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CONNOR HAMMELL recently completed his B.A. Honours in Greek and Roman studies. Throughout his degree he has developed an interest in the Greek Bronze Age especially with Cycladic figurines, in addition to the representation and consumption of alcohol through art in different historical eras. While having a major fascination in antiquity since elementary school, Connor wishes to pursue further graduate education in Information Studies with a preferred career outcome in records or as an archivist.

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LILLIAN BREAU is currently a fourth-year undergraduate student at Carleton University pursuing her second Bachelor's of Arts degree. Currently, Lillian is completing a Combined Honours in Greek & Roman Studies and History. Throughout her studies at Carleton, Lillian has developed a passion for archaeology and the study of material culture. She has also had the opportunity to participate in the Gabii Project's archaeological excavation in Rome, Italy. Additionally, Lillian had the privilege to spend two summers working on the Gabii Legacy Project, where she got hands-on experience working with excavated materials. Lillian hopes to explore further fieldwork opportunities during her Master's degree.

JESSICA NELSON recently graduated from Carleton University with a Bachelor of Arts Combined Honours in Law & Greek and Roman Studies. She gained an appreciation for archaeology and material culture after participating in the Gabii Archaeological Field School in Rome in 2023. In 2025, she returned to Rome to work with the Gabii Legacy Project and travelled to Sicily to participate in the Agora Valley Project in Morgantina. These experiences allowed Jessie to continue building her fieldwork skills and greatly expanded her research interests. In the future, Jessie hopes to continue excavating and participating in fieldwork as she pursues post-graduate studies.

ATHENA MOSELY (She/They) is a current History, Queer Studies, and Archaeology student on unceded Algonquin Anishinaabe territory. Her research interests include radical community making, Ottawa Trans history, and the historical intersections of empire, capitalism, and queerness. Specifically, these interests come together to uncover how we might reimagine queerness to subvert these wider structures and form solidarity across movements

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

I would first like to extend my sincerest congratulations to the authors who have been published in this year's edition of Corvus. I hope this is the beginning of a long and fruitful academic career for you all! Many thanks are due to the editors who meticulously vetted and edited the papers you are about to read.

Countless Western values which we cherish so greatly, democracy, political discourse, and law, and also fields of study which people devote their lives to, architecture, math, and the sciences, are the legacies of ancient Greece and Rome. The course of human history over two millennia has rendered our world incomprehensibly complex and different from the worlds of Plato or Virgil. Yet students of the Classics, upon reading Classical authors, come to two conclusions. First, that our desires, thoughts, and interests have remained unchanged since antiquity and certainly before: humans are humans; we in the 21st century are not unique. And second, the ideas and contributions from notable men and women of the Classical world are so ingrained into our society that, much like Plato's cave allegory, cannot go unnoticed once they're realized.

Our modern world is one of strife and turmoil, but one that doesn't have to be entered blindly. We may recall Aristotle's *Politics* or Cicero's *De Officiis* to better understand the functions and types of states and live better lives. More importantly, we are able to look back at their mistakes and actions which are now considered deplorable, lest they are repeated.

It has been a great experience to have had the opportunity to work on Corvus. I hope this publication will inspire those interested in the Classics and further promulgate its invaluable place in our world.

Να είσαι καλά,

Christos Zigoumis
Editor-in-Chief, 2025-2026

THE POLITICS OF ABSTINENCE: PUBLIC VERSUS PERSONAL CHARACTERISATION OF SCIPIO

Madeleine Egginton

Abstract

The Second Punic War (218-201 BCE) was fought between the Carthaginians, led by the military general Hannibal Barca – whose feat of crossing the Alps with elephants lingers in contemporary public imagination – and the Romans, led by Publius Cornelius Scipio (later Africanus) in the latter part of the war. Due to its importance in asserting Roman domination of neighbouring territories, the Second Punic War and its leaders are well-documented in Roman history, although often with different lenses and approaches. This paper will focus on Livy's and Polybius' differing character portrayals of Scipio following his successful takeover o New Carthage in 209 BCE, specifically in their accounts of his "continence" when faced with the possibility of wartime rape as conquest. While Polybius frames the scene as a personal choice that shows Scipio's good character, Livy politicises Scipio's actions, making them a public matter. Notably, Scipio's self-restraint operates in conversation with a historical scene involving Alexander the Great's abstinence in the 4th century BCE, as well as with the Numidian commander Masanissa's lack of self-restraint later in the Second Punic War, both of which serve as further evidence for Scipio's positive character.

Both Livy and Polybius construct positive character portraits of Publius Cornelius Scipio (later Africanus) in their accounts of the Second Punic War. One instance of positive portrayal occurs in a scene following Scipio's success in taking New Carthage in 209 BCE, where the young general exhibits self-restraint when faced with a beautiful young Spanish woman, returning her to her family rather than engaging in wartime rape as was expected of victors in warfare. The authors use the event, which has since come to be known as the "continence" of Scipio, to praise the young general and employ it as evidence of his good character and leadership. Despite having similar goals with the positive portrayal, Livy's and Polybius' approaches to the scene differ, ultimately praising different aspects of Scipio's character. While Polybius concentrates on the commander's internal desires, illustrating his actions to be personally

motivated within an intimate context, Livy expands the scene and dramatises Scipio's choice as being a public and politicised gesture.[1]

History of Rape in Warfare

Rape has long been enmeshed in the practice of warfare, including during the Second Punic War in which Scipio Africanus fought.[2] Rome itself was founded, according to legendary history, on the rape of the Sabine women, illustrating a deep history based in sexual violence as conquest.[3] Stories of rape permeate accounts of warfare history from ancient Greece onwards, and is particularly entangled in the practice of sacking cities.[4] Indeed, rape was a "consequence of defeat" for enemy populations, an assumed ramification of one's loss in war.[5] Vikman notes that the purpose of sexual violence following a victory could be two-fold: on one hand, it could be an individual expression of anger or a way to procure instant sexual gratification; alternatively, the raping of conquered enemy populations could be a symbol of revenge or subjugation of the enemy population.[6]

Rape as a practice of the victor is represented in both Polybius' and Livy's accounts of the Second Punic War and was perpetrated by Romans and Carthaginians alike. For example[7], in book 10.38, Polybius describes Hannibal's army treating Spanish girls and women in a "licentious" manner.[8] Gaca's analysis of the scene argues that the abuse the women

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[1] The language of public versus personal is adapted from Chaplin's analysis of Scipio and Masinissa. See Jane D. Chaplin, "Scipio the Matchmaker," *Ancient Historiography and Its Contexts* (2010): 65-66. In the context of this essay, words like "private," "personal," and "intimate," used to describe Polybius' narration of the event highlight Scipio's internal motivations in the scene, the smaller-scale and more subtle characterisation of his good leadership and moral commitments. In contrast, words like "public" and "politicised" as employed in describing Livy's narration underscore the intention to characterise Scipio as a strategic leader within the greater context of the war, and thus suggests his actions and characterisation have wider implications in the outcome of the war and for furthering the Roman cause.

[2] It is important to note modern limitations in discussions of rape in the ancient world due to lack of equivalent understandings of legality, consent, and personhood. For example, scholar Reeder writes that only freeborn people could be conceived of as having been raped in the ancient world because they had the capacity of chastity, or *pudicitia,* that enslaved people were not awarded. In this sense, the word and connotations of "rape" would not have been used to describe sexual violence against enslaved people in the ancient world. For more information, see Caryn A. Reeder, "Wartime Rape, the Romans, and the First Jewish Revolt," (2017).

[3] Elisabeth Vikman, "Ancient Origins: Sexual Violence in Warfare, Part I," *Anthropology & Medicine* (2005), 27.

[4] Vikman, "Ancient Origins," 27.

[5] M. de Marre, "Warfare and Women in the Ancient World," *Akroterion* (2020), 35.

[6] Vikman, "Ancient Origins," 28-29.

[7] There are numerous instances in both Livy's and Polybius' narrations of the Second Punic War where sexual conquest is implied. This essay focuses on two examples to provide context for the landscape of military rape.

[8] Polybius, *The Histories, Volume IV: Books 9-15.* Translated by W.R. Paton. Revised by F.W. Walbank, Christian Habicht, (2011): 10.38. As referenced in Kathy L. Gaca, "Telling the Girls from the Boys and

face (i.e. sexual exploitation by Carthaginians) is a "defining feature of their status," as Polybius goes on to explain that this violence gave them the "position not so much of hostages as of prisoners and slaves."[9] Polybius thus illustrates how sexual violence was used to ravage and subjugate conquered communities, forcing women into demeaning positions as a symbol of victory.

Livy, too, represents rape as an expected symptom of warfare. When Rome besieges Capua in 211 BCE and the Campanian city prepares for Roman takeover, Vibius Virrius suggests the Capuan senators should drink poison and die on their own terms rather than capitulating back to Rome, whom he imagines will be unforgiving towards the Capuan people.[10] He states, "I shall not see my home and city being destroyed and burned, or the rape of Capuan mothers, girls, and free-born boys."[11] Livy thus illustrates that enemies of Rome presuppose that Roman soldiers will rape vulnerable peoples during the takeover of their cities, suggesting that rape was endemic to Roman warfare practices. Indeed, wartime rape was so pervasive throughout Roman martial culture that "restraint of commanders and soldiers" is presented as "remarkable."[12]

Scipio's Abstinence in Polybius versus Livy

Rape was thus an expectation and accepted condition of war, practiced by both Romans and Carthaginians against numerous enemies. Therefore, after his victory in New Carthage, Scipio's abstention from participating in sexual violence as a symbol of conquest is exceptional, and the event is mobilised by historians as an example of the general's "remarkable" character.[13] In Livy's narration of the episode, he describes a beautiful young Spanish girl being brought to Scipio, who makes "enquiries about her home and parents," and learns that she is engaged to Allucius, Chieftain of the Celtiberians.[14] Scipio immediately summons the girl's family and fiancé and begins to establish relationships with them.[15] Livy's focus from the beginning is on Scipio's ability to forge political relationships that will benefit Rome. In contrast, Polybius represents

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Children: Interpreting Παῖδες in the Sexual Violence of Populace-Ravaging Ancient Warfare," *Illinois Classical Studies* (2010-2011): 94.

[9] Gaca, "Telling the Girls from the Boys and the Children," 94; Polybius, *Histories,* 10.38

[10] Livy, *Hannibal's War: Books Twenty-One to Thirty.* Translated by J.C. Yardley. (2006) 26.13 as referenced in Amy Richlin, "The Woman in the Street: Becoming Visible in Mid-Republican Rome," *New Directions in the Study of Women in the Greco-Roman World.* (2021) 224.

[11] Livy, *Hannibal's War,* 26.13

[12] Reeder, "Wartime Rape, the Romans, and the First Jewish Revolt," 372.

[13] To borrow the word "remarkable" from Reeder, "Wartime Rape, The Romans, and the First Jewish Revolt," 372.

[14] Livy, *Hannibal's War,* 26.50

[15] Livy, *Hannibal's War,* 26.50

Scipio's meeting with the girl as occurring on a more private level, concentrating on developing the general's personal strength of character. Polybius' scene opens with Scipio's men bringing their general a "girl of surpassing bloom and beauty," knowing him to be "fond of women."[16] Scipio is described as "overcome and astonished by her beauty."[17] Immediately, Polybius reveals Scipio's personal desires, immersing readers in a more private setting. Crucially, the commentary on sexual preferences that characterises the personal mode of Polybius' narrative is omitted in Livy, who does not comment on the general's desires.[18] The detail provides the first divergence in narrative that shows the difference in their concentrations. Indeed, while Polybius' Scipio embodies the Greek ideal of *sophrosyne*[19], or self-restraint, showing the general to be fighting off his wants, Livy's Scipio hardly registers temptation, and thus restraint is not needed.

Polybius continues to narrate how Scipio told his soldiers that if he were in a "private position," he may have accepted the gift, but "as he was the General it would be the least welcome of any."[20] His reasoning for refusing the young girl in spite of his desire thus hinges upon his position, which one might interpret to be a more public motivation; after all, he illustrates awareness of his influence in the Roman army in this explanation. However, Polybius follows up this statement with commentary that grounds Scipio's reasoning back in the realm of the personal. He writes that by this answer, the soldiers were given to understand that "during seasons of repose and leisure in our life, such things afford young men most delightful enjoyment and entertainment, but that in times of activity they are most prejudicial to the body and the mind alike of those who indulge in them."[21] Polybius' reasoning thus turns towards the personal again, highlighting Scipio's concern in abiding by specific moral commitments that he believes to be virtuous for a commander.

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[16] Polybius, *The Histories,* 10.19
[17] Polybius, *The Histories,* 10.19
[18] Livy, *Hannibal's War,* 26.50
[19] Moore associates the word *sophrosyne* with Scipio's actions, describing it as a Greek concept "with which Polybius would have been well-acquainted, [and] highly-compatible with Roman attitudes and sensibilities." See Kenneth R. Moore, "Alexander the Great and Scipio Africanus," *Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Filologiczne i Uniwersytet Wrocławski*. (2019): 11. Other scholars describe Scipio's self-restraint with Roman virtues including *temperatia* (temperance) or *continentia* (self-control). See Bernard Mineo, "Livy's Political and Moral Values and the Principate," *A Companion to Livy* (2015): 131. This essay will discuss self-restraint through the language of *sophrosyne,* but the diction of temperance and self-control will be peppered throughout.
[20] Polybius, *The Histories,* 10.19
[21] Polybius, *The Histories,* 10.19

Neither historian's version of Scipio succumbs to desire, illustrating the general's deviation from the martial norms of sexual conquest. Instead, Scipio returns the girl to her family, a decision used to praise his character. The nature of the return, however, highlights the differences in political versus personal modes the authors are working in. In Livy's narration, the girl's family and fiancé, Allucius, arrive, and Scipio assures Allucius that the girl has "received the respect that she would receive from her own parents" and that she has been "kept intact" and "inviolate," diction which highlights that Scipio never raped her.[22] His abstention from sexual violence provides an opportunity for political alliances: in the tradition of exchanging gifts as a symbol of hospitality and kinship, he offers the girl back to Allucius "as a gift."[23] In return, he asks for Allucius to "be a friend of the Roman people!"[24] The scene is loaded with political intent, showing Scipio to be operating from a mindset of public action, wherein he furthers the Roman cause in the war. He never dwells on any personal desires; instead, he is keen on relationship building between Romans and potential allies.[25] And indeed, Scipio's strategy works well, with Allucius eventually providing 1,400 handpicked horsemen to support in the war.[26] By not indulging in the framework of rape as conquest, Scipio reverses the expectations of how powerful men treat conquered women and manipulates the events to bolster the Roman cause.[27] As Chaplin notes in her article, "Scipio's decorousness yields a political alliance that in turns strengthens his military hand."[28] Livy curates a version of Scipio who is aware of his influence and acts upon political rather than personal opportunities. The author extols Scipio as a responsible and strategic military commander who prioritises the needs of the Republic above his own.

Polybius' Scipio also returns the girl to her family, although the scene plays out differently, with a focus on the general's personal relationships. Scipio says the young girl should be wed to a man of the

[22] Livy, *Hannibal's War,* 26.50
[23] Livy, *Hannibal's War,* 26.50. The scene offers further examples of gift-giving when the Celtiberians give Scipio "a weighty quantity of gold" for the girl's ransom, which Scipio accepts and then regifts as a wedding present to Allucius. The many gift-givings as symbols of alliance further strengthen Scipio's relationship-building efforts and tactics.
[24] Livy, *Hannibal's War,* 26.50
[25] Chaplin, "Scipio the Matchmaker," 62.
[26] Livy, *Hannibal's War,* 26.50
[27] Chaplin, "Scipio the Matchmaker," 64. Notably, the refusal to engage in sexual violence is not just about the treatment of conquered women but also the treatment of conquered men, as women were extensions of men's property, and thus raping a woman would have been a symbol of dominance over another man. This is why Scipio places such emphasis on the girl being "intact" when he returns her to Allucius: it is a sign of respect not just for the girl, but for her future husband.
[28] Chaplin, "Scipio the Matchmaker," 64.

people's choosing. However, unlike Livy's Scipio, he does not use the opportunity to strategically advance the Roman cause: there is no political motivation in his actions, and he does not build relationships with this choice. Instead, Polybius highlights the impact on the soldiers closest to the young general: the scene finishes with Scipio securing the "warm approbation of his troops" through his self-restraint.[29] As Chaplin notes, the girl, the father, and the future husband are incidental in the scene, and the focus is intimately narrowed upon Scipio and his troops.[30] Scipio's abstention is therefore a private affair, a reflection of his personal beliefs about his character and what a general should do, as well as a way to gain approval from the soldiers most immediately connected to him. Polybius highlights Scipio's *sophrosyne,* which becomes emblematic of the strength of his convictions that make him a "shrewd and discreet" general that his men can look up to.[31]

The Continence of Scipio in Conversation

Interestingly, the scene of the continence of Scipio operates in conversation with other events, both historical and contemporary. Notably, Scipio's refusal to engage sexually with the beautiful woman in New Carthage echoes the actions of Alexander the Great.[32] In one legend of Alexander, the Macedonian king becomes tempted by beautiful Persian captives, especially the wife of Darius, the Persian king, after defeating the Persians in battle. In Plutarch's account of the event,[33] he writes, "the wife of Dareius was far the most comely of all royal women," yet Alexander considered "the mastery of himself a more kingly thing than the conquest of his enemies," and therefore never laid hands upon any women.[34] While certainly bearing a resemblance to Livy's version of Scipio's continence, the scene more closely resembles Polybius' Scipio, operating on the personal, private level. Like Polybius' Scipio, Alexander is tempted by the beautiful woman – in fact, he later says that Persian women are "torments to the eyes" in how surpassingly beautiful they are[35] – but he restrains his personal desires to remain "kingly," an echo of Polybius' Scipio refusing

[29] Polybius, *The Histories,* 10.19
[30] Chaplin, "Scipio the Matchmaker," 62.
[31] Polybius, *The Histories,* 10.3. In this section, Polybius offers a character assessment of Scipio where he describes him as "shrewd and discreet" as mentioned above.
[32] Moore, "Alexander the Great and Scipio Africanus," 15; Richlin, "The Woman in the Street," 228.
[33] Plutarch writes in a later period and thus would not have been the source for Polybius and Livy, but his account likely derives from the lost works of Cleitharcus of the 4th century BCE who may have been a model for Polybius and Livy, and thus Plutarch's account will be used for this essay's comparison. For more information, see Moore, "Alexander the Great and Scipio Africanus," 11.
[34] Plutarch, *Lives, Volume VII: Demosthenes and Cicero. Alexander and Caesar.* Translated by Bernadotte Perrin (1919): XXI.
[35] Plutarch, *Lives,* XXI.

women due to his convictions of how a general should act.[36] Plutarch praises Alexander's self-restraint as "honourable" and "humane," saying he rivalled the women's fair looks with the "beauty of his own sobriety and self-control."[37] Thus, similarly to Polybius' Scipio, Alexander the Great's character is praised on a more personal level, illustrating the strength of his character in spite of temptation. Both characters embody and are praised for *sophrosyne,* with Alexander, a Greek historical figure, functioning as Polybius' model for this virtue. As Moore notes, "It is as if [Alexander historians] had provided a ready-made template for promoting the virtues of a noble and honourable man for Polybius to use for his own ends."[38]

While Alexander the Great's continence provides an interesting model of personal virtue for Polybius' Scipio, Livy's portrayal of Scipio as a more politically inclined general operates in conversation with a later scene from his own work. In Book 30, Rome's Numidian ally Masinissa becomes tempted by Syphax's wife Sophonisba, and he ultimately marries her despite her affiliation with the Carthaginian enemy.[39] Livy posits Masinissa as a counter-model to Scipio, the Numidian failing where the Roman succeeds in acting for the public good. Livy describes Sophonisba as "a woman of outstanding beauty and in her prime," her physical beauty echoing that of Allucius' fiancée.[40] Unlike Scipio, however, who is never tempted by the beautiful woman, Masinissa "was brought to his knees by passion" and hurriedly marries the conquered Numidian queen.[41] When Scipio finds out, he ruminates upon his own brush with the beautiful woman in Spain and thinks that "he had been tempted by the looks of no female captive," illustrating his strength of character compared to the Numidian.[42] He scolds Masinissa for marrying Sophonisba, who, as a Roman captive, "now belong[s] to the Roman people as their spoils."[43] Masinissa repents, saying Sophonisba made him mad, and facilitates Sophonisba's suicide rather than letting her fall into the hands of the Romans, per her wishes.[44] The episode contrasts Scipio's actions in New Carthage: Scipio acted in accordance with public good to further the Roman cause, but Masinissa's actions contradict the Roman cause by

[36] Plutarch, *Lives,* XXI; Polybius, *The Histories,* 10.38
[37] Plutarch, *Lives,* XXI.
[38] Moore, "Alexander the Great and Scipio Africanus," 12.
[39] Livy, *Hannibal's War,* 30.12
[40] Livy, *Hannibal's War,* 26.50; 30.12
[41] Livy, *Hannibal's War,* 30.12
[42] Livy, *Hannibal's War,* 30.14
[43] Livy, *Hannibal's War,* 30.14
[44] Livy, *Hannibal's War,* 30.15

claiming public "spoils" for his personal gain. The Numidian conflates a private desire with a political action that interferes with the state.[45] Masinissa is therefore a foil to Scipio, Livy's example of a poor leader.

Interestingly, in his article comparing Scipio's and Masinissa's "temptations," Conway presents an analysis that ties Livy's character sketches to the historian's contemporary political moment. Conway writes that when Scipio confronts Masinissa about his actions, Livy is likely drawing parallels to "the story of Cleopatra, the ruin which she brought on Antony, the stern refusal of Augustus even to set eyes on his captive and her suicide which followed that refusal."[46] Livy therefore likens his current emperor to his much-praised Scipio, suggesting they both possess the political savviness to act for the common good. The positive character portrait of Scipio is therefore a proxy for the praise of Augustus.

Conclusion

In conclusion, both Polybius and Livy mobilise Scipio's refusal to engage in the practice of rape as conquest to praise the young general's character. However, while Polybius dwells on the personal elements of the scene, including Scipio's desires, convictions, and relationships with the people closest to him, Livy spotlights Scipio's political acumen, concentrating on his ability to forge strategic relationships. The episode of Scipio's continence can also be analysed in conversation with other historical scenes, including the Alexander the Great legend where the Macedonian king exhibits similar self-restraint to Polybius' Scipio, providing a model for *sophrosyne.* Livy contrasts the episode of Scipio's "temptation" with that of Masinissa, the latter of whom disregards politics for his personal satisfaction when he marries a conquered enemy's wife, thus providing a positive and negative example of leadership to his readers. Despite the difference in their methods, both Livy and Polybius extol Scipio's virtues to frame him as a worthy leader of the Roman people, whether due to his personal strength of character or his commitment to public good.

[45] Chaplin, "Scipio the Matchmaker," 67.
[46] R.S. Conway, "The Portrait of the Roman Gentleman, From Livy," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* (1922): 19.

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PRO FATALE MONSTRUM: AN ANALYSIS OF CLEOPATRA IN HORACE'S *ODES* 1.37 AND *EPODES 9, AND PROPERTIUS 3.11*

Hannah Biernat

Abstract

This paper aims to examine Cleopatra's presence in Roman poetry in the Augustan period, using Horace's Epode 9 and Ode 1.37 and Propertius 3.11 as sources. Cleopatra is an exemplary figure in this case for many reasons; from a Roman perspective, she is the queen of a powerful foreign state, holding a position deemed threatening to the values of the Roman Republic. Moreover, she has had an affair with two prominent Roman figures, Julius Caesar and Marc Antony, having possibly borne a child to the former. In this sense, she quite literally represents nearly every aspect of what the Romans deem threatening. This paper argues that the poets reduce Cleopatra to a figurehead for all Eastern representation because she stands for everything 'un-Roman,' particularly through the way she rules, and her position as a woman of power. This thesis is argued primarily through the language used in the poems, especially with words that could have multiple meanings or interpretations, allowing the poets to provide subtle implications through their wording, and also uses her relationship with Marc Antony as a metaphor for Eastern corruption of Rome.

Representations of women in Augustan literature, apart from select examples, often depict women as weak, subservient, and entirely dependent on men. There is also a common depiction of the East as luxurious, decadent, evil and corrupting. As a representative of both, Cleopatra has been a subject of several poets during the Augustan period, especially Horace and Propertius. In Horace's *Epode* 9 and *Ode* 1.37 and Propertius' 3.11, Cleopatra is treated as a figurehead for Eastern representation, as well as a primary face of evil, corruption, and decadence, because she is a powerful woman in a man's world and refuses to conform to the traditional social norms set by the Romans for women and foreigners. This can be seen through the language used to describe her and the East, as well as in the characterization of her relationship with Marc Antony.

Horace's *Epode* 9 describes Augustus' victory at the battle of Actium, and Horace and Maecenas' celebration after. Horace asks Maecenas if they can bring out the Caecuban wine and celebrate;[47] however, there is an air of uncertainty about his question. He then goes on to explain that while Romans were once "a woman's slaves,"[48] Caesar soon 'liberated' them. It is important to note that the Latin uses the word *Romanus* in the nominative singular, meaning that this could be in reference to Marc Antony alone, as some Latinists have translated; but this could also be *Romanus* in a collective sense.[49] Cleopatra's death is implied in this epode, and Marc Antony is said to have fled.[50] The *Epodes* were published in 30 BCE, the same year as the deaths of Marc Antony and Cleopatra. As mentioned, heavy propaganda was written about the couple, and *Epode* 9 is no different; it can tell us a lot from the vocabulary it omits.

A very common element in discussions of Cleopatra in poetry is that she is named only much later, in the Augustan period. Most of the time, she is given the title of 'woman' or 'queen', with one reference to her as 'Egyptian queen;'[51] however, her representation in Egypt was very different from Rome's. Cleopatra held several titles when she was queen, many of them portraying her as a daughter to previous pharaohs, as well as depictions of her as a mother after she gave birth to Caesarion.[52] She also has a strong connection with the goddess Isis, and Cleopatra was often represented with Caesarion as Isis was with her son Horus, thus allowing her to have public powers of divine motherhood.[53] In this way, Cleopatra was able to legitimize her political power through a strong connection to her father and past pharaohs,[54] as well as show her divinity through her motherhood via a connection with Isis.[55] As mentioned, this is almost entirely omitted in her characterization in Roman poetry, as is the case for *Epode* 9, as Horace refers to Cleopatra indirectly as 'woman'.[56] Roman poets often did this to remove Cleopatra's identity because she was a very powerful foreign female enemy, and Rome believed it to be shameful that

[47] Horace, *Epode* 9.2.
[48] Horace, *Epode* 9.11
[49] David Mankin, *Horace: Epodes,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 165.
[50] Horace, *Epode* 9.27-32.
[51] Maria Wyke, "Augustan Cleopatras: Female Power and Poetic Authority," in *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus*, ed. Anton Powell (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992), 103.
[52] Wyke, "Augustan Cleopatras," 102.
[53] Ibid, 102-3.
[54] Ibid, 101.
[55] Ibid, 103.
[56] Horace *Epode* 9.11

they were up against such a powerful foe.[57] Not only that, but by doing so, they strip her of all connections she had that legitimized her rule, especially those of past pharaohs, and reduce her kingdom from a powerful regime to an inferior country conquered by Augustus.[58]

This inferiority is further emphasized by the characterization of Egypt under Cleopatra's rule. In the same epode, Horace describes Egypt and its people as:

> Carrying arms and stakes for her, and at the beck and call
>
> Of wrinkled eunuchs
>
> And there the sun among our eagles sees
>
> – The shame of it – mosquito nets![59]

This further demonstrates the animosity towards Egypt, which was intensified by Cleopatra's rule. Already, Rome did not approve of her control of Egypt, and the elements added in this Epode further emasculate and suppress the country. Eunuchs were not very well-liked by Romans, and were often likened to old women,[60] as demonstrated by the addition of 'wrinkled' when describing the eunuchs.[61] The weakness is also emphasized by the mosquito nets, which were a common way of insulting the East as the use of the nets was deemed unmanly and inappropriate for any Roman to use, even women.[62] There are several reasons Horace might be portraying Egypt in this way. As Wyke argues, the concept of *libertas*, freedom in Latin, was widely popular in literature and poetry during the late Roman Republic, and the fight for *libertas* became a valid justification for protecting Rome from servitude or the possibility of being under *regnum*, or rule. She then argues that Cleopatra's rule was a direct attack on the male *libertas* and therefore had to be stopped. Augustus is 'liberating' the Antonian soldier, or the Romans, depending on the translation, from the rule of a female and her weak, wrinkled eunuchs, and was therefore a "champion of male liberty" because of the freedom he brought them.[63]

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[57] Wyke, "Augustan Cleopatras," 104.
[58] Ibid, 103.
[59] Horace, *Epodes* 9.13-16.
[60] Mankin, *Horace*, 167.
[61] Horace, *Epodes* 9.14.
[62] Mankin, *Horace*, 168.
[63] Wyke, "Augustan Cleopatras," 108.

However, other views argue that Horace intended to distract readers from the civil war between Marc Antony and Augustus and shift the focus to Egypt instead. Cairns argues that Horace uses Egypt as a distraction from the civil part of the war, emphasizing the foreign part of the war to minimize the battle against Marc Antony, a Roman.[64] When he was fighting Marc Antony, Augustus is said to have declared war predominantly against Cleopatra, and therefore indirectly declared war on Marc Antony.[65] In Cassius Dio's *Historiae Romanae*, Cassius mentions that his declaration of war was on Cleopatra but also on Marc Antony, however his guilt is almost entirely absolved because all of the blame is put on her seduction and control of him.[66] A similar situation is presented in *Epode* 9, where the Battle of Actium is portrayed as a battle against Egypt because of the omission of the civil war between Marc Antony and Augustus. Not only that, but Marc Antony is not named at all in the epode, and he is referred to solely as "the foe,"[67] removing, in a sense, the blame from him because of his anonymity in the poem. These examples in *Epode* 9 demonstrate the tactics used by poets to diminish Cleopatra and elevate Augustus – Horace portrays Cleopatra as a corrupting figure, someone who has enough power that Romans are subjugated to her rule and portrays Egypt as a weak and effeminate country because it is under the rule of a woman. Not only that, but they strip her of her identity and use her as a figurehead of femininity, seduction, and corruption, one who Augustus, bringer of *libertas,* must defeat.

In Horace's *Ode* 1.37, appropriately dubbed the 'Cleopatra Ode,' he describes the defeat of Marc Antony, who is omitted from the poem, and Cleopatra. He describes the madness she possesses and her desire to take over Rome and destroy the Capitol, but she and Marc Antony are defeated at Actium. To avoid being brought back to Rome in a triumph, she then commits suicide by allowing herself to be bitten by venomous snakes. The characterization of Cleopatra in this poem is particular because the *Odes* were published in 23 BCE, several years after the Battle of Actium and the deaths of Marc Antony and Cleopatra, meaning that this was not an immediate reaction to their deaths and the triumph of Augustus, which could explain the later sympathy from the author and recognition of what Cleopatra has done.[68]

[64] Francis Cairns, "Horace 'Epode' 9: Some New Interpretations." *Illinois Classical Studies* 8, no. 1 (1983): 82, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23062564.
[65] Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 50.4.5.
[66] Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 50.5.1-4.
[67] Horace *Epodes* 9.27.
[68] Horace, *Odes*, 1.37.21-24.

This ode follows the typical way Cleopatra is spoken about in her poems – her name omitted and her country and people degraded. While she is not referred to here as the 'woman', she is referred to as the 'mad queen' (*regina dementis*)[69], once again omitting her name and therefore her personal identity. Because she does not fit the role of the traditional Roman woman, she operates outside the natural female world,[70] and therefore is portrayed in an extremely negative light. The use of the words 'mad queen,' 'crazed with hope,' and 'drunk with sweet fortune' all characterize her as irrational and erratic, implying that she was insane for believing that she would be able to defeat Rome.[71] This is further implied by the fact that she was forced to face 'real fears.'[72] This contradicts 'her madness decreased', demonstrating once again how Horace portrays Cleopatra as delusional in her beliefs.

To continue, there is once again a comment about Cleopatra's entourage, described as *virorum*. This term has constituted much debate, as one would assume that Cleopatra's male entourage would be eunuchs, the Latin *vir* refers to men in general. In contrast, the word for eunuch was *spado*, as is seen in *Epode* 9.[73] Shorey's commentary on the Ode describes *virorum* as a word "with empathetic scorn,"[74] implying then that the men discussed were not eunuchs because, as previously mentioned, Romans did not like eunuchs all that much. Other interpretations suggest that *virorum* is in reference to husbands and not men; husbands are referred to in a strictly sexual context. Hendry argues that the men in question could be referring to Cleopatra's harem of men, as previous pharaohs were known to have harems of women,[75] which puts Cleopatra in the dominant male position in the relationship, making Marc Antony the passive partner. The use of *virorum* was therefore intentional, aiming to display the backwardness of the relationship between Marc Antony and Cleopatra, in which the dominant male and submissive female roles are reversed.[76] Not only that, but it also shows how backwards the relationship between Cleopatra and the men of Egypt is, because a woman holds a position of

[69] Horace, *Odes* 1.37.6.
[70] Wyke, "Augustan Cleopatras," 112.
[71] Horace, *Odes*, 1.37.
[72] Horace, *Odes* 1.37.15.
[73] Horace, *Epode* 9.13.
[74] Paul Shorey, *Commentary on Horace, Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Saeculare*, (New York: Benj. H. Sanborn and Co, 1910), https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0067%3Atext%3DCarm.%3Abook%3D1%3Apoem%3D37.
[75] Michael Hendry, "Three Problems in the Cleopatra Ode," *The Classical Journal* 88, no. 2 (1992): 142. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3297632.
[76] Hendry, "Three Problems," 143.

power and a leadership role that should have been reserved for men according to Roman political beliefs.

Cleopatra, as the *fatale monstrum* in *Ode* 1.37, has been a highly contested term because of its ambiguity, and translators have assigned several meanings to the term. *Fatale* has many meanings, commonly translated as 'accursed' or 'deadly,' in some cases 'carrying out the will of fate.'[77] These meanings drastically change how Cleopatra is viewed, depending on how Horace intended the term to be used. Mench argues that while accursed is more probable, the intended use of the word may be 'deadly,' which would juxtapose the previous similes of the hunter and the hunted, in which Cleopatra is compared to a dove and a hare.[78] Therefore, it minimizes the effort that Augustus is putting into attacking Cleopatra, as the 'deadly monster' was just compared to weak prey, poking fun at Augustus for the amount of effort he is putting in. Not only that, but this interpretation of *fatale*, while poking fun at Augustus, actually extinguishes any sympathies the reader could have held for Cleopatra because it emphasizes that Cleopatra was not as helpless as the animals she is being compared to and therefore does not deserve any sympathy.[79] This once again removes Cleopatra's autonomy, especially in contrast with her earlier description of the mad, drunk queen, as it characterizes her as a force of chaos that only Augustus can stop, rather than as a politically active and intelligent queen.

The word *monstrum* also has several meanings. While the more common translation of the word is 'monster,' it is important to note that it can also be translated as "a divine omen" or a "portent."[80] West's translation of the phrase is "[Augustus has] put in chains / this monster sent by fate."[81] This translation implies that Cleopatra was, therefore, a foe that Augustus needed to defeat for the Roman Empire to flourish and for Augustus to become emperor. Not only that, but it also implies that Cleopatra was a necessary evil that had to be defeated. Through this, Horace explores her duality as a political figure, especially in his appreciation for her suicide. She exhibits both characteristics of Eastern decadency but also *virtus*, choosing to take her own life instead and die honourably at her own hands rather than to suffer the shame of a triumph.

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[77] Fred C. Mench, Jr. "The Ambiguity of the Similes and of *Fatale Monstrum* in Horace, *Ode*, I, 37." *The American Journal of Philology* 93, no. 2 (1972): 319-21. https://doi.org/10.2307/293255.
[78] Horace, *Odes*, 1.37.18-19.
[79] Mench, "Ambiguity," 320.
[80] Charleton T. Lewis, *An Elementary Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1891), 516.
[81] Horace *Odes* 1.37.20-21.

This demonstrates the paradox surrounding this display of Cleopatra as argued by Mench; while she was feared in life for her power, foreign otherness and un-Roman attributes, her death was a "regrettable concomitant" of Augustus' rise to power and the success of the Roman empire.[82] These examples demonstrate how Horace's view of Cleopatra has matured – she is still portrayed as depraved and mad, and Egypt is still described as a backward and effeminate country. Still, while he may not like her, he can appreciate the honour she had as queen, and what she would do to keep it, even in death. Not only that, but it can be assumed that Horace now understands that Cleopatra and Marc Antony were 'necessary evils' for Augustus to overcome for him to gain complete power and control over Rome, and he can offer some sympathy for her.

Propertius 3.11 begins on a more personal note, opening with him lamenting his position under a woman. Though she is not named, Cynthia likely controls him, as has been the case in past elegies. He then goes on to list many women who exercised their power over men, only to all meet tragic ends. He spends the most time on Cleopatra, describing the fear of what could have happened had Augustus not defeated her and Marc Antony at the Battle of Actium. He ends with praise of Augustus and the gods for Rome's victory in battle.[83] Propertius has a slightly different take on the situation because he is looking at it through the eyes of a love poet, one who has been under the influence of a single *domina*, a dominant woman, for three books of elegies. His view of the situation between Marc Antony and Cleopatra will therefore be slightly different as he views himself as being in the same type of relationship with Cynthia.[84]

As mentioned, Propertius lists several powerful female figures in mythology who are not only powerful but also often exert their power over men in one way or another, and then meet their tragic ends. Because all of these women are of Eastern or Oriental origins, and the fact that they hold power over men, they are all seen as threats to the traditional male Roman patriarchy. Not only that, but as all the figures listed met some form of tragic end, this can be seen as a warning to Cynthia of what could happen if she continues to act the way she does.[85] These women, specifically Cleopatra, form the backdrop of Propertius' description of Cleopatra and

[82] Mench, "Ambiguity," 323.
[83] Propertius, 3.11.
[84] Hans-Peter Stahl, *Propertius: Love and War Individual and State Under Augustus* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1985), 239.
[85] P. Lowell Bowditch, *A Propertius Reader: Eleven Selected Elegies*. (Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2014), 105.

Egypt. He is very critical of the relationship of Marc Antony and Cleopatra, and describes their relationship as *coniugii obsceni*.[86] This is generally translated to 'obscene' or 'foul marriage,' however, it is important to note that the word *obsceni* is also the genitive of the word *obscenus*, meaning a lewd person, and occasionally refers to the genitals.[87] While this is not the use of the word in this poem, it does imply that their marriage was not only foul because Marc Antony had not yet divorced Octavia for Cleopatra,[88] but also because the people in the relationship, specifically Cleopatra, were seen as sexual deviants. This is further emphasized by the line prior, which comments on how great a scandal it is that Cleopatra "[lay] by her own slaves."[89] As with before, this characterization of Cleopatra removes her identity as a queen, daughter and mother, and reduces her to a sexual being capable of corrupting Roman men.[90]

Propertius devotes significant time to comparisons between the East and the West and imagines what it would have been like had Cleopatra been victorious. He uses foreign gods and objects as comparisons with their Roman counterparts, imagining a world where Egyptian culture reigns triumphant over Roman, for example, covering the Tarpeian rock with mosquito nets or repelling the Roman trumpet with a sistrum.[91] The comparisons used further emphasize Rome's superiority and discuss the foreign world with contempt. As mentioned, Cleopatra aligned herself closely with Isis, and Wyke argues that poets interpreted her affiliation with this goddess as bringing disorder, chaos, and primitive animality. She argues that Propertius intentionally mentions the sistrum and Anubis because of their associations with Isis and, by extension, with Cleopatra. She explains that the sistrum was a musical instrument used in the fertility rites of Isis, and that it was later transformed into a war instrument that parallels the Roman trumpet. The sistrum is associated with Anubis as well, who is reduced to a foreign barking god in this poem. The emphasis on the yelping Anubis further pushes the primitive narrative of the East, as rather than talking, the god is reduced to an animalistic and archaic shadow of what a true Roman god should be like.[92]

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[86] Propertius, 3.11.31.
[87] Lewis, *Elementary*, 553.
[88] Bowditch, *Propertius*, 111.
[89] Propertius, 3.11.30.
[90] Wyke, "Augustan Cleopatras," 104.
[91] Propertius, 3.11.39-46.
[92] Wyke, "Augustan Cleopatras," 105.

Propertius also writes that Cleopatra will "Tent the Tarpeian rock with vile mosquito nets."[93] The Tarpeian rock, named after Tarpeia, a Roman woman who betrayed Rome because of her love for a Sabine leader who killed her in the end, was a rock on the Capitoline hill in Rome where murderers and traitors were thrown from as punishment for their crimes.[94] As mentioned, mosquito nets were deemed effeminate by the Romans, so much so that it was even unfit for women to use them.[95] There is then a significance in the tenting of the Tarpeian rock, as it would have been a symbol of the effeminate East taking over a strong symbol of justice in Rome. As Augustus campaigned himself as a bringer of *libertas*,[96] this would have been a disgrace for Rome and Augustus, not only because of Rome's defeat against Egypt, but also because a foreign power would have covered the symbol of justice. These examples demonstrate how Propertius, like Horace, aimed to slander the names of Egypt and Cleopatra, despite not directly naming her, and to elevate the status of Augustus and Rome by degrading Egypt and its ruler.

Overall, in *Epode* 9 and *Ode* 1.37 of Horace, and *Elegy* 3.11 of Propertius, the poets cast Cleopatra as the figurehead of what the Romans saw as Eastern depravity, sexuality, and corruption because she does not conform to the traditional guidelines for women set out by Rome. They do this through the wording in their poems, especially words that can have multiple meanings and can therefore evoke different implications depending on how the reader perceives them. Not only that, but the characterization of Egypt under her rule is made to be weaker and more effeminate, particularly because a woman was in power. Her relationship with Marc Antony is also slandered because the Romans viewed their roles as reversed, which was not approved of in a patriarchal society. Even today, Cleopatra has been characterized by Augustan propaganda, in which she is depicted as a foreign seductress who will stop at nothing to get what she wants, which is heavily one-sided and very damaging to her image as a ruler. It is then important to examine Egyptian sources on the queen to get a fuller picture and properly understand how she really was, rather than through a Roman's view of her.

[93] Propertius, 3.11.45.
[94] Bowditch, *Propertius*, 115.
[95] Mankin, *Horace*, 168.
[96] Wyke, "Augustan Cleopatras," 108.

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ROMAN WINE PRODUCTION AND TRANSPORTATION: LOOKING AT AMPHORAE AROUND THE MEDITERRANEAN

Connor Hammell

Abstract

This paper will explore the production and transportation of Roman wine throughout various regions of the Mediterranean in the Late Republic to Early Imperial era. Which, in turn, will demonstrate how amphorae manufacturing rose in conjunction to increase Roman wine exportation. As Rome increased their territory, so did their demands to quench a thirst. The acquired lands of Crete, Hispania and Britain will be used as different case studies for the basis of this essay. Their analysis reveals that the Romans understood the importance of wine and that these new territories would serve partly to increase viticulture and exportation of the beverage. With this understanding came an expansion in amphorae workshops (figlinae) around port cities or grape processing facilities (torculania) in the first two regions. While Britain differs, as it can be regarded as the 'consumer' of the increased wine exportation throughout the Roman world.

The Roman world consumed, produced and transported an incredible amount of wine by the late Republic into the imperial era. It is important to understand, however, scholarly estimates on the consumption of wine and population in antiquity should be conferred with caution. These figures generally miss many variables that presumably would change these historical calculations. However, these estimates are nonetheless important for giving an idea on wine consumption in the ancient world. Consequently, the imperial city of Rome consumed a massive amount of wine. By the reign of Augustus, the population is assumed to have ranged around one million inhabitants.[97] There are various estimates on the figures of wine by respective scholars, especially when compared to Mediterranean pre-industrialized cities in approximately more recent history. Tchernia provides these figures on annual consumption rates; with the Sicilian city Palermo from the 16th century with 83 litres, to the 18th century around 137 litres a year.[98] During the same era in Rome, the numbers fluctuated between 200 to 280 litres annually.[99] Which led to Tchernia, while accepting imperial Rome's population of one million, to arrive at an estimated 1.8 million hectolitres or 182

[97] Philips, *Alcohol: A History*, 33.
[98] Tchernia, "Le Vin de l'Italie Romain: Essai d'histoire économique d'après les amphores", 22.
[99] Tchernia, 23.

litres a year per person of consumed wine.[100] These figures give an understanding of the sheer amount of wine imperial Rome drank. Thus, this large consumption of wine -brought on with their continued conquest of the Mediterranean- created a demand throughout the empire.[101] In turn, this generated an increase in viticulture from areas otherwise perhaps not generally known for their wine or simply an increase in production.

One question does arise from this, how did the Romans then transport all of this wine throughout the Mediterranean? Amphorae, the 'card-board' box of the ancient world, was used in the transportation of wine (as well as other liquids) by the Romans and many other cultures from antiquity.[102] Within the context of the late republic and imperial Rome, amphorae styles varied by region, fabric, and the content they carried.[103] They were essential to the economy and way of life. Along with the rise in demand of wine throughout the Roman world during the first century BCE into the imperial era, the increase of amphorae would have been needed. Thus, this essay will demonstrate how amphorae production throughout the later Republic into the empire rose in conjunction with wine production, transportation, and exportation. This will be done by examining various areas across their known world.

The Mediterranean Triad contains grains, olives, and grapes. These are the prominent crops in the classic diet of the massive region even since the Bronze Age. Crete is no exception, as at least from the Minoan period, wine is known to have been produced on the island.[104] The archaeological excavation site of Fournou Korifi provides the leading evidence of vineyards during the EM II period.[105] Therefore, Crete has been yielding wine for many millennia. Thus, the Romans would have understood the importance of the region and the potential output, even appointing Cnaeus Tremellius Scrofa in 50 BCE, a specialist in agriculture as one of the first governors.[106] After the conquest of the island in 68 BCE and integration within the empire as a province with Cyrenaica in 27 BCE, a new wave of cultural change arrived with Roman settlers, veterans, and traders.[107] The transformation of Crete created an economy mainly focused on exportation. Previously on the island, the primary purpose of agricultural production was

[100] Philips, *Alcohol: A History*, 33. Tchernia, "Le Vin de l'Italie Romain: Essai d'histoire économique d'après les amphores", 22.
[101] Komar, "Aegean Wine Imports to the City of Rome," 95.
[102] Laubenheimer, "Amphoras and Shipwrecks: Wine from the Tyrrhenian Coast at the End of the Republic and Its Distribution in Gaul," 97.
[103] Laubenheimer, 98.
[104] Hamilakis, "Food Technologies/Technologies of the Body: The Social Context of Wine and Oil Production and Consumption in Bronze Age Crete," 42.
[105] Hadjisavvas and Chaniotis, "Wine and olive oil in Crete and Cyprus: socio-economic aspects," 163.
[106] Hadjisavvas and Chaniotis, 169.
[107] Hadjisavvas and Chaniotis, 168.

geared towards funding and providing for the *syssitia*, or common mess halls.[108] Wine production was on a modest scale. One example appears northwest of Herakleion, from the third century BCE in Agia Pelagia where 25m^2 of wine stocking stores were excavated, indicating the median amount being produced.[109] Therefore, local consumption was the main focus before the influx of Roman migrants. Following his victory over Mark Antony at Actium in 31 BCE, Augustus (Octavian) founded Colonia Iulia Nobilis Cnosus at the ancient Bronze Age site of Knossos, creating the first center for Cretans with new Roman citizenships or a colony for settlers arriving predominantly from Campania, a region famous for their viticulture.[110] However, once the province of *Creta et Cyrenaica* was founded, the large city of Gortyn was made the capital and became a hub for traders due to its port as early as the first century BCE.[111]Additionally, the city of Lyttos became the primary producer of wine for Crete, the evidence of this will be demonstrated later on.

The increase of viticulture spread throughout the island which created a massive increase in production and exportation in the following centuries. The fertile plain of Mesera, near the palace of Phaistos, has been used in agricultural production since the Early Bronze Age. Thus, there is no question that the Romans utilized this area and other plains of Crete by creating a number of small concentrated settlements for extensive production from their vineyards.[112] While also increasing the existence of villas, most likely based on Roman *Latifundia*.[113]

By the second century CE, Crete was exporting a significant amount of wine and literary sources, before the Roman expansion onto the island, seldom mentioned Cretan wine.[114] With the exception of Polybius as he notes, "In Rome, the women are forbidden to drink wine, but they drink the so-called *passum*. This is made from raisins and tastes almost like the sweet wine from Aegosthenae and the one from Crete."[115] Sweet wine was the dominant style of wine from the island. However, with the new changes in agricultural practices and the increase in viticulture, more textual evidence becomes apparent. Several medical works, like Galen, mention a variety of Cretan wine made of raisins which include, *passum, passon, staphidites,* and *hepsema*.[116] The latter is more of a syrup, as the grapes would have been boiled in oil before fermentation. Sweet wine from Crete,

[108] Chaniotis, "What Difference Did Rome Make? The Cretans and the Roman Empire," 86.
[109] Chaniotis, 86.
[110] Chaniotis, 86.
[111] Hadjisavvas and Chaniotis, "Wine and olive oil in Crete and Cyprus: socio-economic aspects," 169.
[112] Chaniotis, "What Difference Did Rome Make? The Cretans and the Roman Empire," 89.
[113] Chaniotis, 88-89. Hadjisavvas and Chaniotis, "Wine and olive oil in Crete and Cyprus: socio-economic aspects," 169.
[114] Chaniotis, 89.
[115] Polybius, *The Histories,* 6.11a4.
[116] Chaniotis, "What Difference Did Rome Make? The Cretans and the Roman Empire," 90.

according to Pliny the Elder, is the best choice possible.[117] Furthermore, the Cretan drink is mentioned in Martial's Epigrams and Juvenal's 14th satire. Additionally, farther into the imperial period during the 4th century CE, the only product which is mentioned in the anonymous geographical manual *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* is wine from the island.[118] This increase in literary evidence demonstrates how the Romans heightened production of Cretan wine by changing the agricultural landscape to suit large amounts of exportation.

In northeastern Crete at Chersonesos, several pieces of ostraca were excavated detailing the sale, arrival, and exportation of substantial quantities of liquid, most likely wine and olive oil.[119] During this time, Cretan trade and commerce of wine clearly thrived. In conjunction to this came a swell in amphorae production based on increased archaeological evidence found throughout the Roman world and on the island. During Hellenistic Crete, as previously mentioned, agricultural production, including wine, was produced primarily for local needs. Although it is clear that some wine was traded, with Polybius as an example, there is a clear lack of intensive amphorae production. Before the Romans' arrival, amphorae workshops only appeared in a few areas on the island such as Gortyn, Knossos, and Keratokambos.[120] However, by the second century CE, Cretan wine -and their respective amphorae- were some of the most imported products into Rome.[121] Additionally, in the first three centuries CE, four types of Cretan amphorae began production throughout the region by the Romans, Crètois 1-4 (AC).[122]

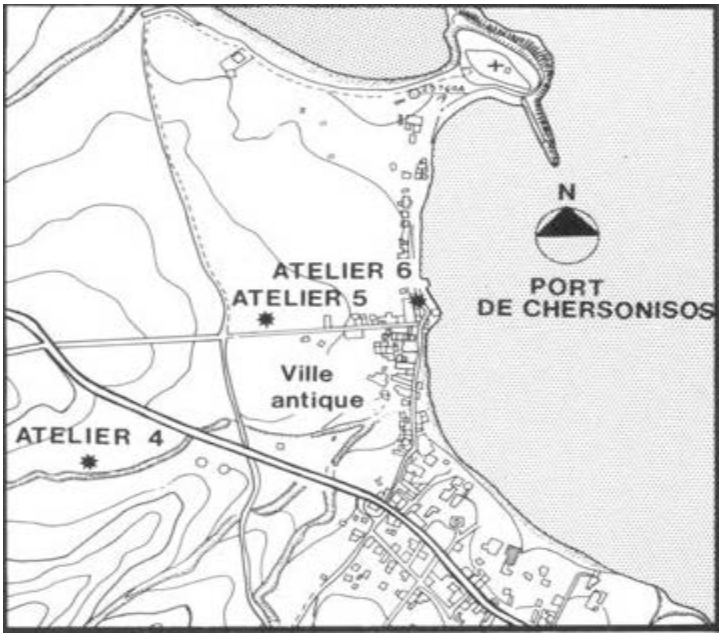
The Romans understood the need to have workshops near fertile areas for wine production and near bodies of water, either the ocean or rivers, for the resources (clay and water) needed for manufacturing amphorae. Additionally, the idea of implementing workshops on the periphery of the island, near cities on the coast, is to have smooth access to the ports for coastal trade.[123] One of the prominent examples is Chersonesos. Marangou-Lerat, a French scholar, surveyed the island of Crete for amphorae workshops in the 1980s and discovered sixteen around the coast. At the northeastern archaeological site of Chersonesos three 'ateliers' (workshops: AT4-AT6) were uncovered (Figure 1). This ancient port city is surrounded by fertile plains with a stream through its center, creating perfect conditions for wine and amphorae production. The primary producer for wine during the imperial period on Crete was the city of Lyttos. With connections reaching as far back as the third century BC, Chersonesos is assumed to be the

[117] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 14.11.
[118] Hadjisavvas and Chaniotis, "Wine and olive oil in Crete and Cyprus: socio-economic aspects," 169.
[119] Hadjisavvas and Chaniotis, 169.
[120] Chaniotis, "What Difference Did Rome Make? The Cretans and the Roman Empire," 89.
[121] Komar, "Aegean Wine Imports to the City of Rome," 107.
[122] Empereur et al. "Recherches sur les centres de fabrication d'amphores de Crète occidentale," 578.
[123] Marangou-Lerat, "Le vin et les amphores de Crète: de l'époque classique à l'époque impériale," 63.

main exporter for the mountainous town of Lyttos, indicating the rise in wine exportation created a spike in amphorae production in the region.[124]

Fig. 1: Three workshops found in Chersonesos (Marangou-Lerat 1995: 46).

The first of three is classified by Marangou-Lerat as AT4 (Atelier 4) and was found to have produced AC 1 and 2 amphorae in the eastern side of the potters quarter.[125] Most likely in production, either by multiple small workshops or a large one, from the second century CE with the AC2a variety and the AC1b/e styles in the following two centuries.[126] The second 'atelier' AT5 production began around the second into the third centuries CE.[127] The prominent variety



found at the site is the AC1b type. Finally, the third workshop in the potter's quarter AT6 sits directly on the coast. Marangou-Lerat does not give the type of Cretan amphorae that would have been produced, however there is evidence of the style of Late Roman 1 from the very late imperial era.[128] Nevertheless, this region of Crete demonstrates the increase in production of amphorae occurred in conjunction with the yield of wine, especially because of the proximity with Lyttos.

Cretan amphorae began to spread across the Roman world and many contain engraved or painted inscriptions, or *tituli picti*, in Greek and Latin, which provide a variety of details. Most however are found at Pompeii, while others were discovered at Athens, Naples, Cremona, and a variety of coastal sites around

[124] Marangou-Lerat, "Le vin et les amphores de Crète: de l'époque classique à l'époque impériale," 45.
[125] Marangou-Lerat, 45.
[126] Marangou-Lerat, 45.
[127] Marangou-Lerat, 47.
[128] Marangou-Lerat, 48.

France.[129] The finds at Pompeii were originally surveyed in 1909 and the Cretan amphorae discovered were classified as Pompeiian types.[130] Thus, Marangou decided to survey the deposits himself in 1992 which, in turn, reclassified many finds at the site. The French scholar had found 420 Cretan amphorae (AC1-AC4), that the Pompeii VIII type conformed to the AC2 variety and the ones classified as Pompeii X are a mixture of AC1-AC3.[131] Not all of these contain inscriptions, they nevertheless provide even further evidence of an increase in exportation of wine, thus leading to more amphorae production.

The *tituli picti* on the amphorae found in Pompeii provide detailed evidence of types of wine being transported, names of producers or merchants, the year of the yield, region of production, and the variety of the wine being ferried. The most productive area, Lyttos, is mentioned 44 times on sherds of the AC2 type (Pompeii VIII), once on a fragment of Pompeii XII (Dressel 2-4) and several times on unknown amphorae.[132] Not only did Crete export their famous sweet wine, they also produced a large variety of different types which can be seen on the inscriptions. A *vin doux* (weak wine) is often signified by Greek inscriptions and a *rubrum* (*red*) or *vetus* (*old*) wine are in Latin.[133] Additionally, Crete produced floral and myrtle wines in addition to their famous sweet wine.[134]

In the city of Rome, the site of *Nuovo Mercato di Testaccio* provides even further support for the large-scale Cretan exportation of wine and amphorae production. A preliminary study at this archaeological excavation found that 91.5% of all containers found were wine amphorae and that 88.4% came from the eastern regions of the empire.[135] While 94.7% of the latter were of Cretan origin. The report eventually led to the site of *Nuovo Mercato di Testaccio* containing 3817 Cretan amphorae with around half from the second century CE.[136] These finds suggest further increase of wine exportation by the Romans created an advance of amphorae production in Crete.

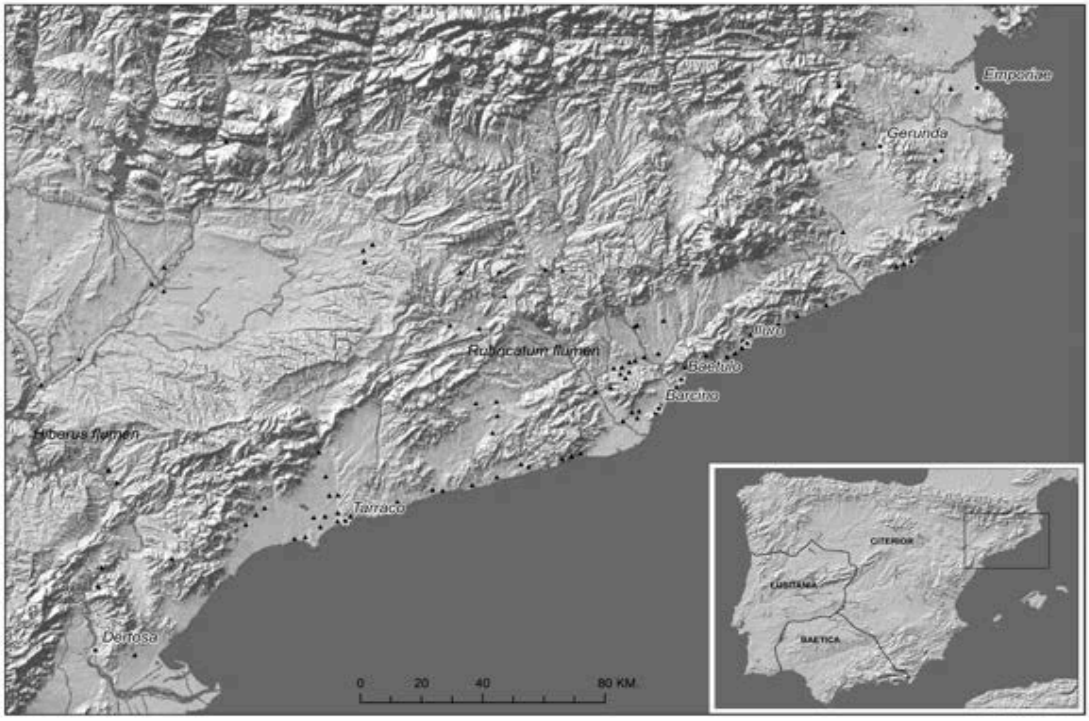
Moving into Hispania, the Western part of the Roman world. The conquest of the Iberian peninsula began against the Carthaginians in 218 BCE, finally ending two centuries later in 19 BCE, and eventually separating into several imperial provinces, *Hispania Citerior* (*Tarraconensis*)*, Baetica,* and *Lusitania* in 27 CE.[137] During the first century BCE, there were many efforts by the Romans to

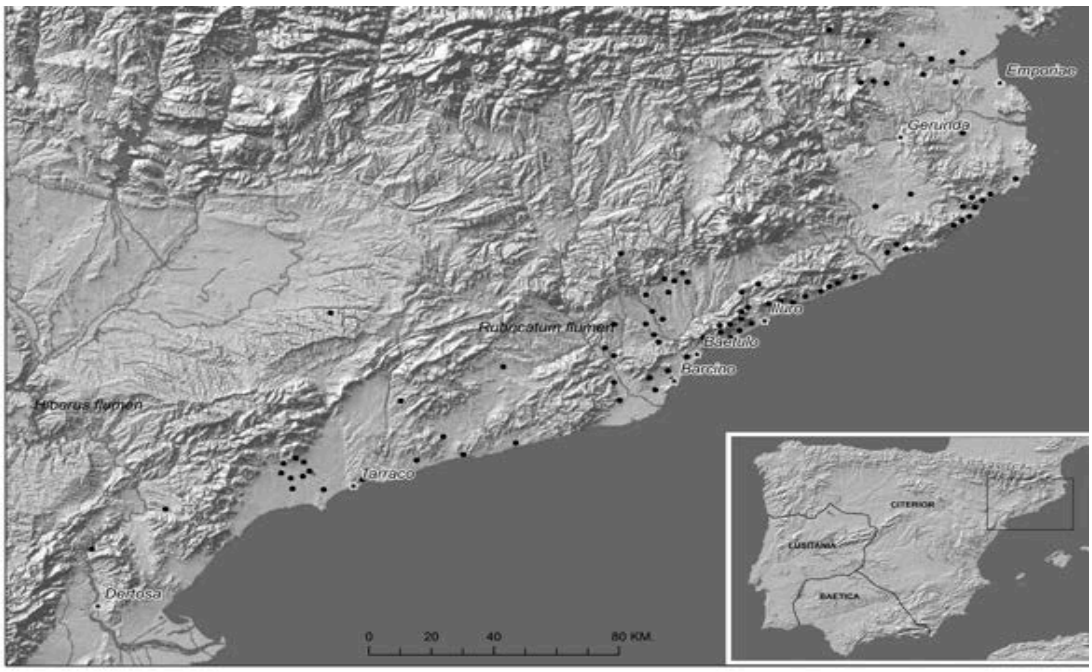
[129] Marangou-Lerat, 128.
[130] Marangou-Lerat, 130-131.
[131] Marangou-Lerat, 130.
[132] Marangou-Lerat, 132.
[133] Marangou-Lerat, 134.
[134] Hadjisavvas and Chaniotis, "Wine and olive oil in Crete and Cyprus: socio-economic aspects," 169.
[135] Komar, "Aegean Wine Imports to the City of Rome," 104.
[136] Komar, "Aegean Wine Imports to the City of Rome," 104.
[137] Rodá, "Hispania: From the Roman Republic to the Reign of Augustus," 537.

assimilate the region in their culture, economy, and administration.[138] Just as in Crete, a major cultural change occurred within the new provinces with the arrival of Rome. Therefore, one major element brought in was an increase in viticulture in the region, which additionally created an expansion in amphorae production within the region. This will be shown through the evolution of the variety of amphorae that began to be produced in the Ibarian peninsula under Roman control.

Wine production in *Hispania Citerior* -which will be the focused area mainly the northeast- had been present before the arrival of Rome, even from the Iron age in the Tarraco and Catalan coastal areas.[139] However, the production would have been primarily for local consumption. Furthermore, the wine which dominated the markets around the second to the first centuries BCE were Italian.[140] The evidence comes from large quantities of Italic amphorae styles such as Dressel 1 and Lamboglia 2. With the local expansion of viticulture, the production of amphorae were initially imitations of the Italian variety.[141] It was only in the late first century BC, as was with Crete, that the demand grew for concentrated exportation of wine which coincided with an increase in trade settlements, vineyards, processing complexes (*torcularia*), villa-type structures, and a large acceleration in pottery workshops (*figlinae*).[142]

[138] Martínez-Ferreras et al. "The Port-Vendres 4 Shipwreck Cargo: evidence of the Roman wine trade in the western Mediterranean," 278.
[139] Martín et al. "The wine economy in Roman Hispania. Archaeological data and modellization," 196.
[140] Martínez-Ferreras et al. "The Port-Vendres 4 Shipwreck Cargo: evidence of the Roman wine trade in the western Mediterranean," 278.
[141] Martín et al. "The wine economy in Roman Hispania. Archaeological data and modellization," 196.
[142] Martínez-Ferreras et al. "The Port-Vendres 4 Shipwreck Cargo: evidence of the Roman wine trade in the western Mediterranean," 278. Martín et al. "The wine economy in Roman Hispania. Archaeological data and modellization," 196.





There are various areas within *Hispania Citerior* which began more intensive and large-scale wine production around the former half of the first century CE.[143] The Romans, like in Crete, had a clear emphasis to be near waterways, such as rivers, for access into the interior of the peninsula and oceans for quick access to coastal port/trade cities. Many of them thrived with the increase in viticulture such as

[143] Martín et al. "The wine economy in Roman Hispania. Archaeological data and modellization," 196.

Tarraco, with substantial additional vineyards around the town's hinterland.[144] During the late Republican period, various colonies along the coast of *Hispania Citerior* were founded.[145] Some notable towns include Iluro and Barcino (modern day Barcelona) which boomed with the exportation of wine in the surrounding areas and eventually developed their own styles of amphorae which will be discussed later. In addition to founding colonies, the Romans built many villas, like in Crete, as a center of operations for the nearby vineyards and other agricultural practices.[146] These *villae* were immensely important for the production of wine as they either contained a large *torcularium* or managed several individual *torcularia* in the surrounding region for processing.[147] Not only did the villas contain wine making facilities, they further held pottery workshops or *figlinae*.[148] However, they did not encompass every single *torcularia* or *figlinae* within *Hispania Citerior* as there were various smaller workshops and production facilities around the new colonies (Figures 2 and 3).

Fig. 2: Map of *torcularia* (processing facilities) in *Hispania Citerior* as the black triangles (Martín et al. 2017: 222).

Figure 3: Map of *figlinae* (amphorae workshops) in *Hispania Citerior* as the black dots (Martín et al. 2017: 223).

As shown in the previous two figures, the various wine processing facilities and pottery workshops in *Hispania Citerior* were closely tied together. Thus, with the Romans increasing the presence of viticulture in the regions, so too did the number of amphorae workshops expand. As figure 3 demonstrates, in the northeast of the province, there are 90 identifiable *figlinae* that are known to have created wine amphorae. The workshops seem to have been on the outskirts of town in their own quarter, yet remained near the port towns and wine processing facilities.

The most common amphorae types that were produced throughout the entire region are Pascual 1 and Dressel 2-4.[149] Before these varieties arrived, the foremost area in northeast *Hispania Citerior* for amphorae production lay in the hinterlands around Iluro. The first types manufactured were Italic imitations, such as the Dressel 1 Citerior in the former half of the first century BCE.[150] During this time, the port city Tarraco began developing their own style as well. Around midway into the same century, Tarraconense 1A, 1B, 1C, 1D, 1E quickly became the popular style.[151] By the following decades, the popular Pascual 1 style

[144] Martín et al. 198.
[145] Martín et al. 196-200.
[146] Martín et al. 199.
[147] Martín et al. 200-201.
[148] Martín et al. 199.
[149] Martín et al. "The wine economy in Roman Hispania. Archaeological data and modellization," 202.
[150] Martínez-Ferreras et al. "The Port-Vendres 4 Shipwreck Cargo: evidence of the Roman wine trade in the western Mediterranean," 278.
[151] Martínez-Ferreras et al. 278.

appeared and began swiftly spreading throughout the region. Every *figlinae* producing amphorae near wine processing facilities commenced mainly manufacturing the Pascual 1 type.[152] This variety has been found in the Gallic provinces, the Germanic frontier, and even in Roman Britain which indicates the wide popularity this style of amphorae had in Hispania.[153] While there were still secondary types of amphorae being manufactured, like the Oberaden 74 and Dressel 7-11 varieties, the evolution of their designs essentially concludes with the Dressel 2-4 variety. As this type of amphorae became the predominant style in *figlinae* in northeast *Hispania Citerior* for the remainder of the Roman occupation.[154]

It is clear as the Romans attempt to assimilate different conquered regions of the Mediterranean into their empire, they strive to create more viticulture in the area. As vine production was key to their economy and way of life, developing it in regions would thus grow amphorae production as well. This was demonstrated in *Hispania Citerior* by looking at how the Romans increased the exploitation of wine throughout the northeast. Followed with the rise of amphorae workshops and the progression of their styles throughout the earlier centuries of Roman occupation.

Proceeding to the Northern part of the Roman world, Britannia. The idea of conquest first began with Julius Caesar's incursions into the island. It was under the reign of Claudius the Romans sent a substantial invasion force in 43 CE. Around 45 000 troops crossed the channel consisting of four legions and a variety of auxiliary units.[155] By 84 CE the expansion of the Romans reached their peak which created many different forts throughout the region. This region is separate, in the manner that viticulture seems to not have been the main focus, unlike Crete and Hispania. Thus, Britain is important for demonstrating the far reaching variety of production and transportation of wine through amphorae.

During the occupation of Britain, winemaking appears to not have been a core element of their presence on the island, most likely due to weather conditions not suitable for vineyards. Therefore, archaeological evidence for Roman viticulture in Britain is scarce. There had been excavations done at Grendon in 1995, Buckinghamshire in 1989, Lincolnshire in 1967, and Gloucester in 1894 for probable locations of Roman vineyards.[156] However, excavations done in the Nene Valley at Wollaston demonstrate moderately sized grapevines. Around 6 km

[152] Martínez-Ferreras et al. 279.
[153] Martínez-Ferreras et al. 279.
[154] Martín et al. "The wine economy in Roman Hispania. Archaeological data and modellization," 202. Martínez-Ferreras et al. "The Port-Vendres 4 Shipwreck Cargo: evidence of the Roman wine trade in the western Mediterranean," 280.
[155] Shotter, *Roman Britain*, 20.
[156] Brown and Meadows, "Roman vineyards in Britain: finds from the Nene Valley and new research," 492.

of *pastinatio* style trenches were found.[157] These contain evidence of post holes approximately 1.5 m apart, although as Brown and Meadows notes, "The post pits did not form a coherent plan and probably reflected renewal/replacement of posts over an extended period."[158] Thus, weather conditions must have contributed to the constant change of the posts. The excavated trenches would have sustained 4000 vines, which could produce around 10 500 litres of wine.[159] The question does arise with the wine production in the Nene Valley, how did the people at Wollaston transport or trade their product?

This region of Roman Britain is supposedly famous for their pottery products of cooking ware, however, none of the works from the Nene Valley seem to be related to amphorae production.[160] Cool suggests the Romans are shipping wine from this region around with wooden barrels.[161] This seems to correspond with the soldiers stationed on or near Hadrian's wall as the evidence levels of amphorae drop by the third century CE.[162] This, in turn, appeals to the suggestion of wooden barrels being used by the Romans. Nevertheless, viticulture in Britain during Rome's occupation does not reach comparable levels to Crete and Hispania. The island also seems to not have amphorae workshops for the modest scale of wine production. Therefore, the soldiers stationed in Britain would have had to import the drink on a large scale. This demonstrates amphorae productions within the originating regions, especially in Gaul and Rhodes.

After the conquest of Britain, soldiers began occupying the region and built a variety of forts. Additionally, wine began to arrive in large quantities. The type soldiers normally drank in the Roman army was *posca*, which is best described as vinegar. However, the wine imported into the island might not have always been *posca* because of the various regions they arrive from. The first type of amphorae sherds found were of the Dressel 1A variety from Italy in the middle first century BCE during Julius Caesar's incursions.[163] These were mostly found in the Wessex and Essex regions.[164] By the imperial era, Rome had an increased presence within Britain. The amphorae evidence suggests massive importation of wine from a variety of regions within the empire. Early first century forts were mainly supplied by Dressel 2-4 amphorae, but the regions are not specified, meaning they could range from Italy, Hispania, or Gaul.[165] In addition, amphorae

[157] Brown and Meadows, 492.
[158] Brown and Meadows, 491.
[159] Brown and Meadows, 492.
[160] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain*, 136. Brown and Meadows, "Roman vineyards in Britain: finds from the Nene Valley and new research," 491-492.
[161] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain*, 136.
[162] Cool, 134.
[163] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain*, 131.
[164] Cool, 131.
[165] Cool, 133.

carrying wine from Rhodes began appearing in larger quantities.[166] However by the late first century CE, Gallic wine became the majority of importation due to heavy presence of "Gauloise" amphorae within a variety of forts.[167] Their presence is also discovered in more rural areas, indicating the wide range Gallic wine reached.

Although there is no clear evidence of large scale amphorae production and minimal viticulture with Roman expansion in Britain, this area of the empire is nonetheless important for demonstrating the sheer scale of wine transportation and how in other regions, not mentioned in this essay, amphorae seem to begin further production as the Romans export their wine, like Gaul and Rhodes.

As Rome grew, so did their demands. The empire was thirsty and remembering the large quantities of wine consumed -just in the city of Rome at one million inhabitants- leads to the understanding of that need. While conquering new areas of the Mediterranean, they could supply their demand by increasing viticulture in these recently acquired regions. As the Romans began exporting larger quantities of wine, they needed to increase the most important method of ancient packaging. Thus, this essay has demonstrated how amphorae production throughout the later Republic into the empire rose in conjunction with wine production, transportation, and exportation. This was done by looking at Crete, Hispania, and Britain. While the former had viticulture on the island since the Bronze Age, the Romans expanded it by utilizing the fertile plains of the island and increasing amphorae workshops ('ateliers') in coastal trading cities. The elevated levels of Cretan amphorae found throughout the Mediterranean, especially in Pompeii and Rome, and the increase of literary evidence on wine from the island supports these findings.

Hispania's conquest was more drawn out than Crete, however, the methods that the Romans used to increase viticulture and amphorae production were very similar. By creating new colonies on the coast for export, building villas to control the vineyards, processing facilities (*torcularium*), and pottery workshops (*figlinae*), theRomans were able to increase wine production in conjunction with amphorae and the new varieties which come out of northeastern *Hispania Citerior*.

Britain's case is interesting in the idea that it demonstrates the large-scale transportation of wine and the increase in amphorae production throughout the Roman world. They clearly did not see the island as a place for vast amounts of wine production and was most likely for local consumption. Therefore, amphorae production was not an important issue for the Romans in that region. However,Britain exhibits the other regions not mentioned in this essay, which had

[166] Cool, 134.
[167] Cool, 134.

undergone a similar situation as Crete and Hispania. In essence, it is clear that Roman wine and amphorae production rose in conjunction with each other.

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DIGITIZING THE EMPIRE: OPPORTUNITIES AND OBSTACLES IN ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Kindsey Juteau

Abstract

Digital technologies have opened new possibilities for studying the ancient world, especially in a complex and heavily altered city like Rome. Tools such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS), 3D modeling, and virtual reality allow archaeologists to reconstruct missing structures, analyze spatial relationships, and present research in accessible ways. This paper examines how these digital methods shape our understanding of ancient Rome and argues that their value depends on transparency, collaboration, and careful interpretation. Drawing on examples including the reconstruction of the Forum of Augustus, the Rome Reborn project, and GIS-based studies of Roman roads and urban planning, the paper highlights how digital systems help researchers explore movement, visibility, and urban design in ways not possible through traditional methods alone. At the same time, digital archaeology raises important challenges, from data accuracy and interpretive bias to technical complexity and ethical concerns surrounding public access. By balancing innovation with responsible practice, digital archaeology can enrich both scholarly research and public engagement. Ultimately, this paper shows that digital tools work best when they complement, rather than replace, conventional archaeological methods, offering new insights into the lived experience of ancient Rome.

Introduction

Digital technologies have transformed the way archaeologists study the ancient world. In the last two decades, tools such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS), 3D modeling, and virtual reality have allowed researchers to collect, analyze, and present archaeological data in new ways. These technologies make it possible to reconstruct lost spaces, visualize ancient environments, and understand how ancient peoples interacted with their surroundings. Ancient Rome, one of the most studied cities in history, has become a major testing ground for these methods. This paper examines the opportunities and challenges of digital archaeology in the study of ancient Rome. It argues that while digital tools have enhanced research and public understanding, they require transparency, collaboration, and methodological reflection to be used

responsibly. By integrating GIS, 3D reconstruction, and data-sharing practices, archaeologists can better understand Roman urban life while maintaining scientific integrity and inclusivity in the digital age.

Opportunities of Digital Archaeology

Visualization and Reconstruction

One of the main benefits of digital archaeology is the ability to reconstruct and visualize ancient architecture and landscapes that no longer exist intact. Techniques like 3D modeling, procedural reconstruction, and immersive visualization allow researchers to explore urban spaces in ways that traditional excavation or drawing alone cannot. This is particularly important for ancient Rome, where centuries of reuse, decay, and redevelopment have obscured or destroyed much of the original urban fabric.

Di Angelo et al. demonstrate this through their 3D reconstruction of the ancient incile of the Fucino Lake, a major Roman hydraulic engineering project that drained the lake to create farmland[168]. Their model combined archaeological measurements, historical maps, and satellite imagery to create a detailed representation of the water channel and its surroundings[169]. This reconstruction revealed how the incile connected to nearby settlements, highlighting the precision of Roman hydraulic engineering and providing insight into their water management, agricultural planning, and landscape organization[170]. Similarly, Ferdani et al.[171] reconstructed the Forum of Augustus in Rome using a combination of photogrammetry, laser scanning, and archival drawings. Their project emphasized the importance of rigorous data verification, as assumptions about wall height, column placement, or the function of spaces could significantly alter interpretations[172]. After validating the model, researchers could explore sightlines, visibility, and spatial relationships from within the forum, offering insights into the interplay between architecture, ritual, and political activity. Their work illustrates that digital reconstructions are not just visual tools; they are analytical frameworks for testing hypotheses about urban use and human experience. Other

[168] Luca Di Angelo et al., "3D Virtual Reconstruction of the Ancient Roman Incile of the Fucino Lake," *Sensors* 19, no. 16 (2019): 3-4.
[169] Di Angelo et al., 4.
[170] Di Angelo et al., 4.
[171] Daniele Ferdani et al., "3D Reconstruction and Validation of Historical Background for Immersive VR Applications and Games: The Case Study of the Forum of Augustus in Rome," *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 43 (2020): 130-132.
[172] Ferdani et al., 134

large-scale projects, such as Rome Reborn, further highlight the potential of digital reconstruction. Dylla et al.[173] describe Rome Reborn 2.0 as a procedural model that reconstructs over 7,000 buildings using archaeological data, ancient texts, and Renaissance maps. The project allows scholars to simulate movement through the city and study interactions in public spaces, providing an unprecedented view of urban life in ancient Rome. Fasolo[174] expands on this by describing Rome Reborn 4.0, an immersive virtual reality platform that allows users to explore reconstructed streets, monuments, and neighborhoods interactively. This approach bridges academic research and public engagement, enabling audiences to experience Rome digitally in ways that static maps or photographs cannot replicate.

Procedural modeling also adds flexibility to digital reconstruction. Saldana[175] explains that this method allows researchers to adjust parameters, such as wall height, material type, or street alignment, when new evidence emerges, thereby reducing the risk of presenting a single, definitive interpretation of the past. By contrast, static models may inadvertently suggest certainty where archaeological evidence is incomplete. Evans and Daly[176] support this view, arguing that combining traditional excavation, mapping, and drawing with digital tools produces more robust, transparent interpretations of archaeological sites. Overall, visualization and reconstruction technologies have reshaped the study of ancient Rome.

Spatial Analysis with GIS

Geographic Information System (GIS) have become essential tools in digital archaeology, allowing researchers to record, analyze, and visualize spatial relationships across sites, buildings, and landscapes. In the study of ancient Rome, GIS provides insights into how cities and regions were organized, how people moved through urban spaces, and how infrastructure supported trade, communication, and social interaction.

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[173] Kimberly Dylla et al., "Rome Reborn 2.0: A Case Study of Virtual City Reconstruction Using Procedural Modeling Techniques," *Computer Graphics World* 16, no. 6 (2008): 62-66.
[174] Michele Fasolo, "Rome Reborn 4.0: A Virtual Tour into the Heart of the Eternal City," *Archeomatica* 15, no. 1 (2024): 2-3.
[175] Marie Saldana, "An Integrated Approach to the Procedural Modeling of Ancient Cities and Buildings," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 30, suppl. 1 (2015): 148-155.
[176] Thomas L. Evans and Patrick Daly, eds., *Digital Archaeology: Bridging Method and Theory*, 1st ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006): 15-18.

Alvarez and Fernandez[177] used GIS to examine Roman road XIX, which connected the towns of Tude and Luco Augusti in northwestern Hispania. By integrating archaeological data, historical itineraries, and topographic information, their study mapped the transportation network in relation to settlements, water sources, and natural terrain[178]. This approach revealed how Roman engineers balanced efficiency with geographic constraints which demonstrated how roads influenced economic connections, settlement patterns, and the spread of Roman culture. Without GIS, detecting any large-scale patterns would be difficult due to the fragmentary nature of surviving physical remains. GIS is equally valuable in urban contexts, helping researchers study city structure and spatial experiences. Hanson et al.[179]applied GIS to analyze the spatial organization of Roman cities across multiple provinces. Their work mapped street networks, public spaces, and building density, showing that Roman urban planning emphasized accessibility and connectivity[180]. Central areas such as forums, temples, and marketplaces were highly connected, while residential neighborhoods varied according to population density and local geography[181]. This type of analysis provides insight into social and economic hierarchies, as well as practical considerations such as movement and communication within urban environments. Landeschi[182] extends this approach by integrating 3D modeling with GIS. Traditional GIS maps are two-dimensional, which limits the study of visibility, movement, and spatial perception. By using three-dimensional GIS, archaeologists can simulate sightlines, pedestrian routes, and spatial experiences[183]. For example, researchers can model which monuments were visible from certain streets or speculate on how processions might have moved. Combining GIS with 3D visualization allows scholars to study both the functional layout of the city and the experiential perspective of its inhabitants, bridging the gap between physical infrastructure and human experience.

[177] Patricia A. Argüelles- Álvarez and Pedro Trapero- Fernández, "Analysing Roman Itineraries Using GIS Tooling: The Case of the Road XIX (Mansions from Tude to Luco Augusti)," *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 17, no. 3 (2025): 2-5.
[178] Alvarez and Fernandez, 6.
[179] John W. Hanson et al., "Urban Form, Infrastructure and Spatial Organisation in the Roman Empire," *Antiquity* 93, no. 369 (2019): 702-707.
[180] Hanson et al., 703.
[181] Hanson et al., 706-708
[182] Giacomo Landeschi, "Rethinking GIS, Three-Dimensionality and Space Perception in Archaeology," *World Archaeology* 51, no. 1 (2019): 20-28
[183] Landeschi, 17-32

Additionally, GIS makes significant contributions to accessibility in data management. Hagmann[184]emphasizes applying FAIR (Findable, Accessible, Interoperable, Reusable) data principles, making archeological data discoverable and usable to promote collaboration through open science . Open and standardized spatial data allows researchers to combine maps, excavation coordinates, and models across projects, facilitating collaboration and ensuring that studies are reproducible[185]. In practice, this means that road networks, building layouts, and urban infrastructure can be shared between scholars and analyzed collectively, creating a cumulative knowledge base for Roman archaeology[186]. GIS enables archaeologists to study ancient Rome at multiple scales, from regional road networks to detailed urban neighborhoods. It also allows researchers to visualize how geography and infrastructure shaped everyday life, supported economic activity, and reflected social hierarchies.

Accessibility and Public Engagement

Digital archaeology has greatly expanded access to the study of ancient Rome for scholars and the general public alike. Virtual reconstructions, online databases, and immersive platforms allow users to explore ancient spaces remotely, making archaeological research more inclusive and educational. These tools also preserve cultural heritage by creating detailed digital records of sites that may no longer exist in their original form or are at risk of decay.

Dylla et al.[187] highlight that virtual models such as Rome Reborn 2.0 allow users to explore streets, neighborhoods, and monuments that have been destroyed or transformed over time. The project digitally recreated over 7,000 buildings, including major temples, forums, and public spaces[188]. By simulating full city districts, researchers can test theories about urban density, street layout, and infrastructure, while students and the public gain an interactive experience that static maps or photographs cannot provide. Fasolo[189]expands on this with Rome Reborn 4.0, an immersive virtual reality platform that allows users to navigate ancient Rome in real time. The project enables viewers to explore sites –such as the Colosseum, Imperial Forums, and Baths of Caracalla– and

[184] Dominik Hagmann, "Adopt, Adapt, and Share! FAIR Archeological Data for Studying Roman Rural Landscapes in Northern Noricum," *Journal of Open Humanities Data* 10, no. 4 (2024):1-3.
[185] Hagman, 1-14.
[186] Hagman, 1-14.
[187] Dylla et al., "Rome Reborn 2.0," 64.
[188] Dylla et al., 65.
[189] Fasolo, "Rome Reborn 4.0," 3.

experience aspects of scale, perspective, and lighting, replicating how ancient Romans perceived these spaces[190]. This immersive approach enhances public engagement, supports educational initiatives in schools and museums, and promotes cultural preservation by providing detailed digital representations of endangered or inaccessible sites.

Beyond visualization, digital accessibility benefits scholarly collaboration. Rodriguez-Garcia et al.[191] conducted a systematic review of 3D reconstruction and VR projects in cultural heritage,emphasizing the value of open-access datasets. Sharing standardized models, metadata, and spatial data allows researchers across institutions and countries to conduct comparative studies, verify findings, and refine methodologies. For instance, a digital reconstruction of a Roman temple in Italy can be compared with similar buildings in Spain or North Africa, providing insight into regional variation and architectural practices[192]. Open-access platforms also foster reproducibility, transparency, and cumulative research, making digital archaeology a collaborative rather than isolated practice. Furthermore, these tools support public education by transforming archaeological knowledge into interactive, experiential formats. Students can explore Roman streets, forums, and public spaces without traveling to Italy, while researchers gain access to comprehensive datasets that facilitate new interpretations. However, expanding accessibility also raises questions about data ownership, long-term preservation, and responsible presentation of information[193]. Projects must carefully balance public engagement with scholarly accuracy and ethical standards to ensure inclusivity without compromising research integrity.

Challenges of Digital Archaeology

Data Accuracy

Digital archaeology depends on the precision of the data used to inform its reconstructions. Any inaccuracies, whether in measurements, spatial data, or interpretive assumptions, can produce misleading or false representations of the past. Ferdani et al.[194] stress that 3D models demand rigorous validation at every stage, from data collection to rendering. Even seemingly minor discrepancies in dimensions or orientation can alter how

[190] Fasolo, 3-5.
[191] Bruno Rodriguez-Garcia et al., "A Systematic Review of Virtual 3D Reconstructions of Cultural Heritage in Immersive Virtual Reality," *Multimedia Tools and Applications* 83, no. 42 (2024): 89743-89784.
[192] Rodriguez-Garcia et al., 89743-89784.
[193] Rodriguez-Garcia et al., 89743-89784.
[194] Ferdani et al., "3D Reconstruction and Validation," 132-134.

a structure appears within its urban context, leading scholars to misinterpret architectural relationships or functions. For example, if wall heights or floor levels are estimated incorrectly, spatial analyses of visibility or access routes can be skewed, potentially leading scholars to misjudge who could enter a building, which areas were prominent or restricted, or how religious ceremonies and social interactions were spatially organized.

GIS-based studies face similar issues. Because GIS relies on spatially accurate coordinates and well-documented datasets, incomplete or imprecise mapping can distort findings about settlement organization, infrastructure, and mobility. Alvarez and Fernandez[195] demonstrate that missing segments of road data can lead to inaccurate conclusions about travel efficiency or trade networks in Roman cities. Likewise, Hanson et al.[196]warn that even small errors in recording building locations can ripple through large-scale analyses, changing interpretations of population density, land use, and urban hierarchy. Ensuring accuracy in digital archaeology therefore requires constant cross-checking between datasets, robust metadata documentation, and collaboration between technical specialists and field archaeologists.

Bias and Subjectivity

Although digital reconstructions are often perceived as objective visualizations of the past, they are inherently interpretive. Every decision, from the selection of primary sources to the colour, texture, or lighting of virtual surfaces, reflects the researcher's theoretical and methodological choices. Ferdani et al.[197] illustrate this issue through their reconstruction of the Forum of Augustus, showing how varying assumptions about architectural scale or spatial use yield multiple plausible, yet distinct, outcomes. The act of filling in the gaps where data is missing introduces creative judgment, blurring the line between empirical reconstruction and hypothetical visualization[198].

This subjectivity is not necessarily a flaw, but it must be acknowledged and managed. Rodriguez-Garcia et al.[199]argue that transparency in documenting methodological decisions is key to maintaining scholarly credibility. By clearly recording modeling choices,

[195] Álvarez and Fernández, "Analysing Roman Itineraries," 2-9.
[196] Hanson et al., "Urban Form, Infrastructure," 705-708.
[197] Ferdani et al., "3D Reconstruction and Validation," 134-136.
[198] Ferdani et al., "3D Reconstruction and Validation," 130-136.
[199] Rodriguez-Garcia et al., "A Systematic Review," 89743-89784.

material sources, and interpretive assumptions, digital archaeologists enable others to critique or reproduce their results. Such openness aligns with broader trends in open science and digital ethics, which emphasize reproducibility and collaborative verification. In this way, acknowledging subjectivity becomes part of a rigorous scholarly process rather than a weakness to be concealed.

Technical Complexity and Big Data

The technological sophistication required to manage the massive datasets of modern archaeology presents another layer of difficulty. Lawrence[200] points out that the advent of "big data" in Roman archaeology demands both advanced computational skills and theoretical literacy to interpret quantitative results meaningfully. Digital projects often integrate a range of data types, architectural measurements, topographical maps, artifact catalogues, inscriptions, and textual evidence, all of which must be standardized, formatted, and spatially aligned before analysis.

Procedural modeling and GIS software can handle such complexity, but these tools are not foolproof. Errors in data processing or software limitations can cascade through analyses, potentially obscuring meaningful relationships or exaggerating patterns that do not exist. Saldana[201]emphasizes that flexible procedural modeling frameworks, while helpful for managing large-scale reconstructions, still require careful oversight and validation at multiple stages. Technical collaboration is therefore essential: digital archaeologists must work closely with programmers, data scientists, and domain experts to ensure that analytical methods match the nuances of archaeological interpretation. The challenge lies between balancing computational efficiency and interpretive depth, ensuring that technological innovation serves rather than dominates the research process.

Ethical Concerns

The ethical implications of digital archaeology are increasingly significant as reconstructions and datasets become widely accessible online. Public dissemination of virtual models can unintentionally expose sensitive archaeological sites to looting or vandalism or mislead audiences by presenting speculative reconstructions as factual. Fasolo[202] stresses that

[200] Andrew Kenneth Lawrence, "Harder – Better – Faster – Stronger? Roman Archaeology and the Challenge of 'Big Data,'" *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* 5, no. 1 (2022): 2-20.
[201] Saldana, "An Integrated Approach," 150-155.
[202] Fasolo, "Rome Reborn 4.0," 2-8.

virtual reconstructions should clearly communicate levels of uncertainty, enabling viewers to distinguish between verified evidence and interpretive reconstruction. Failure to do so risks turning scholarly work into a misleading spectacle, undermining public trust. Hagmann[203]expands on this by addressing the ethical concerns inherent in open data initiatives. While sharing datasets promotes collaboration and transparency, it also raises questions about ownership, cultural sensitivity, and preservation. Some materials, especially those tied to sacred or fragile heritage, should not be freely circulated without contextual safeguards. Evans and Daly[204]underscore that ethical digital practice involves transparency, full documentation of methods, and responsible communication of findings.

Conclusion

As digital tools become more advanced, the integration of GIS, 3D modeling, and immersive visualization is reshaping how archaeologists study ancient Rome. The growing combination of these methods, as seen in projects like Rome Reborn and the reconstruction of the Forum of Augustus, demonstrates that technology can extend archaeological interpretation beyond excavation sites. These digital frameworks bring together spatial data, architecture, and social analysis, offering new insights into urban movement, planning, and daily experiences. At the same time, the effectiveness of digital archaeology depends on accuracy, transparency, and ethical responsibility. Researchers must continue validating models, documenting decisions, and acknowledging uncertainty. Ethical use of digital tools also means protecting sensitive information while making research accessible to both scholars and the public.

Digital archaeology does not replace traditional fieldwork, mapping, or archival research; it enhances them. When applied carefully, these methods allow archaeologists to test new hypotheses, explore urban systems, and visualize the lived experiences of ancient Rome's inhabitants. The field's future lies in balancing technological innovation with scholarly rigor. Continued collaboration between archaeologists, digital specialists, and historians will ensure that reconstructions of ancient Rome remain accurate, transparent, and meaningful for both research and education.

[203] Hagmann, "Adopt, Adapt, and Share," 3-8.
[204] Thomas L. Evans and Patrick Daly, eds., *Digital Archaeology: Bridging Method and Theory*, 1st ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006): 15-18.

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OVID'S *EPISTULAE EX PONTO*: LETTERS AS POEMS, POEMS AS GIFTS

Elaine Slonim

For my parents, Joseph and Rebecca Slonim

Abstract

In the year 8 C.E. The emperor Augustus sent Publius Ovidius Naso into exile for a mysterious reason. Ovid, an urbane man, spent the remainder of his life – eight or nine miserable years - in Tomis on what is now the Romanian coast of the Black Sea. As the years rolled by, Ovid became ever more in need of relief from the horrid (as he describes them) circumstances of his exile. With ever-increasing urgency, he attempts to solicit help from his wife and his friends, broadly defined. Ovid's pleading for help runs through his last work, Epistulae ex Ponto. However, his endeavour was complicated by the fact that Roman amicitia involved a ritual exchange of gifts. Ovid could offer only one thing: his poems, which held the promise of endowing their recipients with everlasting fame. This paper examines how the disadvantaged poet makes his way through and around the interstices of the gift-giving paradigm.

In the year 8 C.E. The emperor Augustus punished the Roman poet, Publius Ovidius Naso, for a deed mysterious to this day by sending him into exile. Ovid, an urbane man, spent the last nine or ten years of his life at Tomis, a remote frontier town on the Black Sea. Homesick and ever-hopeful that he would be allowed to return to Rome, Ovid produced two collections of poems quite different from his earlier work. The second of these was *Epistulae Ex Ponto (Letters from the Black Sea,* henceforth referred to as *Epistulae).* This work consists of forty-six poems gathered into four books, the first three composed between 12 and 13 C.E. and the fourth between 13 and 16 C.E.[205]This essay examines *Epistulae* in relation to the Roman custom of reciprocal gift-giving among friends.

Nearly all of the *Epistulae* consist of letters in the form of poetry composed of elegiac couplets. The hybrid form correlates with these epistolary poems' dual function: as letters they make a request, as poems they serve as a gift. Almost all of the *Epistulae* are addressed to people who are named. These people represent friends of the letter-writer. The first focus of this paper is the imperative

[205] Galasso, "Epistulae ex Ponto", 195.

elements of friends and of their names, without which there could be no transactional giving and receiving.

Names

In his preceding book of poems, *Tristia,* Ovid had expressed his desire: "Dear friends: I long to / mention each one of you by name."[206] But he had refrained from doing so: "Fear lays cautious restraints on my sense of obligation – / and you yourselves, I think, don't want to be put / in my poems today. Before you were eager, it was a much sought / honour to rate a mention in my verse: / but since that's a dubious favour now, / I'll address you only in my silent heart, be a source of fear to none. / I'll pen no hints that might strip my friends of cover."[207] As has been pointed out, "the absence of the name vitiates Ovid's ability to memorialise his friend[s]."[208] It is also unsatisfactory from an aesthetic point-of-view because it suggests that "the personages that populate the *Tristia*, apart from Ovid himself, his wife, and (possibly) her daughter, remain nebulous."[209]

Later, however, Ovid's fear of imperial retribution decreased. At the beginning of *Epistulae* he announces that these poems are crucially different from the ones in *Tristia.* This work, he says, is "no less sad / than what I sent you [Brutus, the addressee[210]] before: same theme but different title, / and *these poems openly name their addressees*."[211] With a devil-may-care attitude, Ovid teasingly tells his hyper-cautious friends that "while none of you will like this, you can't prevent it – unwilling recipients tagged by a dutiful Muse."[212]

The Muse, which is the format of these letter-poems, requires names. Ovid's insistent naming functions as a verbal embrace. He is palpably fond of his friends and wishes to immortalize them. Names also help to individualize people. Ovid's friends are living-and-breathing "ordinary" Romans[213] and they emerge from the darkness of oblivion under the faint light of *Epistulae*.

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[206] *Tr*. III.4b.63-64. All translations of Ovid's poetry are by Peter Green, who is cited in the Bibliography.
[207] *Tr*.III.4b.65-72.
[208] Oliensis, 175.
[209] Claassen, 2009, 179.
[210] Brutus appears to have been Ovid's literary agent in Rome.
[211] *Pont*.I.1.16-18. Italics mine.
[212] *Pont*.I.1.19-20.
[213] See Syme, *passim* for what is known historically of the personages in *Epistulae.* For a list matching name to poem, see Appendix A.

To be sure, though Ovid claims to have named his friends in the Epistulae, his boast is not entirely true. When one of them insists on not being named, the poet first attempts to cajole him but then gives in to his wish: "Yet why do you alone, when it's thought safe by all others, / insist on not being addressed by name in my verse."[214] Ovid's wife also remains anonymous, mystifyingly so, since she is very much a consistent presence in both *Tristia* and *Epistulae*.

Friends

Apart from his wife, Ovid could not have sought help if he had not had friends to turn to. These constituted a wide range of people he had known, from close associates to distant relatives. In his distress, Ovid's *amicus* relationships conjure up a variety of conflicting emotions. In *Tristia* he derides "fair-weather friends": "So long as your luck holds good, your friends will be legion: / if clouds gather, then you're on your own."[215] He praises those who had not deserted him in his time of need: "those few friends out of many, who'd stood firm."[216]. In *Epistula*e he bitterly recalls the supposed friends who had taken advantage of his misfortune to enrich themselves at his expense: "True loyalty in my companions could have eased my sorrows, / but this treacherous lot grew fat /on the spoils of which they robbed me."[217]

But elsewhere the poet is in a more charitable mood: "Yet still I forgive those / who turned tail with Fortune, took to flight…not out of hatred, but because they were just scared stiff. / They had no lack of loyalty…[they] don't deserve to be called bad."[218] He is not too proud to contact ex-friends: "Severus, dear strand of my heart, accept this greeting / sent you by the Ovid you used to love."[219]

Some of Ovid's friends were fellow poets: "Yet we do have rites in common, / you and I, poets, if you admit so ill-starred / a wretch to your company. Friends, our shared existence / made a large part of my spirit. Even now, though absent, I cherish you still."[220] Other friends belonged to the Roman elite. With these men Ovid was involved in a Roman patron-dependent relationship. Patrons were useful to Ovid because they could promote his work by staging readings and having copies made by slaves or paid scribes. Patrons provided a poet with

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[214] *Pont.*III.6.5-8. Two other poems (IV.3 and IV.16) contain anonymous addressees.
[215] *Tr.*I.9.5-6.
[216] *Tr.* I.3.16.
[217] *Pont.*II.7.61-633.
[218] *Pont.*III.2.7-8,15-17, 20.
[219] *Pont.* I.8.1-2.
[220] *Pont.*III.4.67-71.

"access to a ready-made audience and guaranteed a certain amount of publicity for the poet's work."[221]

Ovid's relationship with elite patrons did not involve a financial dependency. As the sole surviving son of his parents (his older brother had died young), Ovid would have inherited the family property. He would also have inherited his father's equestrian rank.[222] "Poets who were knights, did not depend on the munificence of their friends for their primary income. They owned enough to live off rents and interest."[223] Indeed Ovid's complaint that greed has ruined friendship suggests that he did not depend on his patrons for pecuniary reasons: "the once-revered goddess of friendship is on the market, / has her pitch like a whore, ready to trade for cash."[224] Ovid praises Cotta Maximus for "not going with this outflow of common vice...Virtue, in your judgment, needs no rewarding, / should always be sought for herself / unencumbered with alien lucre."[225] Then he suggests that Cotta Maxima owes him a duty of care: "Don't forget," he says, "that your house has had my devoted service / since my own childhood – makes *me* a charge on *you.*[226]

However, reciprocal gift-giving became a problem for Ovid when he was banished from Rome to a place which was very distant. Onthe one hand he asks that his friends petition the emperor on his behalf: "Though the words are the same, I write to different people- / one cry for help, but many addressees."[227] For example, referring to the emperor as his "judge" he says: "Do you [Maximus, the addressee], when my judge's mood's as mild as I found it, / speak up for my tears: don't seek a full reprieve / but greater safety merely in my grim condition, / a place of exile."[228] From his friends' perspective, what Ovid was asking for was audacious, even perilous. They had been afraid to even be associated with him.

On the other hand, for Ovid to be granted this audacious request from his friends, he needed to make the task feel obligatory. "Roman custom … sanctioned the liberal use of presents as tokens of friendship."[229] But, living in Tomis, he had nothing material to offer. He jokingly sends Maximus a "Scythian

[221] White, 92.
[222] See *Pont.* IV.8.17-19. For information on Ovid's early life, see Knox 2009.
[223] White, 89.
[224] *Pont.*II.3.19-20.
[225] *Pont.*II.3.19-20, 35-37. Cotta Maximus is the addressee of more *Epistulae* (six) than anyone else.
[226] *Pont.*II.3.73-74. Italics are Green's. In the Latin: "*esse vetus me tibi cogit onus*", more literally, "advanced age summons me to be a burden to you."
[227] *Pont*.III.9.41-42.
[228] *Pont*. I.2.102-103,128-129.
[229] White, 87.

quiversful of arrows [because] … there was nothing in the whole of sinister Pontus / fit to be sent as a token of my esteem."[230]

Nor, living far from Rome, could Ovid provide any service for his friends. He could not compose and sing the epithalamium for a patron's wedding,[231] could not express admiration for a patron's literary scribblings,[232] could not console in person a patron who was in mourning,[233] could not join the retinue of a patron as the latter made his way through the Forum to the Capitol for inauguration as a consul.[234] Ovid has only one thing of value to give, his poems.

Poems as Gifts

Poems carried the hope of ever-lasting fame. In Roman literary culture "special honour could be bestowed on a patron or friend by mentioning his name in verse … It was thought to be within the poet's power to confer immortal fame on his patron through his work."[235] For Cicero, poetry had the power to bring about "*commemorationem nominis nostri."*[236] Pliny the Younger claimed that poetry could bestow "*gloria et laus et aeternitas."*[237] Ovid humbly assures Cotta Maximus that "[My gratitude] will actually outlive my lifetime / if posterity remembers and reads me still …You too shall win frequent praise from our remote descendants, / your fame bright-blazoned through my works."[238] Elsewhere Ovid is not so humble: "My name's still known world-wide; / the world of culture's well acquainted with Ovid, regards him / as a writer not to be despised."[239]

As gifts "Ovid's poems from exile are rooted…in the tradition of the Roman system of mutual obligation."[240] By giving a poem to a named friend Ovid is implicitly obliging his friend to reciprocate. Sometimes the giving and/or requesting is made explicit (see Appendix B.) Of course, Ovid's friends did not

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[230] *Pont*.III.8.17-19.
[231]*Pont.* I.2.132.
[232]*Pont.* I.2.135.
[233]*Pont.* IV.11.
[234]*Pont.* IV.9.
[235] Saller, 256. Saller cites another example, this one from the poetry of Martial: "g*audet honorato sed multus nominee lector, /cui victura meo munere fama datur"* (V.15.3-4). "But the reader enjoys an honoured name / to whom by my gift his reputation is given to live" (translation mine).
[236] *Arch*.XI.29.
[237] *Ep.*III.21.
[238] *Pont*.III.2.29-30, 35-36.
[239] *Tr*.II.1.118-120.
[240]Claassen 1999, 119.

have to acknowledge that a poem with their name in it was a gift. They may even have been annoyed to see their names in print. It is clear what he wants in return. To demonstrate how the system of mutual obligation is articulated in the *Epistulae*, there are many examples to choose from. The eighth poem in Book Four is especially interesting for the twists and turns in Ovid's pursuit of his goal.

The poem begins with a flattering salutation and an indication that this "letter" is a *reply* to a letter received: "Your letter, Suillius,[241] most refined of savants, reached me / late, but remains most welcome."[242] The letter would have taken a long time to reach Ovid who therefore reminds Suillius what he had written: "In it you say / that, so far as dutiful loyalty can, by petition, / assuage the high gods, you'll give me aid. / Though you should grant me no more, your amicable intentions / have made me your debtor: I call the *will* to help / a service [*meritum*]."[243] Ovid thanks Suillius and graciously elevates mere intent to the level of a service performed. There is no use complaining that Suillius has not done what Ovid requested. This would have created further distance between the poet and his desire for reciprocity. Ovid tries a different tactic. He cannot appeal to the bonds of friendship since "it would seem that Ovid and Suillius were not personally acquainted."[244] Instead he appeals to family ties: "I have some claim upon you through our bonds of kinship."[245] He then gently repeats his request but qualifies it: "If you think anything can be done by means of petition, / put up a suppliant's prayer to your special gods - / and *your* gods are - young Caesar!".[246]

Here the poem takes a sudden turn. Suillius' "gods" are not, for example, members of the Roman Mars or Jupiter. They are, rather, one member of the imperial family: "Propitiate his power: / there's no altar you frequent more often than his."[247] Ovid is alluding to the fact, perhaps gleaned from Suellius' letter to him, that his stepson-in-law has been appointed *quaestor* to the "young Caesar", namely, Germanicus Julius Caesar - nephew, adopted son and heir apparent of the emperor Tiberius.[248] For Ovid such news was serendipitous. As Green points out, "With the death of Augustus in August AD 14…[Germanicus] was Ovid's only

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[241] P. Suillius Rufus "had married (c. AD 12) the poet's stepdaughter Perilla" (Green, 361). Ovid names his stepdaughter, "Perilla" (*Tr*.III.7.2) but never her mother, his wife.
[242] *Pont.* IV.8.1-2.
[243] *Pont.* IV.8.2-7.
[244] Green, 362.
[245] *Pont.* IV.8.9.
[246] *Pont.* IV.8.21-23. Italics on "your" are the translator's, to enhance the meaning.
[247] *Pont.* IV.8.23-24.
[248] We know this from Tacitus: "*at P. Sullium quaestorem quondam Germanici"* (*Ann.*IV.31.3; discussed by Syme, 89-90; Green, 361).

possible imperial advocate."[249] What follows, taking up almost all the rest of this poem (ll.31-88), is an apostrophe to Germanicus.

To him, Ovid offers, for lack of material things, a unique gift: "That downfall of mine destroyed my wealth. / Let opulent houses and cities present you with temples: Ovid's gratitude will be shown through his sole riches – verse. / Poor indeed – I admit it – this gift, in return for ample / service, mere words against deliverance."[250] Ovid then drops the humility to celebrate the power of "mere words": "Yet for great men nothing's more fitting / than the homage of poets, offered through their verse. / Poems function as public criers of your praises, / see that the fame of your actions never fades: / poems keep virtue alive, un-entombed, familiar/ to posterity down the ages… / the written word / defies the years."[251] Ovid proceeds to compare Germanicus to the gods: "Just as Apollo's no slouch with either bow or cittern, / … so you're endowed with the arts of both prince and scholar, / Jove and the Muse cohabit in your heart."[252]

Ovid then makes a request in the form of a quid pro quo: "If my homeland's barred to me in my misfortune,/ set me down anywhere less remote from Rome, / in a place where I can cry up your latest praises, / retail your great deeds with minimal delay."[253] He notes that he and Germanicus have something in common. One poet can do another a favour: "*May it turn to my profit* that we have rites in common, / that I set my hand to the same pursuit."[254] But Ovid is not in a position to bargain. To be sure, his flattering words serve to advertise his talent which he could put to use for a patron's benefit. His flattery also serves as a gift *here and now* which Ovid hopes will induce Germanicus to grant his request.

In the last two lines of the poem Ovid returns to his original addressee, Suellius. He wryly concedes that he is an *almost*-father-in-law, thereby not pushing his earlier family-obligation argument for why Suellius was indebted to him. Germanicus was the real prize. Ovid must have hoped that Suellius would make *Epistula* IV.8, which was addressed to him, known to his influential superior.

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[249] Green, 350.
[250] *Pont.* IV.8.32-36.
[251] *Pont.* IV.8.43-51.
[252] *Pont.* IV.8.75, 77-78.
[253] *Pont.* IV.8.85-88.
[254] *Pont.* IV.8.81-82.

We do not know when Book Four of *Epistulae* was published. Some scholars think it took place posthumously,[255] after 17/18 C.E.[256] If so, then Ovid's desperate, eleventh-hour appeals to his friends were for nought. Even if Germanicus had agreed to help, it would have been too late.[257]

On the other hand, given that his literary achievements are still read more than two millennia after his death, Ovid's goal of memorializing his friends can be judged a success. For example, the claim that "we know nothing whatsoever about this Rufus"[258] is a slight exaggeration since we do know from II.11 that he was a native of the town of Fundi and the uncle of the poet's wife. Similarly, the assertion that "we know almost nothing about Tuticanus" is immediately qualified: "On Ovid's own admission [IV.12], they had been friends almost since childhood (19-20), had criticized each other's literary efforts (23-28)...[and] had been steadily advanced in office by Augustus' patronage."[259] Ovid's friends had thwarted his desire in *Tristia* to bridge the gap between nescience and cognizance. But Ovid was on a mission and *Epistulae* was no small gift.

Appendix A

List of Addressees and their Poems

Book	Poem	Addressee
I	1	Brutus
	2	Maximus (Paullus Fabius)
	3	Rufinus
	4	wife
	5	Maximus (Cotta)
	6	Graecinus
	7	Messalinus
	8	Severus
	9	Maximus (Cotta)
	10	Flaccus
II	1	Germanicus
	2	Messalinus
	3	Maximus (Cotta)
	4	Atticus

[255] Green, 350.
[256] "St. Jerome…places the poet's death and burial at Tomis in…AD 17/18, and that winter seems the likeliest date" (Green, l).
[257] Germanicus died suddenly in 19 C.E. in the Levant.
[258] Green, 330.
[259] Green, 371.

	5	Salanus
	6	Graecinus
	7	Atticus
	8	Cotta Maximus
	9	Cotys
	10	Macer
	11	Rufus
III	1	wife
	2	Cotta (Maximus)
	3	Maximus (Paullus Fabius)
	4	Rufinus
	5	Cotta Maximus
	6	***
	7	“My friends”
	8	Maximus (Paullus Fabius)
	9	Brutus
IV	1	Sextus Pompeius
	2	Severus (Cornelius)
	3	***
	4	Pompeius (Sextus)
	5	Sextus Pompeius
	6	Brutus
	7	Vestalis
	8	Suillius
	9	Graecinus
	10	Albinovanus
	11	Gallio
	12	Tuticanus
	13	Carus
	14	unnamed but almost certainly Tuticanus
	15	Sextus (Pompeius?)
	16	Unnamed “envious wretch”, however Cotta Maximus addressed parenthetically

*** no named addressee

Appendix B

Instances of *explicit* requesting and/or giving in *Epistulae*. The chart sheds light on the books in which these actions occur with greater or lesser frequency.

Poem	R		G	
I.2	x	"take on this tough brief, make a persuasive plea/…/Speak up for me, I beg you" (I.2.68-69, 115).		
I.3	x	"I only fear/lest your efforts to save me are labour lost…I'm overwhelmed by your kindness/and accept the help you offer in good part" (I.3.88-89, 93-94).		
I.6	x	"provide me, from a distance,/with comforting words for the heart…Pray that he [Augustus?] may not be deaf to me…/add some words of your own to the prayer I make!" (I.6.17-18,48).		
I.7	x	"So class me as you will, Messalinus, provided only/I'm not an alien element in your house" (I.7.67-68).		
I.8	x	"you may wish for Caesar to abate his just anger, for me to be a guest/in your villa: ah friend, that's too much to ask/…What I want is some land nearer home" (I.8.69-72)		
I.9			x	"right that my verses should bear witness,/that generations unborn/may learn, Celsus, of your name" (I.9.43-45)
I.10	x	"Kind haven you are to a sprung vessel,/bringing me the help that so many refuse./Keep on, keep on, I beseech you" (I.10.39-41)		
II.2	x	"if I'm saved at all, it's you/who'll be my saviour…use all your charm, your influence to win/a change of abode for me…Don't try this if you think it might harm me" (II.2.46-47,96-97,125)		
II.3	x	"you take thought/for your old friend in these sorry circumstances,/apply your healing poultices to my wounds" (II.3.92-94)		
II.4	x	"keep faith, be constant, protect your old comrade" (II.4.32-33)		

II.6	x	“see that you keep faith with your fallen friend” (II.6.35)	x	“if my poetry’s destined for survival, then, believe me,/you’ll often find yourself on posterity’s lips” (II.6.33-34)
II.7	x	“You few friends…afford me no small solace./…/Keep it up, I beseech you” (II.7.81-83)		
II.8	x	“Spare me…rein in your vengeance…lighten my punishment minimally, reduce it by removing me somewhere far away from my Scythian foes” (II.8.23-24,35-36)		
II.9	x	“hear this suppliant’s voice, and proffer/what aid you can to an exile” (II.9.5-6)		
II.10	x	“Now do the same for me – let your happier region/hold me for ever in our mindful heart” (II.10.51-52)		
III.1	x	“You should work with your whole heart, strain every sinew,/toil for me night and day!...labour that I may abide in a less hostile region…Choose well the long-watched-for moment to make your petition” (III.1.39-40, 85, 129)	x	“My pages won’t let you go unnoticed - /they’ll ensure you a name no less high in renown/than Bittis of Cos” (III.1.7-59)
III.2	x	“please find it consistent/with such antecedents to succour a fallen friend” (III.2.109-110)	x	“it [my gratitude] will actually outlive my lifetime/if posterity remembers and reads me still…You too shall win frequent praise from our remote descendants,/your fame bright-blazoned through my works” (III.2.29-30, 35-36)
III.3	x	“your house is well accustomed to aiding suppliants - /among whom I beseech you to number myself” (III.3.107-108)		
III.4	x	“grant me this favour,/commend the verses for which I cannot plead!” (III.4.71-72)		
III.7	x	“Now I am out of words, I’ve asked the same thing so often” (III.7.1)		
IV.1			x	“Pray accept a poem composed, Sextus Pompeius, by one who owes you his life” (IV.1.1-2)

IV.7.			x	"your deeds,Vestalis, /are witnessed by my poem for all time" (IV.7.53-54)
IV.8	x	"you say/…you'll give me aid./…your amicable intentions/ have made me your debtor: I call the will to help/a service/…/if my homeland's barred to me in my misfortune,/set me down anywhere less remote from Rome"(IV.8.2,4,5-7,85-86)	x	Ovid's/gratitude will be shown through his sole riches – verse./Poor indeed – I admit it- this gift, in return for ample/service/…/for great men nothing's more fitting/than the homage of poets, offered through their verse" (IV.8.33-36,43-44)
IV.9	x	"Could you, when you're through with your more urgent petitions,/ask for the Prince to assuage his wrath against me?" (IV.9.51-52)	x	"Perhaps those poems I've written on your late apotheosis/may also reach you there – so I surmise that your godhead's yielding to my entreaties" (IV.9.131-132)
IV.12	x	"Search for yourself, I beg you, the ways in which to help me" (IV.12.49)	x	"Such was the reason I delayed this offering,/…I'll promote you…send you poems" (IV.12.17-19)
IV.13	x	"Do you/…/lend support, in so far as you can" (IV.13.42,49)		
IV.15	x	I'm ashamed and nervous to be forever making/the same requests" (IV.15.29-30)		

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AUTHENTICITY AND METHODOLOGY IN ARCHITECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION

Tess Harty

Abstract

Architectural reconstructions, both physical and virtual, are important methodologies of visualization in modern archaeology. Physical reconstructions situate architectural remains in their geographic context, providing a holistic picture of a structure and its environment. In current archaeology, physical reconstruction projects are being replaced by digital reconstruction methodologies that use 3-D modelling to visualize entire structures. Whereas physical reconstructions commit to a single version of a structure's appearance, history, and function, digital reconstructions are not so constrained. Digital reconstruction software allows greater nuance in archaeological reconstruction by providing a methodology to propose and visualize multiple versions in cases where evidence for reconstruction is uncertain or missing. Additionally, the ability to present multiple versions of a structure incorporates a consideration of temporality into architectural reconstruction, which is crucial to developing an understanding of site history and use. Debates surrounding the validity of architectural reconstruction methods in classical archaeology often reference the concept of authenticity. However, authenticity is a subjective quality; a so-called authentic reconstruction may only reference a single moment in time, which risks obscuring relevant aspects of site use. An analysis of architectural reconstruction at Knossos and the Athenian Agora, Greek sites with long periods of use, suggests that authenticity in the archaeological context refers to change rather than preservation. In conceiving of temporality and authenticity as dynamic, reconstruction efforts may be reframed as the present participation in a longstanding tradition of site reuse and adaptation that rejects the notion of an 'authentic' or 'original' site.

Introduction

Various conservation and restoration methods have been employed to preserve site architecture. Physical reconstructive methods involve the on-site reconstruction of architectural elements. Digital reconstructions provide a non-invasive, modifiable alternative to physical reconstructions, and digital methodology may account for uncertainty in reconstructive modelling. Largely, architecture has been reconstructed to achieve supposed historical authenticity; however, authenticity in reconstruction is not necessarily an objective principle. Whether reliant on physical or virtual reconstructive methods, archaeological reconstructions of

architecture must strive to communicate authenticity while accounting for the temporality inherent in site use and function.

Digital and Physical Reconstructions: Advantages and Disadvantages

Physical approaches to architectural reconstruction in archaeology involve simultaneous benefits and dangers to site preservation, calling into question the notion of reaching reconstructed authenticity. By nature, architectural reconstruction involves conjecture; the terminology of reconstruction itself implies novelty, as opposed to restoration, which refers to the rehabilitation of pre-existing parts.[260] Reconstructive efforts rely heavily on excavated material, which is examined for its visual and material qualities.[261] These qualities are then incorporated into reconstruction models. In cases where material remains are inaccessible or no longer extant, archival records and other documentation may be consulted.[262] However, this kind of evidence brings additional uncertainty to a reconstruction project because it is not independently verifiable. Reconstruction projects must work with the historical, functional, and aesthetic dimensions of a building, attempting to incorporate these in a way that replicates their existence at an established point in time.[263] Therefore, reconstructive efforts attempt to recreate not only architecture's physical character but its sociocultural one as well. Site preservation, which is cited as a significant justification for physical reconstruction efforts,[264] relates to both the physical and sociocultural relevance of architecture. In cases where material remains are deteriorating, a full or partial physical reconstruction may prevent further decay while preserving information for research and study purposes. However, as Palyvou notes, increased engagement with exposed material remains renders these more susceptible to the environment and therefore to decay, which creates a cycle within which increased intervention is needed; as authentic materials are discovered and protected, their need for protection leads to their

[260] Francesco Gabellone, "The Reconstruction of Archaeological Contexts: A Dialectical Relationship between Historical-Aesthetic Values and Principles of Architecture." in *Sensing the Past: From Artifact to Historical Site,* eds. Nicola Masini and Francesco Soldovieri (New York: Springer, 2017), 397.
[261] Funda Çetin et al., "Reconstruction of Archaeological Sites: Principles, Practice and Evaluation." *International Journal of Architectural Heritage* 6, no. 5 (2012): 580.
[262] Çetin et al., 580.
[263] Gabellone, 416.
[264] Stanley-Price, Nicholas. "The Reconstruction of Ruins: Principles and Practice." In *Conservation: Principles, Dilemmas and Uncomfortable Truths*, eds. Alison Richmond and Alison Bracker. (Amsterdam: Elsevier Press, 2009), 36; Palyvou, Clairy. "Architecture and Archaeology: The Minoan Palaces in the Twenty-First Century." In *Theory and Practice in Mediterranean Archaeology: Old World and New World Perspectives*, Eds. Richard M. Leventhal and John K. Papadopoulos (Los Angeles: University of Los Angeles University Press, 2003), 208.

obfuscation due to the application of reconstructive methodology.[265] Such necessary reconstructions are primarily functional, yet a building, as a physical entity, cannot be divorced from its visual character. Aesthetics and function must be balanced; prioritizing one over the other risks authenticity in projects where both are vital to the architecture's historical character.

A discussion of function and aesthetics is well-informed by Evans' architectural project at Knossos, which emphasizes the potential risks of adopting a primarily aesthetic approach to reconstruction. Reconstructions at Knossos relied on reconstruction drawings, which reflect the architects' aesthetic interpretations without providing references to or documentation of the material remains on which these interpretations were based.[266] As a result, striking similarities between reconstructed Knossos and modernist and Art Deco architecture have been noted, demonstrating modern aesthetic bias;[267] because Evans and his team applied the latest construction technologies to their subjective interpretations, and failed to preserve or properly document the excavation,[268] it is only possible to evaluate Evans' interpretation of Minoan Knossos, and not to reevaluate or reinterpret the data. Nevertheless, the adoption of sufficient precautions against site damage and the destruction of evidence (e.g., thorough documentation of all phases of excavation and construction;[269] distinguishing modern interventions, which encourages reversibility)[270] justifies the use of physical reconstruction methods in favour of site preservation. In terms of authenticity, architectural reconstructions should be considered new buildings, not rehabilitated ancient ones. While reconstructions take inspiration from authentic remains, authenticity is disrupted by the use of modern materials, techniques, and the degree of conjecture involved.

Furthermore, as is evidenced by the construction at Knossos, it is nearly impossible to avoid the infiltration of modern sensibilities and aesthetic influences by modern architects and archaeologists.[271] Rather than constituting a threat to the authenticity of an original structure, modern reconstructions may be reframed as authentic contributions to a building or site's long history of use. Recently, some of Evans' work at Knossos has been restored not for its validity but because his

[265] Palyvou, 230.
[266] Palyvou, 214.
[267] Palyvou, 218-219.
[268] Palyvou, 224.
[269] Stanley-Price, 41.
[270] Çetin et al., 586.
[271] Stanley-Price, 37.

interpretations, correct or not, are now part of the site's history.[272] In terms of site preservation, both partial and complete architectural reconstructions reflect contemporary attempts to preserve and interpret archaeological evidence; these attempts may be seen as authentic additions to a historical site, reflecting contemporary engagement with its past.

Virtual reconstruction methods offer a potential solution to the issues of physical reconstruction, especially in relation to site damage and the destruction of primary evidence. Because digital methods are non-invasive, they aid in the interpretation and visualization of primary data without risking the disruption of the archaeological site itself. Proponents of digital methodology argue that 3D modelling software aids the interpretive process.[273] An important element in the interpretation of archaeological data is the reevaluation of previous documentation, which allows for the revision of prior interpretations and the inclusion of new perspectives. A significant value of digital reconstruction methodology is that multiple models, representing multiple interpretations, can exist simultaneously, encouraging discussion and exploration in a way that is impermanent and experimental.[274] Because interpretation necessarily involves subjectivity, digital modelling makes it possible to explore various possibilities without applying a potentially subjective interpretation to an irreversible physical reconstruction. Since many interpretations are conjectural, digital models allow reconstructions to forward a tentative best hypothesis without committing to an interpretation which may be disproved or revised after future investigation. Crucially, physical and virtual methods are not antithetical; digital modelling may be used to create 3-dimensional plans of archaeological excavations and reconstructions that can be added to as new information is discovered.[275] Another significant aspect of digital modelling relates to public involvement. Cultural symbolism is often cited as a benefit of site preservation through physical reconstruction, because the reconstruction of historical monuments encourages public engagement with a historical narrative disseminated through cultural heritage.[276] Digital modelling, however, extends this engagement to a public audience beyond the

[272] Stanley-Price, 42.
[273] Gabellone, 395.
[274] Georgopoulos, Andreas. "3D Virtual Reconstruction of Archaeological Monuments." *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 14, no. 4 (2014): 162.
[275] Jensen, Peter. "Evaluating Authenticity: The Authenticity of 3D Models in Archaeological Field Documentation." In *Authenticity and Cultural Heritage in the Age of 3D Digital Reproductions,* eds. Paola Di Giuseppantonio Di Franco, Fabrizio Galeazzi, and Valentina Vassallo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 59.
[276] Stanley-Price, 35.

physical boundary of a site, encouraging broader connections with elements of cultural heritage.[277] The ability of digital modelling to communicate archaeological interpretations to "non-specialist[s]" has been raised as a significant positive aspect.[278] Overall, digital methodology avoids the potentially permanent risks of damage that accompany physical reconstruction projects while increasing public access to information about architectural heritage.

Despite the many advantages of digital architectural modelling, digital reconstructions are no more authentic than physical ones. Like with physical reconstructions, authenticity in digital reconstruction is an issue of communication. Firstly, digital reconstruction's ability to forward multiple interpretations does not render it less susceptible to aesthetic bias than physical reconstruction.[279] There is agreement among different reconstruction methodologies that reconstruction is an exceptional step, possible only when there is sufficient credible primary evidence to create a thorough plan.[280] However, archaeological sites rarely yield comprehensive information that is anything more than fragmentary, requiring specialist interpretation to draw from a variety of sources in an attempt to simulate authenticity.[281] For this reason, interpretive data is evaluated based on source and quality. In addition to ranking hypotheses of reconstructions, each constituent element of these reconstructions is typically also ranked based on the likelihood of accuracy.[282] Therefore, each digital model incorporates a degree of uncertainty; while this uncertainty is to be expected, it must be properly communicated within the model due to the ease of public distribution of digital models. As technology develops, three-dimensional interactive digital architectural models are increasingly realistic, which widens the discrepancy between the realism of a model and the uncertainty of the data it is based on.[283] According to Gabellone, this discrepancy is the greatest weakness of digital reconstruction: models can present conjecture as realism, which creates a false understanding among the public of the interpretive process.[284] Additionally, it is difficult to represent uncertainty or degrees of

[277] Georgopoulos, 156.
[278] Lopez, Lola V. "Authenticity and Realism: Virtual vs. Physical Restoration." In *Authenticity and Cultural Heritage in the Age of 3D Digital Reproductions,* eds. Paola Di Giuseppantonio Di Franco, Fabrizio Galeazzi, and Valentina Vassallo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 32.
[279] Jensen, 59.
[280] Stanley-Price, 35.
[281] Gabellone, 401.
[282] Georgopoulos, 158.
[283] Lopez, 32.
[284] Gabellone, 402.

likelihood digitally;[285] whereas a physical reconstruction project might opt for partial construction, leaving out architectural elements that are too uncertain, digital models are first and foremost theoretical proposals and therefore are nearly always complete.[286] Within a research context, the presence of multiple hypothetical models that incorporate varying degrees of uncertainty poses no problems, since those engaging with the models would be familiar with the interpretive process. The problem of authenticity arises when models are published for public consumption. While the ability to engage with a wider public audience has been touted as one of the benefits of digital reconstruction, this broad engagement requires the responsible and careful presentation of information to prevent misleading information from being published. While the development of multiple potential models is beneficial for research and interpretation, public access to multiple conflicting models is not ideal.[287] While it is crucial that site visitors be presented with the most accurate information possible,[288] the public, for the most part, does not have the background or tools to critically evaluate the validity and authenticity of various interpretations. While authenticity is the ultimate goal in any reconstruction, it must be noted that, in any context in which information is published for public consumption, clarity is also important. Understanding historical authenticity relies more on the observer's background than on the site itself,[289] and therefore reconstructions of any kind, but especially digital ones, should strive to present a comprehensive image while making it clear which parts of a model are conjecture. By adopting certain communication strategies, the risk of "distorted site interpretation", which is amplified by the wide public reach of digital models, may be lessened.[290] Rather than conceiving of digital reconstruction as an alternative to physical reconstruction, it could be beneficial to interpret digital models as steps in an interpretive process. Because data and its interpretation are constantly evolving, using digital reconstructions as a sort of visualization aid allows for the input of new data in a way that follows the evolutionary nature of excavations and reconstructive interpretations themselves.[291] Such an approach to integrating 3D modelling into archaeological reconstruction accounts for uncertainty while maintaining historical authenticity by acknowledging

[285] Jensen, 65
[286] Gabellone, 397.
[287] Jensen, 72.
[288] Stanley-Price, 41-42; Jensen, 72.
[289] Stanley-Price, 39.
[290] Stanley-Price, 40.
[291] Jensen, 64.

that reconstruction involves a process of interpreting and reassembling the unknown.

Analysis: Applied Methodologies in the Athenian Agora

The Middle Stoa, located in the Athenian Agora, provides a case study for digital reconstruction methodology and the creation of a digital model when very little material data is extant. The authors of a proposed model for the Stoa call it a "non-existing building", and therefore, from its outset, this reconstruction project admits a high level of uncertainty in the model output.[292] The Middle Stoa was an early addition to a Hellenistic building program in the Agora.[293] It was seemingly renovated during the Hellenistic period and was damaged by a Roman incursion in 86 B.C. before finally being levelled in the 2nd century A.D.[294] Following this destruction, it appears that some material from the Middle Stoa was removed and built into sections of the Valerian Wall, a defensive fortification, rendering reconstructive efforts difficult.[295] Given this complexity of site history, the model's authors contend that not all the data collected for the reconstruction belongs to the correct era, and that not all the necessary data needed to create an accurate model are available.[296] The main data used for the 3D reconstructions are technical drawings, watercolours, and a reconstruction study done by various teams belonging to the American School of Classical Studies in Athens between 1960 and 1965, as well as two technical drawings of the remains in situ conducted by the current project team.[297] Unfortunately, the earlier excavation on which the digital reconstruction is largely based is not extensively documented.

Only one drawing, a two-dimensional floor plan, was published by the 1960s team.[298] While it is assumed that the reconstructive project had access to this source material, its lack of publication renders the modelling impossible to verify independently. Furthermore, the reconstruction relies on assumptions about the representation of multiple architectural elements that did not survive. The authors state that the pitch and tiling of the Stoa's roof, as well as its triglyphs, are entirely assumed, designed according to similar contemporary buildings.[299] While this information is included in

[292] Kontogianni, Georgia, et al. "3D Virtual Reconstruction of the Middle Stoa in the Athens Ancient Agora." *International Archives of the Photogrammetry, Remote Sensing and Spatial Information Sciences,* 5 (2013): 125.
[293] Thompson, Homer A. "Activity in the Athenian Agora 1960-65." *Hesperia* 35, no. 1 (1966): 41.
[294] Thompson "1960-65," 41-42.
[295] Thompson, Homer A. "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1949." *Hesperia* 19, no. 4 (1950): 319.
[296] Kontogianni et al., 125.
[297] Kontogianni et al., 126.
[298] Thompson "1960-1965," 39 (Fig. 2).
[299] Kontogianni et al., 130.

the associated text, it is not present in the model. Ultimately, the opinions used to reconstruct unknown architectural elements were undoubtedly professional and reviewed. The fact remains, however, that the model reconstruction of the Middle Stoa does not itself reference the relatively high degree of uncertainty present in its designs.

Given the Stoa's multi-century period of use, and the renovations and additions outlined in the original excavation report, I recommend including an approximate reconstruction date on the digital model image. Authenticity, in the case of the Middle Stoa digital model, is not assumed; the accompanying report does make clear that the model cannot be read as fully accurate or authentic. The issue, therefore, lies primarily in the communication of authenticity. Without any disclaimer or differentiation between known and assumed architectural elements, the implicit message is one of certainty and therefore of authenticity. While the digital rendering itself may not be able to incorporate nuance, a caption or diagram key certainly could.

The reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos, also located in the Athenian Agora, provides a case study for a different approach to authenticity. The version of the Stoa visible in the Agora today is a modern reconstruction, built in the 1950s by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. Rather than representing a faithful copy of the ancient Stoa, the reconstruction was intended to house the Agora's museum.[300] In addition to the project's stated goal of creating an economic stimulant for the tourist economy,[301] the reconstruction project outlined the intersection of cultural, political, and educational motivations on the part of the American School.[302] Therefore, the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos was concerned as much with modern preoccupations as with the authentic representation of ancient remains. The reconstruction project was preceded by ground surveys and multiple seasons of excavation; during excavations, technical drawings were made, and sufficient data were collected to clarify most outstanding uncertainties regarding the layout and detailing of the building.[303] Therefore, in comparison to the Middle Stoa, the Stoa of Attalos project benefited from a wealth of remains in situ, allowing for a more accurate reconstruction.[304] Whereas the architectural inauthenticity of other reconstruction projects is rooted in

[300] Sakka, Niki. ""A Debt to Ancient Wisdom and Beauty": The Reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos in the Ancient Agora of Athens." *Hesperia* 82, no. 1 (2004): 206
[301] Thompson "1949," 316.
[302] Sakka, 207.
[303] Thompson, Homer A. "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1950." *Hesperia* 20, no. 1 (1951): 49-50.
[304] Sakka, 208.

uncertainty, the Stoa of Attalos reconstruction is, in part, deliberately inauthentic. Because the building was intended as a museum, the original floor plan of the Stoa was altered: window position and size were changed, doors moved, internal walls eliminated, and a basement added.[305] Reportedly, the extent of the proposed changes to the Stoa's floor plan was the subject of intense debate, with some archaeologists advocating for restoration over a full reconstruction.[306] By generating a multisensory exhibition within the new Stoa, the construction project aimed to encourage reflexive visits:[307] in other words, to generate an authentic reflection of the modern perspective of the past, not a reflection of the past itself. In that sense, the reconstructed Stoa of Attalos may be interpreted as a genuine, authentic piece of archaeological history. Architecture does not serve a single purpose; instead, it adapts to the needs of the community at a given time. Authenticity is not an objective principle; it is multi-layered, dynamic, and inherently temporal. The adaptation of the Stoa of Attalos form to its contemporary function as a museum is therefore authentic in the sense that it is an adaptation of a building to a society's use and interest. The 1950 excavation reported the remains of three earlier buildings underneath the foundations of the Stoa of Attalos, indicating a long history of site adaptation and reuse.[308] While the modern reconstruction may not be wholly faithful to the layout of the last iteration of that construction, it is authentic in its participation in a longstanding tradition of adaptation to current societal needs through reconstruction.

Temporality and Site Inheritance

The relevance of temporality to authenticity is paramount. Architecture, as a functional element of infrastructure, is a dynamic component of a society. Crucially, reconstruction is also a dynamic process, yet it is only able to reproduce architecture at a static point in its history.[309] True authenticity, therefore, would require a reconstruction to reconcile the dynamic with the static, which is a difficult task. Time is an essential factor in function: while a building may serve various purposes across time periods, it may also be used in differing ways by groups of people at different times of the day or in different seasons.[310] Significantly, therefore, reconstructions may reproduce original form, but they cannot

[305] Sakka, 206-207.
[306] Sakka, 218.
[307] Sakka, 208.
[308] Thompson "1950," 49.
[309] Georgopoulos, 155; Kontogianni et al., 125.
[310] Palyvou, 228.

reproduce original conditions.[311] Given the multitude of so-called original conditions, authenticity takes on a layered meaning, denoting different practices and uses that are not only time-dependent but also socially context-dependent. To strive for authenticity, a reconstruction should acknowledge that a building has evolved through time.[312] While it is widely acknowledged that monuments' historical functions are products of contemporary social and political factors, it is also imperative to acknowledge that these same factors will influence the approach taken to reconstruction.[313] On the most basic level, any restorative intervention alters the meaning of a building by adding to its history of construction.[314] On an implicit level, however, reconstructions reflect present perspectives towards the past. The Athenian Agora reconstructions, for example, were meant to stimulate social memory at a time when Greece was interested in re-establishing its claim to its national and cultural heritage.[315] Given this context, the restoration projects represent the intersection of modern sensibilities and ancient localities. From a basic, utilitarian perspective, the Agora reconstruction allows for the incorporation of ancient monuments for modern use. Authenticity may be interpreted as accuracy compared to original conditions;[316] since original conditions are dynamic, from this perspective the adaptation of function is authentic.

Conclusion

Authenticity in both physical and virtual archaeological reconstructions of architecture is a subjective characteristic. Uncertainty is a given in reconstructive efforts, prompting discussions of the accuracy and authenticity of reconstructed structures. Transparency regarding uncertainty in both physical and virtual methodologies is beneficial because it acknowledges the role of modern sensibilities and perspectives in the reconstruction of the past. The case of extensive reconstruction at Knossos, executed subjectively, may be interpreted as a valid phase in the site's history and provides a case study for the application of modernity into antiquity. The reconstructions of the Middle Stoa and the Stoa of Attalos in the Athenian Agora demonstrate the place of nuance and adaptation in architectural reconstruction. By reframing the discussion around authenticity to focus on the history of site use, reconstruction may

[311] Stanley-Price, 42.
[312] Stanley-Price, 42.
[313] Sakka, 203.
[314] Lopez, 25.
[315] Sakka, 209, 219.
[316] Lopez, 26.

be understood as participation in a tradition of adapting architecture to suit the needs of a given society at a given time.

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MONSTROUS AGONY: THE VISAGE OF MEDUSA AS A REPRESENTATION OF MYTHOLOGICAL FLUIDITY AND CROSS-CULTURAL INFLUENCE

Erin Regehr

Abstract

This paper dives into the complexities of art and the representations of mythological figures across a wide variety of sources. Originally an Indo-European Balkan goddess, the Gorgon archetype has been used in art throughout history and is still a recognizable figure to this day. This paper explores the comparisons between Archaic and Classical art as well as the analysis of literary sources to showcase the complexities of material culture and the ways in which iconography evolves throughout time and place. Whether it be the Gorgon figure on the temple of Corfu, or a vase painting by Polygnotos, Medusa is a complex figure with a multifaceted identity, the understanding of which is integral for the analysis of how her image evolved and the sources it draws from. By studying the shift in iconography of the Gorgon figure, one can gain a better understanding of how culture and cross-cultural influence changes the ways in which people view mythological figures such as Medusa and Perceus, and what these changes indicate of the culture of the Ancient Mediterranean world.

The visage of Medusa as a young woman with flowing snake hair comes from a long evolution of artistic styles and Gorgon iconography. Medusa is well known for her piercing gaze and her connection to snakes, but her iconic attributes were not always present in the art representing her. From her Archaic appearance of monstrosity and horror to her Classical appearance of serenity and humanity, the story of Medusa weaves itself through the course of history as a fascinating reminder of the fluidity of ancient myth. This paper uses a close analysis of visual sources to discuss Medusa's origins as an Indo-European goddess, her Archaic and Classical visages, and how these evolutions pertain to her fundamental nature of duality. Depictions of Medusa are tied directly to her origins as an Indo-European goddess, and the evolution of her iconography throughout the Archaic and Classical period highlights different aspects of her myth in connection to the values and beliefs of the ancient Greek people.

Understanding the depictions of Medusa through the Archaic and Classical periods must first come from an understanding of her origins. Although her myth is popularly attributed to that of Greek mythology, her origins can be

traced back to Indo-European religion.[317] The name "Gorgon" in Indo-European languages is often associated with the word "terror," which directly connects to the themes of dread and horror associated with the Gorgon figure.[318] "Gorgon" in Indo-European religion is especially associated with duality; one of the natures of the Gorgon in Indo-European religion was her ability to be a protector of evil, stemming from her linguistic root of "terror." In such a state, the Gorgon would have been depicted as an animal protecting her offspring. The Gorgon's dual attributes were those of tenderness and kindness which were associated with motherhood and would have lent people to view her as a gracious goddess who would protect and care for all creatures.[319] Her nature of duality becomes an important stepping stone in her art, and as such is an integral part of understanding her nature and iconography.

The duality of the Gorgon is seen in many artistic aspects, but the idea of the Gorgon as being a dual entity in which monstrosity and beauty are interchangeable has one of the biggest influences in the depictions of Gorgon figures in Greek art. Duality connects to earlier images of Medusa where she is depicted as both monstrous and human, and in art where the Gorgon and other beautiful goddesses can be seen as interchangeable entities.[320]

One of the earliest depictions of Medusa in art is from a Cycladic Pithos found on Thebes, in which Medusa is depicted as a centaur (figure 1).[321] The depiction of Medusa as a centaur highlights the duality of a beast, in the form of her human backside, as well as a beautiful maiden, with her human front. The iconography of a centaur also ties into her ability to shape-shift between her two sides, as is evident in many religious versions of Gorgons in which they can alternate between aspects of horror and aspects of serenity and beauty.[322] In relation to this, her two children highlight her dual attributes. Medusa is the mother of both Pegasus, a beast, and Chrysaor, a man; together, they reflect the Gorgon's identities as horror and as kindness, dual aspects rooted in her origins and etymology as an Indo-European Balkan Goddess.[323] The connections between monstrosity and beauty can be seen in depictions of Medusa in poses similar to, or alongside attributes of, goddesses such as Artemis. The "Mistress of Animals" pose, although widely attributed to that of Artemis, is seen on a plate from

[317] Zolotnikova, Olga A. "A Hideous Monster or a Beautiful Maiden?: Did the Western Greeks Alter the Concept of Gorgon?" In *Philosopher Kings and Tragic Heroes: Essays on Images and Ideas from Western Greece*, edited by Heather L. Reid and Davide Tanasi, 1:353–70. Parnassos Press – Fonte Aretusa, 2016, 359
[318] Zolotnika, "A Hideous Monster", 359
[319] Zolotnika, "A Hideous Monster", 359
[320] Zolotnika, "A Hideous Monster", 360
[321] Paris, Louvre, CA 795
[322] Zolotnika, "A Hideous Monster", 359
[323] Zolotnika, "A Hideous Monster", 361

Kameiros depicting a winged Medusa as the Mistress of Animals (fig. 2),[324] rather than the image of Artemis as is common. In an Etruscan-Corinthian Skyphos depicting Medusa, she is seen wielding snakes in her hands, each one raised upwards towards her head (fig. 3),[325] while the "Snake Goddess" figurine from Crete depicts an unknown goddess figure holding snakes in each of her raised hands (fig. 4) in a similar fashion to the of the Etruscan-Corinthian Skyphos.[326] These parallels not only showcase her duality but also demonstrate her standing as a mythical figure alongside known gods and goddesses.

The archaic visage of Medusa chooses to highlight her monstrous nature, which not only imbues a sense of fear upon the viewer, but also highlights her power. Medusa's origins in prehistory connect not only her duality, but her role as a protector of children, women, and warriors, which becomes aspects especially important in the early Archaic period, where the visage of Gorgon is used in shields to protect warriors as seen in vases such as an amphora by Exeklias.[327] Her monstrosity helps to imbed fear in the viewer, and as such is connected to her protectiveness.

To better understand how the Gorgon's dual nature impacts depictions of her, one must observe the change in how she is depicted through the Archaic and Classical periods. Archaic iconography of Medusa includes a broad face and wide eyes, with a large mouth and her tongue outstretched. Her face is highlighted through a forward-facing profile, which remains consistent even through variations of her relative body position.[328] It can be argued that the art of Medusa evolves in relation to literary myth, where highlighted attributes in writings were similarity shown in art, and vice versa. Although literary evidence from the earliest Greek civilizations are limited, analysis of the early literary works indicate that the myth of the Gorgons in Greek religion can be traced back as far as the prehistoric period. The earliest found writings of the Gorgon myths are shown in works such as those by Homer and Hesiod, and were brief and without explanation, and as such it can be understood that at the time of their composition the myth of Medusa was already a well-known story which required little explanation.[329] The Medusa myth is first seen narrated in Hesiod's *Theogony,* where Hesiod describes the story of Medusa briefly.

"Sthenno and Euryale, and Medusa who suffered woes. She was mortal, but the others are immortal and ageless, the two of them; with her alone the dark-haired one lay down in a soft meadow among spring flowers. When Perseus

[324] London, British Museum, 1860,0404.2
[325] Pontecagnano Faiano, National archaeological museum of Pontecagnano
[326] Heraklion, Heraklion Archaeological Museum, Y65
[327] Zolotnika, "A Hideous Monster", 361
[328] Wilson, Lillian M. "Contributions of Greek Art to the Medusa Myth." *American Journal of Archaeology* 24, no. 3 (1920): 232
[329] Zolotnika, "A Hideous Monster", 353

cut her head off from her neck, great Chrysaor and the horse Pegasus sprang forth". [330]

Notably, this description of the Medusa story does not include any description of her appearance. Without literary evidence for an early depiction of the goddess, continuity between artistic depiction across wide space indicates some form of widely recognized description of the Gorgon figure, and as such, the original iconography of Medusa must have come from an alternate source that is not available to us, whether literary, oral, or visual. The nature of Gorgon iconography in the Archaic period can therefore be used by scholars as the foundation for understanding later retellings of her story and artistic representation of her, as it is the earliest known source of her visage, and it must maintain its original, archaic features in some significant way.

In the late 7th century and 6th century BCE, Medusa iconography evolved to include wings alongside her other traditional archaic features, which related to the tendency of art in the Archaic period to highlight the monstrous aspects of her appearance.[331] Depictions of Medusa from the earliest Archaic images do not include snake iconography as seen in later versions of Gorgon art, which clarifies that initial written mythology of Medusa also did not include snake iconography. The introduction of snakes can therefore be seen as the first step towards the more recognizable Medusa iconography prevalent in the Classical era. We first see the use of snake iconography as decorations around the figure of Medusa, rather than directly associated with her figure.[332] Snake use as a decorative element can be seen in such examples as the temple of Corfu, where snakes are seen surrounding the head of Medusa to fill in the empty space of the background (fig. 5).[333] These snakes, although surrounding Medusa, cannot be associated with her iconography, as they are considered decorative elements of the scene, rather than of the image of Medusa herself.[334] Snake imagery can also be seen on vases such as a black-figure vase by Amasis, in which four snakes protrude from her head in a way that conforms to the shape of her wings and highlight her facial features (fig. 6).[335]

Although the evolution of snake iconography could be argued to stem from these decorative elements, snake-like features can be argued to show up in earlier art. In the first versions of Medusa's hair, artists use a scallop arrangement which was coloured black and red alternately in a way that depicted tight curls, such as seen in a column-Krater attributed to Lydos, where her curls alternated

[330] Hesiod, *Theogeny,* 275-281
[331] Zolotnika, "A Hideous Monster", 356
[332] Wilson, "Contributions of Greek Art", 234
[333] Corfu, Archaeological Museum of kerkyra
[334] Wilson, "Contributions of Greek Art", 234
[335] London, British Museum, 1849,0620.5

between red and black and originated on her forehead before expanding outwards from her head (fig. 7).[336] These scallops were incised with lines of curls that could be seen as snake-like to those who understand the later evolution of her iconography. As well as this, her hair evolved to be arranged in long locks which radiated from the crown of her head, as seen on an Athenian antefix from the Parthenon and on a terracotta stand by Ergotimos and Kleitias from the late Archaic period, in which her curls fall forward onto her forehead, rather than pushing out around her head as Lydos's column-krater depicts (Fig. 8).[337] The development of her hair continued towards a tendency to depict her as having twisting locks surrounding her face, which gradually took on a more serpentine quality over time.[338] As well as this introduction of snakes into Medusa's hair, examples of art using snakes as an extension of Medusa can be seen in an example such as the Proto-attic amphora from Eleusina which depicts the Gorgon as having snakes growing from their necks and heads (fig. 9).[339]

As time goes on, the artistic rendition of Medusa starts to shift towards a humanising visage, rather than highlighting her monstrous features, and as such, art shifts towards images as well as scenes that depict beauty and peacefulness. A metope from the temple of Apollo at Thermon from the 7th century BCE depicts Medusa's head as relatively humanoid, with her eyes, the source of her power, depicted as calm and half-lidded, as though not horrific and dangerous like other depictions suggest (fig. 10).[340] Pindar in his Pythian *Ode 12* describes medusa as beautiful, which is paralleled by artistic evolutions from the Classical period.[341] By the Classical period in southern Italy, iconographical evolution of the Medusa figure departs from almost all earlier aspects of Medusa, with only snakes mixed in her hair as indication of her identity.[342] In vases by the Villa Giulia Painter from the mid 5th century BCE, Medusa is depicted as sleeping while Perseus approaches her, highlighting her human nature, rather than her monstrous nature (Fig. 11).[343] Although she is still represented with some typical Archaic features such as a wide nose and protruding tongue, her hair is arranged neatly, and her sleeping posture indicates placidity.[344] This transformation departs from the Greek literary evidence of Medusa as being a "terrible monster" whose head is in Hades, as is mentioned by Homer in Medusa's first literary appearance

[336] New York, Metropolitan Museum, 31.11.11
[337] New York, Metropolitan Museum, 33.11.4
[338] Wilson, "Contributions of Greek Art", 236
[339] Eleusis, Eleusis Archaeological Museum
[340] Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 13401
[341] Zolotnika, "A Hideous Monster", 356
[342] Zolotnika, "A Hideous Monster", 357
[343] London, British Museum, 1864,1007.1726
[344] Topper, Kathryn. "Perseus, the Maiden Medusa, and the Imagery of Abduction." *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 76, no. 1 (2007): 76

by Greek writers.[345] In the *Iliad*, Homer mentions that the soldiers had affixed to their shields a monster with eyes "grim of aspect, glaring terribly,"[346] and Hesiod describes shields with the visage of Medusa, in which "two serpents hung down, their heads arching forward; both of them were licking with their tongues, and they ground their teeth with strength, glaring savagely. Upon the terrible heads of the Gorgons rioted great fear."[347] Although this artistic evolution of a maiden Medusa may seem to stray from her Greek source texts, her origins as a Balkan goddess of duality are still visible in her new depictions, where the ancient Greeks choose to highlight her kind nature, rather than her monstrosity.

By the mid 5th century BCE, the depictions of Medusa as being a beautiful woman had spread from mainland Greece to the wider Greek world. The new iconography of Medusa as a beautiful woman spread from vase paintings and sculptures to coinage and jewelry,[348] as well as spreading past the central Greek world and into other Mediterranean regions. One of the first depictions of Medusa as being beautiful comes from a vase painting by Polygnotos from 450 BCE, in which she is depicted with neatly curled hair and a typical feminine face. The art of medusa in Polygnotos's vase depicts her winged, which is the only iconography that suggests her being anything other than fully human, and without the presence of Athena and Perseus, the attribution of this art as depicting Medusa would be nearly impossible (fig. 12).[349] This art was created considerably later than the first depictions of Medusa as a beautiful woman in literary evidence starts to emerge, and as such shows that such depictions of her did not adhere to the origin of the Medusa story.[350] In comparison, the myth of Medusa as having her hair transformed by Athena into snakes only appears in the first century BCE, in Ovid's Metamorphoses, which is much later than the first images of Medusa as having snakes in her hair.[351] This inconsistency with art and literary evidence makes it difficult to truly understand how the evolution of Medusa's iconography co-existed with the evolution of literary sources.

The image of Perseus running away from the two Gorgon sisters in Classical art could, although speculative, also be an attempt to convey a scene in which heroes are to be mocked for running from beautiful women. The Gorgons at this time are not portrayed as monstrous, and as such there should be no reason to run from them, as they are simply women.[352] As well as this, depictions of

[345] Homer, *Odyssey* 11.634-636
[346] Homer, *Iliad*, 11.34
[347] Hesiod, *The Shield,* 234
[348] Zolotnika, "A Hideous Monster", 357
[349] New York, Metropolitan Museum, 45.11.1
[350] Milne, Marjorie J. "Perseus and Medusa on an Attic Vase." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 4, no. 5 (1946): 126
[351] Bowers, Susan R. "Medusa and the Female Gaze." *NWSA Journal* 2, no. 2 (1990): 222
[352] Topper, "Perseus, the Maiden Medusa", 81

Perseus slaying a sleeping Medusa, such as in the Terracotta pelike by Polygnotos (fig. 12) depicts Perseus not as a strong, courageous hero, but as a morally questionable figure who kills innocent, sleeping maidens.[353] The shift to portraying the Gorgons as beautiful could stem from the desire to portray this myth as a comedic insult towards heroes rather than representing a shift in the attitudes towards the Gorgon figures themselves.[354]

Overall, the evolution of Medusa's iconography maintains its connection to her nature of duality, in which her terrifying visage can also be connected to her kind and motherly behaviour. Art of Medusa, although changed through time, maintains a sense of connectivity to her origins as a Balkan goddess. The evolution of Medusa's iconography does not show a change in her image, but rather a change in the way the Greeks wished to use her story. As such, her art can give us insight into the lives of the Greek people and allows us to better understand the world in which Medusa's story appeared. The origins of Medusa as an Indo-European goddess influences all aspects of her iconographical evolution throughout the Archaic and Classical periods. Through analysis of art from the Archaic and Classical periods, one can understand that the evolution of Medusa's character stems from her origin as a Balkan goddess and is influenced by ancient Greek myth and artist interpretation. Overall, the art of Medusa through the Archaic and Classical periods represents changes in the societal values of the ancient Greek peoples and highlights the fluidity of mythology and iconography across time and space, allowing for the understanding of Greek culture and religion as an ever evolving, complex network of influence.

[353] Topper, "Perseus, the Maiden Medusa", 81
[354] Topper, "Perseus, the Maiden Medusa", 81

Appendix

Figure 1: Cycladic Pithos. Paris, Louvre, CA 795.

Photo attribute: https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010263963

Figure 2: Gorgon as *Potnia Theron* from Kos. London, British Museum, 1860,0404.2.

Photo attribute: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1860-0404-2

Figure 3: Kotlye by the Bad Wolf Painter. Pontecagnano Faiano, National Archaeological Museum of Pontecagnano. Photo attribute: https://map.beniculturali.it/collezione/

Figure 4 (right): Cretan “Snake Goddess”. Heraklion, Heraklion Archaeological Museum, Y65.

Photo attribute: https://www.heraklionmuseum.gr/en/collections/#collections

Figure 5: Gorgon pediment statue. Corfu, Archaeological Museum of Kerkyra.

Photo attribute:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gorgon_at_the_Artemis_temple_in_Corfu.jpg

Figure 6: Black-figure Olpe by the Amasis Painter. London, British Museum, 1849,0620.5.

Photo attribute: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1849-0620-5

Figure 7: Column-Krater by Lydos. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 31.11.11.

Photo attribute: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/253349

Figure 8: Terracotta stand by Ergotimos and Kleitias. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 33.11.4.

Photo attribute: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/253342

Figure 9: Neck-Amphora by the Polyphemus Painter. Eleusis, Eleusis Archaeological Museum.

Photo attribute: (author's name)

Figure 10: painting from the sanctuary of Apollo Thermios. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 13401.

Photo attribute: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Painted_terracotta_metopes_from_Thermos_(temple_of_Apollon)_-_Athens_NAM_AD_2_-_01.jpg

Figure 11: Krater by the Villa Giulia Painter. London, British Museum, 1864,1007.1726.

Photo attribute: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1864-1007-1726

Figure 12: Pelike by Polygnotos. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 45.11.1.

Photo attribute: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/254523

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THE DUALITY OF EURIPIDES' MEDEA

Lillian Breau

Abstract

This paper examines the complexity and humanity that the playwright Euripides infuses into his version of Medea. When performed in 431 BCE, the play was unsuccessful at meaningfully connecting with its ancient Greek spectators. Today, however, the play strongly resonates with modern audiences, addressing many issues still relevant today, including women's rights, what it means to be a victim, and the disastrous results of domestic violence. The genre of tragedy exists within a world of ambiguity, which Euripides conveys throughout Medea. Medea is a controversial figure, despite acting as both victim and villain throughout the play, she fits neither role perfectly. The moral ambiguity and complexity of her character makes Medea appear more human and sympathetic. Euripides intentionally depicts Medea as a paradoxical character. Since Medea is also a victim of her own actions, she cannot be separated from either aspect of her identity and must be discussed in her duality.

Introduction

In his play *Medea*, Euripides takes well-known mythic figures and dives further into their stories, bringing human motivations and emotions to the stage. Euripides uses Medea and her controversial actions throughout the play to capture humanity's duality. Euripides presents Medea as a paradoxical and puzzling character; even as the audience condemns her actions, they cannot help sympathising with her situation. This sense of humanity and reality, which Euripides portrays throughout *Medea*, exists because Euripides creates a world where moral ambiguity is possible. Medea, as a woman and a foreigner, is subject to the actions and decisions of those around her. Her lack of power is the catalyst for her own villainous actions of revenge against those around her, however, Medea is also a victim of her own decisions. As Euripides demonstrates, one truth does not negate the other and the roles of victim and villain co-exist within Medea. Medea is neither a perfect victim, nor a perfect villain. While it may be easy to denounce Medea as a victim or a villain, it would be disingenuous to Medea's character to do so. When analysed, it is clear that Euripides intended to leave audiences with a deeper understanding of Medea's duality. Euripides' decision to end the play without absolute resolution leaves the audience with the image of Medea as both victim and villain, leaving her frozen in a state of duality. In his play Euripides uses Medea to highlight the duality between victim and

villain. His decision to end the play with Medea's escape, leaving the characters' fates and certain plot points unresolved, is proof of his intentionality.

Mythic Origins

Given that Euripides' *Medea* is based on mythology, knowing Medea's mythic traditions is crucial to understanding the deeper context and underlying power imbalances she faces throughout the play. It is important to remember that Euripides' play is the culmination, not the beginning, of Medea and Jason's story. Medea's origin presents an interesting dichotomy: in some mythological epics she is portrayed as mortal, but in others she is depicted as divine. This duality leaves Medea suspended in a unique state of contradiction –sometimes wielding power, and at other times subject to it. Significantly, in his *Theogony*, which details the origins and genealogies of the gods, Hesiod includes Medea. Suggesting that he regarded her as more divine than mortal, or at the very least, considered Medea's divine connections notable. This is important because Euripides draws on Medea's divine lineage at the end of the play, when she departs on Helios' chariot.[355] According to Hesiod, Medea was born in Colchis to King Aeëtes and an Oceanid, Idyia.[356] Medea's father is the king of Colchis, which sits across the Black Sea from Greece, and is the protector of the Golden Fleece. Medea's mother, Idyia, was born to the Titans Oceanis and Tethys,[357] and her father, Aeëtes, is the only son of Helios and Perseis. Aeëtes has two famous sisters: the witch Circe, and Pasiphaë, the mother of the Minotaur.[358]

In addition to sharing similar powers, Medea also occupies a similar role to Circe: helping and hindering heroes..[359] In his *Argonautica*, Apollonius Rhodius mentions that Medea was educated by the goddess Hecate in the art of witchcraft.[360] Initially, Jason saw Medea's skill with magic as an asset to his quest: stealing the Golden Fleece from King Aeëtes.

Jason, born in Iolcus, is the son of King Aeson and Queen Alcimede. He was supposed to inherit the throne, but his uncle, Pelias, seized the throne before he had the opportunity. To get rid of Jason and his claim to Iolcus' throne, Pelias sends Jason on a quest to find and steal the Golden Fleece. Jason receives abundant help from the goddess Hera, whom Pelias has deeply offended. When Jason meets Medea in Colchis, she is a young, naive girl. In order to obtain

[355] Euripides, *Medea,* trans. Oliver Taplin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013): 1321-1323.
[356] Hesiod, *Theogony*, trans. Evelyn-White, H.G. (Loeb Classical Library 57, London: William Heinemann, 1914), 956.
[357] Hesiod, *Theogony,* 334-346.
[358] Hesiod, *Theogony,* 956.
[359] Euripides, *Euripides I: Alcestis, Medea, the Children of Heracles, Hippolytus,* trans. Mark Griffith, Glenn Most, Oliver Taplin, David Grene and Richmond Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 70.
[360] Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica,* trans. R.C. Seaton (Loeb Classical Library 001, London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1912), 3.515.

Medea's assistance in betraying her family, Jason turns to the gods. Accounts differ as to which deity helps Jason, but in the *Argonautica*, Apollonius Rhodius states it is at the Hera and Athena's behests that Aphrodite has Eros curse Medea to love Jason.[361] However, in the *Pythian Odes,* Pindar claims that Aphrodite teaches Jason how to curse Medea himself.[362] The idea that Medea was cursed to love and help Jason is not unique to the Greeks; it also continues into the Roman period. In *Fabulae 22* the Roman poet Pseudo-Hyginus, states that Hera, knowing Jason cannot succeed alone, asks Aphrodite to make Medea fall in love with him.[363] After Medea has been cursed, she betrays her family, helping Jason steal the Golden Fleece from her father, killing her brother, and abandoning the only home she has ever known. Then, after already manipulating Medea to help Jason get the Fleece, Hera pushes Medea further, encouraging her to accompany Jason back to Greece, so that she can help him defeat his uncle, Pelias.[364] On the journey to Greece, still under the influence of the gods, Medea saves Jason's life several times, before helping Jason get back his throne by organising Pelias' death.

Medea begins shortly after Jason has abandoned Medea and their two sons to marry King Creon's daughter, Glauce. Thus, Euripides' play opens to a Medea who has already been victim to the whims of the gods and Jason's desires. At this point, Medea has already been cursed to love Jason, forced to betray her family, and flee her homeland. Now, she has been abandoned by Jason and, consequently, been left in Greece, a country which looks down upon both foreigners and women. Medea's choices have been stolen from her, perhaps not directly by Jason but the divine intervention was undeniably to his benefit. Medea is well aware of this as in her first speech to the Chorus she states that she has been"[m]anhandled from a foreign land like so much pirate loot."[365] Medea is a foreign woman, abandoned and without support, who must provide for two children.

The Catalyst

In the events of *Medea*, Euripides elucidates Medea's victimhood to the audience. She faces unjust abuse and is continuously harmed by the actions of people around her. At the start of the play, Medea's nurse expresses to the audience how Jason's actions have consistently degraded Medea,

[b]ut now…now hatred rules, and loyal love is sick, / since Jason has betrayed my mistress and their sons, / by mounting the royal bridal bed / beside the daughter of Creon, the monarch of this land. / And so my poor Medea is disdained. / She

[361] Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica,* 3.275.
[362] Pindar, *Pythian Odes,* trans. Diane Arnson Svarlien (Perseus Digital Library, 1990), 4.215-220.
[363] Hyginus, and Mary A. Grant, The Myths of Hyginus, (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1960), 42.
[364] Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica,* 3.1136.
[365] Euripides, *Medea*, 257.

cries, “what of his oaths?,” recalls / the solemn pledge of his right hand, and prays the gods / to witness what poor recompense she has received.[366]

Every interaction Medea and Jason share is characterised by Jason’s constant need to insult, belittle, and demean Medea.[367] For example, when deriding an upset Medea , Jason calls himself her superior: “You could have held on to this place, / even this house, by patiently complying with / the plans of your superiors.”[368] Jason, a fully mortal man, believes himself to be above Medea, whose power and divine status is well attested. This is the same man whom the gods believe to be so incompetent and incapable they cursed Medea to help him. Medea also saves Jason’s life several times on their journey to Greece, and yet Jason still envisions himself as superior to Medea.

Regardless of whether Euripides’ Jason is guilty of cursing Medea himself, it speaks to Jason’s character. As he admits to Medea, he knows she did not help him of her own free will.[369] Jason disregards Medea and her contributions to his quest believing that she is undeserving of recognition. Instead, Jason argues to Medea that all credit belongs to Aphrodite, since she cursed Medea: “[f]or my part, since you emphasize so much my debt to you, / it’s my belief that it was Cypris / alone of the gods and humans steered my voyage clear to harm.”[370] Though Medea’s curse is only alluded to, it is a significant moment that describes the relationship between Jason and Medea: “[y]ou may well have a subtle mind, / but modesty forbids me to relate just how Desire / compelled you with unnerving shafts to keep my body safe…”[371] This quotation illustrates that Jason views Medea as a means to an end: she is a replaceable puppet used by the gods to assist him. While Jason may hold complex feelings toward Medea, he makes it obvious at every opportunity that his dominant feeling towards her is apathy. Jason makes it clear he does not love nor respect Medea through his words and actions. After this revelation about Jason’s character, it is hard to believe Jason when he declares his actions to be selfless and for the betterment of their family. While abandoning their family, he still proclaims to love and value them. Furthermore, in fifth-century Athens, women and children are legally property of men; this means that Medea’s and Jason’s children belong to him. However, as seen in the play, Jason abandons both the children and Medea. Medea has to beg Jason to take the children, rather than allow their sons to be exiled with her.

[366] Euripides, *Medea*, 16-23.
[367] Euripides, *Medea*, 457; 568; 573-575.
[368] Euripides, *Medea*, 447-449.
[369] Euripides, *Medea*, 526-528.
[370] Euripides, *Medea*, 526-528.
[371] Euripides, *Medea*, 529-531.

Throughout *Medea*, Jason is manipulative, controlling, and astoundingly presumptuous, which is clear just from the way Jason tells Medea he's remarrying,

"[l]et me make clear: my motive for espousing the royal bed / I now possess was not the woman in it - / but, as I've said before, the wish to keep you safe, and to beget royal siblings for my sons, a safeguard for my / line."[372]

Whether he is being honest, this quotation is evidence of Jason's controlling and presumptuous nature. Jason makes decisions for their family without consulting Medea; he decides to leave her and marry someone else without informing her of his plan until afterwards. Jason assumes Medea will fall in line. While these words and actions could be those of a devoted and honest man, they are juxtaposed with the insults previously present in the conversation.[373] Another example of how Jason's words and actions differ comes much later in the play, after Medea has killed Glauce and Creon. When Jason arrives to save the children from the angry mob, he expresses no concern for Medea, the woman he claims to love, demonstrating his dishonesty.[374] At every available opportunity, Jason makes it clear that he does not consider Medea a partner, but merely as a means to an end. Jason likely views Creon's daughter the same way– as nothing more than a pawn in his game. Euripides makes the deliberate choice to never have Jason refer to Creon's daughter by name.[375] A telling example of Jason's attitude towards both women occurs when Medea asks Jason to speak with Creon on her behalf to rescind her exile. Jason replies, "I'm not so sure I can persuade him,"[376] but when Medea suggests having Glauce speak with Creon instead, he responds, "[a]nd I believe I can persuade her - / if she is a woman like the rest of them."[377] Jason flaunts his controlling behaviour again when he explains how he expects his new wife to comply with his wishes, "she'll estimate / my wish above material possessions, I am sure of that."[378]

Medea is also a victim of Creon and his preconceived notions of her. Fearing revenge from Medea, Creon exiles Medea and her children from Corinth:

I am afraid of you - no point in mincing words - / I am afraid you'll work incurable mischief / upon my daughter. / And many things combine toward this fear of mine: / you are by nature clever and well versed / in evil practices; and you are feeling bruised / because you've been deprived of the embrace of your man.[379]

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[372] Euripides, *Medea*, 593-596.
[373] Euripides, *Medea*, 446-627.
[374] Euripides, *Medea*, 555-560.
[375] Other sources do provide her name, either Glauce or Creusa.
[376] Euripides, *Medea*, 941.
[377] Euripides, *Medea*, 944-945.
[378] Euripides, *Medea*, 962-963.
[379] Euripides, *Medea*, 282-287.

Medea, at this point, has verbally complained about Jason's betrayal, but she has not acted against anyone, especially not Creon or his family. Creon's condemnation of Medea is hypocritical since he appears willing to allow Jason to marry his daughter. Jason not only participated in the same violent and dangerous events as Medea, but he did so of his own free will, whereas the gods had cursed Medea to help Jason.

Euripides paints Medea as a victim by having the Chorus be sympathetic towards her.. The Chorus empathise with Medea because they believe that, like them, Medea is a woman who is powerless to the whims of her husband. Medea's speech to the Chorus is one of the most moving scenes of the play.[380] Medea is vulnerable in her honesty when she speaks with the Chorus, telling them she is alone in Corinth without the support of a husband or family. Even if Medea was at fault for her isolated position in Corinth, it would still have no bearing on the validity and vulnerability of her speech to the Chorus. Throughout *Medea*, the Chorus always sympathises with Medea. Even when she reveals her plans to kill her sons, they weep for her, both for the crime she will commit and for the crimes Jason has committed against her.[381] However, the Chorus also recognises that Medea is a victim of her own actions. Medea does not trick the Chorus into keeping her secrets, rather they agree because they recognise Medea is the victim, not Jason.

The Consequences

Towards the end of Euripides' *Medea*, Medea's actions and decisions become increasingly monstrous. When Medea reveals her decision to kill Glauce, it is a pivotal and shocking moment. It is the first time Euripides depicts Medea as anything other than a victim. Medea's decision to target Glauce, as part of her revenge against Jason is appalling. Glauce is a powerless woman, who likely had very little say in her marriage to Jason. Jason's actions against Medea have left her desperate; she is desperate for revenge, to protect her reputation, and to protect her children. Medea finds Jason's betrayal of their marriage and children abhorrent. Not only has he broken his oaths, but Jason has also deeply embarrassed her. To Medea, this is Jason's most unforgivable crime and Medea is determined to save her reputation. As Medea tells the Chorus, she is a foreign woman, alone in Greece with no family or support.[382] After Jason's abandonment, all Medea has left is her reputation and she is desperate not to be seen as weak by her enemies.[383] Medea's reputation is important to her; in her short time in Corinth

[380] Euripides, *Medea*, 214-266.
[381] Euripides, *Medea*, 645-662; 989-1001.
[382] Euripides, *Medea*, 799.
[383] Euripides, *Medea*, 796-797; 806-810; 1047-1053; 1362.

she has taken the time to become popular and well liked amongst the citizens.[384] When she comes to speak with the Chorus, Medea appears honest when she confesses how worried she is about people judging her.[385] From her conversations with the Chorus and Aegeus, Euripides makes it explicitly clear that Medea is looking to secure allies: "I must confront the truth: that I have children, / and that we are exiles, much in need of friends."[386] When Medea first appears on stage to speak with the Chorus, she ends her speech with a plea for aid:

So I would like to ask this one small thing of you: / if I can find some means or some device / to make my husband pay the penalty to quit me / for the wrongs he's done, stay silent please.[387]

The Chorus responds immediately in agreement: "I will do this: you're justified inflicting punishment, / Medea, on your husband. I am not surprised you feel such / pain."[388] Again later, when Medea is speaking with Aegeus,[37] she offers to aid him with his fertility issues if only he will provide her refuge in Athens, to which Aegeus readily agrees. After this conversation, Medea tells the Chorus, "this man has now appeared as a safe haven for my plans."[389] This quotation alludes to an earlier moment where Medea laments her lack of allies: "[w]hat friend will grant me asylum and a home that is secure, / providing safety for my person? There is nobody."[390] It is clear that Medea is looking to make allies in Greece.

Medea's desperation is what makes her dangerous; she becomes manipulative and ruthless. Her actions to save her reputation makes her fears evident: she is afraid that Jason's betrayals will make her appear weak to her enemies:"[d]o I want to be a laughing stock, / and let my enemies get off scot-free?"[391] Medea is determined to project an image of strength and let her enemies know that she will not be so easily dismissed.[392] She explicitly tells Jason her actions are worth the pain they cause her: "...the anguish is well worth it, / as long as you can't mock at me."[393] Throughout *Medea*, she demonstrates how important her reputation is to her by how she wields it differently against different people. Medea uses her reputation with the Chorus, by playing on their shared experiences as women, "[f]or changing husbands is a blot upon / a woman's good

[384] Euripides, *Medea*, 11.
[385] Euripides, *Medea*, 214-224.
[386] Euripides, *Medea*, 880-881.
[387] Euripides, *Medea*, 259-266.
[388] Euripides, *Medea*, 267-269.
[389] Euripides, *Medea*, 769.
[390] Euripides, *Medea*, 388-389.
[391] Euripides, *Medea,* 1049-1050.
[392] Euripides, *Medea*, 805-810.
[393] Euripides, *Medea*, 1362.

repute; and it's not possible / to say no to the things a husband wants."[394] Medea, uses her status with the Chorus in order to secure their assistance in her revenge. With Aegeus, Medea uses her reputation as a skilled witch to persuade him to help her: "[y]ou may not realize what you've found in me: / for I shall end your barrenness, / and I shall make you potent to seed progeny. / Such are the potions that I know."[395] While with Aegeus Medea uses her reputation as a skilled witch in order to secure his help, she does the opposite in her conversation with Creon. Medea's most skilled manipulation happens during her conversation with Creon. When speaking with Medea, Creon tells her that he fears her because of rumours he has heard.[396] Here, Medea tries to play off her dangerous reputation as slander, "O misery… not for the first time reputation's / done me harm and damaged my whole life."[397] This is an important moment, as it speaks not only to Medea's skill at manipulation, but crucially demonstrates why her reputation is so valuable to her. It is significant that Creon has not only heard of Medea –a foreign woman– but fears her skill and strength. His fear highlights how Medea's enemies may think twice before acting against her. Both Medea's desire to keep her reputation strong and her despair at Jason's actions have led to her reckless abandon:

[b]ecause, my friends, to be derided / by one's enemies is not to be endured. / So let it be. What profit have I from my life? / I have no fatherland, no home, no way to turn from my misfortunes.[398]

This is an important moment for understanding the extremes she is willing to go to. Medea does not want to kill her children, but her own actions have left her stuck. By having Medea monologue her thoughts and indecisions, Euripides allows the audience to see Medea as a victim of her own horrendous decisions. Medea struggles considerably with the idea of killing her children; from the moment she considers doing so through to the end of the play, it is a choice that haunts her.[399] Medea wanted to watch her children grow up, she dreamed of them marrying and beginning their own families, of her sons taking care of her when she's old.[400] Medea realises that her actions against Glauce will endanger her sons and she fears what her enemies will do to them: "I swear, there is no way that I shall leave / my boys among my enemies so they / can treat them with atrocity."[401] As Medea fights with herself about whether or not to kill her children, she

[394] Euripides, *Medea,* 236-238.
[395] Euripides, *Medea*, 716-718.
[396] Euripides, *Medea*, 282-290.
[397] Euripides, *Medea*, 292-293.
[398] Euripides, *Medea*, 797-799.
[399] Euripides, *Medea*, 795; 1041-1045; 1055-1065; 1246-1250; 1364.
[400] Euripides, *Medea*, 1025-1035.
[401] Euripides. *Medea*, 1060.

frequently reminds herself about what her enemies will do to them.[402] Eventually, she convinces herself the boys will die anyway therefore it is better if she is the one to do it.[403] It is clear Medea struggles with her decision and clings to the inevitability of her sons' deaths to make the deed easier. Euripides demonstrates Medea's continuous struggle with her decision by repeating her choice –and the inevitability of her sons' deaths – almost word for word multiple times within the play.

Medea and Jason have plenty of enemies between them: the people of Colchis, the people of Iolcus, and now the people of Corinth. Medea even has Aegeus swear an oath to help her because of her many enemies.[404] In other versions of the play the Corinthians are responsible for killing the boys. Thus, Medea's fears about vengeful Corinthians harming her sons is not unwarranted, since Jason appears after Creon and Glauce's deaths to save his sons: "I've come to save the lives of my two sons, / and stop the kinsmen from inflicting harm / on them in retribution for the awful murder / that their mother has committed."[405] Jason's decision to save his sons comes much too late. Since Jason did not take the children with him when he left Medea, Jason has given her little reason to believe he would be willing to protect their sons. Given that the boys are still with Medea and that she had to plead with Jason to get him to advocate for their children's protection in Corinth, Medea is right to be sceptical of Jason. He was willing to see their sons suffer in exile, after he abandoned them along with Medea.[406] While Jason does agree to advocate for their sons, he only concedes to ask Glauce to speak to her father for him. If Jason was willing to throw their children away, she has little reason to believe he wants to protect them and Medea tells Jason this: "[n]ow you address them with love, / now you desire to embrace, / but then you pushed them away."[407]

Medea appears genuine in her concern for her children's safety; she genuinely believes killing them will help protect them.[408] Medea's main goal is not to hurt Jason but to avoid a crueller fate for her sons. Medea's venom towards Jason regarding him being childless should not be used to undermine her desire to protect her children. That she can be triumphant in her revenge against Jason does not negate her heartbreak over her children's deaths. Medea says she will suffer

[402] Euripides, *Medea*, 1043-1061; 1242-1250.
[403] Euripides, *Medea*, 1062-1063.
[404] Euripides, *Medea*, 734-740. Medea still has Aegeus swear the oath to protect them against her enemies, even the ones Aegeus does not yet know about.
[405] Euripides, *Medea*, 1303-1305.
[406] Euripides, *Medea*, 939-945.
[407] Euripides, *Medea*, 1401-1402.
[408] Euripides, *Medea*, 790-795; 1380-1381; 1055-1066.

greater pain for their deaths than Jason: "...so inflict upon myself double the pain as well?"[409] While agonising over her decision to kill her children, Medea describes how much pain she went through to birth them, how she nurtured them, loved them, and made plans for their futures. In the end, Medea justifies her actions as an extension of her love for them; she believes that killing her children is the only way to protect them. Jason, even after abandoning Medea and their children, continuously dismisses Medea as a mother: "[f]or you…what need of children do you have? / Whereas for me it cashes in a gain to benefit / my living sons through those as yet unborn."[410] This moment, where Jason tells Medea how important having children is to him, is why Medea knows the children's death will hurt him. This pain is why Medea taunts Jason further over their deaths: "[t]hese children live no more, and that will pierce you / through."[411]

Medea's frustration towards Jason and the gods' lack of justice is palpable from the beginning of the play.[412] Medea argues about the injustice with Jason asking him:, "[w]hat god or spirit is going to hear you, / who perjured your oaths, and deceived your hosts?"[413] It is this frustration and anger that causes Medea to punish Jason. Medea knows the deaths of their children will hurt him, and that killing his new wife will prevent him from completing his plan to have more. The murder of her own children is not a particular act that requires explanation to be appropriately condemned as villainous. In other earlier and contemporary versions of the myth, Medea and Jason's children are killed in several other ways, including by the people of Corinth, by Creon's relatives, or in an accident.[414] Euripides' decision to change the traditional narrative to one where Medea herself kills their children is proof that Euripides intended for Medea to be a villain in the play.

The Intentionality

Euripides makes intentional decisions to frame Medea in the paradoxical role of both the villain and the victim of the play. Having Medea kill her own children is undeniably unforgivable. To balance her later villainous crimes, Euripides places Medea into sympathetic situations and stresses her loss of autonomy. By doing this, Euripides allows the two roles to balance each other out and co-exist, allowing Medea to occupy this duality. Euripides intended to leave Medea in an unresolved dual state. His decision to end the play with Deus Ex Machina is the best proof of this intentionality. In *Medea*, Medea flies away on

[409] Euripides, *Medea*, 1047.
[410] Euripides, *Medea*, 565-566.
[411] Euripides, *Medea*, 1370.
[412] Euripides, *Medea*, 21.
[413] Euripides, *Medea*, 1391-1392.
[414] Griffith, et al., *Euripides I: Alcestis, Medea, the Children of Heracles, Hippolytus,* 70.

her grandfather's snake-driven chariot, which he sent to carry Medea safely away to Athens.[415] Deus Ex Machina directly translates to"god from the machine," and it involves a character (typically a god) being lowered by a crane mechanism onto the stage area.[416] It is used to solve plotlines that seem impossible for the characters to resolve on their own, and the Deus Ex Machina allows the writer to introduce a magical or divine character with the power to end any conflict. Euripides, however, does not use the Deus Ex Machina in the traditional sense of having a third party enter and magically resolve the plot. Instead, Euripides has Medea exit using this mechanism in a deliberate choice to leave the plot unresolved and the characters stuck in a perpetual state of duality. In *Medea,* Euripides does not want to deconstruct Jason and Medea but is trying to freeze the characters in this dual state.[417]

Conclusion

Bringing all of this together, Euripides' deeper message becomes evident: humanity is complex. Euripides' characters are realistically human and contradictory. He displays how Medea struggles with inner turmoil over her controversial decisions and explores her motivations and deeper personal psyche. Euripides writes Medea as a paradox; she is neither the perfect villain nor the perfect victim, and Euripides deliberately chooses to end the play with Medea stuck in her unresolved state. *Medea* is not a play about a woman maliciously harming the innocent men around her. Rather *Medea* is a story of a woman forced into a situation where the crimes committed against her are the catalyst for her own unforgivable and villainous actions, in her efforts to get revenge. Medea is desperate to protect her reputation and to ensure her enemies are unable to harm her children. Euripides' Medea knows it is too late for her children; they will be harmed by her enemies in retaliation for both Medea's and Jason's heinous acts, so she convinces herself that her only recourse to protect them is to kill them. Euripides' decision to change the traditional narrative to one where Medea kills her children is unmistakable evidence that Euripides intended for Medea to be the play's villain. Therefore, Euripides also goes out of his way to make Medea's victimhood clear. To have the two roles balance each other out and co-exist, Euripides must continuously show both sides of Medea's actions, allowing Medea to occupy this duality of both victim and villain.

[415] Euripides, *Medea*, 1320-1325.
[416] Chondros, et al., "'Deus-Ex-Machina' reconstruction in the Athens theatre of Dionysus," 172.
[417] Francis Dunn, *Tragedy's End: Closure and Innovation in Euripidean Drama*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996): 6-7.

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NON-ELITE ROMAN BURIALS: COMMEMORATION, COMMUNITY, AND IDENTITY

Jessica Nelson

Abstract

This paper will examine the burial practices of various non-elite Roman communities to determine how their non-elite status shaped individual and community identities. This analysis concludes that non-elite Roman communities from the Republican to the early Imperial periods used commemoration to build their own culture, traditions, and shared identity, while somewhat conforming to elite burial and mortuary practices. Collegia, or 'burial clubs', facilitated the creation of non-elite community bonds, and the columbaria, or collective burials, used by the collegia were a method of memorializing those communities and their unique non-elite identities. Freedmen, whose population constituted the majority of the Roman non-elite, frequently participated in burial and memorial practices which emphasized their freed status, while trying to conform to some aspect of elite burial culture. Therefore, Romans did not strive to hide their lower-class identities but, rather, sought community and found pride in their non-elite status.

Introduction

Non-elite Roman communities were not simply a 'catch-all' of people who were unable to achieve elite status. Rather, they were diverse social groups with their own traditions, values, and identities, which have commonly been overshadowed by studies of elite life. Often, these social and cultural identities can be seen in the burial and commemorative traditions of non-elite communities, as they indicate how the non-elite wished to be perceived and remembered. The burial practices of non-elite Romans in Roman Italy from the late Republican to early Imperial periods demonstrate a desire among non-elite communities to conform to elite burial and mortuary practices, while creating their own culture, traditions, and shared identity through commemoration. The communal burial practices of *collegia* are indicative of a desire among non-elite Romans to form community bonds and shared identities through their commemoration. Specifically, the *columbaria* used by *collegia* provide evidence regarding how non-elite communities created solidarity amongst themselves. Moreover, freedmen constituted a large portion of the overall non-elite Roman population and, therefore, their burial and commemorative practices provide powerful insight into the lives of non-elite communities. The commemorations of freedmen frequently try to conform to some aspects of elite traditions, but ultimately contribute more greatly to immortalizing the deceased's non-elite identity and their place in the greater non-elite community. While elite mortuary practices

certainly influenced those of the non-elite communities in late Republican to early Imperial Rome, burial and commemoration were more commonly intended to create a sense of community and identity among non-elites.

The Roman Non-Elite

Though the extravagant burial practices of the elite Romans are among the most studied, elite Romans constituted a very small minority of the Roman population. Therefore, elite burials act more as outliers, where the overall majority of burial trends could be better observed among non-elite demographics. The non-elites were the largest social grouping in Rome, including the absolute lowest classes, such as slaves, but also including wealthy and established freedmen who fell just short of the requirements of equestrian (elite) status.[418] Moreover, social stratification existed within subcategories of non-elite Romans. For instance, all gladiators were marked with the label *infamia*, meaning "lacking in reputation," but some were able to accumulate more wealth and better social standing than others.[419] Given the size and diversity of the non-elite Roman demographic, this paper focuses primarily on the Roman 'middle class'. The lowest status non-elites, like slaves, have little archaeological and literary evidence of burial practices, which could explain their traditions and values. Thus, this study examines those non-elite groups who were above the lowest classes, but below the highest: the 'middle class'. This demographic was exceptionally large as well, consisting mostly of tradespeople and freedmen. In fact, "some scholars conclude that anywhere from half or even virtually all of Rome's urban plebeian population was made up of freedmen."[420] Consequently, the study of the burials of non-elites like freedmen and tradespeople can provide necessary insight into understanding non-elite identities more generally.

Collegia

Memory and commemoration were incredibly important to the Romans. Based on the works of ancient Roman authors, there appear to be conflicting ideas about the immortality of one's soul, which led to a desire to have a form of physical, material immortality.[421] One of the most desirable locations for a burial

[418] Devon A. Stewart,"The Aesthetics of Assimilation: Non-Elite Roman Funerary Monuments, 100 B.C.E. –200 C.E.," (doctoral thesis, Emory University, 2014), 46-47.
[419] Catharine Edwards, "Unspeakable Professions: Public Performance and Prostitution in Ancient Rome," in *Roman Sexualities*, eds. Judith P. Hallett & Marilyn B. Skinner (New Jersey & West Sussex, Princeton University Press, 1997), 66, 69 & 77.
[420] Stewart, 50.
[421] Maureen Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead: Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 18-19; Emma-Jayne Graham, "Death, Disposal and the Destitute: The burial of the urban poor in Italy in the late Republic and early Empire" (doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield, 2004), 30.

was near a road because monuments would be incredibly visible to passersby.[422] Elites invested greatly in this immortality, constructing arches, statues, or entire buildings to commemorate their life and achievements or that of their family line.[423] These extravagant forms of commemoration were unachievable to many, but given the attitudes about immortality, were desired by most. Therefore, non-elite communities developed *collegia* as a method of ensuring they received a proper burial, even if they lacked the means. *Collegia* were 'burial clubs' where a person could pay a membership fee and in exchange the club would host their burial and funerary rites and would provide some form of commemoration for them within the cemetery of the *collegium*.[424] Most often, a *collegium* would consist of people with a "common profession, trade, religious belief or who were the dependants or slaves of a single household."[425] During the transition to the Imperial period, *collegia* became incredibly popular, with approximately five hundred identified in the city of Rome alone.[426] Thus, *collegia* were an opportunity for non-elite groups to create a sense of community and to express cultural values that were not always in line with those of the elites.

Controlling Collegia

In addition to hosting the funerals of members, *collegia* would celebrate religious festivals and would meet to host banquets together.[427] They would often meet and host events which did not serve any funerary purposes and were purely social.[428] Elites became suspicious of *collegia* and the amount of time members spent with each other, fearing that the clubs were a front to organize rebellion among the non-elites.[429] To ensure this was not the case, various laws were passed between 64 and 55 BCE limiting the freedom of *collegia*.[430] By the second half of the first century BCE, a *lex Iulia* was implemented, which "permitted the existence of certain societies provided they were licensed by the Emperor."[431] However, this need for control demonstrates the significance of *collegia* for community-building among non-elite Romans. *Collegia* provided an opportunity for those who may otherwise be socially excluded to participate in the traditions

[422] Jonathan Weiland, "The Invisible Romans: An Archaeological Investigation of the Poorest Roman Burials and Their Contexts in Imperial Period Italy" (doctoral thesis, Stanford University, 2018), 91.
[423] Graham, 30.
[424] Weiland, 109-110.
[425] Graham, 86.
[426] Heleen Ellen Duinker, "Buried in Collectivity: The Social Context of the Early Imperial Roman Columbaria" (master's thesis, University of Groningen, 2015), 10-11.
[427] Graham, 86-87.
[428] Dorian Borbonus, "Columbarium Tombs and Collective Identity in Augustan Rome," (New York, University of Cambridge Press, 2014), 13.
[429] Graham, 87.
[430] Graham, 87.
[431] Graham, 87.

and customs of the elite, such as banqueting. Moreover, these groups allowed for the mourning of peers, creating a sense of empathy and commonality among those who participated. It is clear that *collegia* empowered non-elites to form communities and express their values, which concerned the elite class. Had the *collegia* been less significant to non-elite Roman identities and society, it would not have been restricted by the elites.

Columbaria

It was common for *collegia* to utilize *columbaria*, which were underground, collective burial structures with many niches in the walls to hold and display urns. The use of these structures is mostly restricted to Rome, Ostia, and Puteoli during, and shortly after, the reign of Augustus.[432] However, these structures vary from those of Roman elites because, being underground, they were inherently private, prioritizing community commemoration and mourning rather than public memorial. These shared monuments created a supportive environment which "embodied the collective solidarity of those united in burial and mourning."[433] It was not that the *columbaria* or greater *collegia* replaced the family's role in commemoration, but rather expanded upon it, forming a much larger community network.[434] Furthermore, rather than each commemoration being individualized within the *columbarium*, there were clear efforts to follow a uniform memorialization.[435] Those who were buried in *columbaria* show a desire, not to be singled out as greater than their peers, but to be commemorated as part of a burial collective which represented their community identity.[436]

The many inscriptions and epitaphs of the *columbaria* also provide valuable insight as to how non-elite Romans viewed their communities as a whole. Though none have been found *in situ*, it is believed that *columbaria* would have included a *titulus*, or 'building inscription', near their entrance, which could have displayed the collective identity of those buried within.[437] Moreover, while there was certainly some variation among epitaphs within *columbaria*, there was a tendency towards standardization with legal status being an important component of most commemorative inscriptions during the Republican period.[438] However, during the transition to the Imperial period, non-elite epitaphs in *columbaria* began to omit legal status, with less than 30% including their status.[439] Though the purpose of above-ground inscriptions is clearly for the public memorialization of the deceased, these underground shared burial spaces do not

[432] Borbonus, 1.
[433] Borbonus, 12.
[434] Borbonus, 12.
[435] Borbonus, 6.
[436] Borbonus, 6.
[437] Duinker, 30.
[438] Borbonus, 119.
[439] Borbonus, 119-120.

appear to hold the same expectations. As it is probable that those buried in *columbaria* were of similar social standing, the inclusion of social or legal status in an epitaph would have undermined the purpose of *columbaria*, which "subtly [connected] and [embedded] individuals into a community of peers."[440]

Additionally, it was uncommon for epitaphs in *columbaria* to include affectionate or familial epithets.[441] This was not necessarily due to the deceased lacking family, but as Dr. Borbonus argues, "the assertion of familial harmony that this type of vocabulary conveys appears to be less important in a collective environment in which both family and association members could help to balance the traumatizing effects of a death."[442] Therefore, the epitaphs of *columbaria* do not illustrate a need to create social stratification as elite commemorations did, but show how language was used to build social ties and an overall sense of identity among non-elites through commemoration.

However, *collegia* and *columbaria* also demonstrate the wish of non-elites to conform to some of the practices and pressures of the elite world. Though these collective burials were not extravagant and were not made for claims to status, they were still restricted to only certain groups of non-elites who could afford to be buried there. *Collegia* and *columbaria* indicate a clear desire among non-elites to achieve some form of burial or commemoration that is above standard lower-class burials. These collective burials facilitated a shared community identity for those within, just as much as they acted as a method of differentiation from those without. Thus, *collegia* and *columbaria* determine that non-elite burials were influenced by the practices of the elites, but amended to reflect the identities of individual non-elite communities.

Freedmen

As previously mentioned, freedmen, *libertini*, constituted a significant portion of the non-elite population of Rome and were commonly members of *collegia* and *columbaria*.[443] The burial and commemoration practices of freedmen exemplify both the individualization of freedmen as their own community and the shared identity among all non-elites regardless of social stratification within.

Freeborn Children of Freedmen

For decades, modern scholars have argued that ancient families may have cared less about the deaths of their children, partially because infant mortality rates were so high during antiquity, and partially because of the written opinions of ancient authors. For instance, Plutarch writes "people do not bring offerings to

[440] Borbonus, 123.
[441] Borbonus, 124.
[442] Borbonus, 124.
[443] Duinker, 10.

any of their children who die in infancy."[444] Additionally, Seneca criticized Marullus for mourning the death of his son, stating "is it solace that you expect? Accept reproach instead. You are like a woman in the way you take your son's death; [...] A son, a little child of uncertain promise, is dead; a fragment of time has perished."[445] However, many recent modern scholars contest this perspective, arguing that there are equally as many instances in literature of the mourning of children and that there exist many elaborate burials and commemorations of children.[446] The letter in which Seneca criticized Marullus is also evidence of this, as Marullus was clearly grieving the loss of a child despite some social expectations that he should not. Additionally, Seneca's comparison to the mourning of a woman indicates that there were differing expectations for women and men in the case of the death of a child. Therefore, older assumptions that parents did not mourn the loss of infants are mostly obsolete.

For many *libertini* parents, the loss of a freeborn child contained several dimensions of grief. Firstly, there was likely the aforementioned grief due to the loss of their child, which can be seen in many funerary reliefs in which parents and children show affectionate gestures.[447] However, freedmen parents who had lost a freeborn child were also mourning the death of their freed family line. Many funerary reliefs dedicated to the children of freedmen display a 'nuclear family', with the deceased child at the forefront and the parents flanking them (see Figure 1).[448] Moreover, the children most commonly represented in this way were male; a study of 92 reliefs concludes that 13 out of 15 children depicted were boys.[449] Some boys were even displayed with "symbols of [their] status in wider society, such as the *bulla* and toga," to indicate social significance.[450] Despite Augustan laws which heavily encouraged large families with many children, most reliefs only display one child, likely demonstrating the significance of the death of the eldest or firstborn free child.[451] Thus, these reliefs depict the grieving and commemoration not only of a lost child, but of the family's free future.

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[444] Plutarch, *Consolation to his Wife*, 11 in Valerie M. Hope, "Death in Ancient Rome: A Sourcebook" (London & New York, Routledge, 2007), 181.
[445] Seneca, *Letters* 99. 2-3 in Hope, 182.
[446] Maureen Carroll, "'No part in earthly things.' The Death, Burial and Commemoration of Newborn Children and Infants in Roman Italy," in *Families in the Roman and Late Antique World*, eds. Mary Harlow & Lena Larsson Lovén, (London & New York, Continuum International Publishing Group, 2012); Mark Golden, "Did the Ancients Care When Their Children Died?" *Greece and Rome* 35, no. 2 (1988).
[447] Janet Huskinson, "Constructing Childhood on Roman Funerary Memorials," *Hesperia Supplements* 41, (2007): 327.
[448] Huskinson, 327.
[449] Huskinson, 325.
[450] Huskinson, 327.
[451] Huskinson, 327-328.

Figure 1: *Group relief*, Augustan Period (Huskinson, 325).

This trend exemplifies the influence that elite values and society had on the non-elite. Freedmen were extremely proud of their social and economic advancement and used the commemoration of their child to display grief and to place themselves among the elite classes. In addition to children being depicted with signs of social involvement, like the *bulla*, much of the relief art used elite iconography and art styles.[452] Therefore, while the practice of memorializing the first freeborn child in this way may have been unique to non-elite freedmen, it was greatly influenced by the practices, traditions, and social expectations of the elites.

Community and Solidarity Among Freedmen

While many freedmen had been able to reach a new, heightened social status and were able to grow their familial wealth, they appear to have taken pride in their humble beginnings. Many funerary inscriptions made by freedmen reference the labour or work they did as a prideful declaration. For example, the *Relief of the Gavii* depicts a freedman, his son, wife, and brother, and presents an inscription of the term *fabrei tignuares*, indicating that the brothers were carpenters (see Figure 2).[453] Michele George specifically notes that there is a "degree of caution [...] detected, for the subtle way in which the reference to work is made reflects the subordination of the idea to the dominant motif of the family."[454] However, this caution is clearly outweighed by the desire of the Gavii brothers to reference their work, as they could have simply omitted that aspect of their identity. The commemoration of work can also be seen in the *Relief of the Licinii*, which includes portraits of two freedmen and illustrations of several tools

[452] Michele George, "Social Identity and the Dignity of Work in Freedmen's Reliefs," in *The Art of Citizens, Soldiers and Freedmen in the Roman World*, eds. Eve D'Ambra & Guy P. R. Métraux, (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2016), 20; Huskinson, 325.
[453] George, 21.
[454] George, 21.

used in a metal or woodshop (see Figure 3).[455] In this case, the imagery of labour is far more direct, and there appears to be no hesitancy in proclaiming it. Much like the previously discussed reliefs of freeborn children, these reliefs depicting work appear to conform to some of the elite trends and expectations. Specifically, in the *Relief of the Gavii*, there is a clear desire to display the achievement of a prosperous family line, which was a goal of freedmen looking for legitimacy in their social standing.[456] However, the inclusion of freedmen's labour in their commemorations acknowledges their non-elite identity as something worthy of immortality. Though freedmen may have wanted to meet certain expectations of the elite, there was clearly an inclination to have their identity as non-elite people included in their commemoration, thus placing themselves within a much larger non-elite community.

Figure 2: *Relief of the Gavii*, ca. 40 BCE (George, 20).

Figure 3: *Relief of the Licinii*, ca. 1st century BCE (George, 23).

[455] George, 22.
[456] George, 21.

A desire to connect with and commemorate non-elite status among freedmen is also exemplified in the monument of Naevoleia Tyche (see Figure 4). Naevoleia and her husband, Munatius Faustus, were freedmen living in Pompeii.[457] Munatius held the role of *magister pagi*, in which he oversaw some administrative duties in the area and, therefore, was able to accomplish a level of wealth and social status.[458] Naevoleia's freed status, in addition to her gender, meant that she could not follow in the footsteps of her husband, as the position of priestess was reserved for elite women.[459] However, this did not dissuade Naevoleia from continuing to proudly identify with her non-elite status. After her husband passed, Naevoleia used the family's new wealth to erect a monument proclaiming her and her husband's accomplishments:

"Naevoleia Tyche, freedwoman of Lucius, [erected this monument] for herself and for Gaius Munatius Faustus, augustalis and paganus, to whom the decurions, with the agreement of the citizens, decreed the [honor of] the bisellium for his merits. Naevoleia Tyche constructed this monument while alive for her freedmen and freedwomen and for those of Gaius Munatius Faustus."[460]

Importantly, this monument goes beyond commemorating Naevoleia and her immediate family alone. Rather, Naevoleia explicitly commemorates the freedmen and women of her household. Because Naevoleia and her husband had themselves manumitted the slaves memorialized in this commemoration, it was likely that they were somewhat wealthier and of better social standing than their newly freed slaves. Despite the likely disparity in wealth and status between Naevoleia and her recently freed slaves, she decided to be commemorated alongside them in this monument. This demonstrates the sense of community and solidarity that existed among all freedmen, regardless of stratification within the social class. Naevoleia's monument displays honours and achievements to satisfy elite expectations of commemoration, but clearly acknowledges her own unique, non-elite identity alongside it.

[457] John R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 315* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, University of California Press, 2003), 184.
[458] Clarke, 184.
[459] Clarke, 184,.
[460] Clarke, 184.

Figure 4: *Monument of Naevoleia Tyche in Pompeii*, ca. 1st century BCE (Clarke, 185).

Conclusion

Throughout the late Republican and early Imperial periods, non-elite Romans used their burials, mortuary practices, and commemorations to develop a sense of community. *Collegia* were created as a method of making commemoration more accessible and monumental for those who had some wealth, but were still non-elite. Their enduring prevalence despite the efforts of the elites to restrict *collegia* indicates their significance to the communities that participated in them. Moreover, *columbaria* burial structures, which were frequently used by *collegia*, demonstrate how non-elites used their burials to promote unity. Secondly, the commemorations of freedmen illustrate their pride in their non-elite community and identity. Freedmen did not aim to hide their humble beginnings, but rather, found ways to integrate their identity into their commemorations, often connecting themselves to their wider non-elite community. Overall, burial practices of non-elite Romans were influenced by trends of elite communities, but were often uniquely non-elite, creating culture, traditions, and a communal identity through commemoration.

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VENERATION OR PROPAGANDA? WORSHIP AND THE OSIRIS MYTHS TO ENGENDER LOYALTY TO THE PHARAOH

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Abstract

In ancient Egyptian society, the religious and the political were intimately connected, playing a role in their joint reification. To the ancient Egyptian populace, the religious and the political spheres co-constructed truth alongside structures of power to ensure the legitimacy and reign of the Pharaoh. The Osiris myths played an indelible role in this system. Beyond the positioning of the Pharaoh as a divinely ordained ruler, these depictions placed the monarch in fellowship with his subjects, legitimising the Pharaoh as a benevolent ruler working alongside and in the interests of the populace. In recollecting the diverse uses of the Osiris myths as state legitimisation, this hypothesis will rethink the growth of the Osiris cult in all levels of ancient Egyptian society following the First Intermediate Period. Paying attention to the nuanced and conflicting recallings of the Osiris myths by ancient Egyptian royalty, especially in the context of the cult's growth within the non-royalty, this analysis will uncover a more concrete understanding of ancient Egyptian discourses, the interconnectedness of the religious and political spheres, and the Pharaoh's wielding of religion and cult as propaganda for the legitimisation of the dynasty.

In ancient Egyptian society, the religious and the political were intimately connected, playing a role in their joint reification. To the ancient Egyptian populace, the religious and the political spheres co-constructed truth alongside structures of power to ensure the legitimacy and reign of the Pharaoh. As mentioned by Stephen Quirke, "all cult in Egypt was royal cult."[461] The Osiris myths played an indelible role in this system, with earlier scholars positing that the Osiris-Horus cycle legitimised kingship through an *unio mystica*, the direct identification of the living Pharaoh with Horus and the deceased as an incarnation of Osiris.[462] However, analyses of ritual texts and inscriptions provide a more complex look into the relationship between the royal deceased and Horus/Osiris, complicating the view that an *unio mystica* between Pharaoh and deity legitimised ancient Egyptian kingship.

[461] Stephen Quirke, Ancient Egyptian Religion, (London: British Museum Press, 2000), 81.
[462] Ian Shaw, ed., The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt (Oxford New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 7.

Beyond the positioning of the Pharaoh as a divinely ordained ruler, these depictions placed the monarch in fellowship with his subjects, legitimising the Pharaoh as a benevolent ruler working alongside and in the interests of the populace. Finally, in recollecting the diverse uses of the Osiris myths as state legitimisation, this hypothesis will rethink the growth of the Osiris cult in all levels of ancient Egyptian society following the First Intermediate Period. Through paying attention to the nuanced and conflicting recallings of the Osiris myths by ancient Egyptian royalty, especially in the context of the cult's growth within the non-royalty, this analysis will uncover a more concrete understanding of ancient Egyptian discourses, the interconnectedness of the religious and political spheres, and the Pharaoh's wielding of religion and cult as propaganda for the legitimisation of the dynasty.

J. Gwyn Griffiths outlines four types of relationships between the deceased Pharaoh and Osiris, Seth, and Horus, with only some of the cases having exhibited identification of the king with the gods.[463] In other instances, the Pharaoh was seen in close association or cooperating with the gods, and in many cases, multiple gods were associated with the Pharaoh in different facets at the same time.[464] These identifications and distinctions were often contradictory, with sections of the same inscription or monument exhibiting multiple and radically different forms of association, such as one in Senusret I's non-extant temple of Atum at Heliopolis.[465] Thus arises an important paradox of identification-distinction, one that spans religious texts from the Old Kingdom and the Pyramid Texts to the Middle Kingdom, the Coffin Texts and beyond.

It is important to note the dynamic significances of ancient Egyptian religion and myth, which employed flexibility and multifunctionality as foundational attributes.[466] Metaphor, allegory, and symbolism were more important than logic and literal meaning in ancient Egyptian ritual texts; thus, many myths, including the Osiris myth, did not have a cohesive or standard narrative.[467] Gods and other figures acted to this same goal, with a given text employing specific individuals for their symbolisms, abilities, and roles.[468] Thus, the fluidity of the royal deceased's relationship with Osiris was logical and should be analysed not literally, but for the specific roles it played in both religious and political respects.

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[463] J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, Studies in the History of Religions 40 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980), 47.
[464] Griffiths, 47.
[465] Mark Smith, *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 138.
[466] Katja Goebs, "A Functional Approach to Egyptian Myth and Mythemes," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 2, no. 1 (2002): 40, 59.
[467] Vincent Arieh Tobin, *Theological Principles of Egyptian Religion*, American University Studies, v. 59 (New York: P. Lang, 1989), 22-3.
[468] Goebs, 42-3.

In ritual texts or monumental inscriptions, identification of royalty with Osiris, or another god such as Horus or Seth, should be understood as impermanent, with many texts having contradictingly depicted identification and distinction between the two parties in the same section.[469] As seen in Mark Smith's analysis of ritual texts relating to the healing of a snake bite, these temporary identifications between a given party and a deity were ritually specific means to an end which conferred the status, power, or attributes of a given god to the individual.[470] Paratextual evidence, such as the comment outlining the intended effect of Pyramid Text Spell 561B (*"As for the one who will truly [worship] Osiris while performing/reciting this magic for him, he will live for ever. It is Pepi who worships you, Osiris. It [is Pepi who per]forms/recites [this] magic for you. [He will] live for ever."*), also affirms the ritual contingency of these identifications, proving that even when a subject appealed to the gods for the conferment of divine attributes, the two parties remained literally distinct.[471] Even the use of the epithets *Wsỉr NN* ("Osiris NN") or *Wsỉr n NN* ("Osiris of NN") in reference to the deceased still expressed ritual and temporal contingency, affirming the literal distinction between the two parties.[472]

Moreover, ancient Egyptian religion illustrated no distinction between past, present, and future or completed and present actions, and thus Western conceptions of linear time should not be used in the analysis of myth.[473] Myths could be logically understood as having occurred in the present during recitation and reenactment.[474] Thus, identifying the monarch with Horus/Osiris temporarily conferred the deity's attributes and status to the Pharaoh during recitation and reenactment for the completion of a religious or political goal.[475] Rather than an *unio mystica* that positioned the individual Pharaoh as a reincarnation of the deity, this relationship should be understood as an *unio liturgica*, where the Pharaoh entered a cultic community of worshippers who could call upon the deity for temporary conferment of divine power.[476]

The Osiris myth was allegorical, with its themes offering a model of kingship as well as the assurance of order and state success in the face of death and disorder.[477] These themes were depicted through the positioning of Horus as the personification of divine and regal power that avenged the death of Osiris, his father and predecessor, reaffirming *ma'at*, social order and the blessings of

[469] Smith, *Following Osiris*, 143.
[470] Smith, *Following Osiris*, 143.
[471] Smith, *Following Osiris*, 150, 155.
[472] Smith, *Following Osiris*, 156.
[473] Tobin, *Theological Principles of Egyptian Religion*, 27.
[474] Tobin, *Theological Principles of Egyptian Religion*, 27.
[475] Smith, *Following Osiris*, 143.
[476] Mark Smith, "Osiris and the Deceased," *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* 1, no. 1 (2008): 3, https://escholarship.org/uc/item/29r70244.
[477] Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 67.

nature.[478] The Pharaoh, in his ritually and temporally specific identification with Horus during life and Osiris after death, was conferred the power to rule and the means to ensure *ma'at*.

Moreover, the Pharaoh was legitimised through religious means and was seen as divinely ordained. The rites of succession and coronation of the new monarch were notable examples of the implication of this ritually contingent identification as state legitimisation.[479] Pharaonic power was reified through the recognition of association with the gods and the conferment of divine power through this *unio liturgica*. Even though the notion of an *unio mystica* between the gods and the Pharaoh has been refuted, this conferment of divine power through recitation of spells still accords with the findings of earlier scholars who employed the direct identification theory, such as Griffiths, Geraldine Pinch, Quirke, Ian Shaw, and Vincent Arieh Tobin. The monarch still acted as an official representation of the divine as well as an assurance of stability.[480]

An inscription on Senusret I's non-extant temple of Atum at Heliopolis is a notable example of this temporary identification, with the Pharaoh writing:

Having come as Horus, I have taken thought.
Having established the offerings of the gods,
I will construct a great house,
For my father Atum.
He will enrich himself inasmuch as he made me conquer.
I will supply his altars on earth.
I will build my house in his neighborhood.[481]

In this inscription, the Pharaoh recalled his ascension to the throne and its associated rituals to reenact his temporary identification with Horus. "Having come as Horus," the Pharaoh was temporarily oriented as a divine member of the Heliopolitan Ennead, the first four generations of deities in the cult centre's contemporary creation myth, and thus the descendant of the primordial solar deity Atum. Senusret thus positioned the building of his temple as an action of divine filial piety, an important theme in Horus's depictions in the Osiris myths.

In recognising the distinction between an *unio mystica* and an *unio liturgica*, as well as in disproving the "democratisation of the afterlife" theory through a comparative analysis of royal and private monuments, Smith argues that the relationship between the gods and royalty is the same as that of non-royalty, with

[478] Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 61.
[479] Tobin, *Theological Principles of Egyptian Religion*, 28.
[480] Tobin, *Theological Principles of Egyptian Religion*, 28.
[481] Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings* (University of California Press, 1975), 1:117.

both classes in liturgical association with Osiris.[482] However, the Pharaoh was able to appeal to Horus/Osiris in the justification of his leadership, whereas non-royalty could not position themselves as the divinely ordained ruler and securer of *ma'at*. What set this *unio liturgica* between the deity and the Pharaoh apart from those with the populace was that the Pharaoh possessed predetermined political and social power, thus allowing appeals to the gods to be used to reify this power. The religious and the political spheres worked to uphold and affirm each other. A non-royal without political power could not call upon Horus or Osiris for conferment of the powers to rule because this would have no political or social justification. Thus, beyond affirming *ma'at* and the legitimacy of the monarch, ritual identification between the Pharaoh and the gods worked to reify the social hierarchy, which in turn reaffirmed the Pharaoh's right to rule.

Beyond the use of an appeal to the gods as justification for leadership, through this *unio liturgica* between deity and royalty, the Pharaoh was positioned as subservient and dependent on the gods, joining a cultic community of similarly-positioned non-royals.[483] The Pharaoh thus venerated and served Horus/Osiris in a similar vein to his subjects. Cultic performance, ritual, and the recitation of spells, in their dramatisation of the foundational themes and symbols of a given myth, achieved the purpose of the cult.[484] Thus, the act of being in liturgy with Horus/Osiris and performing the associated cultic worship reaffirmed the position of the Pharaoh, but most importantly, established the principle of *ma'at*.

Moreover, the Osiris myth was popular in ancient Egypt because of its implication that the deceased could reach a pleasant afterlife, positioning Osiris and Isis as the protectors and preservers of the deceased from harm and decay.[485] Therefore, the monumentalisation of the Pharaoh's worship of Horus/Osiris appealed to this cultic fellowship, underscoring the shared goals of the Pharaoh and the populace. By highlighting the Pharaoh's *unio liturgica* with the gods of the Osiris myth, with its performance of the establishment of *ma'at* and hope for a pleasant afterlife, social stratification was masked, as the Pharaoh positioned himself as spiritually aligned with his subjects, his fellows in the liturgical community.

In an earlier section of the building inscription of Senusret I, the Pharaoh positioned himself as a follower and servant of Harakhty, one of the many forms of Horus, having written:

For the future will I make a monument,
I will settle firm decrees for Harakhty.

[482] Smith, *Following Osiris*, 165, 266–68.
[483] Smith, *Following Osiris*, 162–64.
[484] Tobin, *Theological Principles of Egyptian Religion*, 31.
[485] Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 69; Smith, "Osiris and the Deceased," 2.

He begat me to do what should be done for him,
To accomplish what he commands to do.
He appointed me shepherd of this land,
Knowing him who would herd it for him.
He gave to me what he protects,
What the eye in him illuminates.
He who does all as he desires
Conveys to me what he wants known.[486]

In this case, Senusret I was positioned foremost as the servant of Harakhty, opposing the section of the inscription which depicted temporary identification. However, in serving the god, the Pharaoh entered into fellowship with the liturgical community, joining in the veneration of the god for the proliferation of his virtues, "I will settle firm decrees for Harakhty," and the continuation of order, "He appointed me shepherd of this land." It should also be noted that in both inscription extracts, the differentiation between ritual identification and liturgical association was muddled, with many gods in play at the same time. In the first extract, even though the Pharaoh's ritual identification with Horus positioned him as the descendant of Atum, Senusret I's self-depiction also saw him as subservient to and venerative of the primordial god. Moreover, in the second extract, the phrase "He begat me to do what should be done for him," used in reference to the subservience of the Pharaoh to Harakhty, also recalled the ritual identification of the Pharaoh with Horus as divine living monarch.

These contradictory associations between Pharaoh and deity were of both political and religious importance, with this fluidity allowing the Pharaoh to be seen as both a divinely ordained ruler above the non-royalty while also their fellow in cultic community. The Pharaoh could have employed divine identification and/or distinction depending on the context to serve his individual goals. Social hierarchy could be reified, all the while the monarch was positioned as benevolent and human. This fluidity acted as legitimisation of pharaonic power, propaganda that defined the Pharaoh as both superior and divinely ordained, yet also sensible and kind. This propaganda positioned the Pharaoh as the symbolic assurance of stability working in fellowship with the populace in their quest for the continuation of *ma'at*.

The diverse ways that royalty employed the Osiris myths in the legitimisation of their power are specifically important if placed in context with the growth of the cult after the return to dynastic rule after the First Intermediate Period. Smith's refutation of the "democratisation of the afterlife" theory posits that the increase of Osiris cult texts in non-royal burials through the First

[486] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 1:116.

Intermediate period and into the Middle Kingdom was an example of changes in display rather than increased non-royal access.[487] Both Harold M. Hays and Antonio J. Morales categorise this change as caused by a potential reprieve from Pharaoh-imposed decorum and/or the shifting of non-royal funerary fashions, hypotheses which have been subsequently disproven by Smith.[488] However, Smith provides a somewhat deprecating account of alternative possible causes for this increase in display and monumentalisation, noting that:

"It is more probable that it reflects a shift in the configuration of customary practice, perhaps as a result of wider social trends like expansion in the use of writing or the increased influence of local traditions, rather than a dictate from some higher agency."[489]

It should be recalled that the principal importance of ancient Egyptian myths was in their function, which could be moralistic, educative, or protective, with flexibility and multifunctionality being two foundational attributes.[490] Myths and rituals, and the associated evocation of specific deities, were flexible, with the purpose or message of the myth driving the narrative and the selection of characters.[491] Religious metaphors were the most important aspects of the narrative.[492] In the case of the Osiris myth, the themes of kingship, order, and the renewal of life were the main driving forces of its fragments, with the cycle of Osiris's life yielding three main stages of guarantees for ancient Egyptians.[493] The murder and rebirth of Osiris promised the cycles of nature, including the annual inundation and nourishment of the soils, alongside a renewal of life for the deceased in the underworld.[494] Moreover, the protection of Horus symbolised survival in the face of danger, and the victory of Horus over Seth promised the continual triumph of good over evil and the stability of order while setting a model for kingship.[495]

Literature succeeding the First Intermediate Period tended to portray this section of ancient Egyptian history as rife with chaos and misery, a time when the

[487] Smith, *Following Osiris*, 265.
[488] Harold M. Hays, "The Death of the Democratisation of the Afterlife," in *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives: Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750-2150 BC*, ed. Nigel Strudwick and Helen Strudwick (Oxbow Books, 2011), 118, 119; Antonio J. Morales, "The Transmission of the Pyramid Texts into the Middle Kingdom: Philological Aspects of a Continuous Tradition in Egyptian Mortuary Literature," (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2013), 28–29, ProQuest (3565179); Mark Smith, *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia* (Oxford University Press, 2017), 185–89.
[489] Smith, *Following Osiris*, 190.
[490] Goebs, "A Functional Approach to Egyptian Myth and Mythemes," 40, 59.
[491] Goebs, "A Functional Approach to Egyptian Myth and Mythemes," 40–41.
[492] Tobin, *Theological Principles of Egyptian Religion*, 21–25.
[493] Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 67.
[494] Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 67.
[495] Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 67.

gods had withdrawn their blessing.[496] This transitional period also saw the completion of the ideological assimilation of Anubis and Khentiamentiu into Osiris and his mythos alongside the new positioning of Osiris as King of the Dead.[497] Recall that the main reason behind the popularity of the Osiris myths was its primary religious meaning, the promise of a pleasant afterlife for the deceased.[498] Belief in Osiris, as well as his sister-wife Isis, was seen as a form of protection, especially for the preservation of the dead from harm and decay to ensure a full and proper life in the underworld.[499] Even though Smith notes that political change does not necessarily lead to religious change, and vice versa, the chances that there was no influence between these spheres of ancient Egyptian existence during an approximately 125-year period of unrest are highly unlikely. Recall the importance of ancient Egyptian myth in its use as directives or counsel: an increase in the monumentalisation of Osirian funerary spells in non-royal settings, if not simply caused by an increase in non-royal access to writing, could represent a plea to the gods for their return, aid and protection in the worlds of the living and the dead, and/or the reaffirmation of good morals during a time of anxiety and turmoil. This would accord with Smith's findings that this change in non-royal monumentalisation was autonomous rather than decreed by a higher power, providing an explanation as to why this choice came to pass; proof behind the monumentalisation theory that he dismissed as "without a way of testing" and "unlikely".[500] The display of spells evoking Osiris, the protector of the dead and the guarantor of a pleasant afterlife, would therefore be understood as a plea to the supposedly withdrawn deities for their return and to ensure the prosperity of the deceased in the underworld, especially in contrast with the turmoil of contemporary life on Earth.

Consequently, this hypothesis would be supported by and allow for a rethinking of the growing royal use and endorsement of the Osiris cult in the Middle Kingdom. This rethinking would recognise the political power in the Pharaoh's ritually contingent identification and recalling of Osiris/Horus, as well as that garnered through the Pharaoh's confraternity with non-royalty in calling for the return and blessings of the once-withdrawn gods. The growth and endorsement of the Osiris cult by the Pharaoh, as seen alongside the transition to the Middle Kingdom period, would parallel and appeal to contemporary popular religious responses to the social disorders of the preceding period. The growing endorsement of the Osiris cult by the Pharaoh worked in tandem with the growing

[496] Geraldine Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology: A Guide to the Gods, Goddesses, and Traditions of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford University Press, 2004), 12.
[497] Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 104, 152.
[498] Smith, "Osiris and the Deceased," 2.
[499] Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 69.
[500] Smith, *Following Osiris*, 187, 188–89.

importance of the associated mythos in popular life. As noted by Quirke, ancient Egyptian monumental architecture served the monarch and the royal cult to the same extent as the deity for whom it was created, highlighting the piety, divine blessing, and power of the Pharaoh.[501] For example, Mentohotep II, the Eleventh Dynasty Pharaoh credited with the reunification of Egypt after the First Intermediate Period, built the first royal structure to directly stress Osirian beliefs, his mortuary temple at Deir-el-Bahri.[502] This complex acted as an inspirational symbol of reunification and new beginnings that legitimised the new dynasty's right to rule, recalling the Osiris myth's themes of kingship, cyclical time, and the return of *ma'at* in the face of disorder and strife.[503]

During the Twelfth Dynasty, the trend of Pharaonic emphasis on the Osiris cult continued with the reign of the aforementioned Senusret I.[504] Senusret I constructed temples at major cult sites to undermine local power, such as the aforementioned temple to Atum and the remodelled temple of Khentiamentiu-Osiris at Abydos.[505] Moreover, Senusret I's construction of personal shrines ("cenotaphs") and commemorative stelae at Abydos further advertised pilgrimage to the cult centre of Osiris, beginning a period of increased private monument construction in the area.[506]

Increasingly, the site of Abydos associated with the annual celebration of the mysteries of Osiris became a focal point in ancient Egyptians' interaction with the god during life and beyond death.[507] The route of this festival worked to serve the contemporary royal cult, travelling from Senusret I's remodelled Osirian temple to the Early Dynastic royal tombs, one of which, potentially that of the Pharaoh Djet, was believed to be that of Osiris himself.[508] Pharaohs travelling to Abydos ensured to participate in the festivals as well.[509] The participation of the Pharaoh in the festivities affirmed the confraternity of royalty and non-royalty through the Osiris cult, which paired with the construction of royal cenotaphs in and around Abydos that reaffirmed the notion of divinely ordained kingship and the ritual identification of the monarch with Horus/Osiris. Abydos became the locus for the growth and interconnected reification of the political and religious spheres, legitimising the Pharaoh through his identification with Horus/Osiris but also through monumental recognition of the Pharaoh's loyalty to the god and the establishment of *ma'at*.

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[501] Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 81.
[502] Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 142.
[503] Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 142.
[504] Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 150.
[505] Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 150.
[506] Kathryn A. Bard, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, Second Edition (Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 188; Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 150.
[507] Smith, *Following Osiris*, 268.
[508] Bard, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, 196.
[509] Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 54.

The transition from the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Dynasty saw the continued veneration of the Osiris cult in Abydos to legitimise claims to kingship. For the royalty of the Thirteenth Dynasty who came from non-royal backgrounds, the *unio liturgica* between monarch and deity, as well as the affirmation of politics through religion, was especially useful.[510] For example, Neferhotep I erected a commemorative stela for his participation in the mysteries of Osiris during the second year of his reign.[511] This stela specifically sees an ambiguous identification-distinction relationship between the Pharaoh and Horus/Osiris during the second speech of the King, in which his majesty said to his companions:

> My Majesty will protect my father, Osiris-Foremost-of-the-Westerners, Lord of Abydos, that I may fashion him together with his Ennead, as my Majesty has observed in his writings. It was as he issued from the womb of (the goddess) Nut that his form was made as King of Upper and Lower Egypt. I am his son, his protector, his seed who came forth as master of his Broad Hall, to whom Geb gave his inheritance about which the Ennead is content, I being in his great office which Re granted, an effective son who fashions him who fashioned him.[512]

In this speech, Neferhotep recalled his ritual identification with Horus during his inauguration, situating himself as the living son of Osiris, similarly to how Senusret I positioned himself as the descendant of Atum. In this case, this temporary identification reified the superior status of the Pharaoh alongside his divine favour, positioning Neferhotep's refashioning of Osiris's image for use in religious drama as an act of filial piety. Yet, once again, a liturgical subservience was positioned between the Pharaoh and the god, reaffirming the benevolence and endeavour of the monarch in the quest for the continuation of order and the dissemination of the Osirian cult and its teachings.

Overall, the Osirian cult was an important tool in the legitimisation of Pharaonic power and a linchpin in the interconnected power structures of the religious and political spheres. Through an *unio liturgica* between Pharaoh and deity, the monarch was able to position himself as superior to his subjects through the notion of divine favour and the role of the divine representative. Concurrently, the Pharaoh also entered into fellowship with his subjects in a cultic community that masked social hierarchies and positioned the Pharaoh as a prudent individual working in confraternity towards the establishment and reaffirmation of *ma'at*.

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[510] Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 168.
[511] Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 168.
[512] William Kelly Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry* (Yale University Press, 2003), 341, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oculcarleton-ebooks/detail.action?docID=3419961.

Beyond texts and inscriptions, monuments and the stimulus of the Osirian cult centre at Abydos served the growth of the royal cult. During the Middle Kingdom, the growth of this cult coincided with royal and non-royal responses to the disorder of the First Intermediate period, alongside the quest for the legitimisation of ruling dynasties with both royal and non-royal backgrounds. Through the dynamic associations between the Pharaoh and Horus/Osiris and the positioning of the monarch as the sole effective means for the (re)establishment and (re)affirmation of *ma'at*, especially after periods of disorder or royal death, the Pharaonic right to rule could hardly be challenged.

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