and associates the clay *sistrum* with valuable foreign goods.

Figure 10. Photograph of seal of Near-Eastern origin from Burial Building 5 of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol.1, figure 320).

The Cycladic material found throughout the cemetery must also be discussed. Multiple Cycladic figurine assemblages appear throughout the

32 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 350.
33 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 350.

cemetery in contexts (of EMIII-date) near Burial Building 9.[34] Additional Cycladic material from these areas of the cemetery consists of a marble cup and incised stone vessels from *tholos* Tomb C, and various obsidian blades and cores from within this tomb and in the Area of the Rocks—places in proximity to Burial Building 9.[35] Based on these recoveries nearby the findspot of the clay-type *sistrum*, it is apparent that Archanes-Phourni experienced Cycladic contacts.

While the *sistrum* is of a later, MMIA-date, the Cycladic material at Archanes-Phourni remains important as it suggests the instrument derives from a community with established foreign ties. The individuals of MM Archanes-Phourni made deliberate efforts to associate themselves with these earlier, Cycladic material-containing burials, as they constructed tombs in proximity to—or in conjunction with—these earlier structures. Burial Building 9 is itself an extension of the EMII-III-dated *tholos* Tomb C, and its architecture reflects the MM inhabitants' desire to associate with the cemetery's prior, presumably ascendant class, burials. The clay *sistrum* of Archanes-Phourni thus emerges from a funerary context whose tradition incorporates foreign materials and associates with prior elite burials to express status.

The remaining clay-type *sistra* derive from the Hagios Charalambos Cave. Located at the eastern edge of Hagios Charalambos on the western side of the Lasithi plain, the cave is a Minoan secondary ossuary comprising seven underground spaces (see Figure 11).[36] Its original burials date from the Neolithic to MMIIB periods, but the bones were moved into the cave within a short period of time during the MMIIB period.[37] The position of the cave's bones and grave goods suggests the remains were deposited after disarticulation, and with little to no concern for keeping their original contexts intact.[38] These secondary burials have implications regarding the interred's socioeconomic status. The gathering and transportation of bones and burial goods from their original placements to the cave and its various caverns would necessitate a considerable expenditure of time and labor. The effort that would be required for producing these secondary depositions suggests the transported individuals were of the elite.

34 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 342-343. The figurines are clustered in areas between Burial Buildings 18 and 19, in *tholos* Tombs E and C, and in the Area of the Rocks to the west of *tholos* Tomb C.

35 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 348.

36 Betancourt et. al. 2008, 539.

37 Betancourt et. al. 2008, 539.

38 Betancourt 2011, 1.

Figure 11. Photograph of Hagios Charalambos Cave (with arrow marking its location) in relation to the village of Hagios Charalambos (Betancourt et. al. 2014, pl. 1A).

Like most of the cave's artifacts, the six *sistra* were not found in situ: instead, they were scattered across several locations in Rooms 1-4 and Room Entrance 4/5 (see Figure 12).[39] The *sistra* were located within multiple mixed deposits, at various levels of the excavated rooms, and all but one intact specimen from Room Entrance 4/5 required restoration from dispersed fragments.[40] Due to the *sistra*'s fragmentation and re-distribution throughout various levels and rooms of the cave, it is difficult to conjecture what artifacts may have accompanied the instruments. One can, however, consider the nature of the finds in the various rooms where the *sistra* fragments were found: four elliptical *larnakes* were resurfaced and reconstructed from fragments scattered in the same rooms,[41] along with several humanoid figurines,[42] bronze daggers and tools,[43] and seals.[44]

39 Betancourt et al. 2014, 70.

40 Betancourt and Muhly 2006, 429.

41 Betancourt et. al. 2014, 46.

42 Eight human figurines are of the cave, with four coming from the rooms of interest. A marble figurine was found in Room 1, two fossil shell figurines were assembled from fragments discovered across Rooms 1-4, and an animal bone figurine of the Siva type was found in Room 4. See Betancourt et. al. 2014, 51-52. Betancourt 2009: 172 stresses that the Siva type figures belong to the EMII-EMIII period.

43 Relatively few metal objects were found within the cave, and many are difficult to date with confidence (though most likely issue from the EMIII-MMII period). Of the 5 rooms of interest, Room 2 harbored a bronze dagger and two bronze blades, Room 3 or 4 a handle for a metal tool, and Rooms 1-4 contained fragments of copper and bronze diadems. See Betancourt et. al. 2014, 56.

44 The seals range in date from within the EMII-MMII period. See Betancourt et. al. 2014, 66-67.

Figure 12. Map of Hagios Charalambos Cave (Betancourt 2008, 542, fig. 3).

Throughout the cave, several imported or foreign-inspired objects suggest the interred's elevated status. There are several humanoid figurines whose craft and morphology show Cycladic elements, such as a marble female figurine (HNM 11,844; see Figure 13). While carved in a Cretan style, the shape of the head imitates Renfrew's Spedos-type, and seems to represent a new hybrid model.[45] The figurine is of EMI-III date and was found within Room 1, thus in proximity to the scattered clay *sistra* material.[46] Yet this physical propinquity does not translate to the figurine occupying the same burials to which the *sistra* materials belonged, since its EMII date precedes the instruments' MMII date. Instead, HNM 11,844 reflects a tradition of including Cycladic-inspired materials among the individuals buried or relocated to the cave, with said practice emphasizing the wealth of the interred.

Another humanoid figurine from the cave presents hybridity in its craft, although it incorporates elements from the both the Cyclades *and* Egypt. Of green igneous stone, the "Green Goddess" figurine (HNM 11,845; see Figure 14) is modeled in the shape of a scarab on its backside, while its belly is incised in the style of the Cycladic folded arm figurines.[47] The object exhibits the combination of "two distinctive eastern Mediterranean cultures,"[48] and indicates the influence of both Egypt and the Cyclades in the Hagios Charalambos Cave's

45 Ferrence 2011, 601.
46 Betancourt et. al. 2014, 51.
47 Ferrence 2011, 598.
48 Ferrence 2011, 598.

material culture. The "Green Goddess" is of EMI-III date and derives from Room 2, which also contains scattered clay *sistra* material.[49] Yet, like HNM 11,844, the "Green Goddess" figurine cannot be said to accompany the *sistra* material because of its earlier date. Rather, its presence merely reinforces the notion that foreign-inspired burial material was included to express an elevated standing.

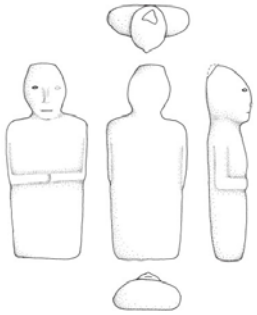


Figure 13. Illustration of Prepalatial female figurine with Cretan and Cycladic stylistic influences (from Ferrence 2011, fig. 1c).

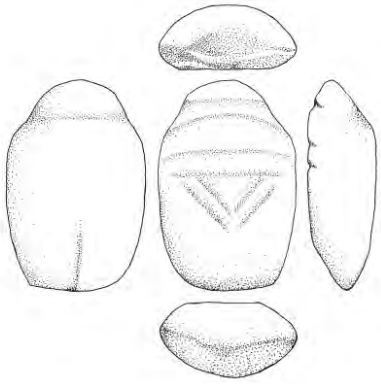


Figure 14. Illustration of "Green Goddess" figurine from the Hagios Charalambos Cave (from Ferrence 2011, figure 1a).

There are however imported and foreign-inspired goods dated to the same period as the clay *sistra* material. Several hippopotamus ivory objects were found throughout the cave and indicate ties to Egypt. In addition to ivory humanoid figurines and seals,[50] two amulets and two seals serve as

49 Betancourt et. al. 2014, 52.

50 Several hippopotamus ivory female figurines were found in Rooms 5-7, and

additional examples of Egyptian influence. The first amulet, from Room 7, is a hippopotamus ivory ape figurine of MMIA date (HNM 13,907; see Figure 15) reminiscent of the one from Archanes-Phourni.[51] The second amulet, also of hippopotamus ivory and MMIA date (HNM 13,190; see Figure 16) is from Room 5 and displays two squatting apes positioned back-to-back. This double-ape configuration is an amulet motif in Egypt, and the hippopotamus ivory used in their construction is also of Egyptian origin. Although these amulets do not colocalize to sites where clay *sistra* material was found within the cave, their proximity in date is noteworthy, and reinforces that the individuals transferred to the cave during the MMI-II period possessed status-conferring exotic objects.

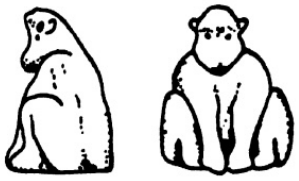


Figure 15. Illustration of ivory ape figurine from the Hagios Charalambos Cave (Betancourt 2011, figure 1).

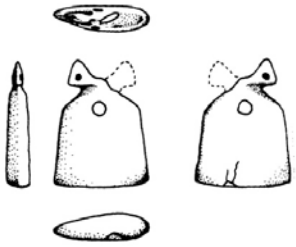


Figure 16. Illustration of double ape figurine from the Hagios Charalambos Cave (Betancourt 2011, figure 2).

The two seals reiterate the influence of Egyptian material culture among the objects throughout the Hagios Charalambos Cave. The first is a small zoomorphic seal (HNM 11,873; see Figure 17) dated to MMIA-B from Rooms 1-4.[52] Although the seal is made of a Cretan, glassy black stone, its frog-like shape suggests Egyptian influence, as frogs were commonly featured in Egyptian stamp seals.[53] The scarab seal (HNM 11,871; see Figure 18) dated to MMIA-B from Rooms 1-4 is likewise a local Cretan product with clear Egyptian

four ivory seals made from hippopotamus tooth were discovered throughout Rooms 1-4. See Betancourt et. al. 2014, 52 and 65.

51 Betancourt 2011, 1.

52 Betancourt et. al. 2014, 66.

53 Betancourt et. al. 2014, 66.

echoes. Constructed of Cretan material, and with Cretan motifs decorating its base, the seal simultaneously exhibits Egyptian registers through its scarab representation. Both seals are in proximity (temporally and physically) to the clay *sistra* material throughout the cave. Despite the disturbed stratification, one is tempted to see the immediate archaeological context for the *sistra* as one evoking Egyptian influenced, cultural material.

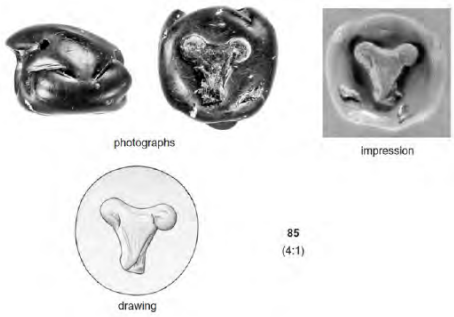


Figure 17. Photographs and illustration of frog stamp seal from Hagios Charalambos Cave (from Betancourt et. al. 2014, pl. 18).

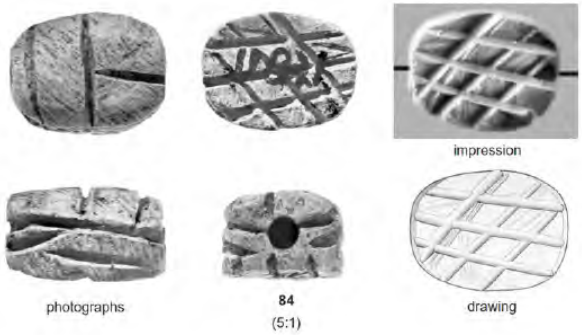


Figure 18. Photographs and illustrations of scarab seal from Hagios Charalambos Cave (from Betancourt et. al. 2014, pl. 18).

Several similarities appear among these clay *sistra* material contexts—the most prominent that the clay *sistra* and *sistra* components all derive from funerary contexts. As elaborated above, the two clay *sistra* disks were found within a *tholos* tomb at Krasi, and the seven clay sistra derive from the funerary complex of Archanes-Phourni and the ossuary of the Hagios Charalambos Cave. From this evidence, one might conclude that Cretan clay-type *sistra* were associated with funerary contexts, although future discoveries might complicate this assessment. At present, it seems fair to conclude that clay *sistra* are related

to funerary contexts.

Still, the sites of Krasi, Archanes-Phourni, and the Hagios Charalambos Cave are not identical, and important nuances influence the nature of their funerary aspects. Perhaps the most obvious differences among the sites lie in their architecture and layout. The *tholos* tomb of Krasi participates in the architectural style of Mesara-type tombs and is isolated from other funerary structures. There are many similar *tholos* tombs at Archanes-Phourni, but these are in communication with numerous "house" tombs. Unlike Krasi, various architectural styles appear at Archanes-Phourni, due in part to the cemetery's extensive period of inhabitation. The Hagios Charalambos Cave provides a stark contrast to the features of Krasi and Archanes-Phourni, as here the context makes use of a natural cave and incorporates the landscape into the burial structure. Such differences are informative, suggesting that the clay *sistra*, while connected to funerary contexts, were not restricted to specific types of burial structures—rather, they were found in isolated *tholos* tombs, larger funerary complexes presenting multiple architectural styles, and ossuary caves. This variation present within the uniformity of funerary context clay *sistra* indicates that these *sistra* were implemented throughout a variety of funerary environments in Bronze-Age Crete during the EM and MM periods.

The three sites all reflect the Minoan funerary practice of communal entombment, and the clay sistra material all derives from findspots consisting of multiple burials. The communal burials of Hagios Charalambos Cave, however, vary from those at Krasi and Archanes-Phourni. While each site has secondary burials, the Hagios Charalambos Cave is an "extreme example of the custom," as hundreds of individuals were moved within the cave in a single period.[54] As a result, the communal burials within the Hagios Charalambos Cave are—for lack of a better word—chaotic, compared to those seen at Krasi (and especially at) Archanes-Phourni. To be sure, the secondary burials of Krasi and Archanes-Phourni are not without disorganization, but the degree of disarray displayed throughout the human remains and burial goods pales in comparison to that seen within the cave. This largely explains why the clay *sistra* of the cave were found in such fragmented and disparate states. Such differences among the site's secondary and communal burials suggest the clay *sistra* illustrate a common funerary culture across these different sites in Central and East Crete.

At what point the clay *sistra* were employed in such funerary contexts is a question worth asking. It is certain from their findspots that the clay *sistra* were left with the dead, and therefore can be conceived of as burial goods or gifts. Yet it is less clear whether these instruments were solely burial goods, or if they were also utilized in burial rites and ceremonies before the interment of the remains. This uncertainty derives from the presence of secondary burials

54 Betancourt et. al. 2014, 5.

in these contexts harboring the clay *sistra*. It is possible that the *sistra* may have been utilized to facilitate funerary rites for the primary burials, and upon redeposition became grave offerings to the deceased. Yet the *sistra* may also have served as ceremonial gifts in their primary burials and continued as such after their redeposition into a secondary location.

At Krasi, it is difficult to ascertain whether its *sistra* material was used in a ritual practice for interring the dead. This reflects in part the paucity of remains—only two *sistra* disks—making it difficult to determine if the instrument was anything other than a grave offering. The nature of the current published output adds a further level of ambiguity, as it is uncertain whether the disks are related to a primary or secondary burial. There are undoubtedly secondary depositions in the tomb, but from the available literature, one cannot determine whether the disks were indeed redeposited from an initial burial. The Archanes-Phourni clay is seemingly a primary burial, though secondary depositions are near the instrument, as evident in the north room of Burial Building 9 containing an ossuary primarily of skulls.[55] It appears certain that the *sistrum* served as a grave offering, but whether it was utilized as a component of the burial rituals is unclear.

Studying examples from Hagios Charalambos, it is impossible to establish whether the instruments were utilized in funerary rites for the primary burials. However, the nature of their deposition in the cave suggests the instruments were not ritually exercised during their secondary deposition. Thus, while the clay-type *sistra* served as funerary gifts to the deceased, it is less certain whether they functioned as part of the burial rites too. This ambiguity hinges on how the clay *sistra* are conceived: as playable instruments or simply models.

The other objects within the findspots and general vicinity of the clay *sistra* provide insight into the nature of the instruments' contexts. Other grave goods were found in each site in addition to the clay *sistra* material: the Hagios Charalambos Cave and the nature of its secondary depositions complicate making any direct associations between grave goods and the *sistra*, as all but one of the five instruments were fragmented. Certain objects, such as ceramic vessels and metal objects, were found accompanying all the *sistra* and *sistra* fragments.

At each of the three sites, objects that were imported or betray foreign influence were in the vicinity of the clay *sistra* material. The presence of such foreign-originating or foreign-inspired goods near the *sistra* is noteworthy; such objects indicate the instruments contribute to socioeconomically elevated funerary contexts. In addition to harboring valuable local material, the inclusion of foreign objects in and nearby the clay *sistra* findspots indicates that the individuals associated with the instrument were of the elite. The imported

55 Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997 vol 1, 350.

objects moreover indicate that procurement and inclusion of exotic goods within these clay sistra contexts amounted to a vehicle for status augmentation.

The clay-type *sistra* can thus be said to relate to funerary contexts in the EM and MM periods for inclusion by individuals of elevated socioeconomic standing, as evidenced by the nature of the burial structures and presence of imported and exotic materials. Variations exist, such that clay-type *sistra* are restricted to no singular type of burial structure, and that the instruments appear both in primary burials and secondary depositions. The clay-type *sistra* were included at the various sites to serve as grave offerings for their associated deceased, and in some cases may have been utilized in the rituals preceding the burials. Having now considered the instruments' contexts, the questions relating to their potential functions, and to possible employment in funerary rites for the deceased, can now be explored in Chapter 3.

Contexts of Bronze-Type *Sistra* Material and the Harvester Vase

The contexts of the bronze-type *sistra* and the *sistrum* depiction on the Harvester Vase will be considered together, for two reasons: first, the Harvester Vase itself portrays a bronze-type *sistrum* (as-yet the only known artistic representation of the *sistrum*); and second, a physical example of a bronze-type *sistra* was found at its same location in Hagia Triada. There are two physical examples of bronze-type *sistra*, with the other from the site of Mochlos. Both the examples of the physical bronze-type *sistra*, and the Harvester Vase, belong to the LMIB period. Determination of the relative dates of the three objects within this time frame is difficult, so it is better to regard the bronze-type sistra and the Harvester Vase as contemporaries.[56] The example from Mochlos will be treated before the Hagia Triada finds.

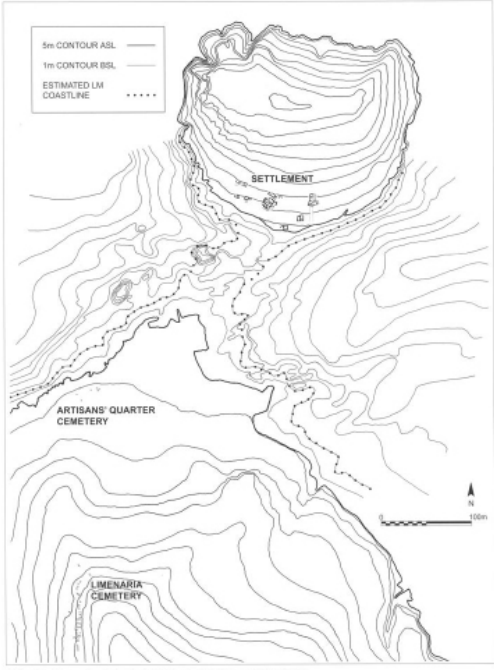
Now an island off eastern Crete, the ancient site of Mochlos was in the Bronze Age connected to the mainland by a low isthmus.[57] The site is known for its rich EM cemetery of house-like tombs and for its well-preserved Neopalatial town (see Figure 19).Though built upon earlier Protopalatial remains, the town was new and laid out "from scratch" at the start of the MMIIIA period;[58] none of the antecedent Protopalatial buildings were rebuilt or occupied, and there

56 One should do the same when considering the clay-type *sistra*, though this material can be ordered chronologically based on the rough periods to which they have been assigned by their excavators. While all the clay-type *sistra* date around the MMI period, their excavators provided slight temporal variations that allow one to sequence the material.

57 Myers et. al. 1992, 186.

58 Soles et. al. 2022, 5.

is no evidence that would date the town's streets before the MMIIIA period. Accommodating its terrain, the town was constructed methodically, with streets laid out to design and shape the community.[59] With the construction of four or five major avenues (only four have been exposed to date), large open spaces were demarcated between the roads and over time filled in with houses.[60]



1. The Mochlos peninsula in the LM III period (J. Patton, D. Therriault).

Figure 19. Map of the Mochlos archaeological site (Soles et. al. 2008,

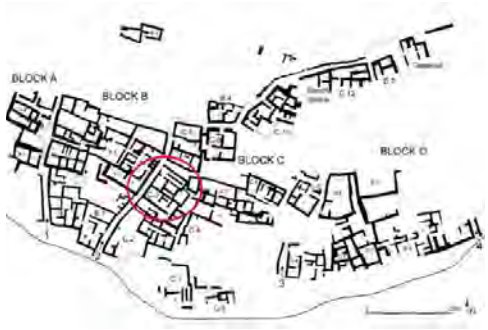


Figure 20. Map of Neopalatial settlement (Soles 2022, fig. 3).

59 Soles et. al. 2022, 5.
60 Soles et. al. 2022, 6.

A key structure in this analysis is House C.3, as it is here in Mochlos that the bronze-type *sistrum* was found (Figure 20). A spacious three-story building, House C.3 was constructed at the start of the MMIII period, and though damaged at certain intervals, was occupied into the LMIB period.[61] The bronze *sistrum* was found within Room 2.2,[62] located on the ground floor in the center of the house. Room 2.2 seems to have been first designed to function as a living room; by the end of the LMIB, however, it seemed to serve as a storage site, inferred from the pit unearthed containing several large storage *pithoi* and a horde of bronze artifacts that included the bronze *sistrum* (see Figure 21). The hoard was laid within and concealed with earth, and atop a stone quern was placed upside down.[63] Accompanying the *sistrum* were numerous copper ingots,[64] one half of an oxhide ingot, a pair of tongs, and an assortment of weapons and tools grouped together in clusters. [65]

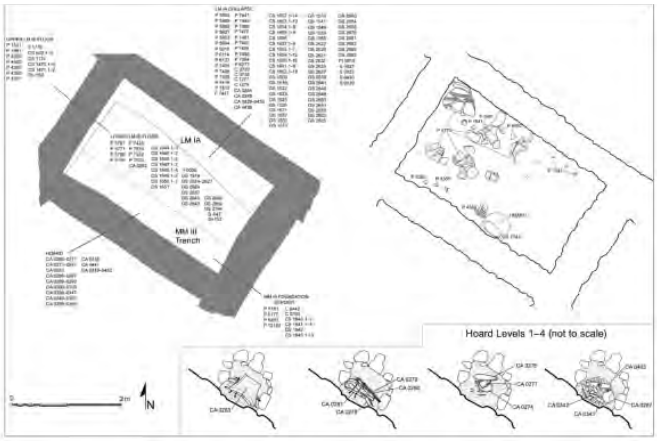


Figure 21. Plan of House C.3, Room 2.2 with pottery and small finds from Phases 1-4 (left); in situ from Phase 4 (right); and hoard finds in situ by level (inset). Courtesy of Soles 2022, figure 13.

61 The house was damaged by an earthquake at the end of the MMIII period and was reoccupied through the LMIA period without interruption. Suffering destruction again at the end of the LMIA period, portions of the house were restored and rebuilt at the inception of the LMIB period, and it was used and even enlarged by the end of this period. See Soles et. al. 2022, 11.

62 Soles 2011, 136.

63 Soles 2011, 136.

64 Nearly 60 copper ingot fragments were found within the pit, with many containing traces of linen fragments from the bags they had been placed within. See Soles 2011, 137.

65 The assortment consisted of nine double axes, seven chisels, three tongs, three knives, a sickle, three awls, a pair of balance pans, a saw, an adaze, eight daggers, two bowls, and one pin. See Soles 2011,137.

The oxhide ingot (IVA.150, CA 283) and the other 59 copper ingot fragments accompanying the bronze *sistrum* are of interest as they likely represent imports from Cyprus that reached Mochlos through trade along the Levantine coast, as indicated by the merchant's mark in the shape of a ship's rudder on the "wooly" side of the oxhide ingot (Figure 22).[66] Further evidence of connections to the Levant through maritime connections is suggested by the trident found within Building B.2. [67]

The presence of such Cypriot material in the bronze *sistrum*'s findspot is noteworthy for several reasons. In addition to establishing the existence of commercial ties between Mochlos and Cyprus, the sheer quantity of bronze implies the *sistrum* and House C.3 were (likely) in the custody of a metal merchant. Moreover, the nature of the pit's goods, and the fact that many of the over 130 items found in the hoard were unused objects, suggest that the instrument and the other metallurgic goods nearby had been gathered and stored for trading purposes.[68] The bronze *sistrum* is seen to derive from a domestic context heavily influenced by economic activity and foreign trade relations. The volume of imported materials and quantity of fine goods accompanying the horde's *sistrum* indicate an elevated socioeconomic status of the individuals occupying House C.3. In addition, the building's architecture—multi-roomed and multi-storied—confirms the findspot as of those of higher social status.

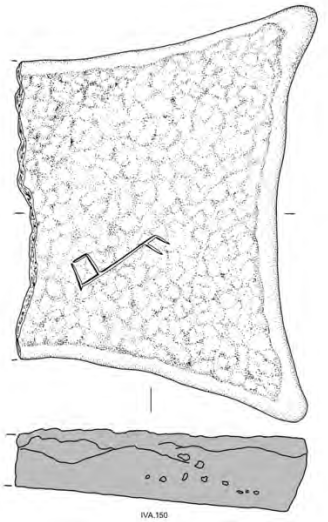


Figure 22. Illustration of the oxhide copper ingot (IVA.150, CA 283) found next to the bronze sistrum (courtesy of Soles 2022, fig. 107).

66 Soles et. al. 2022, 21.
67 Soles et. al. 2022, 509.
68 Soles et. al. 2022, 22.

Imported objects located at Mochlos were not exclusively of Cypriot and Levantine origin. There is overwhelming evidence of a Cycladic presence at Mochlos from the amounts of obsidian and obsidian blades, both in House C.3 and throughout the Neopalatial site.[69] There is also evidence of imported goods from mainland Greece, with such trade attested to by the numerous lead weights.[70] An analysis of wood charcoal assemblages reveals too the presence of *Pinus nigra/Pinus sylvestris*, a flora which is not native to Crete but is instead of mainland Greece, Cyprus, and Anatolia.[71] Additionally, contact with Egypt is suggested by the copious amethyst beads found throughout the site (see Figure 23).[72]

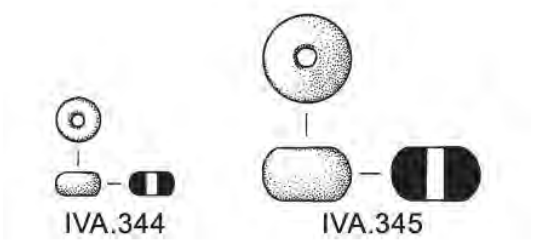


Figure 23. Illustration of amethyst beads found at the Neopalatial settlement of Mochlos (courtsy of Soles 2022, fig. 131).

These imported goods all date to times approximating the LMIB period,[73] and therefore coincide with the date of the bronze *sistrum*. The presence of such imported materials throughout the Neopalatial settlement underscores Mochlos' mercantilist connections to the larger Mediterranean and Near East, and speaks perhaps to a higher social status among the populace inhabiting the site, having possessed the ability and means to obtain such exotic material. At the least, it can be said that the bronze *sistrum* emerges from an environment participating and engaging with foreign trade.

Was the *sistrum* itself an imported object? Initially, the excavators thought that it was, but recent research regards the instrument as having been produced locally, and perhaps fabricated in the metal shops of the nearby Artisan's

69 Soles et. al. 2022, 509. A Cycladic presence is reinforced by a dark gray volcanic tuff pestle imported from the islands and by a jug from Melos.

70 Soles et. al. 2022, 509.

71 Soles et. al. 2022, 488.

72 Amethyst beads were found within House C.1 Room 3, Building D.7 Room 1, and in an ivory *pyxis* from House A.2. See Soles et. al. 2022, 509.

73 See Soles et. al. 2022, 21, 273, and 509.

Quarter at Mochlos.[74] The *sistrum* was initially believed to have been imported due to its similarities in morphology and construction to Egyptian instruments, however, this conclusion was based upon ensuing examples from the Late and Greco-Roman period.[75] Such anachronistic comparisons are insufficient to conclude a foreign, Egyptian origin for the bronze *sistrum* at Mochlos, and they underscore how earlier scholarship was inclined to take an Egyptian-centric approach when assessing the sistra in Crete; our bronze *sistrum* of Mochlos manifests as Cretan—both in nature and construction. Before drawing further conclusions about the Mochlos example, the bronze *sistra* material of Hagia Triada warrants examination.

The other bronze *sistrum*, and the Harvest Vase depicting a *sistrum*, were found at the important site of Hagia Triada.[76] This site was first settled in the EMI period, and by the second half of the third millennium BCE was a cemetery area centered around a large circular tomb.[77] From the MMIIA-LMIIIB, extensive and repeated building campaigns transformed the site into an impressive complex of variegated structures.[78] A key component of the site is the so-called "villa" (referred to as "Villa Reale" by its Italian excavators, see Figure 24). Constructed at the end of the MM period, the villa was L-shaped and rose two stories, with buildings on two sides of a courtyard.[79] The title "villa" was ascribed to the complex by the Italians "because of its size and luxury" and frequent identification as a palatial structure or royal residence.[80] Though such interpretations have been challenged,[81] it is clear from the architecture and the nature of the finds that the "villa" site reflects an elevated social status.

The villa was composed of three groups of rooms: the servants quarters, the storage rooms,[82] and a main residence in the northwestern wing of the villa termed the "Quartier Signorile" by the Italian excavators (see Figure 25).[83] and 49, Quartier Signorile[84] was multistoried and framed as a central suite identified as the main residence of the complex.

It is within Quartier Signorile, and specifically within the debris over Rooms 4 and 4a, that the Harvester Vase and the bronze *sistrum* handle

74 Soles et. al. 2022, 21.
75 Soles 2011, 139.
76 Because the bronze *sistrum* and the Harvester Vase come from a shared context (from adjacent rooms within a single building complex at the same find-site), their contexts will be discussed together.
77 Privitera et. al. 2015, 3.
78 Privitera et. al. 2015, 3.
79 Myers et. al. 1992, 70.
80 Watrous 1984, 123.
81 Watrous 1984, 123.
82 Watrous 1984, 124.
83 Brogan 2012, 18.
84 Watrous 1984, 126.

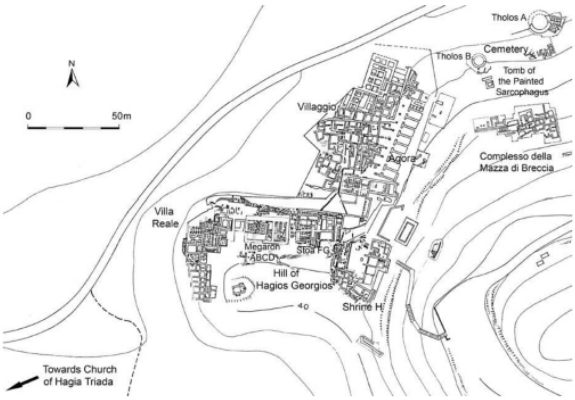


Figure 24. Plan of the Hagia Triada (Privitera et. al. 2015, fig. 2).

were found. While the Harvester Vase was found in isolation,[85] several finds accompanied the bronze *sistrum* from the fill above room 4a. Alongside the sistrum were clay vessels and lamps,[86] several bronze objects[87] and tools,[88] and a lead discoid weight.[89] While the villa's excavators suggested that the upper story of the northwestern wing served as a ceremonial area or great hall for official receptions, these sundry objects challenge this notion.[90]

These objects can, however, provide insight into ways the upper stories of the Quartier Signorile may have been utilized. The collection of bronze tools from the fill above Room 4a were likely stored as a group, and are associable with the other bronze tools found in the area combining Rooms 4, 11, 14, 15, and 51.[91] In the fill above Room 11, a number of tablets, *cretulae*, and clay disks were recovered, items that suggest the presence of an archive or scribal workroom in the area.[92] Accordingly, there are grounds to suppose that the upper levels of the Quartier Signorile—beyond a residential function—included

85 Watrous 1984, 127.

86 Comprising the corpus of clay objects were three lamps, a plate, one large-spouted cup, several juglets, one four-handled vase, two lids, and a slender amphora. See Watrous 1984, 127.

87 The bronze material comprised of a figurine of a woman in a pose of adoration, one chisel, two sledgehammers, a razor, two wires, a ring, and a hammer. See Watrous 1984, 127.

88 The *sistrum* was originally classified as an "oddly shaped tool." See Watrous 1984, 127.

89 Watrous 1984, 127.

90 Watrous 1984, 126.

91 Watrous 1984, 126.

92 Watrous 1984, 126.

areas with administrative purposes. The presence of valuable stone vases (such as the Boxer Rhyton and the Harvester Vase) in the upper stories generates a ceremonial connotation, but the nature of the objects suggests this area of the Quartier Signorile was intended to store or perhaps display ceremonial goods rather than to situate ceremonial activities.

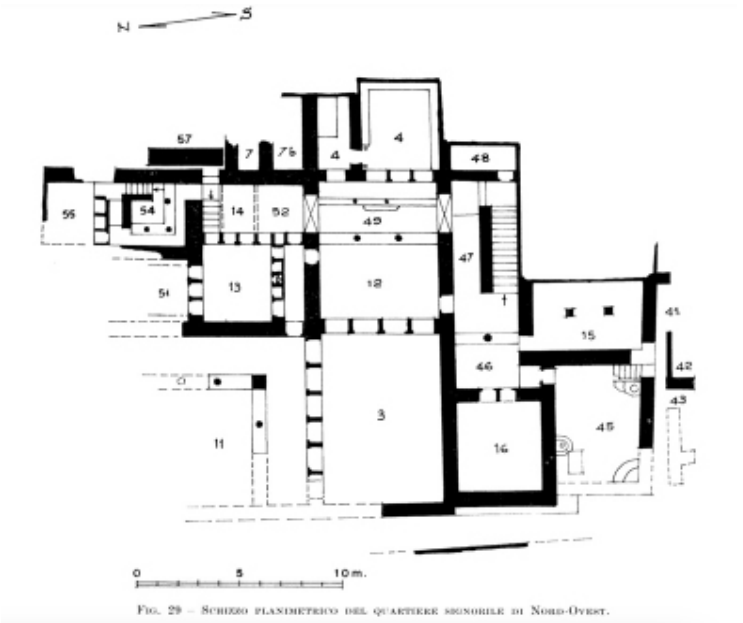


Fig. 29 – Schizzo planimetrico del quartiere signorile di Nord-Ovest.

Figure 25. Plan of Quartier Signorile, including Rooms 4 and 4a (Halbherr, Stefani, and Banti 1977, figure 29).

While no systemized or comprehensive publication exists for the villa's artifacts, one can discern the presence of imported goods through the site's individual excavation. Just as with Mochlos, Hagia Triada evinces signs of Cypriot interconnectivity through a cache of 19 copper ingots of LMIB dating recovered from Room 7 of the villa.[93] Elemental analysis of these ingots revealed a Cypriot origin, likely through maritime trade.[94] The existence of these copper ingots, with their physical and temporal proximity to the bronze *sistrum* and Harvester Vase, indicate that Hagia Triada possessed the resources and ability to Cypriot objects such as the *sistra*-related material.

Another important object indicating Hagia Triada's status and trading ties to the larger Mediterranean arena is an interesting obsidian triton vessel. The obsidian used in its construction was quarried on the Gyali islet in the

93 Watrous 1984, 129.
94 Watrous 1984, 129.

Dodecanese, and imported to Crete, where it was then fashioned into the shape of a triton shell.[95] Of the LMI period, the vessel was found in the villa[96] and reinforces the notion that the bronze *sistrum* and the *sistrum* depiction on the Harvester Vase emerged from an outward-reaching administrative context, one with the ability to obtain and incorporate foreign materials into the repertoire of its goods.

Figure 26. Photograph of obsidian triton vessel from the Villa at Hagia Triada (Warren 1969, pl. 497).

There are several objects of Egyptian material throughout the villa which indicate Egyptian influences alongside those of Cyprus and the Dodecanese Islands. One such object is a travertine alabastron: discovered in an unspecified room in the Quartier Signorile, the vessel of SIP or very early Dynasty XVIII dating was imported from Egypt and found within a somewhat later LMIB villa context.[97] The presence of this Egyptian-imported object, as the triton vessel and oxhide ingots, only reiterates the notion that Hagia Triada represented a site of elevated socioeconomic status.

Several other stone vessels from the villa, such as the alabastron found within Room 14, betray an Egyptian background through their imitation of Egyptian vessel forms.[98] While the LMIB vessel is not an import, it is "a fairly obvious imitation of the Egyptian alabastron of the Second Intermediate Period

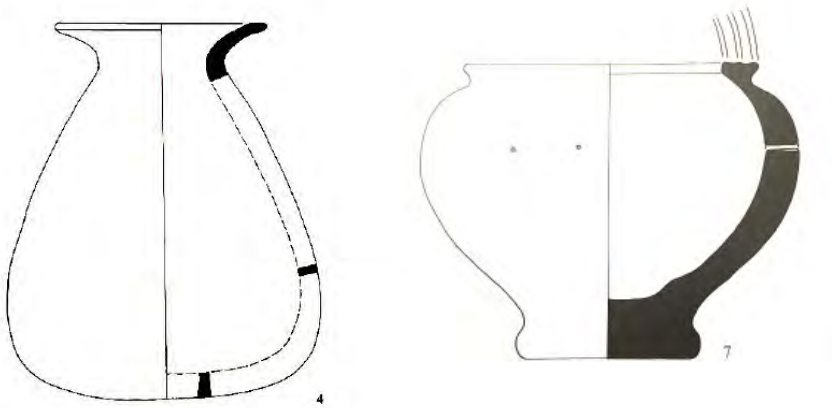
95 https://ca.heraklionmuseum.gr/ca/pawtucket/index.php/Detail/objects/793. The exact room is unspecified.

96 Warren 1969, 90.

97 Phillips 2008 vol. 2, 13.

98 Phillips 2008 vol. 2, 13.

type."[99] The Hagia Triada inhabitants' desire to mimic Egyptian vessels aligns with their impulse to collect and showcase—likely as an expression of their socioeconomic status—goods that emulated and replicated foreign objects.



Figures 27 (left) and **28** (right): Illustration of Egyptian alabastron from the villa at Hagia Triada (Phillips 2008 vol.2, 295) and illustration of alabastron (Egyptian imitation) from Room 14 of the villa at Hagia Triada (Phillips 2008 vol. 2, 296).

At Mochlos and Hagia Triada there are environmental site-similarities where the bronze sistra and sistrum depiction are found: the most obvious is that the objects are from domestic-space contexts. The *sistrum* from Mochlos was found within the Neopalatial settlement portion of the site, and in the context of a house. The *sistra* and *sistrum* depiction from Hagia Triada were also discovered in a settlement environment, in a structure which has been termed as a "villa." As such, the bronze *sistra* and *sistrum* depiction feature in contexts incorporating or comprising living spaces.

Yet there are slight nuances to each site which present a degree of contrast. While the Mochlos *sistrum* derives from a house, it is the house of a (presumed) metal merchant. The house's architecture reflects this occupation, as a basement and two merchant's hoards were constructed for the storage of goods. In this way, a commercial dimension is incorporated into the *sistrum*'s natural domestic context. This is reinforced by consideration of the objects found accompanying the Mochlos *sistrum*. The instrument was situated with a substantial collection of bronze tools and goods, suggesting an economic aspect to the Mochlos sistrum's domestic context. The *sistrum*'s proximity to imported materials emphasizes the economic nature of the instrument's findspot, and that House C.3 is a locus of both domestic and commercial activities.

99 Phillips 2008 vol. 2, 14.

Conversely, the Hagia Triada *sistrum* and *sistrum* depiction derive from a "villa." While such terminology conjures notions of domesticity, the structure appears to have functioned as "the seat of the palatial administration of the Mesara."[100]The *sistra* material is found in an area that has been identified as the villa's main residence, and as such appears in relation to a domestic environment. Yet the bronze *sistrum* and *sistrum* depiction participate in the broader managerial context which the villa presents. As indicated by the finds in the upper story of the Quartier Signorile, the *sistra* material of Hagia Triada derived from a context with areas of a clear administrative nature. Yet the presence of the stone vessels like the Harvester Vase and Boxer Rhyton indicates that areas in the upper stories of the Quartier Signorile were of ceremonial nature, in that ceremonial-related objects were either stored or displayed in this area . The bronze *sistrum* and *sistum* depiction of Hagia Triada thus derive from an area of the villa with combined domestic, administrative, and ceremonial-related aspects.

Such variegation amongst the bronze-type *sistra* and *sistrum* depiction contexts is noteworthy, as it suggests that these objects, while associated with domestic spaces, were not limited to specific types of living spaces. For a clear socioeconomic difference is apparent between the domestic spheres of the Quartier Signorile and House C.3 of Mochlos, with the former certainly belonging to members of a higher stratum. This is not to say that the individuals inhabiting House C.3 were of low socioeconomic status, as they too were in possession of luxury goods. However, the individuals residing in the main residence of the Hagia Triada villa were of a much higher status, as indicated by the architecture of the complex in relation to that of House C.3.

The contexts of the bronze *sistra* and *sistrum* depiction are similar regarding their shared presence of imported materials. The *sistra* material at both Mochlos and Hagia Triada were found within the vicinity of foreign sourced or foreign influenced objects. Both sites featured objects with Cypriot and Egyptian influences, although at Mochlos a Cycladic presence was noted while at Hagia Triada a Dodecanse one. The presence of foreign imported or inspired objects among the quasi-domestically positioned bronze *sistra* announces status, and perhaps a cosmopolitan sensibility through the implied contact with the larger Mediterranean. While premature to claim that the presence of imported goods in the vicinity of the *sistra* and *sistrum* depiction indicate a foreign origin for the instrument, the presence of foreign material with the *sistra* may suggest that the Cretan instrument interacted with and incorporated outside elements. It seems certain however that the bronze *sistrum* was a Cretan object appearing in contexts related to living individuals of status, with access to and appreciation for foreign related material.

100 Brogan 2012, 18.

Understanding Cretan *Sistra* and their Contexts

To comprehend the *sistra*'s Cretan contexts, the clay-type *sistra*, bronze-type *sistra*, and *sistrum* depiction cannot be considered in isolation, but instead must be examined together. The above analyses reveal a significant demarcation between the contexts of the clay-type *sistra*, and the bronze-type *sistra* and *sistrum* depiction. The most obvious difference is temporal, as the clay-type *sistra* are of the MMI-II period, while the bronze-type *sistrum* and the Harvester Vase are of LMIB dating. Such a temporal divide is significant, as these two typologies could be different iterations in the development of the Cretan *sistra*—although such a hypothesis requires substantiation. One can, however, conclude that the Cretan *sistra* are contextualized with two different periods of the Bronze Age, and that while their underlying qualities remain the same, the instrument experiences morphological changes between the first and second periods. The potential reasons for these changes to the instrument will be explored in Chapter 3, but one might anticipate that the differing contexts of the *sistra* are likely informative of such changes.

Besides their temporal divisions, the clay-type *sistra* and the bronze-type *sistra* and *sistrum* depiction differ in their contexts. The clay-type *sistra* are all from funerary contexts, whereas the bronze-type *sistra* and *sistrum* depiction emerge from domestic contexts. There are variations between the contexts of each typology, as discussed, but overall, the clay-type *sistra* relate to spaces of the dead, while the bronze-type *sistra* and *sistrum* depiction relate to those of the living. This dichotomy seems noteworthy, as it suggests that the Cretan *sistra*, in addition to experiencing morphological changes from the MMIA-B to the LMIB period, underwent developments in their usage and function. The shift from appearing in funerary contexts to domestic ones may indicate the Cretan *sistra* evolved from having usage in spaces of the dead to those of the living, but the exact nature of this progression and its validity is uncertain and requires further evidentiary support. Exactly how each Cretan *sistrum* typology may have functioned will be addressed in Chapter 3, but one can say from the examination of the instruments' contexts that the clay-type *sistra* were related to funerary practices, while the bronze-type *sistra* and *sistrum* depiction were deployed in settlement-related activities.

There is a similarity worth noting that is present across all these Cretan: their shared contextual linkages with foreign presences. Each *sistrum* example herein discussed sources from findspots with or in the vicinity of foreign imported or inspired objects. Thus, in the contexts for each Cretan *sistra* dating period, there is a notable presence of foreign influences. Whether the morphological changes to the Cretan *sistra* or the instruments' usage are related to contact with entities beyond Crete will be considered in Chapter 5, but at this juncture one can conclude that the instrument, in both of its phases, was in

environments wherein their form or purpose may have been shaped by foreign presences.

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Herakles, the Monstrous, and the Abject in Apollodorus' *Library*

Rachel Kamphaus

In her chapter "Herakles: the Supermale and the Feminine," Nicole Loraux claims Herakles is a figure with "no politics, no inner life." Although the Herakles myth changed over time, Loraux argues that "because no one city was able to appropriate him definitively, the process of reevaluation took place not in the political field…but rather within the logic that presides over the Greek concept of the powerful hero."[1] In this paper, I look at Apollodorus' chronicle of Herakles in his work *The Library*,[2] considered by some to be the definitive work on Herakles, as a response to increasing Roman cultural hegemony of the Mediterranean. In particular, this paper will focus on Herakles' relationship to the monsters he fights, particularly in the ironic similarities between the two. While Herakles on the one hand seems to maintain the borders of civilization through his labors, this reading becomes complicated through Herakles' status as potentially polluted and excluded from the polis during his quests–a status that makes him abject, just as the monsters he fights. I explain this irony as a self-conscious expression of Greek identity under a more powerful Rome during the Second Sophistic period.

Before beginning with a discussion of Apollodorus' revision of the myth, it is worth delineating exactly what kind of threats the monsters pose, not only to Herakles, but also to Greece, as understanding so might enable us to better understand how Apollodorus viewed his cultural identity. Herakles' labors generally seem to fall into a few categories: the rabid beast, the hybrid, or the feminine monster. Much of their danger comes from their tendency to transgress boundaries, particularly those of civilized/wild, masculine/feminine.

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1 Nicole Loraux, "Herakles: the Supermale and the Feminine," in *The Experiences of Tiresias: The Feminine and the Greek Man*, ed. Nicole Loraux and Paula Wissing, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 118.

2 It is worth briefly defining my use of terminology. First, I refer to the author of *The Library* as Apollodorus. Early manuscripts claim the author of this text was Apollodorus of Athens, which mainstream scholarship refutes (for more on this, see Aubrey Diller, 1935). Some scholars thus refer to the author of The Library as Pseudo-Apollodorus. Yet much of the scholarship that I consulted in this paper retains the name Apollodorus, and thus, I have decided to do the same. Second, the translation that I am working with translates the title of Apollodorus' book as "the library." Some secondary scholarship that I cite call it *Bibliotheca*. In this paper, both titles refer to the same document.

For example, we might turn to the Cretan Bull or Erymanthian boar. Debbie Felton claims these beings are monstrous because they are "unusually dangerous,"[3] although this does not seem to be a precise enough description. The monstrosity of both creatures seems more tied to problems caused by their existence in the improper physical space rather than their innate level of danger. Both the Erymanthian Boar and the Cretan Bull are noteworthy (compared to simply regular animals) because they invade cities. Apollodorus says that the boar is "causing destruction in Phocis"[4] and the bull, which should be a domesticated animal existing peacefully among humans, is "wild" in Crete.[5] Herein lies the essential feature to understanding the boar and bull's monstrosity: they are dangerous, not only because they kill people, but also because they threaten the distinction between civilization and wilderness. By invading a human city, the boar violates the boundary of the city and that which should remain *outside* the city, and by extension, the boundaries between order and disorder. The bull too, through its wildness, breaches this same distinction, only between the domestic and wild. The monster out of place is a fundamental force of disorder, and as such Herakles must vanquish it, returning it either to a captured state or death.

Similarly, hybrid creatures disturb the boundaries between human and animal, domestic and wild, as they are transgressive in terms of their confusion of normative embodiment. In Apollodorus' account of Herakles, such hybrids include the centaurs and Cerberus. The centaurs in the *Library* walk the line between primitive and cultured; although Pholos welcomes Herakles as a guest and adheres to a proper guest-friend relationship, other centaurs attack the hero with "rocks and fir trees,"[6] a behavior that expresses the dichotomy between animal wildness and human orderedness. Cerberus too exists in a state between the domestic and the feral. Although popular imagination tends to depict Cerberus as a three-headed dog, Apollodorus says he has, as well as three dog heads, a snake's tail, and heads along his back. Cerberus seems to be particularly dangerous, as his defeat can only come once Herakles journeys to the underworld, temporarily "dying" in the process.

Still, the foes that Herakles encounters do not only pose the threat of the wild encroaching onto the civilized realm–Herakles' encounters with the Amazons or mares of Diomedes put him in conflict with a dangerous, feminine

3 Debbie Felton, "Rejecting and Embracing the Monstrous in Ancient Greece and Rome," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, ed. Asa Mittman and Peter Dendle, (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012), 116.

4 Apollodorus, *Library*, ed. and trans. R. Scott Smith and Stepehn M. Trzascoma, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2007), 31- 32.

5 Apollodorus, *Library*, 32.

6 Apollodorus, *Library*, 31.

other. The association between monstrosity and femininity is well documented, particularly in the Greco-Roman world. Debbie Felton notes that because Greeks viewed women as wild (meaning uncivilized), "it is not surprising to find that a very large proportion of monsters in Greek mythology are female."[7] The extent of the female threat to male order is best articulated in Herakles' eighth labor, in which he must capture "man-eating"[8] mares from the eastern kingdom of Thrace: the she-horses' man-eating potently symbolizes a feminine threat to swallow male authority.

Such a theme reappears in the following labor, in which Herakles encounters the Amazons. Even more so than in the previous labor, Apollodorus devotes careful attention to describing the boundary-transgressing properties of the foe. The Amazons are highly androgynous, in both their gender and sexual characteristics. Socially, they are "a tribe great in war" who "cultivated a manly spirit." Not only do the Amazons act "manlike" but their bodies are physically androgynous. The women flatten their right breasts, "so that these would not interfere with throwing a javelin," and let their left breast grow "so that they could breastfeed."[9] As gendered subjects, the Amazons hardly cohere. They can give birth and raise children, but they also encroach onto the masculinized sphere of warfare. Not only this, they mutilate their bodies to be more *manlike*– and in doing so, they threaten to subsume the role of man themselves. The Amazons, with their unruly, queer bodies, disturb the order of Greek patriarchal structures.

The boundary-transgressing quality of many of the labors aligns Herakles' foes with the abject, which French philosopher Julia Kristeva describes as an "ambiguous" or "in-between" thing, neither subject nor object, that violates or confuses the boundary between the self and the other. As such, it must be disposed of in order for the "self" to cohere. The *process* of abjection, then, is a casting out of "that which disturbs identity" as a way to maintain proper subject formation.[10]

Many monster scholars see the monster as existing in some form of liminal or category-confounding state, which mirrors Kristeva's assertion that the abject is an "in-between" thing. As Jeffery Jerome Cohen states, the monster is "a harbinger of category crisis" who is "suspended between forms that threaten to smash distinctions."[11] Furthermore, Weinstock, drawing on Asa Mittman,

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7 Felton, *Embracing the Monstrous*, 105.

8 Apollodorus, *Library*, 33.

9 Apollodorus, *Library*, 33.

10 Julia Kristeva and Leon S. Roudiez. *Powers of Horror*: An Essay on Abjection, trans. Leon S. Roudiez, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 45.

11 Jeffery Jerome Cohen, "Monster Theory (Seven Theses)," in *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*, ed. Jeffery Jerome Cohen, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 6.

conceives of the monster as "that which threatens understandings of the world, the self, and the relationship between the two."[12] Here we see, again, Kristeva's idea of the abject as something that disrupts definition of the self. Monsters are often abject because they are illogical and unlikely beings that confound traditional norms.

It is also worth noting, for the purposes of this paper, that the abject does not function on merely an individual level–Leticia Alvarado expands the term's definition when she calls abjection "the process of social or psychological casting out of undesirables to consolidate a norm or ideal."[13] Imogen Tyler describes abjection as a "social force (a cultural political economy of disgust) which operates on multiple scales, as a practice, technique, and mode of governmentality."[14] Tyler is especially interested in the idea of abjection as a tool for states to consolidate national identity against foreign others.

Herakles' role in completing his labors is thus that of policing Greek, or civilized society. In vanquishing monsters, he protects it from that which reveals its fragility. He allows Greece, as a subject, to come into being, defined against the wild, uncivilized, and feminine forces that threaten its very survival. He is what Anne McClintock calls an "agent of abjection,"[15]–in vanquishing that which disturbs order, he allows the *civilization* to cohere.

And yet, to reduce Greek identity to such (self vs. other) is not only overly simplistic, but also historically inaccurate to Apollodorus' time. The binary "self-vs. other" conception of Greek identity is, as Katrina Van Amsterdam notes, characteristic to the period of the Persian wars, when Greek national identity first emerged: "The Greeks of the early 5th century…defined themselves against the Persians as they developed and solidified their political identity."[16] Apollodorus, on the other hand, wrote at a time after Greek identity had already consolidated; "there is no sense in the *Bibliotheca* of a development of Greek identity; rather, a concept of Greekness already underlies the entire project of the

12 Jeffrey Andrew Weinstock, "INTRODUCTION: A Genealogy of Monster Theory," in *The Monster Theory Reader*, ed. Jeffrey Andrew Weinstock, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2020), 3.

13 Leticia Alvarado, "Abjection," in *Keywords for Gender and Sexuality Studies*, ed. The Keywords Feminist Editorial Collective (New York: New York University Press, 2021), 11.

14 Imogen Tyler, "Social Abjection, Disposable Lives, and the Politics of Disgust," *Professor Imogen Tyler*, April 28, 2023, https://imogentyler.uk/2023/04/28/social-abjection-disposable-lives-and-the-politics-of-disgust/#:~:text=I%20theorise%20abjection%20as%20a,%E2%80%9Cincluding%20forms%20of%20exclusion%E2%80%9D.

15 Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 72.

16 Katrina Van Amsterdam, "When is Greece, Do as the Persians Don't: Defining the Identity of the Greeks against the Persian Imperial 'Other'," in *Hirundo*, 1.

Bibliotheca."[17]

Apollodorus complicates the self-other binary in portraying Herakles himself as disorderly, wild, and even abject. A number of critics have pointed out that Herakles himself, as a mythological figure, transgresses binaries and oppositions, such as those of the "civilized and the bestial, the serious and the burlesque, the sane and the insane, the savior and the destroyer, free and slave, divine and human."[18] In Apollodorus, the wildness of Herakles is particularly prominent. Consider this passage in Apollodorus, after Herakles kills the lion of Cithaeron for the king Thespius:

> *Though Herakles thought that he was always sleeping with the same one, he slept with [all 50 daughters of Thespios]. After overpowering the lion, he wore its skin and used its gaping jaws as a helmet.*[19]

In this passage, Herakles' excessive virility is closely tied to the idea of wildness. After sleeping with these women, Herakles dons the pelt of a recently slaughtered lion, a visual display of the animal-like sexuality the hero demonstrates in the previous sentence. Such a costume also links him to the hybrid creature, as Herakles becomes a sort of human/lion crossbreed.

For Kristeva, the line between human and animal is essential for the theory of the abject, as she says "the abject confronts us, on the one hand, with those fragile states where man strays on the territories of *animal*."[20] Furthermore, Barbara Creed and Jeanette Hoorn note that for Kristeva and other scholars of abjection, "the animal is the ultimate 'other' that enables the human and its symbolic order of law and language to come into being,"[21] since it is the ontological state against which the human situates itself and calls its culture exceptional. Yet, Herakles' wildness as articulated in this passage does not necessitate his exclusion from the polis; it is evidence that he is transgressive, but not necessarily abject. What is more significant, and what I aim to focus on, is Herakles' status as polluted.

Pollution in ancient Greece was imagined as a "stain"[22] brought about by "disorderly conditions" and actions such as murder, death, birth, sacrilege, and certain sexual acts.[23] Robert Parker explains that, although there is some

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17 K. F. B. Fletcher, "Systematic Genealogies in Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* and the Exclusion of Rome from Greek Myth," Classical Antiquity 27, no. 1 (2008): 65.

18 Loraux, "Herakles," 118. See also G.S. Kirk 1973.

19 Apollodorus, *Library*, 29.

20 Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, 10.

21 Barbara Creed and Jeanette Hoorn, "Animals, Art, Abjection," in *Abject Visions: Powers of Horror in Art and Visual Culture*, ed. Rina Arya and Nicholas Chare, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 66.

22 Jessica Mellenthin and Susan O. Shapiro, "Miasma," *Mythology Unbound: An Online Textbook for Classical Mythology*, (UEN Digital Press), https://uen.press-books.pub/mythologyunbound/chapter/miasma/.

23 Robert Parker, "Pollution, the Concept of," *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*

ambiguity in the idea of pollution, it usually "makes the person affected ritually impure, and thus unfit to enter a temple: it is contagious: it is dangerous, and this danger is not of familiar secular origin."[24] Intent was not a factor in pollution, as many pollutive acts were involuntary. For the involuntary and inescapable pollutions of birth and death, those who had come in contact with either action were required to stay away from temples and religious sites for a select period of time or until cleansed. The consequences for a more serious pollution, such as murder, were more dire. A person who carried such a pollution had to leave the city until purified by a neighboring chief or "the whole city [would be] polluted by the guilty man."[25] Ancient Greeks believed that the result of such pollution in the city could lead to plagues, droughts, or other natural disasters.

We might think of pollution's contagion as necessitating abjection, since it escapes the borders of the body. Contagion is something that leaks, spreads, and infects without discernment or respect to barriers, threatening the line between self and other. Furthermore, the process of purifying blood pollution seems to demonstrate what Anne McClintock calls the "political process of abjection."[26] After an act of murder, it was common for the city to physically expel or exile the contagious killer, who was to seek purification from a chief and perform retributive actions. As mentioned earlier, abjection is "the process of social or psychological casting out of undesirables to consolidate a norm or ideal."[27] In the case of blood pollution, the "undesirable" is the murderer and the "norm or ideal" is a pure, unpolluted city.

Kristeva touches on this idea in *Powers of Horror* with her discussion of Oedipus as scapegoat. For Kristeva, Oedipus' exile in Colonus after incurring pollution demonstrates the function of the abject: "Oedipus must exile himself, leave the proper place of his sovereignty, thrust defilement aside so that the boundaries of the social contract may be perpetuated at Thebes."[28] To Kristeva, the defiled or polluted Greek is a threat to the very social contract–exile, which functions as abjection in action, enabling the security of the city-state's borders to return.

(3rd ed.), ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, (Oxford Reference, 2005), https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-5166.

24 Robert Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 4.

25 Parker, *Miasma*, 105.

26 Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 72.

27 Alvarado, "Abjection," 11.

28 Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, 84.

Importantly, Herakles incurs blood pollution in Apollodorus' *Library*, which exposes him to abjection. He kills several people and has to be purified three times in the account (first from killing his family, second from killing Iphitos, third from killing Eunomos). The most egregious of these is the involuntary killing of his wife and children, a result of Hera's anger. While divine wrath essentially causes Herakles' murder of his family, the other murders are of Herakles' own volition. Herakles' repeated accumulation of blood pollution seems more than coincidence–he is violent with a reckless, nearly *wild*, disregard for others' lives.

Herakles' position as an abject figure is particularly interesting in the context of his labors. In Apollodorus, these quests are an extension of the purification ritual. After being purified by Thespios, Herakles is still not ready to rejoin society, as Parker says that pollution does not end until "the order dislocated by the murder was restored."[29] The Oracle tells Herakles to serve Eurystheus for 12 years and perform 10 labors, seemingly as atonement. As such, while Herakles performs his labors, he is still in an abject state, outside of his city and family units. Although Apollodorus is not the first to say that Herakles incurs blood pollution, he is the first to link the labors to the purification ritual.[30]

What might this mean? Earlier, I suggested that the Herakles myth contains elements of the civilizing force policing civilization, a theme which appears across its iterations. Where the Library differs is in Apollodorus' implication that Herakles is in the process of completing his purification *while* he completes the labors. Thus, maintaining identity operates strangely within this work; essentially, as Herakles polices civilization he simultaneously loses his own status as being *civilized*. I want to suggest that such a shift in the myth (at least from what we know, that is from Euripides, Hyginus, and Diodorus Siculus) might indicate Greek cultural anxiety in the face of a larger, more dominant power, Rome, that seeks to exclude it.

At the time of Apollodorus' writing,[31] Roman elites were in the midst of a reevaluation of Greek culture. In the earlier republican period, Romans

29 Parker, *Miasma*, 121.

30 Huber 2009 notes four major accounts that mention Herakles' labors: Euripides', Diodorus Siculus', Hyginus', and Apollodorus.' Of these, both Euripides and Hyginus locate Herakles' labors as taking place *before* his madness and slaughter of his family. Diodorus Siculus claims that Juno orders Herakles to complete the 12 labors; when he disagrees, she then sends him into madness, and he finally agrees to undertake the challenge. Thus, Apollodorus is the only author to indicate that the labors might have a relationship to the purification ritual.

31 Scholars generally have trouble dating Apollodorus' *Library*. While an exact date of origin is unknown, Fletcher 2008 notes that, based on Apollodorus' Greek, we can place the text around the 2nd or 3rd centuries CE, during the Second Sophistic period.

borrowed heavily from Greeks, and Romans viewed themselves as being civilized through Greek arts. However, by the late republic and early imperial period, in order to justify its conquest of Greek lands, the empire re-evaluated its perception of Greek subjects. In the view of imperial Romans, the Greeks of classical Athens spread civilization and the refined arts, but their modern descendants shared no such ability: "Greeks may have invented civilization, but now they have lost it."[32] Such Roman elites believed that contemporary Greeks were full of "*uolubilitas, ineptia, arrogantia, impudentia*,"[33] ("fickleness, ineptitude, arrogance, shamelessness") and ideas which animated imperial ambitions in the East and inspired "Roman interventions in the life of Greek cities."[34]

In response to increasing Roman hegemony and intervention, Second Sophistic Greek writers attempted to give Greece a privileged position in their writing, even as it lost cultural and political power.[35] Apollodorus himself, belonging to this tradition, does not include Rome in his genealogies in *The Library*, perhaps in an attempt to re-center Greece in historical narrative. Of course, such strategies to re-center Greek historical significance were somewhat self-conscious, as they "masked and responded to their progressive incorporation into a world that was increasingly an artefact of Roman power."[36] Underlying these literary trends are both a fear of waning Greek influence as well as the threat of Roman-imposed assimilation.

Thus, it is possible to contextualize Apollodorus' Herakles account with such a trend. In vanquishing monsters, those which threaten traditional Greek "civilization," Herakles defines and polices his own culture. Yet at the same time, he does so as potentially polluted, wandering in exile outside of the very borders he protects. Such a paradigm displays a recognition of Greek culture as dejected and marginalized in the face of a more dominant Rome.

Yet, as I mentioned, the goal of Second Sophistic writers was to reassert the dominance (however unlikely) of Greece, even if they could only do so through history and mythography, "past looking" pursuits. Ultimately, although Apollodorus recognizes the threat of Rome and the marginalization of Greece and Greek culture, he redeems Herakles, who overcomes both the threats to his own civilization and his own position as an abject exile. Apollodorus asserts, at the end of his account of Herakles, that the hero completes all his labors and later gains immortality. Thus, he restores order to "Greece" and gains eternal

32 Greg Woolf. "Becoming Roman, Staying Greek: Culture, Identity and the Civilizing Process in the Roman East," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, no. 40 (1994): 121.

33 Woolf, "Becoming Roman," 121.

34 Woolf, "Becoming Roman," 124.

35 Woolf, "Becoming Roman," 126.

36 Woolf, "Becoming Roman," 126.

renown because of it–a fame that will last even beyond Roman power.

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A Siren's Home and a Sailor's End

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A Comprehensive Guide on How NOT to Parent: Subversions of Fatherhood and Motherhood in Classical Greek Tragedy

Norah Mezey-McMahon

"Mothers, don't sleep with your sons," the blogger Omnimom (luckily not in the Oedipal sense) cites Sophocles in a post entitled "three lessons ancient greek tragedy can teach us about modern parenting." The parenting in tragedy is often so epically bad that it remains notable to this day, which begs the question: why is the distortion of the parent-child relationship such a common feature of tragedy? From ancient to early modern to the modern day, many tragedies contain familial relationships that contradict societal expectations of what those relationships ought to be. However, as readers can especially see in classical Greek tragedy, the ways in which fathers as opposed to mothers pervert the parental bond are different, such as in the cases of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, Oedipus and Jocasta, and Jason and Medea. While tragic mothers overstep the bounds of their relationships with their husbands, which in turn disrupts their relationships with their children, tragic fathers corrupt the cycle of life and death itself, perverting their intended familial role. This distinction reflects deeper anxieties within Athens about paternal power and its ability to shape—or distort—the fundamental structure of their society.

The family structure that the original audience of Greek tragedy (the citizens of Athens) would understand, the *oikos*, contained a male head-of-house (*kyrios*) whose responsibilities to his children were to "educate his sons, and to marry his daughters off, and to provide them with a dowry."[1] The wife then existed in a tier below her husband but was responsible for managing his household and raising their children while they were young. But despite the father's significant control over the entirety of the *oikos*, he notably did not possess power over life and death once he accepted a child into the family.

The lie of marriage in Euripedes' *Iphigenia in Aulis*, in which Agamemnon tells Iphigenia she will marry Achilles to lure her to Aulis for the sacrifice, emphasizes the contrast between Agamemnon's expected paternal responsibilities and his actions in the play. He summons Iphigenia and Clytemnestra to Aulis under the false pretext of her marriage; indeed, "this lie about her marriage, [he] contrived to persuade [his] wife."[2] This lie

1 David M. Schaps, "What Was Free about a Free Athenian Woman?" *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974-) 128 (1998): 166.

2 Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, in Euripides V, ed. David Grene and Richmond

is not only effective in getting Iphigenia to come, given its believability, but it also provides cover for his actions and emotions once she is at Aulis. He tells Clytemnestra that "such partings bring happiness but prick the heart of a father who, after all his fostering care, must away a daughter to another's home."[3] The translation of "must" emphasizes the role that paternal duty plays in the upkeep of this ruse. Agamemnon can present any sorrow he may show to his wife and daughter as the customary emotions of a father marrying off his daughter. Furthermore, this also indicates how he views the sacrifice as a necessity, hinting at his internal strife. Euripides creates a character whose role as *kyrios* of his family comes in direct conflict with his parallel role as head of the Greek army. But rather than balancing these responsibilities, Agamemnon subordinates his household to the demands of military hierarchy, treating his family as an extension of the war effort. By running his household as though it were a state at war—where obedience and sacrifice take precedence over familial bonds—he perverts both his paternal authority and his role as a leader, ultimately failing as both a father and a citizen by not understanding that the strength of the state comes from being "made up of households [*oikoi*]."[4]

The persistent marital imagery, even after the women learn of Agamemnon's deception, creates a greater sense of horror and disgust in his actions. The symbols of marriage align almost perfectly with the symbols of sacrifice, as Euripides shows when Iphigenia says "put on my hair a wreath of garlands, o drench me with the waters of purification."[5] It deepens the sense of betrayal for the audience that Agamemnon's actions taint symbols that should represent a happy occasion, turning them into something ominous. In addition, Euripides expresses the unfairness of the situation through these images; Iphigenia still carries out her filial duty of going to the altar, but she receives no benefit from buying into the family structure. Agamemnon should not have the power of life and death over his child at this point in her life; his violence goes beyond his right as *kyrios*.

In contrast to Agamemnon's murder of their child, Aeschylus portrays Clytemnestra as a poor mother not because of violence against her children, but rather because of violence against their father. Sophocles in his *Electra* assigns Clytemnestra malicious intent towards her children, but in Aeschylus's original model, the direct violence directed at her children—in the vein of "bring me quick, somebody, an axe to kill a man"[6]—appears to be mostly in

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Lattimore, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013): lines 104-105.

3 Ibid, lines 687-690.

4 Schaps, "What Was Free about a Free Athenian Woman?", 165.

5 Euripedes, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, lines 1478-1480.

6 Aeschylus, *The Libation Bearers*, in *Aeschylus II: The Oresteia*, ed. David Grene and Richmond Lattimore, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), line 889.

self-defense. In *Agamemnon*, Aeschylus portrays her as someone who values her motherhood above most other things; her role as the mother of Iphigenia matters to her much more than her position as the wife of Agamemnon, as evidenced by her command to the chorus to "speak of [her] never more as the wife of Agamemnon," which leads to her act of revenge.[7] The debate her character induces, which intensifies in *Eumenides*, is whether a child belongs more to the mother or the father. Clytemnestra refers to Iphigenia as "my pain turned grown into love," representing the argument that gestating and birthing a child (the pain of the process) gives the ultimate right to the child to the mother.[8] She uses this argument with the chorus and with their initial acceptance, Aeschylus seems to cast less judgment on this motivation for attacking her husband.

However, the character of Aegisthus makes Clytemnestra's motivation seem much less reasonable. Throughout the majority of *Agamemnon*, Aeschylus presents Clytemnestra as solely driven by avenging Iphigenia. Overall, her characterization is ultimately of an angry mother devoted to her child, which would have been understandable to the audience. But her character changes when Aegisthus enters. The stage direction reads "Enter Aegisthus from the side, with his armed bodyguard," immediately indicating his tyranny and corruption.[9] The revelation of his relationship with Clytemnestra immediately moves her murder of Agamemnon from one that the chorus (and thus the audience) sympathizes with as an extreme extension of her motherly duty to one driven by lustful and power-hungry motives. That aspect of the betrayal of her husband is what ultimately makes her a poor mother to her living children. Clytemnestra allows Orestes and Electra to be in a precarious position because of her relationship with Aegisthus. The chorus warns Aegisthus at the end of *Agamemnon* that he will hold power "nevermore, if god's guiding hand brings Orestes home again," foreshadowing the inevitable conflict in *The Libation Bearers* between Orestes and his father's murderers.[10] Aeschylus portrays cycles of violence in his works and the next step in the cycle is Orestes avenging Agamemnon. By plotting with Aegisthus and denying the Athenian conception of children as a propagation of the father's family line, Clytemnestra sets Orestes on a collision course where he must kill her (as ordered by Apollo) and subsequently will receive punishment for it. Her betrayal of Agamemnon gives him no other choice.

At least at the end of the *Oresteia*, Athena frees the younger generation

7 Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, in *Aeschylus II: The Oresteia*, ed. David Grene and Richmond Lattimore, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), lines 1498-1499.

8 Ibid, line 1417.

9 Ibid, line 1577.

10 Ibid, line 1667.

from the cycle of vengeance brought on by poor parenting. However, this is not the case in Sophocles's Oedipus cycle, due to key differences in the way the parents corrupt the parental bond. For the mothers, this contrast ultimately raises the question of agency; is Jocasta, unlike Clytemnestra, powerless in shaping her fate or do her actions, however unintentional, still carry responsibility? While Jocasta does betray both of her husbands from a certain point of view, this betrayal, unlike Clytemnestra's, is unconscious and unwilling. She may have chosen willful ignorance once Oedipus reveals the prophecy to her and begins looking into his past, saying "God keep you from the knowledge of who you are," but this act of avoidance itself raises questions of agency.[11] Though she did not actively choose to commit incest, her refusal to seek out the truth suggests a desperate attempt to control fate by ignoring it. Yet even though remarrying and having more children was the expectation for widows at the time, common interpretations of Sophocles's work still blame her, at least in part, for this unknowing transgression of marrying and having children with Oedipus. In contrast to Clytemnestra, whose character separates the concepts of motherhood and wifehood, the two states of being overlap completely in Jocasta's character, evoking disgust in the audience. The fact that she "[cries] upon Laius, long dead" immediately preceding her suicide, rather than Oedipus, is significant.[12] Once the revelation of Oedipus's identity is clear, Jocasta tries (and fails) to stop thinking of him as her husband, reverting to the wife of Laius and Oedipus's mother. Sophocles writes that "she cursed the bed in which she brought forth husband by husband, children by her child, an infamous double bond."[13] The tone of horror in the statement is clear, both at the betrayal of Laius that Jocasta perceives, and how she feels she failed as a mother by producing children "by her own child."[14] The failure in wifehood and motherhood are the same.

However, in her final act, Jocasta exerts the only agency available to her—choosing to remove herself from both roles entirely. Her subsequent suicide by hanging, mimicking Antigone's in the final play of the *Oedipus* cycle, lacks the sexual immorality of the tainted symbol of the marriage bed and instead alludes to virgin suicides in Greek mythology. This death, then, is not only an escape but a deliberate rejection of both wifehood and motherhood, a final assertion of control over a life that had otherwise been dictated by fate. Unlike Clytemnestra, who wields her agency through action, Jocasta's agency manifests in erasure. In seeking to rid herself of the dual identity imposed on

11 Sophocles, *Oedipus the King, in Sophocles I: The Theban Plays*, ed. David Grene and Richmond Lattimore, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013): line 1068.

12 Ibid, lines 1244-1245.

13 Ibid, lines 1249-1251.

14 Ibid

her, she instead furthers the collapse of her family unit, ensuring that the curse will persist in the next generation.

Her son-husband Oedipus displays anger at the lack of adherence to an expected family structure but does not acknowledge his role in failing to uphold it. In a rant during *Oedipus at Colonus*, he says "Only by the grace of these two girls, unaided, have I got food or shelter or devotion; their two brothers held their father of less worth than sitting on a throne and being king."[15] The use of "girls" casts Antigone and Ismene as children still, as opposed to their brothers (whom Sophocles established as adults in *Oedipus the King*) and reinforces how they go beyond the expectations for their gender, emphasizing in turn the shortcomings in their brothers both as siblings and as sons. This lack of filial piety amplifies Oedipus's characteristic tone of anger and he stubbornly persists in this anger throughout the rest of the play, mirroring how he stubbornly sought out the truth about his origins in *Oedipus the King*, ultimately bringing harm to his family. When Oedipus finally comes face to face with his son Polynices, he stays the course of his anger and chooses to curse both sons, saying "You'll go down all bloody, and your brother too…that you may see a reason to respect your parents, though your birth was as it was."[16] Just like Agamemnon, he oversteps the bounds of his power as *kyrios* and wields the power of life and death over his children. The end of this curse is also quite ironic, since, although Oedipus concedes this point, the incestuous relationship between Jocasta and Oedipus logically should weaken their children's respect for them. It seems hypocritical to demand that his children uphold a traditional family structure when their parent is a living contradiction to that structure. The consequence of his inability to fulfill his role as a father is that the family line dies out almost completely.

Much like Oedipus, the Jason of Euripides's *Medea* takes little responsibility for the collapse of his family. Although he attempts no harm against his children, his actions directly lead to Medea murdering their sons. Jason puts on a facade of doing his duty as a father, arguing with Medea that "[his] motive is the highest of priorities: that is for [them] to live a prosperous life."[17] He goes on to say "I wish to raise my children as befits my noble house, and father brothers for these sons I've had by you; to put them on a par, to unify the line, and so achieve a happy life."[18] His words mimic a

15 Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus, in Sophocles II,* ed. David Grene and Richmond Lattimore, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013): lines 445-449.

16 Ibid, lines 1373-1378.

17 Euripides, *Medea,* in *Euripides I*, ed. David Grene and Richmond Lattimore, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013): line 559.

18 Ibid, lines 562-564.

practice in classical Athens of men putting aside their wives to marry a rich *epikleros* (heiress), to increase the family fortune. However, in the case of such divorces, it was the husband's responsibility to provide for his wife the required dowry to remarry and to keep the children in his house since they were the continuation of his family line. Instead of the monetary assistance of her dowry, Jason received Medea's help on his quest for the fleece, which included betraying her family; as she points out in their argument "where shall I turn now? Maybe my father's house?—the very house and fatherland that I betrayed for you to travel here."[19] His intended monetary support does not represent repaying what she has done for him as her "dowry." Furthermore, sending his sons away with their mother would have been unacceptable to the Athenian audience. His failings as a father and husband drive Medea to seek vengeance, and yet he still claims that "it was not by [his] hand they died."[20] Euripides portrays Medea as a murderess and at times a madwoman in her anger, but his portrayal of Jason is not exactly kind either. It is very clear where Jason's responsibility in the murders lies.

Euripides's emphasis on Medea's foreigner status adds an interesting element to the family dynamic as an Athenian audience would understand it. Her status as an outsider is not just a personal trait but a fundamental threat to the structure of the city itself, due to the belief that introducing foreign elements into the polis disrupts the natural order of established hierarchies. Creon and Jason both repeatedly emphasize her foreignness throughout the play. For instance, Jason says in response to the murder of the children: "No woman born a Greek would have ever gone through with such a crime; yet I saw fit to marry you, in preference to one of them…"[21] The force of "yet I saw fit to marry you" in its emphatic placement indicates Jason's position of power as the Greek member of the relationship. Medea's non-Greekness would indicate the precariousness of her familial situation, given the context of the Periclean citizenship law, which forbade marriages between citizens and non-citizens and made all children of any extramarital unions non-citizens. By nature, her citizenship status makes her, Jason, and their children an unstable family unit. However, Medea's position as a foreign woman also makes her far more active and dangerous than a Greek wife was expected to be. Her agency destabilizes the traditional roles of wife and mother, bringing chaos where a wife was supposed to bring order. Many of Medea's actions throughout the play appear to be attempts to reclaim the power that the relationship dynamic has taken from her.

However, Medea's failures as a mother occur as she tries to become more powerful than Jason (and succeeds), subverting the traditional family dynamic

19 Ibid, lines 501-503.
20 Ibid, line 1365.
21 Ibid, lines 1339-1341.

of the wife below the husband. The murder of her children derives purely from anger and a desire for revenge because of her hurt pride. When Jason tells her she must be a "joint sharer in the sorrow," Medea replies "Yes, surely, but the anguish is well worth it, as long as you can't mock me."[22] The use of "mock" makes the murders seem almost petty; she does not reference her legitimate concerns about banishment but rather resents that he tried to lay her below him and the royal family (when she is more powerful than they are) and thus humiliate her. So she strives to literally put one over on him. The imagery of the sun chariot appearing above Jason, containing Medea and the bodies of their children, emphasizes her superiority to him physically (by being above him), emotionally (by having the bodies of their children), and in terms of her lineage (having divine ancestry close enough that she can use the magic on the sun). However, in not only gaining her power back but also surpassing her husband's power, Medea becomes a "thing of hate."[23] Her triumph is not just personal revenge—it is a direct affront to the polis itself, proving that a woman, especially a foreign one, can upend the city's structures when she wields unchecked agency.

The ways in which these parents fail parallel pre-existing Athenian gender expectations. The fathers have a rightful power over the *oikos*, but when they abuse that power to harm, rather than protect and nurture their families, those actions have devastating consequences. For mothers, the stability of the family hinges on their relationships with their husbands; the Athenian family system relies on loyal wives who are subordinate to the *kyrios* and put his desires and opinions first. Through these tragedies, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides all seem to imply that the traditional Athenian family structure only works if both the father and the mother work to uphold it. Agamemnon and Clytemnestra harm all three of their children when Agamemnon sacrifices Iphigenia and Clytemnestra seeks revenge. Oedipus and Jocasta, even though their marriage would have been customary if it had not been incestuous, leave their children without parents and victim to a power vacuum that ultimately kills three of them. Jason and Medea's sons both end up dead when Jason scorns Medea. The ways in which these parents respond to each other's betrayals of the family structure lead to much of the sorrow that occurs.

The twisted parental bonds in these plays highlight the consequences of acting outside societal norms, which would have resonated particularly with the audience during a time when Athens was expanding its empire and solidifying its position as a powerful state. The values that once upheld the family unit were beginning to be tested by the growing focus on power and expansion. Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides not only enforce Athenian family values but also warn of the dangers that arise when those values are

22 Ibid, lines 1361-1363.

23 Ibid, line 1323.

compromised in favor of political or imperial ambitions. The plays warn that when the family unit is destabilized, the broader societal structure may follow suit.

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Cicero's *De Lege Agraria* and the Politics of the Ciceronian Appeal in the Late Roman Republic

Meleah Neely

In the first century BCE, it seems that the nature of Roman public life characterizes itself by political competition. Indeed, our ancient sources from the 50s to 44 BCE center elite politicians as they compete for support on their legislation and elections to achieve glory. This leaves us with the question of what everyday people made of their relationship with the Republic and to what level they engaged in political affairs. While some may assert the populace plays a ritualistic role in the functioning of Roman public life, my essay aims to dissent from such views to argue that an assumption of political agency is implicit in our evidences' appeals to ideological constructs. One of the most advantageous pieces of evidence we have affirming this appeal as a function of political agency lies in Cicero's consular speeches. In this essay, I will examine how Cicero's "appeal" in his first and second speeches in the *De Lege Agraria* functions as a practice placed within a context that corroborates the political agency of the populace.[1] It is within this act of the "appeal" that he calls into existence the political standing of the group and actualizes their authority, two features that illuminate the stake the populace holds in political affairs.[2]

In the first half of this essay, I will lay out Cicero's background and the context of *De Lege Agraria*, which will foreground my examination of his first speech delivered before the Senate. In this speech, he satisfies both aspects of what I call his "appeal." I will then spend the second half of this paper

1 My language of the "appeal" here is derived from David Walkers' Appeal, *In Four Articles; Together with A Preamble, to the Colored Citizens of the World, but in particular, and very expressly, to those of The United States of America*. In the language of the "appeal," I aim to call to a tradition in which this term functions as a demotic political marker. See Rogers 2015, "David Walker and the Political Power of the Appeal."

2 It is also imperative to define how I use the term "populace" in this essay. The *populus* is not always synonymous with the "populace," as the former denotes a recognized voting body that consisted of only freed men. This thereby excludes women, children, and enslaved people, who might be categorized under the informal "populace." For the sake of clarity, I use the terms synonymously throughout this paper, but it is important to be aware of possible nuances in my argument that might provide a misleading assessment of Roman life. As I will show later, I argue that anyone in the *contio*, regardless of their voting status, is made to engage in this political appeal, reflecting the nuances of this investigation.

examining how these principles carry into his second speech before the crowd in the *contio*, reflecting on what his "appeal" could indicate and its value in ongoing conversations surrounding the political power of the populace in the late Republic.

Cicero is one of the most prominent authors we have tracking the developments of domestic Roman affairs during the late Republic. Born around 106 BCE, Cicero was a Roman politician renowned for his oratory works. During 63 BCE, he was elected to serve as consul, a year bringing with it debates on what to make of the constitutional changes occurring in the Republic due to Rome's influx of wealth and the rise of Lucius Sergius Catilina. I find both of these to be indicative of the growing presence of the Roman people, a presence which no doubt dominated the minds of politicians concerned for the safety of the Republic.[3] The economic interests behind the agrarian law proposal, which would redistribute public land from wealthy landowners to poorer citizens, harbors similar questions regarding the lives of ordinary citizens, those of the elite, and, most especially, the individual's relationship to the Republic.

The *De Lege Agraria* follows Cicero's resistance to a bill proposed by tribune Publius Servilius Rullus that would redistribute land to non-wealthy free men. He delivers his first speech to the Senate, arguing this bill threatens the city's revenue and its political order. In his second speech, he addresses the *contio*, a non-voting assembly that listens to a politician's views on a bill. Though they may or may not be in the *contio*, a formal voting political assembly known as the comitia casts a formal vote on the legislation. In this speech, Cicero argues that the law seems *popularis* in principle, but it will give an unequal distribution of power to a selfish group of people, and thus the people should not pass this law.[4] One may find the truthfulness of his account suspicious. Indeed, beyond his speeches, in which he could control the information given, not much is known about this proposal. As Andrew Lintott notes, when Cicero describes that "5,000 colonists chosen would be the worst sort of men [and] would soon have their allotments illegally bought up by rich men based in Cumae and Puteoli," he relies more on "unproved speculation and anti-rural prejudice" to dissuade the crowd rather than providing factual reasoning.[5] Cicero's *De Lege Agraria*, then, relies heavily on one factor: persuasion.

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3 Millar 1998, 94. In addition, this text is one of the few we have which represents the *contio*. See Millar 1998, 96.

4 Millar 1998, 101. The term *popularis* holds a varied definition among Roman Republican historians. I understand the term *popularis* to be reflective of a political strategy where one plays to the culture of the *populus*. For more, see Seager 1972, 328-338.

5 Lintott 2008, 35-36.

In light of this, I argue his prioritization of persuasion defines his "appeal," which allows him to construct a narrative of political agency amongst his audiences. In his first speech before the Senate, Cicero appeals to the concept of *dignitas* ("dignity") to dissuade the men from Rullus' laws.[6] In this, I hold he relies on two vital functions of the "appeal" as indicative of political power; first, it calls into existence a political standing of the audience vis-a-vis prompting judgment; second, it actualizes one's political autonomy, encouraging an act of authority. As he describes how Rullus' law endangers the sanctity of the Republic, he equates *dignitas* with political order: "For what do you think will remain to [the Senate] unimpaired in the whole republic, or in [their] liberty, or in [their] dignity [*dignitas*], when Rullus…shall have occupied Capua and the cities around Capua?"[7] Through rhetorical questioning, he petitions his audience to reflect on their own normative attitudes about their relationship with the virtue of dignity and, by extension, the Republic. On my account, this satisfies the first principle of the "appeal"; in using terminology such as *dignitas*, he affirms a status of political standing found in the act of judgment of oneself and one's political society.

At the same time, he appeals to the Senate to encourage them to stand with him. This satisfies the second principle of the "appeal"— calling into existence one's political standing to encourage an act of authority. He asserts that the Senate, upon their judgment, must act appropriately in order to keep the integrity of the Republic, arguing that they must do so in order to preserve *dignitas*.[8] One may notice that, in this assertion, Cicero frames himself as an *advocate* for traditional Senatorial values rather than someone who will fight alongside them to preserve these values as a *member* of the group. In making this move, Cicero baits his audience to reorient their political commitment to the Republic by simply reflecting upon their normative behaviors within the Republic. Through paralleling the virtuosity of the Republic with *dignitas*, he encourages the Senate to engage in a process of political reflection where its ultimate *ethos* is to move them to stand with him against the bill as that action reinforces their belonging to the Republic. The first speech of Cicero's *De Lege Agraria* contains the two features that satisfy my argument that his "appeal" in his speech implies the political agency of the audience he speaks before.

It is precisely by these features that Cicero's second speech allows him to assert a narrative of political agency amongst ordinary Roman people, challenging the idea that the populace held a minimal role in political affairs. In his second speech, Cicero assumes the role of a *popularis* politician, one

6 *Dignitas*, as Valentine Arena notes, is an ideological construct dependent on "personal circumstances and merit, and could allow for individual differentiation amongst the citizen body." *See* Arena 2012, 67.

7 Cicero, *De Lege Agraria*, 1.22.

8 Cicero, *De Lege Agraria,* 1.23.

who acts in service of the people. On this ground, he claims Rullus' law stands against the people's favor since values of "peace," "liberty [*libertas*]," and "tranquility" define what is *popularis*, and this law threatens those values.[9] Just as he did before the Senate, he equates these values with the virtue and political order of the Republic, reinforced by his call to older Republican values.[10] In grounding his speech in values rather than the facts of the case, Cicero begins to craft his "appeal."

Through the invocation of *libertas*, Cicero connects his rhetoric of the appeal to a process of political rationality that actualizes the political authority of those in the *contio*. Most scholars believe that when Cicero invokes *libertas* within his speech, he gestures towards a positivist ideal of freedom lying within self-determination, but in reality he pushes a negativist idea that only actualizes the political agency of an individual when they vote. On this reading, it seems as if Cicero's "appeal" only works for those who were able to vote in the late Republic. As I see it, the political engagement that the "appeal" allows for in the *contio* need not rely on one's status as a voting citizen in Roman society. The concept of *libertas*, as recorded by Valentina Arena, reflects a status of non-domination which allows citizens to "conduct [their] life according to [their] own wishes, at the mercy of nobody else except [themselves]."[11] *Libertas* in the *De Lege Agraria* bespeaks the self-determination of individuals in the Republic, one that relies on the principles that "no one in the commonwealth [i]s in the position to exert domination over the rest of the community" and " no one outside the commonwealth [i]s able to dominate the civic community."[12]

In his "appeal" to the populace, Cicero relies on the normative behaviors indicative of *libertas* that govern this group of people. This is where my first principle of the appeal manifests as a means to construct a narrative of political agency; namely, that in invoking *libertas*, he suggests that there is an inherent political standing of those in the *contio* that lies in their abilities to judge his account as it relates to his speech. Looking beyond legal status, the "appeal" relies on one's capability to engage in this practice of thought, and thus anyone in the *contio* may engage in this process. Cicero uses conditional phrases to suggest that if these laws pass, there will be land displacement, "liberty [*libertas*] [will be] taken away…the public wealth [will be] exhausted; and whom our ancestors designed to be the protector and guardian of liberty, kings are established in the city."[13] This rhetorical formulation allows him to bolster the threat Rullus' law poses on the features of Roman society that uphold *libertas*. Further, in using the language of "kings," Cicero equates

9 Cicero, *De Lege Agraria*, 2.9.
10 Cicero, *De Lege Agraria*, 2.9.
11 Arena 2012, 29.
12 Arena 2012, 241.
13 Cicero, *De Lege Agraria*, 2.16.

Rullus and the tribunes with authoritative entities that will violate the citizens' self-determination.[14] His rhetoric allows him to probe the people to engage in a process of reflective consideration of his claims, reliant on an act of political judgment that presupposes an implicit stake the people hold in upholding *libertas* regardless of their voting status. Thus, Cicero's invocation of *libertas* allows him to craft a narrative of "appeal" that bespeaks a narrative of political agency present among the Roman crowd.

Grounding his appeal in this act of judgment, Cicero encourages those in the *contio* to defend the Republic by standing with him and, for those who can, voting against the law. In this call to action, I argue Cicero satisfies the second function of the "appeal": an expression of political power. Upon their reflection, he claims that if they find the law to be "erroneous, [he] will yield to [their] authority" and abandon his opinion.[15] If, however, they find the law to be "against their liberty [*libertas*]," they should act against these threats by defending their liberty.[16] Cicero encourages the audience to reflect on what the law means to the *libertas* of the Republic, and suggests that after doing so, they must assert their authority. One may read this as an ironic moment, since he knows that this traditional value of *libertas* matters to the people, and thus they will not vote in favor of the law if it violates this principle. Nonetheless, he frames himself as an advocate to create a narrative of mutual dependability that will spark engagement from the *contio*. On my account, his function as an appealer here relies on cultural invocations to foster an engagement in political affairs that assumes the people who listen to his speeches are already political agents. The second speech of Cicero's *De Lege Agraria* provides us with the tools to construct a narrative of political agency present amongst ordinary citizens in Roman politics.

One may argue against reading Cicero's appeal as an assertion of agency. Indeed, Cicero persuades the voting body to oppose the agrarian laws in the end. Even in Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*, he is acclaimed not for his care for his audiences, but in his ability to will them to do what he desires with rhetoric alone.[17] This may prompt some to argue that Cicero's appeal to linguistic constructs functions less as an inherent assertion of agency and more so a rhetorical strategy that exists separately from the realities of the Roman people. While I do not disagree with such accounts, I find them limiting. It seems, to me, that Cicero goes to the great lengths he does in appealing to the populace precisely because he recognizes the important role they have in political affairs.

If we consider Cicero as a political philosopher working within the Republican tradition, one of the primary principles of his account is the

14 Cicero, *De Lege Agraria*, 2.16.
15 Cicero, *De Lege Agraria*, 2.16.
16 Cicero, De Lege Agraria, 2.16.
17 Plutarch, *Life of Cicero*, 12.

foundational belief that the populace, as a collective body, is free as individuals and as a community. In his *De Re Publica*, written later between 56-51 BCE, Cicero writes that the "commonwealth is the property of a people," bound to one another in respect to "justice."[18] One may read this definition as implying equality among the populace, seeing as he does not specify this governance as a system where the *populus Romanus* lies separately.[19] As Walter Nicgorski describes, this is a moment where we arrive at the value of popular sovereignty, a fundamental feature of Republicanism: "A stronger and necessary implication is found in the republic being a possession of the people. Like most possessions, it might be thought that owners can dispose of it as they see fit. This is what we have come to know as popular sovereignty."[20] Though wholly accepting this reading would contain shortcomings, this perspective allows one to see that Cicero seems to approach an idea that emulates this recognition of popular sovereignty. Shifting back to this moment before the crowd in the *De Lege Agraria,* then, it becomes evident that the use of the political appeal can be read as a moment of Cicero recognizing the agency of the populace as indicative of their general role in political life.

Further, the openness of the *contio* allows the people to shout at politicians and react to their speeches, involving a presupposed acknowledgement and assertion of their political agency at the moment they enter this space.[21] Thus, as much as a Cicero holds authority in the administrative and deliberative functions of Roman politics, in these moments of appeal, he must depend on engagement from the populace to get what he desires. In *De Lege Agraria*, he grounds the suspicion of Rullus and the other tribunes in the secrecy of their affairs, in contrast to himself, who speaks of his laws before the populace.[22] When he describes that he "wished to join them familiarly in conversation, [he] was shut out" and they "did not cease to have secret meetings among themselves, to invite some private individuals to them, and to choose night and darkness for their clandestine deliberations."[23] One may read this focus on secrecy as grounding the anti-*libertas* principles of the law; since it was conducted without a role of the people carved into it, it might place the people in a position of subordination.

18 Cicero, *De Re Publica*, 1.39.

19 Nicgorski 2021, 223.

20 Nicgorski 2021, 223. It is important to note that Nicgorski later goes on to note the arbitrariness of this reading, seeing as Cicero later implies that the mere expression of popular will falls outside the scope of what ought to be considered popular sovereignty, since they are not bound by an agreement of what is just or right.

21 Morestein-Marx 2004, 158.

22 This is also why Cicero opens his speech to the people by thanking them and affirming the role they hold. *See* Cicero, *De Lege Agraria*, 2.3-4, 2.12.

23 Cicero, *De Lege Agraria*, 2.12.

On my account, his focus on the publicity of the political process reaffirms the importance of the people in political affairs, dependent on their capabilities as political agents. Looking beyond this text, in Cicero's *De Lege Manilia*, he notices that the people filled the forum to hear these speeches.[24] Thus, the political rhetoric of these speeches, though restraining, allowed for the populace to engage in a process of self-governance that implies and reinforces their value as political agents.

Cicero's consular speeches are substantial in tracking the developments of Roman politics during the late Republic. In particular, he relies on cultural and linguistic frameworks to appeal to his audiences to acknowledge their political standing. While it is true that our sources from the time center on the political authority of elite Roman citizens, we limit our study if this is all we take those texts to represent. In this essay, I examined how Cicero's rhetorical "appeal" tilts his first and second speeches in *De Lege Agraria* in a direction that honors the political agency of his audiences. This is done in two ways; in one, the "appeal" requires a judgment of those who listen to the speeches, recognizing their political standing in a larger context that does not rely on their status. In another, it actualizes one's political standing to encourage a political act— exemplifying a form of political authority that translates into a narrative of agency.

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24 Cicero, *De Lege Manilia*, 1.44.

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A Fourth Century Roman Style Mosaic

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St Columbanus' *Rule*, Irish Exceptionalism and Classical Scholarship

Delaney O'Dea

The seventh century is remembered as one of the most momentous times of change in the European monastic world. From the publication of the Rule of St Benedict, the most influential monastic template of the Medieval world, to the emergence of splinter orders like the Cistercians, Cluniacs, and Carthusians, monastic daily life and the philosophy behind it underwent revolutionary reconsideration and reconstruction across the continent. Possibly no area created a more unique religious culture than the island of Ireland. Beginning with the arrival of St Patrick in the fifth century and culminating in the widespread destruction brought by Viking raids in the ninth century, monastic life and the authority that came with it came to dominate Irish societies.

Interestingly, while these monasteries were growing and gaining prominence throughout Ireland, so did the prevalence of scholarship grow, particularly in the reproduction and preservation of Classical texts. In addition to massive amounts of Biblical commentaries (of which, from 650 to 850, more than half were written by Irish writers) and Irish language texts (the first vernacular language to be written down in Western Europe), copies of and commentaries on texts like *The Aeneid* and the *Confessions* of St Augustine were actively produced in monasteries both in Ireland and on the continent run by Irish abbots. This distinctly Irish passion for Latin scholarship was spread through missionary travels to the continent, particularly through those of the monk Columbanus.

St. Columbanus, born in Leinster in 543, is best remembered for his monastic Rule and the abbeys he founded on these principles. Breaking from the Rule of St Benedict, Columbanus placed a heavy emphasis on obedience, mortification, corporal penance, and the concept of *laus perennis*, or "eternal prayer," in contrast with Benedict's *Canonical Hours*. I argue that the exacting, deferential culture that Columbanus emphasized, inspired by the practices of Irish monasteries like Bangor Abbey, created an ideal environment for the fostering of intellectualism and pushed toward the "Irish exceptionalism" of early Medieval monastic life.

One of the most central tenets of Columbanus' *Rule* is obedience. The Rule's first section addresses the topic, with the text beginning with the line, "[a]t the first command of the senior, all who hear him must stand up to obey,

because obedience is shown to God."[1] While obedience is a common concept across Medieval Christian monasticism, the primacy with which it is emphasized in Columbanus' Rule is somewhat unique. Specifically, Columbanus goes on to note that free will is discouraged: he writes, "[t]he monk should not do whatever he wants. Rather, let him eat what he is told and have only what he receives."[2] The emphasis placed on authority in the text indicates a concentration of power in abbots (like Columbanus himself) as representatives of God, hinting at the more widespread rejection of Papal power in the early Medieval Celtic church.

In the final section of the Rule, titled "The Perfection of the Monk" Columbanus states his thoughts and requirements on obedience in more extreme terms. He writes, "[w]hen he has suffered some wrong, he should say nothing. Let him fear the superior of the monastery as a master but also love him as a father,"[3] and, "[h]e should believe that whatever the superior commands is in his best interests. He must not second guess the decision of the elder. His job is to obey and carry out what he has been ordered to do."[4] Columbanus not only emphasizes obedience in this section of the text, but also the unquestionable correctness of the judgment of monastic superiors, a concept quite unique to Columbanus' Rule and separate from the ideas of individual obedience in the Benedictine Rule.

Additionally, concepts like the importance of physical labor and penance are greatly important in Columbanus' Rule. Columbanus writes of mortification, or the practice of embracing discomfort to attain spiritual perfection, as "the main element of the rule of the monks."[5] He emphasizes the essentiality of humility and even embarrassment as a means of penance toward salvation, in addition to physical atonement. Columbanus clarifies that "there are three levels of mortification: not to disagree mentally, not to blab freely, not to wander about,"[6] and interestingly states that "the result [of penance and mortification] is that what was bitter to it becomes sweet, and what it previously considered harsh it now finds level and easy."[7] The emphasis placed on deference could possibly hint at the success of production in Irish monasteries in the fifth to ninth centuries; although monastic scholarship in the Celtic world lasted only around three and a half centuries, the astounding output–from *The Book of Kells* to the Lindisfarne Gospels–are remembered as some of the finest manuscripts of the entire Medieval period (and, really, all of Western history). Unlike the modern Western perception of artistic pursuits as sort of an aside to true labor, people in

1 Columbanus, *Rule*, 9.
2 Columbanus, *Rule*, 10.
3 Columbanus, *Rule*, 9.
4 Columbanus, *Rule*, 9.
5 Columbanus, *Rule*, 7.
6 Columbanus, *Rule*, 9.
7 Columbanus, *Rule*, 8.

the early Medieval world, particularly in Ireland and Western Europe, viewed the glorification of God and scripture as the noblest of pursuits.

Were the tenets espoused by Columbanus in his Rule at all influential in the development of an Irish academic culture in the early Medieval world? One notable remark that Columbanus makes in his Rule concerns the ability of a love and knowledge of God to light up the world; he writes, "we pray continually to God that he will bestow on us the light of true discretion to illuminate this earthly path surrounded on both sides by inky darkness."[8] The active passion for education and knowledge in Ireland are, arguably, inseparable from the religious concepts promoted by monks like Columbanus and his contemporaries. The emphasis on obedience to authority present in Columbanus' Rule and, presumably, in the preceding culture of Irish monasteries like Bangor Abbey, which I describe below, may have expanded the interests of a few scholars into the widespread culture of a society and those it influenced.

A curious element to this story lies in the fact that Ireland was never a Roman colony. Unlike the European mainland, Ireland was essentially untouched by Roman forces. Does this make it stranger that the Irish played such a notable part in the preservation of Latin texts, or could this have been a factor in the literary passion of Irish society? Although Roman culture is rightfully remembered as placing an emphasis on education, this was essentially only true within elite circles, with peasants and the working class both inside and outside the city of Rome remaining "locked out" of educational opportunity. While the traditional Classical education, emphasizing rhetoric, grammar and logic was nonexistent in the Celtic societies of Ireland, the traditions of storytelling and oral memory flourished. Ireland's own epics, like the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and the *Fenian Cycle*, were relatively similar to Mediterranean epic writing, allowing for an easy acceptance of Greco-Roman stories. With the introduction of Latin Christianity by St. Patrick, Irish society (particularly within monasteries) quickly embraced the teaching and learning of Classical texts with a few notable linguistic and theological distinctions influenced by Irish culture.

The origins of the values promoted by Columbanus in his Rule are easily traced to the culture of Irish monasteries, particularly Bangor Abbey in County Down. Bangor, the site of Columbanus' education and early monastic life, was well known for its strict, austere lifestyle and vibrant literary culture. Bangor was often called the "Light of the World," with historian Robin Flower noting that "[i]t is clear that particular attention was paid to historical studies at Bangor, and the earliest Irish chronicle was probably a production of that house."[9] Columbanus was likely tutored by the abbot Mo Sinu moccu Min, remembered as a "famed teacher of the world" in Bangor's *Antiphonary*, one of Ireland's earliest Latin manuscripts. In addition to its educational prowess,

8 Columbanus, *Rule*, 6.
9 Flower, *The Irish Tradition*, 14.

Bangor was also remembered as a monastery of extreme severity and austerity, concepts Columbanus promoted widely in his Rule. The confluence of the rigor and intellectualism active in Irish monastic life is, to me, no coincidence: such a focus on work as a pathway to God fostered an industriousness distinctive to Irish monasteries, and it is clear that the teachings and culture of Bangor Abbey heavily influenced Columbanus in the production of his Rule.

The emphasis placed on historical scholarship at Bangor could be viewed as having influenced Columbanus to encourage production of older Roman texts in addition to scripture. The Roman Catholic Church discouraged replicating texts like *The Aeneid* throughout the Middle Ages since it deemed the pagan religious themes in the epic to be heretical. However, as one of the only locations where Latin literature (particularly secular and pagan writings) were preserved in the early Middle Ages, the care for historical preservation evidently present in Irish monasteries allowed for these texts to be copied in Western Europe. Without the Irish passion for academics, integrated into religious life, many of these texts likely would not have survived outside the Byzantine Empire or at all.

It is clear that these values spread with Columbanus' missions. Bobbio Abbey in Italy (perhaps Columbanus' most famous satellite monastery) is noted for its famed library, initiated with texts Columbanus brought from Ireland. With over 600 volumes recorded among the monastery's inventory, a fantastic amount for the early Medieval world, it is said that "every branch of knowledge, divine and human, was represented" there.[10]

It is worth noting the significance of the possession of so many physical texts in one place at this place and time in history: after the drop in popularity of scroll writing during the later years of the Roman Empire, vellum codices came into use. Although these were much easier to read and store, the increased difficulty of their production, involving the slaughtering and skinning of an animal and a much more involved binding process, pushed European societies toward a scarcity in physical texts. In addition, the calligraphic and artistic excellence of Irish scribes cost large amounts of time and money in codex production, indicating just how highly intellectualism–and thus glorification of God–were valued by the Irish.

The abbeys founded by Columbanus were certainly not the only Irish monastic colonies established in the early Middle Ages. From Lindisfarne to Skellig Michael and perhaps most notably the monasteries of Iona and the wider Dál Riata kingdom, the Irish actively sought to spread their unique form of Christian practice throughout Europe; with it came the spread of Irish customs and practices, concentrated in texts like Columbanus' *Rule*. In Iona, the monastery founded by Colmcille in 563 also became a notable intellectual site, producing the Irish Annals and serving as a center for the development of Celtic

10 Tosi, *Archivum Bobiense*, 195

Christian art, like the distinctive Irish "high crosses" that can be seen throughout Ireland and its religious colonies.

As the Middle Ages wore on, Latin scholarship began to expand throughout Europe. No longer was elaborate manuscript production solely a hallmark of Irish abbeys; during the Romanesque period, beginning around the eleventh century, manuscript production expanded throughout Europe, although this was almost exclusively religious work. Classical texts slowly began to be produced during the Medieval period, largely coinciding with the emergence of narrative writing like Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

So, why Ireland? Beginning with the initial voyage of St. Patrick, the Celtic Church was a distinctive, independent sect. From a unique style of tonsure to near denial of the authority of the Latin Pope, the isolation of Ireland (and their never-Roman heritage) allowed for an endemic religious culture to arise free from the traditions of the Latin Church. Liberated from the perpetual threat of heresy present in early Medieval Catholicism, Irish monastics were able to explore and reproduce pre-Christian texts without fear of papal punishment. Although there was certainly no want for authority, as exemplified by laws of obedience in Columbanus' *Rule*, the attitudes of those in power within the Celtic Church created an environment that allowed for an intellectualism that proved to be so vital to the growth and development of Western culture.

Moreover, some practices within the Celtic Church were only able to develop because of the scholarship present in Ireland. The practice of *peregrinatio pro Christo*, or "exile for Christ" which involved leaving one's homeland as either penance or simply an act of devotion, emerged as an emulation of descriptions of similar actions by the Church Fathers, particularly St. Augustine. Through inspiring the missionary journeys of Irish monks like Columbanus and Colmcille, the circulation of Latin texts and the education that allowed them to be read allowed for the expansion of the Celtic Church and thus increased intellectualism, essentially acting as a "positive feedback loop" for the spread of Latin scholarship.

However, Irish exceptionalism did not last forever. In France, leaders of monasteries following other monastic rules began to oppose practices like Celtic Easter dating present in local abbeys founded by Columbanus. By the time of the seventh century Synod of Whitby, Celtic Easter dating was delegitimized by the larger Catholic Church, thus allowing for other Celtic practices to be viewed as canonically false as well. While the Celtic Church itself did not fall completely, there was a noted move toward Roman Catholicism as Ireland moved into the ninth and tenth centuries. Even in Columbanus' satellite monasteries on the European mainland some of the original, distinctively Celtic tenets of his Rule were cast out in favor of emulation of the Roman Church. With the Viking raids of the ninth century, monasteries throughout Ireland were destroyed, effectively signaling the final death knell for the golden age of Irish monasticism and the Celtic religious empire.

Yet, regardless of the takeover and destruction of Celtic monasteries, the legacy of Columbanus' Rule and the scholastic culture of Irish religious life continued to influence European Christianity, academia, and art. Although the ideas of extreme obedience and unique forms of mortification and penance may have been exchanged for more moderate Benedictine values, the value of literary production, particularly in Latin, spread from monasteries like those at Luxeuil and Bobbio across Europe, allowing for the development of a rich manuscript culture into the High Middle Ages. The revival of texts like the poetry of Catullus and Horace and the growth of creative writing in Western Europe can be traced to the exceptional monastic culture of Ireland and the values of the Celtic Church that allowed for its spread. To this very day, the history of literature and academics in the Western world can partially be attributed to the monastic culture of Ireland and guides like the Rule of Columbanus that allowed for a departure from a "Dark Age" and the beginning of a rich Medieval scholastic culture.

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Contextualizing the Whore of Babylon

Samantha Sawhney

The ancient Mesopotamian city of Babylon has become a cultural symbol far beyond its literal historical existence. This is in part because of its representation in both biblical and classical sources before major excavations of the Middle East were done in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Until these excavations, there was an absence of primary sources from the city of Babylon that could attest to Babylon in its own cultural context and vernacular. Both the biblical and classical sources carry bias that informs them. The biblical sources come from an era of repression wherein Jewish people were displaced by the empires of Babylonia and Assyria and oppressed within their domains. Therefore, many of these accounts contain a dramatized rendition of the history, wherein certain figures are conflated and events are hyperbolized. Likewise, Greek sources, such as the writings of Ctesius and Herodotus, do not entirely accurately reflect the reality of Babylon. Some Greek historians fabricate Babylonian customs such as Herodotus in his discussion of the Babylonian Marriage market, which is not mentioned by any primary source from the city.

These images, however untrue and sensationalized, have fundamentally remained in the collective consciousness of the Western Judeo-Christian ideological framework. Babylon has become a city of sin and worldly excess in the public imagination. Specifically, the last book of the New Testament, Revelation, establishes the city as feminine and "a haunt for demons [...] a cage for every unclean spirit [...] for every unclean bird, and [... from whom] the merchants of the earth grew rich from her [...] luxury."[1] Therefore, the city is established as a repository of sin, impiety, and general flagrant immorality in such a way that is entangled with femininity. Revelation takes the Old Testament rhetoric against Babylon and utilizes it to make a poignant indictment of the Roman Empire in the first century Common Era. This image is expanded upon through the idea of an opulently dressed woman riding upon a great beast[2] in Martin Luther's 1534 translation of the Bible by means of a woodcut, which will be discussed later in this paper. The allegorical figure of the Whore of Babylon is an amalgamation of prophetic women of Hebrew scripture, the perceived nature of Babylon and its inhabitants by the Hebrews, and a reflection of early Christians' view of Rome. This set of variegated identities demonstrates Babylon's complex existence as a historical city and iconic cultural symbol.

The image of Luther's Whore of Babylon is a striking one. Originally

1 Rev 18.2-3 NIV
2 *Revelations* 17

painted in the early Reformation by Lucas Cranach the Elder, it was transformed into a woodcut for a wider audience found through the aforementioned German language translation of the Bible. The woodcut features a blonde, visibly European woman atop a many-headed beast, wearing an opulent red dress and holding an intricate gold chalice. She confronts a crowd of medieval clerical and royal figures in front of a typical landscape containing chapel and various trees. The image almost directly represents the text while placing its aspects into the then contemporary setting of late medieval Europe. In this context, the image does not indict Babylon or even Rome, but rather conflates the Catholic church with all of the previously mentioned traits. Specifically, the image depicts the eponymous woman wearing the golden Papal Crown or triregnum worn by the head of the Roman Catholic church, whom Martin Luther, and therefore Cranach, perceived to be the root of corruption within society and the clerical hierarchy.

Moreover, amongst the crowd bowing to "Babylon" is a king in a grand robe wearing a golden crown. The woodcut is direct in its imagery; the corrupt Catholic Church wields power over the monarchs of medieval Europe through the office of the papacy. In the same way, the whore seduces and subjugates nations of men. Moreover, her hyper-massive figure dominates the landscape and demonstrates a perceived over-reaching impropriety. This reflects Luther's perception of feminine roles: that because they were beings of lesser intelligence, they should be subservient to their husbands.[3] Thus, the whore wants excessively and transgresses the boundaries of women's roles as the Catholic Church over-asserts itself within society. With considerations of these contexts and image-based subtexts, the woodcut makes a powerful set of assertions about Biblical gender norms in the lens of female behavior.

One of the most prominent women within the Tanak or first five books of the Hebrew canon is Miriam, the sister of Moses, who initially appears in the book of Exodus, a narrative of the Jewish captivity and enslavement by the Egyptians. Within the text, she occupies a role similar to Aaron, Moses's brother, though she is given less ritualistic importance. For instance, in Chapter 40, only Aaron participates in the consecration of the tabernacle, which is seen as the residence of G-d and holding place of the Ark of the Covenant. Miriam's absence indicates women's lack of religious and social power since cannot directly bring G-d into the residence of the Israelites. However, it is notable that contemporary Biblical and Judaic scholarship contends that Biblical texts are not fully representative of these women's lives as they were written by men of privilege.[4] With this in mind, it is striking that Miriam is traditionally conflated with the sister who "station[s] herself at a distance to find out what would happen to him" when Moses is set adrift on the Nile. Miriam is the

3 Albrect, Classen, and Settle 1991, 235
4 Meyers 2014, 20

proactive agent of this action as the text does not indicate her being commanded to do so.[5] The care and concern shown by Miriam in the first half of Exodus in tandem with her performance of the "Song of the Sea" is significant to fully understanding the ideal woman of the Hebrew scriptures—one who, "take[s] the role of supporting actress, faithful helpmate, and companion to the masculine protagonist."[6] She is not able to "set up the tabernacle"[7]—a place dedicated to "the glory of the Lord."[8] She is a lesser instrument in the will of G-d as opposed to one of its integral architects.

In the manner in which Miriam is an archetype of the ideal Israelite woman, the character of Jezebel from 1 Kings and 2 Kings acts as a foil to the marginalized demure spiritual woman promoted by the exodus narrative and other scriptures contained within the Hebrew Bible. Jezebel's weaponization of her sexuality against the Hebrews and her subsequent violent destruction creates a paradigm in which the Whore of Babylon also operates textually. In 1 Kings Chapter 16, Jezebel is introduced as the wife of King Ahab, a woman who is a Gentile and worships Baal, the central divinity of the Babylonian pantheon9. In this initial mention, she only exists as a means of condemning Ahab for his frailty, because he has been swayed by a woman to commit idolatry and worship a foreign divinity. She is an active figure like Miriam, but her proactivity contaminates rather than ameliorates. 2 Kings squarely places blame for the worship of Marduk upon her, "since the daughter of Ahab was his wife [...] he did what was evil in the Lord's sight."[10] These words clearly make Jezebel responsible for the sins and indiscretions of Ahab, who, in truth, was fully independent and autonomous in the institution of idolatry. It is fitting then that, as a woman who initiates idolatry, is intimately connected to the man who piously institutes the commandments of G-d.

Furthermore, the prophet Elijah instructs Jehu to punish Jezebel specifically saying, "the dogs shall devour Jezebel so that no one can bury her."[11] She is the only member of Ahab's household to receive such a specific and brutal punishment. Her fate is particularly brutal as Mesopotamian religious rituals put a strict importance on the sanctity of burial and funerary customs. Therefore, when this specific and vicious death happens, which occurs in later scriptures, it displays the consequences of subverting women's prescribed roles. In the popular imagination, Jezebel has largely become the picture of a sinful woman, usually sexualized and frivolous. Her destruction and the spiritual degradation

5 Exo 2.4 NIV
6 Skidmore-Hess 2012, 2
7 Exo 40.2 NIV
8 Exo 40.34 NIV
9 Dalley 2021, 295
10 2 Kings 8.18 NIV
11 2 Kings 9.10

that accompanies it lays the groundwork for the Whore of Babylon found with Revelations. Jezebel's negative archetype is also occupied by the Whore, as both female figures are demonized because of their assertions of autonomy and power that impact the men around them.

The aforementioned women present two facets of femininity in the Old Testament, both of which contribute to the figure of the Whore; however, another contributing precursor was the women of prophecy, who had a more direct access to divinity and mysticism. The most notable prophetess, Deborah, is found within Judges. It is notable that Deborah's narrative is found within Judges because the term "denotes both explicitly and distinctly her judicial status" and yet, "[s]he is a military strategist [...] a poetess as well, [...] where the authorship of poetry and song has long been associated with political leadership [... and] a prophetess."[12] It is striking that Deborah occupies these roles without being vilified or demonized by the text; instead, she is a keeper of history and collective identity.

Indeed, Deborah's sung discourse employs a pronounced "heritage predation"[13] that casts her in a distinctly political mold similar to that of King David.[14] In particular, when she states, "[g]one was freedom beyond the walls, gone indeed from Israel. When I, Deborah, arose, when I arose, a mother in Israel"[15], she benevolently invokes the collective Israelite identity and simultaneously places herself within its history as an instrumental figure. Her use of the phrase "a mother in Israel" feminizes her power, distinguishing her from the women of antiquity who perform masculinity to possess power such as Hashepsut or Semiramis. While remaining feminine, she is a key part of "the army of the Lord"[16], leading the Israelites victoriously in battle. This orientation of the self within a greater historical narrative distinguishes Deborah from both of the aforementioned women since neither Jezebel nor Miriam directly discuss themselves.

In spite of her prophetic, political, and poetic power, the figure of Deborah faced complicated reception that did not consistently recognize her scriptural significance. The Babylonian Talmud especially indicts her.[17] In this manner, the powerfully pious Deborah resides in an aspect of the paradigm in which Jezebel and the Whore exist, one that fits within Martin Luther's perceptions: a woman with power over the men around her is unnatural and therefore offensive. Her treatment in rabbinical commentaries such as the Babylonian Talmud and the Midrash demonstrate the profound underlying fear of a woman

12 Skidmore-Hess 2012, 2
13 Zarandona, Cunliffe, and Saldin 2023, 185
14 Skidmore-Hess 2012, 2
15 Jud 5.4 NIV
16 Jud 5.13 NIV
17 Skidmore-Hess 2012, 9

in a position of power who communicates with the divine. Within Biblical narratives, any feminine power—whether it is found in sexuality, like Jezebel, or the empowered, semi-militant motherhood of Deborah—threatens traditional structures of power in which women are essential as instruments rather than actors of history and the will of G-d.

The indictment of Deborah, one of the seven canonical prophetesses of the Jewish tradition, may reframe the figure of the whore herself because though she represents the purest form of idolatrous evil, the manner in which she is written displays Judeo-Christian cultural vices and the complex nature of Babylon's perceptions in the aforementioned cultural tradition. Having established a greater cultural and scriptural context, pivot to a direct comparison of the personified and feminized Babylonian to the personified and feminized Jerusalem throughout its scriptural appearances. While Babylon is a whore, a violently wilder of a dangerous and extravagant sexuality, Jerusalem is characterized as Miriam and discussed as either a daughter or mother. For example, Isaiah calls Jerusalem a "virgin daughter"[18] who has been "insulted and blasphemed, [and] at whom have you raised your voice"[19] and who is later a "captive daughter."[20] She passively accepts the fate that is acted upon her and is beholden to the wills and actions of the Israelites and forces that try to overtake and enslave them.

This passivity is also a large aspect of the maternal Jerusalem, while carrying like Miriam, again outside actors determine her fate. She is not affirmative, instead, she is guileless, lacking someone "to guide her of all the children she bore; She has no one to take her by the hand, of all the children she reared!"[21] Although she births and raises the children of Israel, Jerusalem herself is subject to their inconsistent wills and changing temperaments. She lacks the poetic power of Miriam with the "Song of the Sea" as well as the rhetoric of "heritage predation"[22] drawn upon by Deborah. The personified woman of Jerusalem's dependence corresponds to the role prescribed to the idealized women, who is characterized by her care and fecundity as well as her subservience to the clerical and political men around her. Furthermore, in the New Testament, Galatians describe Jerusalem as "in slavery along with her children"[23] as well as "freeborn".[24] All of the aforementioned descriptions radically contrast with that of the Whore. Jerusalem is meek, poor, and marginalized; she depends upon the people around her. The Whore is radically empowered, opulently displaying wealth and power, and within Cranach's

18 Isaiah 37.22 NIV
19 Isaiah 37.23 NIV
20 Isaiah 52.2 NIV
21 Exo 52.18 NIV
22 Zarandona, Cunliffe, and Saldin 2023, 185
23 Gal 4.25 NIV
24 Gal 4.26 NIV

woodcuts, commanding the men of stature that surround her. Babylon is directly antithetical to the subjugated feminized imagination of Jerusalem. Furthermore, placing the two in direct comparison illuminates the disparity of power between them as well as the categorization of a powerful woman as something unnatural and therefore repellent. The disgust prompted by the image of the Whore is most directly seen in her lack of the positive sexuality associated with childbearing and rearing, whereas Jerusalem is radically characterized by the fecundity that has already been discussed.

Having taken all of this into account, one can fully realize the nuances contained within the figure of the Whore of Babylon. This biblical prosopopoeia reflects the treatment of women in various textual sources including Rabbinical commentaries. She is the antithesis of Miriam, the devoted woman who actualizes the will of the divine through the exercising of care and poetry as opposed to political or spiritual power. Whereas Miriam's leadership and power is non-threatening and extends mostly to women, the Whore's malevolent power is exerted exclusively over men. Her power is entangled with her sexuality, both being radically unnatural. In this vein, the Whore is a second Jezebel, a feminine agent of worldly sin. Just as Jezebel is the wife of King Ahab, who institutes a regime of idolatry, and is blamed and punished in a brutal and dehumanizing manner for her sins of association. So too, is the Whore destroyed although scripturally, she is an aspect of Satan and a general societal uncleanness. Amalgamating both pious Miriam and wicked Jezebel, the disparity between the contents of Deborah's brief scriptural appearance and her reception with Rabbinical commentaries display both a pious women who wields power and is in alignment with G-d and the profound pathological fear of female power.

In Judges, Deborah occupies a multifarious role while retraining and restating her femininity as a mother and by leading women in poetic musical prayer. And yet, commentators sought to vilify her, due to the fact that she was a woman stepping outside of prescribed feminine roles. These roles are most directly seen in the personification of Jerusalem as a woman throughout the Bible. The city takes a form profoundly unlike Jezebel, Deborah, or even the Whore herself. Rather she is meek and suppliant, dominated by the will of others. She is a half of a whole person who occupies the role of a child as opposed to an autonomous adult. Taking all of this in totality, one can see that the Whore of Babylon is actually a set of responses and echoes of the women of the Bible and their complicated textual existences. Additionally, her reception shows the cultural fear of powerful women found in Rabbinical literature and the art and culture of the Reformation; one which still persists into contemporary scholarship and cultural norms.

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Cycladic Echoes

Original image by Avinash Srinivasan, used with permission

During my time in Paros, Greece, I met with a local marble worker, JB Leullier, who continues the tradition of Cycladic cultural iconography that has endured for thousands of years. The Cycladic culture, which flourished in the Aegean islands from c. 3300 to 1100 BCE, produced one of the three major branches of Aegean art, alongside Minoan and Mycenaean cultures. Using the same traditional tools and methods passed down through generations, I had the privilege of learning from this master and carving my own version of a Cycladic head from locally sourced marble. While the meaning of Cycladic heads remains unclear, they are thought to represent fertility, rebirth, intellect, or even religious idols, often serving as guardians in graves. My piece echoes these ancient interpretations, drawing on the minimalist and abstract style that characterized the Cycladic figures. The face is devoid of complex features, with only a subtle nose breaking the otherwise flat surface and made entirely of Parian marble, which was favored by Cycladic artisans for its ability to achieve smooth, polished surfaces. The sculpture's proportions are deliberate and harmonious, with the head slightly elongated—a common characteristic of Cycladic figures that imbues the piece with a sense of elegance and serenity. Through this reductive style, the viewer may project interpretations of fertility, guardianship, or spiritual power, as these ancient figures once did. My modern iteration thus remains faithful to the formal principles of Cycladic art while engaging with contemporary viewers in new, interpretive ways.

Syrinx and Pan: From Water to Air

Eva Skelding

The chill was beginning to lift from Arcadia, wildflowers peeking out between the teeth of the mountainside. As the heat of Helios shimmered at the riverbanks, the inhabitants of the water—the naiad daughters of the Potamoi—began to venture from their homes, tiptoeing into the shaded forests to explore and chatter amongst themselves. Some naiads searched for satyrs to meet or to marry.

Syrinx, however, was seeking a more interesting kind of quarry. Crouched in a dark tangle of trees, she steadied her bow in her hand, drawing the arrow taut amid the rustling silence. Normally she would not have departed from the hunting group, but she'd caught a glimpse of prey a few moments ago. She resolved to rejoin Artemis and the other naiads once she had found it.

She scanned the forest ahead until her eyes finally alighted on a flash of movement, ephemeral as the river's ripples. Her fingers tensed, ready to loose the arrow, but once the flash moved into sight, she lost all intention to kill it. It was a beautiful bird, now soaring into the air on downy feathers that seemed to glow with white fire. Syrinx relaxed her grip on her bow, craning her neck upwards. *How weightless it must feel*.

In her awe, she had stepped into the open clearing, and still peering up through the gap in the trees, she failed to notice the watcher behind her until he spoke.

"I must tell you something." Deep and rich, the voice seemed to reverberate throughout the forest, echoing in the whorls of the bark and sending the leaves into a shuddering dance. She had never heard anything like it, and wished at once that she had never heard it at all. The thinly reined malevolence in its timbre set her nerves aflame.

She whirled, scrambling to aim her bow and arrow at the source of the voice. But she gaped in shock. Her bowstring had fallen slack, her arrows gone. Thick vines leapt up to suffocate the bow, erupting from the wood itself as though it were alive once more. She let her weapon fall to the ground like a burning thing, and the lush carpet of the forest swallowed it up.

She looked up in a surge of horror, and finally beheld the being who had spoken to her, and who had presumably destroyed her bow with the magic of a god.

Two small horns sprouted from his forehead, peeking out from a thicket of shaggy hair adorned with a crown of pine. Amid his wild face glinted beady dark eyes, bright with a kind of hunger. His wiry legs were those of a goat, with hooved feet, though she had no doubt that they would carry him far in a chase. Farther than her.

"My love, do not be afraid," Pan admonished, beginning to lift a hand towards her. "I only want to—"

The possibilities of that sentence chilled Syrinx's blood. At last her frozen muscles reawakened, and she staggered into the shadows between the trees, sprinting

back the way she had come. His presence loomed behind her. Her only thought was the river—home. If she could make it. Though a skilled huntress, she was no Atalanta; already her legs were beginning to burn.

"I only want to tell you something!" The voice was getting closer, taunting.

She pushed on, ever conscious of his steady pursuit. Dread hissed in her chest. She thought of her sister Daphne, whose voice often wove through the rustle of the laurels. She understood what she had not before.

At last she dashed to the edge of the riverbank, preparing to dive. She drank in the faces of her sisters one last time as they peered up, wide-eyed, from below the surface. Through staccato gasps, the story spilled from her mouth. Realization washed over their faces.

He had broken through the trees now; she was out of time. "Sweet Syrinx," he crooned, drawing closer. "You are more beautiful than the loveliest white bird, yet you fly away like one."

Hot anger boiled inside her, like spears pinning her heart to her ribs. Anger at him, at the heavens. Why could Artemis not protect her? Why had the Fates chosen her for this destiny? But all thoughts soon disintegrated as he approached, close enough for her to count the hairs on his skin. Just as his hands grazed her arm, she launched herself into the river with one last plea on her lips. She hoped her sisters would be fast enough.

The world collapsed upon itself like a crumbling vase. The heavy sifting of the water was overwhelming yet sweet, like the lullabies Syrinx's mother would sing centuries ago to lull her to sleep in the depths of the river. Then Syrinx—or whatever was left of her—registered a pressure, an insistent force. It was Pan, she realized, his arms still clutching what had been her body. Where his hairy hands had expected to meet soft flesh, he felt only the brittle crunch of reeds.

A groan of surprise, tinted with anger, rose above the great thunder of the river. The reed that was Syrinx shuddered between his arms, buffeted by his voice. The riverbank itself seemed to reverberate with his rage. Never before had she angered a *god*. Would his wrath not have consequences? She wondered briefly whether he could reverse the magic. But she knew better than anyone, from centuries of weaving complex webs of enchantments, that the spells of the naiads were final.

Pan seemed to have come to the same conclusion. At last the cry of rage subsided into terrible silence. She felt the pressure release, air rushing in around her as the wind bent her over the riverbank. Moments passed, and then that dark voice slithered again through her hollow body: "Shall we sing together?"

Sarcophagus of the Spouses

Jean Wanlass

in a loud bright hallway with the Italian school-groups subject
to the echoing the lights the echoing the glass

she leans back terracotta shoulder on his terracotta
chest: won't they forever

rather a hole and a bluegreen view falling down into the valley rather
a dark classroom a projector

and out of view in California suburbs the hills break
like waves into replicas of Tuscany though

our dead don't seem to smile
that way or don't they

or here is an earth-orange strip mall and an apartment pool
and a stuccoed portico and dogs who scratch sometimes six,[1] sometimes four-pawed

at the fence—there's an unseen arithmetic—a balance surging through things and
a dried-up line of wisteria. look

down in the sterilized husk of the tomb I couldn't stay rational,
didn't want this paint, I wanted daylight, found

the living are good for this
for turning away

1 The logo for Eni, a brand of Italian gas stations, is a stylized six-legged dog (which is also breathing fire)

Woolf's Acropolis: A Contextual Analysis of Virginia Woolf's 1932 Trip to Greece

Anna Zulueta

> *Thursday 21 April*
> Athens [Hotel Majestic]
> Yes, but what can I say about the Parthenon–that my own ghost met me, the girl of 23, with all her life to come: that; & then, this is more compact & splendid & robust than I remembered. The yellow pillars–how shall I say? gathered, grouped, radiating there on the rock, against the most violent sky, with staring ice blue, & then cinder black; crowds flying as if suppliants (really Greek schoolchildren). The Temple like a ship, so vibrant, taut, sailing, though still all these ages. It is larger than I remembered, & better held together.[1]

In the spring of 1932, Virginia Woolf embarked on a trip to Europe with her husband Leonard, friend Roger Fry, and Roger's sister Margery.[2] They stopped at Paris, Venice, and Athens, visiting other places along the way. This was Woolf's second trip to Greece; her first was in 1906, after which her brother Thoby passed away. Both trips, in combination with her classical education and fascination with Greek literature, influenced works like *Jacob's Room*, *The Waves*, and others.[3]

In her analysis of British women travelers, Martha Klironomos writes that what underlies their trips is "a grappling with deeper issues of historical consciousness and continuity."[4] These "deeper issues" lie at the crossroads between memory, history, and identity. During this time period, they were top of mind for Woolf as an individual, other modernist intellectuals, and countries engaged in nation-building projects, especially Greece, Britain, and the United States. Each of these actors dealt with them in different ways that intersected and diverged, as I will show in this paper. Woolf's diary entries about her 1932 trip provides a case study through which to understand these issues. Unlike

1 Virginia Woolf, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf: Volume Four 1931-1935*, edited by Anne Olivier Bell, assisted by Andrew NcNeillie (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, (1931-1935) 1982), 90-91.

2 Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four,* 89-100.

3 *See* Rowena Fowler, "Moments and metamorphoses: Virginia Woolf's Greece," *Comparative Literature* 51, no. 3 (1999): 217-242, https://www.jstor.org/stable/1771668 for an analysis of how Greece affected Woolf's writing.

4 Martha Klironomos, "Early twentieth-century British women travellers to Greece: contextualizing the example of Virginia Woolf," *Literature Compass* 4 (2007): 475, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-4113.2006.00401.x.

Sigmund Freud, who was disturbed by his encounter with the Acropolis, Woolf's second encounter built upon her previous experiences rather than disrupting them, and thus is an example of common attitudes of the time rather than an exception.[5] In this contextual analysis of Woolf's 1932 trip, I will follow the distinctions laid out by Klironomos in her discussion of Woolf's 1906 trip between archaeological-topographical travel and sociological-anthropological travel, while noting where these categories overlap.

Archaeological-Topographical Travel

The archaeological-topographical dimension of Woolf's travels centers on landscapes, from the physical unearthing of the past to the current landscape of Greece to the landscape of imagination. Analysis of these landscapes, especially the role of the Acropolis in Woolf's narrative, reveals the influence of contemporary archaeological projects, nation-building, and modernist ideas of historical consciousness and continuity. However, there is a world of difference between Woolf's understanding of "Greece" and her understanding of "Greek people," a distinction that I will also explore in the next section. Natural features of the landscape heavily contribute to sociological-anthropological perspectives and thus will be treated in that section of the paper, but one could argue that they fit into either category.

By 1932, archaeology had been part of the Greek nation-building project for over a century—the Acropolis was first declared an archaeological site in 1834 after the end of Ottoman control.[6] The influence of both the Acropolis and more recent excavations appear in Woolf's account. The Acropolis stood as an emblem of the classical Greek past, and it was this past that German architect Leo von Klenze wanted to restore. Von Klenze's position stemmed in part from his view that capitalizing on the classical past was the best way for the Greek state to gain prestige in the future, but even more so from his strong beliefs in the supremacy of classical Greek art and culture.[7]

The Acropolis was also a prominent landmark of Woolf's personal landscape. On her 1906 trip, she spent nearly every day at the Parthenon,

5 Sigmund Freud, "A Disturbance of Memory on the Acropolis: An Open Letter to Romain Rolland on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, translated by James Strachey with Anna Freud (London: The Hogarth Press, 1964), https://web.english.upenn.edu/~cavitch/pdf-library/Freud_Disturbance.pdf.

6 Acropolis Museum, "Museum history," *Acropolis Museum*, 2018, https://www.theacropolismuseum.gr/en/museum-history.

7 For more information, *see* Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

"erasing the ugly modern city," as she writes in the Passionate Apprentice.[8] While Woolf did not visit the Acropolis nearly as many times on her 1932 trip, she still describes the Acropolis before anything else in Greece (see the epigraph), highlighting the privileged position of the classical past as opposed to other time periods. She remarks that the Acropolis "is larger than I remembered, & better held together." This observation may have not been merely imagination, but rather part of the ongoing archaeological project to "restore" the Acropolis, a project which in looking to the classical past produced a modern national monument.[9]

Besides the Acropolis, the most recent archaeological project was the American School of Classical Studies at Athens' excavation of the Athenian Agora, which had started the previous year in 1931 and exemplified the state of archaeology in the 1930s.[10] This excavation demonstrated that archaeology's role in nation-building was stronger than ever, both for Greece and the United States. The American School's efforts were funded by John D. Rockefeller, and the American backing of Athenian archaeology supported the American connection to the so-called "birthplace of democracy."[11] The excavation also demonstrated the need for foreign archaeological schools, as the Greek state had been impoverished by years of crypto-colonization under German rule and the recent Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922).[12]

Woolf comments on the relationship between Greek poverty and the care of material culture, while criticizing mainstream Western views. At the Theater of Dionysus, Woolf notes that "poverty & war & misery have prevented any obliteration–here or elsewhere. Indeed one might ask for more care, & more custody, not less."[13] She writes "Greek raggamuffin boys were shying stones at a marble ruined arch" and that the graves are in disrepair: "the land is too exhausted even to guard its own interests any longer–no doubt Lord Elgin's excuse for stealing."[14] Here, Woolf responds to the broader narrative that the

8 Fowler, "Moments and metamorphoses: Virginia Woolf's Greece."

9 Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four*, 90. Modern national monument: see Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins*.

10 Niki Sakka, "The excavation of the Ancient Agora of Athens: the politics of commissioning and managing the project," *Μουσείο Μπενάκη* 0 (2008): 117, http://dx.doi.org/10.12681/benaki.17981.

11 Yannis Hamilakis, "Double colonization: the story of the excavations of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 82 (2013): 166, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2972/hesperia.82.1.0153.

12 Crypto-colonialism: Michael Herzfeld, "The absent present: discourses of crypto-colonialism," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101 (2002): 899-926. See also: Sakka, "The excavation of the Ancient Agora of Athens."; Hamilakis, "Double colonization: the story of the excavations of the Athenian Agora."

13 Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four*, 98.

14 Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four*, 98-99.

poverty of the state has made foreign intervention necessary, as the Greek people are not capable of caring for their own material culture, a narrative that Britain has invoked in the ongoing case of the Parthenon marbles, which still reside in the British Museum. While Woolf does look down upon the local boys, calling them "raggamuffin," she also characterizes Lord Elgin as a thief who makes excuses. Her call for increased care is not aimed solely at foreign powers in typical paternalist fashion. Woolf's position on caring for ancient material culture emerges as a complex one.

This rise of archaeology in Greece also contributed to modernist discussions on the nature of historical consciousness and continuity, in which the fragment is a metaphor for organizing consciousness. Klironomos discusses this at length in her article on Woolf's 1906 trip, which includes the debate treated in Agnes Heller's *A Philosophy of History in Fragments* (1993) about whether the past should be treated as deep well, a linear, continuous history, as favored by Thomas Mann, or as a huge heap of fragments on the surface, a modernist mode of recollection favored by Walter Benjamin.[15] Fragments are the bread and butter of archaeology—rarely is any object preserved entirely. The heightened public visibility of fragments combined with the literary trend of writing fragments of thought and memory to inform new debates on historical consciousness and continuity.

In Woolf's 1932 account, the idea of the fragment is prominent in her imaginary landscape of the Acropolis and the Greek topos in general. Woolf refers to the Acropolis by its columns. She writes of "the yellow pillars," and "an oblong of blue sky made oblong by white pillars–the compact rush of the Parthenon," a fragmentary presentation of a fragmented monument.[16] The idea of the fragment is interwoven with ideas of memory, as seen in the epigraph of this paper: "Yes, but what can I say about the Parthenon–that my own ghost met me, the girl of 23, with all her life to come: that; & then, this is more compact & splendid & robust than I remembered."[17] The personal past is twinned with the physical past; moments converge and correct each other. The notion of the fragment invokes several pivotal questions. Is it possible to know anything beyond the singular moment presented by a history that lies on the surface? Can the "real" meaning of Greek ever be uncovered, or only what Greek means to British people, as Woolf writes in her 1925 essay, "On Not Knowing Greek"?[18]

The opposite of fragmentation is continuity, which Woolf describes as a

15 Klironomos, "Early twentieth-century British women travellers to Greece: contextualizing the example of Virginia Woolf."

16 Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four,* 90, 98.

17 Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four*, 90.

18 Woolf, "On not knowing Greek," in *The Common Reade*r, republished in *Berfois*, (1925) 2018. https://www.berfrois.com/2018/06/virginia-woolf-not-knowing-greek/.

ship, sailing through the waters of time.[19] Continuity was an important issue for the nascent Greek state, evidenced in the preeminent role of archaeology in nation-building. Continuity combined ideas of self-identification and identification through the lens of others, a combination described well by W.E.B. Du Bois' notion of "double consciousness," first applied to discuss African American identity.[20] Yannis Hamilakis expands on the notion of double consciousness through their concept of allochronization, defined as "the adoption of a refracted image of the national self seen through the eyes of the external other," in relation to the American School's attempt to get similar concessions as the German School at Olympia for their excavation of the Athenian Agora.[21] According to Hamilakis, school officials viewed Greece as "living in another time, static and unchanging temporality of Hellenism. Such an attitude reveals, in addition to this "denial of coevalness," a disregard for the contemporary people living in the area."[22]

This idea that classical Greece was the only Greece, without regard for other temporalities, was widespread, and Woolf expounds upon it frequently in her diary, saying things such as "The centuries have left no trace. There is no 18th 16th, 15th century all in layers as in England–nothing between them & 300 B.C. 300 B.C. somehow <dominated> conquered Greece & still holds it."[23] This idea was fostered by the flattening conceptions of Hellenism imposed by others such as the British, but at the same time, Greek people cultivated continuity with the past to gain international political and economic status. The photography style William St. Clair calls "Eternal Greece" is a great example, as it purposefully lacks people or other markers of time in its frames: "by eliminating contingency, they eliminate time."[24] Thus, continuity is not so much a connection of different temporalities in a singular locality but as one temporality "conquering" all others, and the topos of Greece was not one dominated by the contemporary people living on the land but the "glorious" past and its material culture.

Sociological-Anthropological Travel

19 Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four*, 90.

20 W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Gorham, Maine: Myers Education Press, (1903) 2018), 9.

21 Hamilakis, "Double colonization: the story of the excavations of the Athenian Agora," 155.

22 Hamilakis, "Double colonization: the story of the excavations of the Athenian Agora," 168.

23 Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four*, 94.

24 William St. Clair, "Looking at the Acropolis of Athens from Modern Times to Antiquity," in *Cultural Heritage Ethics: Between Theory and Practice*, edited by Constantine Sandis, 1st ed., 81. (Open Book Publishers, 2014). http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1287k16.11.

The allochronization of Greece is key to understanding the sociological-anthropological aspect of Woolf's 1932 account. Allochronization helps explain the inferior position local Greek people occupy in relation to their ancient material culture in Woolf's writing and the larger British imaginary. The tension between Woolf's belittling view of Greek people (as opposed to her glorification of ancient Greece) and her fantasy of living in Greece can be resolved by understanding Woolf's view on nature in Greece.

Woolf generally takes a disparaging attitude towards the contemporary Greek people she encounters on her trip, influenced by her personal classist views and general Western views towards the Greek populace. As an upper class British citizen, Woolf recognized her classism in works like "Am I a Snob?" (1936), but it did not stop her from characterizing Greek people as being idle and aimless with nothing better to do than pick flowers. She writes, "After four or five days of the peasants & their solid draped beauty, the sharpness & subtlety of civilisation excite one's upper scale of nerves–the violin notes."[25] Or to summarize: "All is tame & civilised after Greece" (spoken on her way home).[26]

The idea of contemporary Greek people being uncivilized was hardly unique to Woolf; indeed, such ideas were prevalent since the eighteenth century. During this time, ancient Greek art was held to be the pinnacle of civilization and even evolution, such as in Gliddon and Nott (1854) at the same time modern Greek people were disparaged. Notably, this evolutionary standard was not even a real person, but a statue of Apollo Belvedere, another fragment.[27] This comparison was used to discriminate against people of color, especially Black people. Within Woolf's work, the clearest evidence of the racial inferiority of Greek people occurs in her essay "On Not Knowing Greek," where she ascribes a kind of environmental determinism to the "Southern races."[28] However, in her 1932 travel log, most belittling comments have to do with class rather than race, that is, she calls the boys "raggamuffin" because they are peasants, not because she views them as racially inferior. What prestige the local people do have in

25 Woolf, "Am I a snob?" in *Moments of Being*, edited by Jeanne Schulkind (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, (1936) 1985). Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four*, 91-92, 94.

26 Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four*, 100.

27 Nott, J. C. and G. R. Gliddon. *Types of mankind: or, Ethnological researches based upon the ancient monuments, paintings, sculptures, and crania of races, and upon their natural, geographical, philological and Biblical history: illustrated by selections from the inedited papers of Samuel George Morton and by additional contributions from L. Agassiz, W. Usher, and H.S. Patterson*. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1854), 458.

28 Woolf, "On not knowing Greek," in *The Common Reader*, republished in *Berfois*, (1925) 2018. https://www.berfrois.com/2018/06/virginia-woolf-not-knowing-greek/.

Woolf's eyes comes from their classical past. The school children visiting the Parthenon get their status by being compared to suppliants, and the city of Athens gets its status from the Parthenon, a great ship sailing through time, while the contemporary city is compared to "crumbled egg shells," proof that some fragments matter more than others.[29]

However, at the same time, Woolf expresses a desire to live in Greece. Contemporary Greece seems to be an idyll for her; her trip is "the best holiday these many years."[30] She wonders "Why cant [sic] we live for ever like this," and she has a "vision" of escaping to Greece from England, "sloughing the respectable skin."[31] It would be "uncivilised," but in part, that was why it would be wonderful, simple, and beautiful, and the people are "gentle," "loquacious," and "friendly."[32] She concludes the longest and most earnest of these yearnings by saying, "Now there are sympathies between people & places, as between human beings. And I could love Greece, as an old woman, so I think, as I once loved Cornwall, as a child."[33] This desire speaks to how the trip provided a much-needed reprieve from sadness and turmoil in her life, on the global political scale after World War I, but also personally: Woolf had just lost a good friend Lytton Strachey to cancer and Dora Carrington to suicide earlier that year.[34] This personal context provides one explanation for this tension in ethnographic characterization.

Examining Woolf's use of nature provides a bridge between these two seemingly opposite points. After describing the Acropolis, its museum, and contemporary Athens on her first day in Greece, she describes a Byzantine church and its garden: "where all the flowers were this morning–ranunculus like pink & violet shells many folded; the flapping black white specked irises."[35] Her account is full of beautiful, lyrical descriptions of flowers and other types of nature in Greece; it seems to have brought her great joy and is one of the highlights of the trip. At Aegina, she describes the ocean as "water pale & pure–no–not pale–but pure as some liquid jelly" and as "virgin sea."[36] Then she says, "The island looked from the Temple like a south sea island with naked natives gathering to see the boats come in."[37]

It is this connection between local Greek people and nature that is the bridge. Because Woolf understood Greece as eternal and viewed classical

29 Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four*, 90, 91.
30 Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four,* 95.
31 Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four*, 94, 97.
32 Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four*, 97.
33 Ibid.
34 Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four*, 66, 83.
35 Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four,* 91.
36 Woolf, *Diary: Volume Four*, 96.
37 Ibid.

Greece as the original—"the stable, the permanent, the original human being is to be found there"—the natural landscape of Greece was for her the garden of Eden: idyllic, but also primitive.[38] This played into the larger colonial narrative that local people were closer to nature and its non-human animals than Western people like Woolf herself. The purity of the Greek landscape, whether natural or ancient, was something to be prized. Evidence of this Edenic characterization can be found in Woolf's use of phrases like the "virgin sea" and "naked natives," but it is also present in the construction of the Parthenon as a national monument. Purity and purification of all but the classical were central to Leo von Klenze's vision for the Acropolis. Eden pre-Fall was a land free from suffering, and after her experiences, this was where Woolf yearned to be. Greece, in her imagination, fit the bill.

Conclusion: Fragments?

To close, we might return to the modernist debate of continuity vs. fragmentation, as presented in Agnes Heller's *A Philosophy of History in Fragments* (1993). Was the Parthenon a ship sailing intact through all these ages, or simply pillars making the sky oblong? Might it be both? For the Parthenon, as much as those like Leo von Klenze wished, was in fact neither whole nor unchanged, but neither did its fragments simply lie on the surface, untethered. What this contextual analysis of Virginia Woolf's 1932 trip reveals is that fragments, though singular, are deeply connected to larger landscapes, personal experiences, and national projects. They stretch across time and place, from Greece to Britain to the United States. Considering Woolf's trip in context allows us to see that narratives can be extremely personal and yet general, disparaging and longing, connected and fragmentary at the same time.

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Daphne's Transformation

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