CORVUS

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

MMXXII - MMXXIII

VOLUME XIII

CORVUS

The Journal of the Carleton
University Classics Society

Volume 13
2022-2023

ISSN 2369-9086 (Print)
ISSN 2369-9094 (Online)

PUBLISHED BY THE CARLETON
UNIVERSITY CLASSICS SOCIETY

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EDITORS

Editor-in-Chief

ELOISE GREENFIELD is a fourth-year student at Carleton University completing her B.A. Honours in Greek and Roman Studies & History. After graduation, she will be pursuing her Master's in Ancient History at the University of Edinburgh. She is primarily interested in ancient Greek and Roman literature and religion, and hopes to pursue studies on the relationship between women and religion in the ancient world as she goes on to postgraduate study. This is her third and final year editing for Corvus.

Editors

ZOË BREWERTON is in her final year of a Bachelor of Humanities degree, with a minor in Greek and Roman Studies. After graduation, she will continue to pursue her interests inside and outside of an academic setting, and will start a PhD in University of Michigan's Interdepartmental Program in Ancient History next fall. Her current research interests focus on magic, religion, and the expression and construction of collective and individual identities.

KRISSY DRAPER is in her final year of study for her BA (Hons.) History with minors in Canadian Studies and Heritage Conservation at Carleton University. Following graduation, Krissy will be attending Algonquin College in Applied Museum Studies with aspirations of becoming a museum curator. This is her first year as a Corvus Editor.

DOGA ERDEMISIK is a second-year undergraduate student working towards her Political Science Honors degree. Often enjoying literature and exploring affluent thinkers of the past, her interest and appreciation towards philosophy and history is reflected within her coursework and hobbies as she is an avid reader. Some of her current interests include Greek tragedy, exploration of Socratic irony, and the philosophical approach to the good life.

CHARLOTTE PARRY is a 4th year student completing a B.A (hons) in Greek & Roman Studies and Law with a concentration in law, policy and government and a Minor in Archaeology. She is going on to graduate school to undertake a Master's of Science in Anthropology at the University of Toronto and begin a career in the archaeological field. Her research interests include Romano-British bio archaeology and the public reception of trauma in historical education and museums.

FARANE ZAIDI is a third-year English major with a Concentration in Creative Writing and a minor in Greek and Roman studies. As a literary student, her main areas of interest lie in ancientGreek literature, with a specific focus on the representation of women in classical myths and the emergence of feminist revisionist mythmaking in contemporary literature. Upon completing her undergraduate degree, she plans to pursue a master's degree in library science and become an academic librarian while simultaneously publishing creative fiction.

CONTRIBUTORS

COLLEEN DUNN is a part time 4th year student at Carleton University working on a Combined Honours Degree in Greek and Roman Studies and Religion. She is a retiree who dedicated 40 years to pediatric diagnostic imaging and approaches her on-going education from a "genuinely interested" point of view. After graduation she plans to continue to participate in a variety of course offerings at Carleton.

NOAH GRESSER is a recent graduate from Carleton University with a bachelor's degree in Computer Science Honours. While he initially joined the Computer Science program for Game Design, he developed a passion for the field of digital accessibility through a combination of a first-year Disabilities Studies elective, and multiple Co-Op placements with Share Services Canada's Accessibility, Accommodation and Adaptive Computer Technology (AAACT) program, where he now works. From a young age, he has had an interest in the ancient civilizations of Greece and Egypt, which made the opportunity to take Dr. George Harrison's Ancient Science and Technology course in his final year of study at Carleton a dream come true after four years of it conflicting with his required courses. He is immensely grateful to Dr. Harrison for making the experience so engaging, and for encouraging him to submit his writing to Corvus, which will be his first published paper.

MADELAINE JARCEW is a third-year Psychology student at Carleton University with a minor in Law and Legal Studies. She is interested in the acquisition of language as well as how children are influenced by their social environments. In the future, she plans to get an MA in Psychology and Human Development, with hopes to work as a therapist for children, especially those with learning disabilities. Beyond her major, she has had an interest in literature and ancient societies since early elementary school, with a particular interest in all things Grecian from culture to architecture. Her paper combines her research interests with her long-time passion for classical societies and Ancient Greece.

DANIEL MANYOKI is a fourth year student at Carleton University pursuing a History degree with a minor in Greek and Roman studies. Daniel's academic interests are wide ranging, however, his primary interests are political life the Roman Republic and the late Roman Empire, Holy Roman Imperial political dynamics in the early modern period, and dynastic politics in Europe during the medieval era and the early modern period. He will be looking to join the Master's Program of International Affairs at Carleton University after graduation.

MARINA NEKRASOVA is a third-year Bachelor of Humanities student with a second major in Philosophy at Carleton University. She is the founding Editor-in-Chief of Ipso Facto: The Carleton Journal of Interdisciplinary Humanities, the Chair of the annual Humanities Colloquium at Carleton, and a peer mentor to first year students in the BHUM program. Her primary research interests are in the Philosophy of Artificial Intelligence and human-robot interaction, as well as ancient philosophy and religious studies. She hopes to pursue graduate studies in the philosophy and history of artificial intelligence and technology. In her free time (of which she has very little), she enjoys painting, drawing, doing photography, and cooking.

MUHAMMAD REHAN graduated from Grinnell College in 2022 with a B.A. in German Studies and Classics. He is currently a Post-Bacc student in the Department of Classics at UCLA, where he is enjoying learning more Latin and Greek and acquiring Sanskrit. He plans to start graduate school next Fall to explore his research interests in Greek and Latin drama, receptions of Greek and Latin literature in Colonial India, and Indo-European Linguistics in depth. This paper, similarly, reflects his interests in the endlessly fascinating and complex language of Homer and Sappho.

JULIA SCHULTZ is a fourth-year English student with a minor in Classical Studies at Brock University. Her research interests include women in the ancient world and gender and sexuality in mythology. She hopes to continue her studies in English Literature further after her undergraduate degree, focusing on classical texts to combine her academic passions!

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Working on *Corvus* over the last three years, and being able to bring the journal into its thirteenth year as Editor-in-Chief, has been such an exciting aspect of my degree. Every year, our contributors and editors join a community focused on sharing their interests in ancient history through research papers and creative pieces addressing religion, language, sexuality, and philosophy, among other things. The papers and poetry that make up this year's edition of *Corvus* are a reminder of the developments that continue to be made within these academic fields, and how anyone with an interest in history will, time and time again, refuse to let the past die. In fact, people just keep digging it up! We still have much to learn, and it is these interests that keep that spirit alive.

I have met and worked with so many wonderful people this year that have since become close friends. I am grateful to the Carleton community that has come together this year to accomplish so much. Thank you to all our contributors for the wonderful work they brought forward in this edition of *Corvus.* I hope *Corvus* serves as encouragement to continue to follow your interests and further pursue published work. And a big thank you to our editors, whose hard work has brought this journal to the final finished product that it is today. I look forward to watching *Corvus* continue to grow, and for all the new contributions that are yet to be made in our field.

All the best,

Eloise Greenfield
Editor-in-Chief, 2022-2023

THE CULT OF SOL INVICTUS:
CHRISTIANITY'S IMPERIAL FOREBEAR

DANIEL MANYOKI

Abstract

The late Roman Empire was a society dominated by two religious movements: the cult of Deus Sol Invictus, instituted during the reign of Aurelian (c.270-275 CE), and Christianity, which was adopted by Constantine in 312 CE. Although the two religions seem to be quite different on face value, the cult of Sol Invictus is a traditional polytheist syncretic cult, and Christianity is an exclusive monotheism born out of the Jewish tradition, the cult of Sol Invictus was directly responsible for in creating a sociopolitical and sociocultural environment for Christianity to flourish in. This was accomplished through the precedents which were established by the cult of Sol Invictus' theological and philosophical framework, as well as the important role that the Roman imperial institution played. Therefore, this paper aims to prove how the cult of Sol Invictus created such an environment for the Christian faith to dominate the Roman Empire for the rest of its history.

Introduction

Christianity came to define the late Roman Empire in both secular and religious terms. Whereby the inclusive and syncretic traditional polytheism of the empire was largely supplanted by the exclusive monotheism of early Christianity and its various sects. Yet, an important question is how did the religious and political environment of the pre-Christian dominated Roman Empire contribute and lay the foundation for Chrisitanity to become the predominant religion? The answer to this question lies with the Cult of Sol Invictus, the most influential religious cult within the late empire. Possessing monotheistic tendencies, originating from the eastern provinces, as well as ideologically revolving around the philosophy of Neoplatonism,

particularly after the reign of Aurelian; the cult shares many similar characteristics to early imperial Christianity.

The two religious groups were synonymous with the Roman imperial institution. In order to become as religiously, culturally, and politically, dominant as both religions did, they needed the legitimacy that came with being endorsed by the emperor himself. As was the case with Constantine and his adoption of Christianity; Aurelian (c. 270-275 CE) promoted the worship of the sun god, Sol Invictus, in turn making the deity the most important god within the Roman pantheon. Though Elagabalus (c. 218-222 CE) was also famous for his promotion of the sun god within the empire, it was under Aurelian where the worship of Sol Invictus came to span and dominate the empire.[1] All this to prove, the role and the religious and cultural importance of the emperor within Roman society was an integral aspect to the mass adoption of the Cult of Sol Invictus. And as a result, it created a religious environment for Christianity to become widely adopted within the empire and eventually dominate the Mediterranean.

Therefore, the cult of Sol Invictus, and its influence on the religious landscape of the late Roman Empire, paved the way for Christianity to become the predominant religion within the Empire due to its monotheistic and Neoplatonic tendencies. It also demonstrates how the cult relied on the Imperial institution for its continued existence and prominence within broader Roman society during and after the Crisis of the Third Century.

Monotheism and Neoplatonism

The underlying characteristics of the Cult of Sol Invictus and Christianity are, for the most part, very similar. Other than Chrisitianity's self-perceived uniqueness, whereby they

[1] Alan Wardman, *Religion and Statecraft Among the Romans*, (London: Granada, 1982), 115.

subject all other religious worldviews to an exclusivist model, the two religions share much with respect to their philosophical and theological beliefs.

With monotheism being so intrinsic to Christian theology, it is curious how the inclusive traditional polytheism of the Roman Empire came to be supplanted by such a seemingly foreign concept. However, the idea of monotheism was not exactly foreign. For there were already some deities, of which most were of eastern origins,[2] which served as a supreme god or goddess. Examples of which include the Egyptian supreme goddess of Isis and her counterpart Sarapis, Mithras, Jupiter Dolichenus, and the Syrian sun god, Sol Invictus.[3] The ways in which Sol Invictus and its respective cult was "vaguely monotheistic" rested within its position within the Roman pantheon during the reign of Aurelian during the late 3th century,[4] as well as the deity's identity as being the godly personification of the Sun.[5] Prior to the reign of Aurelian, from c.270 to 275, the Roman pantheon was traditionally headed by Jupiter, the Roman's native sky deity. With the Crisis of the Third Century and Aurelian's conquests of reunification of the Roman Empire, the sun god, Sol Invictus, of Syrian origins, became increasingly dominant within legions that were stationed in the eastern provinces.[6] Thus, the promotion and success of Sol Invictus within the Roman pantheon, as the most important deity, was the result of two things: Thus, the promotion and success of Sol Invictus within the Roman pantheon, as the most important deity, was the result of two things: the need for the empire to be religiously united after the existential disaster that was the Crisis of the Third Century, and during Aurelian's restoration the empire, "the broad lines religious syncretism [had come to be] accepted". Not only by the

[2] Franz Valery Marie Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, (New York, Dover Publications, 1956), 44.
[3] Wardman, 109.
[4] John Holland Smith, *The Death of Classical Paganism*, (London: G. Chapman, 1976), 23-24.
[5] *The Death of Classical Paganism*, 24.
[6] Wardman, 115.

soldiers and citizens of the empire, but also, the upper echelons of Roman society. As during the reign of Elagabalus, prominent public officials held the rigid religious traditions of their forebears;[7] creating a political environment which made it difficult to adjust religious norms. Although the worship of Sol Invictus did not exclude the worship of other deities, the religious syncretism that defined the late Roman Empire "had become the monotheistic worship of the sun".[8] By which the cosmopolitan society, which comprised the Roman Empire, all identified their own sun deity as being one and the same with that of Sol Invictus.[9]

Although, this begs the question: how does the Cult of Sol Invictus' vague monotheism differ from that of Christianity's, and in what way are they similar? The simple answer is that the worship and adherence of and to Sol Invictus did not deny, nor prohibit, the worship of other polytheistic gods. More accurately, the worship of Sol Invictus in the late Roman Empire was more akin to henotheism, the adherence to one particular god out of several, especially by a family, tribe, or other group.[10] While, Christianity is an example of exclusive monotheism. Expressly denying the existence of any other gods, other than the one true God. The transition from the henotheistic worship of Sol Invictus to the strictly monotheistic worship of the Christian God was also facilitated by Constantine's affiliation towards Solar Christology.[11] Early Christianity's answer to the enormous popularity of solar cults, primarily that of Sol Invictus, was Solar Christology, a theological concept which establishes the idea of Christ the Sun. This theological concept fits directly into Origen of Alexandria's (185-253 CE) Christian cosmology.[12] Not only did they both worship the Sun, due to Constantine's affiliation with both

[7] Gaston H. Halsberghe, *The Cult of Sol Invictus*. (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 135.
[8] *The Cult of Sol Invictus*, 136.
[9] Arnaldo Momigliano, *On Pagans, Jews, and Christians*, (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1987), 192.
[10] Branka Migotti, "The Cult of Sol Invictus and Early Christianity in Aquae Iasae," in *Pagans and Christians in the Late Roman Empire : New Evidence, New Approaches (4th-8th Centuries),* Edited by Marianne Sághy and Edward M. (Edward McCormick) Schoolman. 1st edition. (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2017),134-135.
[11] Migotti, "Early Christianity in Aquae Iasae," 135.
[12] Migotti, 135.

solar henotheism and Solar Christology, but also there is proof that contemporary worship of Sol Invictus alongside Christ, occurred in Aquae Iasae, a well-known spa and rehabilitation site in Pannonia Superior. Based on Constantine's conception of Christ the Sun, he equated Christ as being representative of Sol (and vice versa).[13] With the spa later having been converted into a Christian Church, it also may have meant that those Christians could have been worshippers of Sol Invictus prior to their conversion. This period of dual worship may hint at the direct transition from Sol Invictus worship to Christian worship during the reign of Constantine.

Thus, the solar henotheism of Sol Invictus, although different from traditional Christian monotheism, but much like Solar Christology, held the Sun as the primary cosmological and theological figure in its religious framework. Thereby, the transition from a society dominated by the henotheistic Cult of Sol Invictus towards Christian monotheism was almost natural when analyzed in conjunction with the religious policies of Constantine.

Sol Invictus' direct connection with the Sun, as well as that of Christianity, is significant when looking at how Neoplatonism was an intrinsic part of the deity's Cult worship,[14] as well as providing a sociocultural and sociopolitical environment for which Christian philosophy would thrive in. With Sol Invictus being the Sun, it occupies a special place in Platonic, as well as Neoplatonic, thought, as is evident by Platos' work, *The Republic,* where he states in his famous analogy of the sun, "This unity is like the sun in the heavens, the light by which all things are seen, the being by which they are created and sustained. It is the IDEA of good".[15] It is here where we find Sol Invictus' nature colliding with that of the Christian God. It is where Sol Invictus, a deity who is the living personification of the Sun, "who is the creator and saviour of

[13] Migotti, 136;144.
[14] Apuleius, On the God of Socrates, Class Handout.
[15] Plato, and Benjamin Jowett. *The Republic*, Translated by Benjamin Jowett, 2nd ed, (Bedfordshire: Andrews UK Limited, 2012), 65

man,"[16] is placed at the center of Platonic and Neoplatonic thought—occupying the space of "The One", from which all good stems. However, Sol Invictus is distinct from the Christian God within the confines of Being. Sol's physical manifestation rests in the sky as the Sun, being the master of all things material in the heavens. The idea in which Sol Invictus was also "the One, the Truth, the Light, the Reality-beyond-reality sought by philosophers of the time,"[17] is also demonstrative of the sun god's position as the focal point of Neoplatonic philosophy. Being "The One" from which everything good originates. Whereas God does not reside in the material, he is removed beyond the world.[18] Thus, Sol Invictus' identity of being the source of all good, within a philosophical lens by way of Platonism, can explain Christianity's rise to religious dominance within the empire, as Christianity's theological and philosophical identity became defined by Neoplatonic thought as a result of early Christian thinkers such as Augustine and Origen.

Therefore, the theological and philosophical framework of the Cult of Sol Invictus created an sociocultural environment for Christianity to flourish. This can be seen by way of the henotheistic worship of Sol Invictus establishing monotheistic inclinations amongst the population, particularly within the legions, who then spread their faith across the empire. This is further reinforced by how Neoplatonic ideology was also linked to Sol Invictus by way of the deity being the personification of the Sun. Thus, the two religions share much with respect to their philosophical and theological beliefs, allowing for Christianity to become the predominant religion within the late Roman Empire.

[16] William Warde Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity in the Last Century before the Christian Era*, (London, Macmillan, 1914), 59.
[17] Smith, 33 (note 6)
[18] Cumont, 134.

The Imperial Institution

Arguably, the most important reason for both the Cult of Sol Invictus and Christianity's success and longevity, within the late Roman Empire, can be attributed to the emperor and the Imperial institution. In both instances, the emperor was integral to the rise in importance of both Sol Invictus' establishment as the henotheistic religion of the state, as shown by Aurelian, and Christianity's adoption as the religion of the empire when Constantine became Christian in c.312 CE. Therefore, during the reign of Constantine, there was already a precedent for an emperor to introduce a new religion from the eastern provinces, as is the case with Aurelian's recognizing of Deus Sol Invictus as the chief deity of the Roman State in 274 CE.[19] Nearly forty years prior to Constantine's conversion to Christianity.

Prior to Aurelian's implementation of Sol Invictus as the chief deity of the Roman State, the sun god was famously instituted as the chief deity of Rome by Elagabalus. Yet, due in part to the emperor's incredibly unpopular reign, and the lack of support for syncretic traditions by the majority of prominent public officials,[20] Elagabalus' reign (as well as the primacy of the cult of Sol Invictus Elagabal) came to an end in 222 CE. Therefore, it is important to mention that rather than a reinstitution of the cult of Sol Invictus Elagabal, Aurelian's cult shed certain aspects of the former which were largely unique to Eastern provincials, making way for more general features which were well-known to Roman cults.[21] This allowed for the cult of the sun god to attract support from all corners of the empire. It would have been particularly useful to Aurelian as, after the Crisis of the Third Century, the empire was in need of reunification on many fronts: provincial administration, the military, and most importantly—religion. The Imperial cult, which

[19] Halsberghe, 138.
[20] Halsberghe, 135.
[21] Halsberghe, 139.

was already diminishing in importance by the reign of Aurelian,[22] slowly gave way to the cult of Sol Invictus, which (for all intents and purposes) established a means of shrouding the Imperial institution in an aura of divinity without necessarily being divine, in a heavenly sense, himself.[23] Moreso, the emperor acts as the Sol Invictus' divine representative on Earth.

Yet, the most important aspect of Aurelian's reorganization of the cult of Sol Invictus were the broad and general dogmas which were associated with the cult.[24] This universality of religious doctrines and ideology allowed for all inhabitants of the empire to worship the sun deity in whichever way suited them best, thereby losing the official character of the cult in the process.[25] In addition, it allowed the cult of Sol Invictus to appeal to everyone within the empire. In no small part due to the universal nature of the sun within a sociocultural context; the sun was vastly important to ancient societies, as it was responsible for the quality of harvests, and as a source of light in more general terms. More importantly, Sol Invictus would stand as the "One God" to Rome's "One Empire".[26] A position which Christianity would come to fill during the decades following Constantine's reign in the early 4th century CE.

The acceptance and authorization of the cult of Sol Invictus was, in no small part, due to the political and religious influence of the emperor himself. As demonstrated by Aurelian's ability to reorganize and declare the cult of Sol Invictus as being the chief religious cult within the Roman State. The emperor stood as the primary means of shifting religious, as well as political, discourse. This is due in part to the confidence that was attributed to the emperor in matters pertaining to accepting or authorizing cults.[27] Furthermore, if one is to include the matters of the military to that of the imperial institution, for they were intrinsically intertwined,

[22] Momigliano, 186.
[23] Halsberghe, 136.
[24] Halsberghe, 139.
[25] Halsberghe, 139.
[26] Momigliano, 150-151.
[27] Wardman, 115.

then the dissemination of new cults was facilitated in large part due to the military.[28] Many of the Roman empire's legions were stationed in remote provinces for military campaigns or to strengthen the border's security. In the case of Aurelian, many legions were mobilized to the east to combat the Palmyrene threat. Therefore, the adoption of foreign cults was largely the domain of the Imperial institution and its associated branch, the military.

Much like how Aurelian was instrumental in legitimizing the cult of Deus Sol Invictus, Constantine proved to be a similar figure for Christianity during the 4th century CE. While Aurelian adopted and adapted the cult of Sol Invictus to suit his political needs, with the religious harmony and unity of his empire being of paramount concern, Constantine's conversion and utilization of Christianity was different in many respects. Firstly, the growing influence of the Christian priesthood necessitated a response. Thus, Constantine's adoption of the Christian faith was a means of securing the support of a clergy which had begun to dominate the eastern Roman provinces,[29] a position which Constantine would wish to placate as he would come to center Roman political power in the east at Constantinople. Secondly, the initial adoption by Constantine during the then ongoing civil war against Maxentius was of military concern as wellith his conversion to Christianity hopefully aiding in victory in war.[30] Much like Aurelian's divine importance to the cult of Sol Invictus, Constantine's claim that he was "bishop of those outside" seems as if he is claiming to head the temporal government, by commission of God.[31] Leading to a position in which he would claim to be the legitimate authority over the Christian clergy, alleviating much of his grievances with the Christian priesthood. Primarily the clergy's

[28] Wardman, 115.
[29] Wardman,139.
[30] Wardman, 139.
[31] Wardman, 145.

disobedience and meddling of secular affairs. Therefore, much of Constantine's impetus for abandoning his traditional polytheist heritage was due to his political needs.

Another aspect of Constantine's rule which aided in the development of Christianity was a relatively simple policy which he enacted. The adoption of the Christian faith made the religion safe to practice within the Roman Empire, primarily because it reduced the occurrences of violent persecutions against Christians by a significant margin. At the same time, the state-adoption of the Christian faith defended the sanctity of Christian churches in much the same way traditional Roman polytheistic temples were defended.[32] Much of this can also be attributed to the Edict of Milan (c. 313 CE), through which Christians were placed, in spirit, on the same footing as the traditional Roman polytheists of the time.[33] This, in conjunction with the destruction of many pagan monuments, demonstrated the significant impact in which the Imperial institution had on the development on Christianity after the reign of Constantine.

In essence, the Imperial institution was an instrument of the Roman State which was responsible for the wide adoption of the cult of Sol Invictus during and after the reign of Aurelian in the late 3rd century CE. Due to his transformation of the formerly defunct cult of Sol Invictus Elagabal, the cult of Deus Sol Invictus came to possess increasingly more universal characteristics in order to attract a wider base of supporters throughout the empire. This was done in order to cement Aurelian's plan for a Roman Empire which was united by one god. A plan which was furthered by his legions, of whom were stationed in the Eastern provinces. For they spread the religion of the sun god of Emesa wherever the emperor proceeded to send them, whether that be intentionally or by happenstance. Therefore, this precedent which was set by Aurelian, whereby the Imperial institution was used to ensure the dominance of a particular

[32] Wardman, 141.
[33] Paul Allard, *Christianity and the Roman Empire: from Nero to Theodosius*, (Yonkers, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2017), 74.

religion was instrumental to Constantine's promotion of the Christian faith. In no small part due to his political ambitions.

Conclusion

During its final years, the Roman Empire underwent two significant religious transformations. With the first being the adoption of Deus Sol Invictus as the chief deity of the Roman State, embracing a type of henotheism, and the second being the establishment of Christianity as the state religion of Rome after the reign of Constantine in 312 CE. However, it was the cult of Sol Invictus which provided Christianity the theological, philosophical, and political framework by which it could come to dominate the empire. And although it can be argued that Christianity would have risen to prominence within the empire without the influence of Sol Invictus, there is no doubt that the widespread adoption of the sun god as the henotheistic deity of the late Roman Empire was integral to Christianity's rise.

With both religions possessing monotheistic qualities and Neoplatonism holding a position of supreme importance within both religions' philosophical framework, it is no surprise that the natural progression of a materially present deity such as Sol Invictus towards that of the materially absent and abstract Judeo-Christian God. In a philosophical sense, when acknowledging the importance of Neoplatonism within Roman religion during the 4th century CE, it is the inevitable evolution; a god who is forever watching over the heavens in his position as the everburning sun transforms into a god who is locked behind the gates of heaven.

The Imperial institution of the Roman Empire, the emperor, was also a significant instrument by which the Roman state would authorize the dominance of both the cult of Sol Invictus and Christianity. Furthermore, the political ambitions of the emperor himself, whether

that be the placation of the Christian priesthood and the winning of a civil war, as was the case for Constantine, or the religious unification of the empire after a century of civil war and political turmoil, as was the case with Aurelian, aided in the rise to prominence of both respective religions.

In conclusion, the cult of Sol Invictus, and its influence on the religious landscape of the late Roman Empire, paved the way for Christianity to become the predominant religion within the Empire due to its monotheistic and Neoplatonic tendencies, and how the cult relied on the Imperial institution for its continued existence and prominence within broader Roman society.

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CHILDHOOD IN ANCIENT GREECE: HOW DO SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES AFFECT DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY?

MADELAINE JARCEW

Abstract

Of all that has been discovered about ancient Greek culture, perhaps the least represented point of view is that of children. However, modern psychologists posit that childhood is one of the most important eras for human development, especially for personality, attitudes, and sociability. Most perspectives that have survived are those of the upper class, who could afford to have their lives recorded. Upper-class families typically left child-rearing to someone other than the biological parents, introducing the child to the main family unit when they were older. This is somewhat atypical compared to modern practices, so what does this mean for how the child interacts with their family, especially siblings and parents? The young minds of ancient Greece were shaped to carry on the strength and legacy of Greece. What sort of values were important? How did children receive their education? Was there a clear divide between lower and upper-class children? Through essays of Plutarch, art, and a few other sources that reference children, childhood in ancient Greece can be explored. Further, they can be aligned with modern studies of children and family psychology to begin to create the Greek child's perspective.

Most of what is known regarding childhood in Ancient Greece - which is limited in source - comes from the writings of wealthy, upper-class citizens. Children with wetnurses, slaves, private tutors, and prospects of government jobs are the ones who appear in the record. This offers a condensed view of childhood and, more specifically, the psychological development of infants. The desire to understand human development spans centuries and millennia, the vast field and its implications changing as society does. Many modern ideas of childhood are explored based on historical beliefs about education and

appropriate milestones, opening a connection between previous and current psychological theories on the one thing that had remained constant through the years, humans.

Childbirth is an extremely dangerous ordeal. Modern medicinal technology allows for high birth success rates as well as contraceptives and alternatives to procreation like fertility treatments. Babies, especially in hospitals, are treated with extreme care and have constant supervision. Historical medicine lacked these safety measures and records suggest babies were seen as fragile and held little social value.[1] More often than not, the value of a child was placed on their ability to carry the family legacy or acquire a respectable job.[2] Xenophon, an Athenian military general and philosopher, went so far as to say that a child's most important purpose was to support a couple in old age and should be raised accordingly.[3] Already, this environment is not one that appears open to fostering healthy attachments between a new child and the family unit. Many ancient Greek traditions may have led to a disconnect between a child's social needs and what they were given. An example comes from the tradition of naming children; while modern parents often name children even before birth, Greek children were often not named until at least a week after their birth.[4] Many children died within their first week of life, hence the creation of a name was unnecessary. Additionally, family names were used as identifiers, with children given only one personal name.[5] This name was not likely to be used in public, using the father's name in its place.[6] There is a small body of research that suggests being named after a

[1] Dasen, Veronique. 2011. "Childbirth and Infancy in Greek and Roman Antiquity." In *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, edited by Beryl Rawson, 291-314. Blackwell Publishing Limited.
[2] Dasen, *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. p. 291-314.
[3] Cohen, A., & Rutter, J. B. "Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy." Princeton, New Jersey: ASCSA, 2007.
[4] Dasen, *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. p. 291-314.
[5] Morewitz, S. J., Neils, J., Oakley, J. H., Hart, K., & Beaumont, L. A. "Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past." New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2003.
[6] Dasen, *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. p. 291-314.

family member can unconsciously cause social pressure, but may also serve as a function of bonding, especially for fathers that otherwise play a limited parental role.[7]

In modern psychology, a widely acknowledged truth is that babies need constant attention from their guardians, and without it, their development can be hindered.[8] A child's early temperament and attachment to their parents is predictive of their future personality traits and are heavily influenced by the way they are socialized with their family.[9,10] Children who receive steady, frequent levels of attachment, authority, and autonomy since infancy are much more secure adults; children who are frequently separated from their parents and experience either end of the extremes of authority and personal autonomy remain insecure, disorganized, and anxious into adulthood.[11] In ancient Greece, multiple writings suggest it was not unusual for children to not be an official part of the family until they reached the age of two.[12,13] Infantile death was not regarded as "untimely" as they had made few contributions or changed much on earth.[14] Children that died before this age were not granted a proper funeral; there was no fear of pollution risks from the body, so burials were

[7] McAndrew, Francis T. 2022. "The namesaking of children as an investment strategy for managing kin relations and binding fathers to their children." *Evolutionary Behavioral Sciences* 16, 3 (2022): 220-228. DOI:10.1037/ebs0000262

[8] Areas like overall trust, issues with authority, self-confidence, initiative, and inferiority can be greatly affected by a parent's attachment style (Weiten, 2019).

[9] Schwartz, Carl E., Snidman, Nancy, & Kagan, Jerome. 1996. "Early childhood temperament as a determinant of externalizing behaviour in adolescence." *Development and Psychopathology* 8, 3 (1996): 527-537. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579400007252

[10] Research indicates that a child's temperament (easy, slow-to-warm-up, or difficult) at 3 months can indicate their temperament at 10 years old – with room for the basic psychological changes of growing older (Weiten, 2019).

[11] Weiten, W., McCann, D. "Psychology: Themes and Variations (5th ed.)." Nelson, 2019.

[12] Dasen, *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. p. 291-314.

[13] Lancy, D. F. "Raising Children: Surprising Insights from Other Cultures." Cambridge, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

[14] It should be noted that sympathy was still extended towards the family, but it was not felt for a long period of time. Mourning remained a private affair after the funeral, but it was expected that it would end sooner for child deaths compared to adult deaths (Garland, 2001).

done intramurally rather than the typical extramural burial adults were given.[15,16] Some researchers theorize that until a certain point, a child's vulnerability did not evoke a nurturing response but rather created an emotional toll on families.[17] Along with this, this same research has found that in societies with very high infant mortality rates, children were often not named until they were at least eighteen months old.[18] Modern theories posit that when a child's main source of socialization is not fulfilled, they are more likely to become closed off, causing them to suffer in other developmental aspects of life, like relationship building.[19] So, in comparing this to ancient socialization attitudes, the Greeks seem to lack the attachment aspect of development.[20]

Although infants seem to suffer earlier in life, they are readily brought in and accepted into the family unit after they surpass the age of two. Their biological parents, not slaves, are more likely to be the ones delivering attention, and children are now more aggressively protected.[21,22] While humans do not typically have memories from their early youth, the effects of experiences are long-lasting. The sudden shift in dynamics may be a shock for a child, but the introduction to the family unit is important regardless. Once in

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[15] Garland, R. "The Greek Way of Death." Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2001.
[16] There have been funerary arts uncovered that depict a deceased infant with their mother, or both mother and father. It was speculated that these were made out of emotional connection, despite what other writings have said about a lack of connections between parents and infant.
[17] Lancy, *Raising Children: Surprising Insights from Other Cultures*.
[18] Lancy, *Raising Children: Surprising Insights from Other Cultures*.
[19] Weiten & McCann, *Psychology: Themes and Variations (5th ed.)*.
[20] Not all ancient Greeks thought this way. Plutarch was of the impression that mothers should be the ones nursing and caring for their children constantly, not relying on someone else or ignoring the child to avoid attachment. He believes that a mother caring for her child from infancy fosters a real love and closer relationship, while a nursemaid is paid to love which is not an honourable love for a child (Plutarch 1927).
[21] A carving on a marble relief has shown a mother showing her baby to and making an offering to the goddess Artemis. Clothing and animal sacrifices are both depicted. It is thought that it was likely representing the mother thanking Artemis for a successful birth of her daughter and to ask for her help one more time in protecting her child. Artemis is a protector of young children, especially girls (Morewitz 2003). Some speculation can be made on whether people thought they had been blessed or ignored by the goddess should their baby live past infancy or die in youth.
[22] Morewitz et al., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*.

the unit, a child learns the role of each member and quickly picks up on social norms.[23] Children begin identifying with people that are praised for work they find stimulating, while they are simultaneously being molded by their parents into the role they want for their child.[24] The typical ancient Greek family dynamic was for the father to be the educator while the mother was the nurturer.[25] Gender roles become quickly defined in a child's mind, which enables quicker further education.

Another key stage in childhood development is socialization from sources other than the family unit.[26] This kind of socialization teaches children boundaries, social rules and norms, and other points of view.[27] Research indicates that children do not fully grasp the concept of outside perspectives until about age seven, which coincides with the expansion of their social circle and the shedding of egocentrism.[28] In ancient Greece, socialization came from festivals, especially for lower and middle-class families that could not afford tutors or expensive classes for their children.[29] Not only were we children allowed to attend festivals alongside their parents, but they were encouraged to do so. Often, children were given wreaths to wear and miniature versions of whatever drinking vessel their parents were using, sometimes even getting their first taste of wine at age four.[30] These small jugs, known as *chous*, were specifically made with children in mind; they often depicted children at play or dancing or small animals and have been found in the graves of older children.[31] Attendance at these festivals was seen as a right of passage for a

[23] Weiten & McCann, *Psychology: Themes and Variations (5th ed.)*.
[24] Weiten & McCann, *Psychology: Themes and Variations (5th ed.)*.
[25] Morewitz et al., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*.
[26] Weiten & McCann, *Psychology: Themes and Variations (5th ed.)*.
[27] Weiten & McCann, *Psychology: Themes and Variations (5th ed.)*.
[28] Weiten & McCann, *Psychology: Themes and Variations (5th ed.)*.
[29] Morewitz et al. *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*.
[30] Morewitz et al. *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*.
[31] Morewitz et al. *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*.

child, a welcoming into a family and society, and as they got older, the size of their *chous* would increase and the figures painted on the sides became more mature: for example, hero myths instead of dancing children.[32] From a psychological perspective, these festivals are an excellent way to have a child learn about their society: they meet children their own age, are introduced to other figures of authority, and are shown many areas in which they may become interested.

Something posited reliably in much research is the idea that children are not passive agents in their development.[33,34] Children explore, imitate, demand knowledge, and force their parents to listen to them. It is only fair that in order to soothe a child's demand, you find someone who can. This comes in the form of a teacher or a tutor. School was an extremely important concept to the Greeks; teachers were treated with respect and their authority was strict and reigned supreme.[35] An important form of knowledge was poetry, and by extension, philosophy.[36] Plutarch was one of the biggest advocates for poetry comprehension, expressing its benefits in multiple writings. The essay *On How the Young Man Should Listen to Poets* explains that poetry can be risky if interpreted wrong, but can be wonderful if done right.[37] His recommendation is to read poetry allegorically – in a way where a message or moral value can be extracted – and to have poetry taught so it can guide one to virtue.[38] In *The Education of Children,* Plutarch claims that "a proper education is the source and root of all goodness" (Plutarch, *Moralia* I: The Education of

[32] Morewitz et al. *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*.
[33] Cohen & Rutter, *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*.
[34] Weiten & McCann, *Psychology: Themes and Variations (5th ed.)*.
[35] Lancy, *Raising Children: Surprising Insights from Other Cultures.*
[36] Plutarch was a firm believer in poetry being the way to educate the masses. In his essay *Table Talks*, he stated he thought that poetry was the precursor to philosophy. Philosophers were highly valued and seemed to be a goal that many young boys should aspire to become.
[37] Karamanolis, G. "Plutarch." The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2014. https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/plutarch
[38] Karamanolis, *Plutarch*.

Children, 19). To him, nothing is more defining for one's character than their education and who they have been trained to become, thus education becomes the most important part of childhood development.

Plutarch was an important figure in the philosophy of childhood education, writing many recommendations for parents and teachers alike. In his essay, *The Education of Children*, he makes several recommendations to make education as beneficial as possible.[39] First, he recommends private education or at least attempts to limit the education circle to as few children as possible (Plutarch, *Moralia* I: The Education of Children). Plutarch suggests that children are easily distracted and often have a competitive desire to outdo those around them, so a smaller circle ensures more information is retained. This holds some truth about the general nature of children; however, psychological research suggests that more socialization and social opportunities are the best for children, especially when the child is withdrawn or shy.[40,41] Another recommendation he makes is that philosophy should be honoured above all else (Plutarch, *Moralia I*. p. 10). Plutarch says that children will pick up general education throughout their life, but the ideas of philosophy are much harder to experience directly. They nurture greater and deeper thinking, which fosters the learning of right and wrong, how to interact with others, and how to flourish in Greek society (Plutarch, *Moralia I*. p. 10-11). His speculations are not far off from present-day theories. It is important to most parents that their children have common sense, become successful, be kind to others, and hold otherwise virtuous traits. These can all encourage

[39] Plutarch's essay is explicitly about free-born children, who tend to be of lower status within Greek society. From this it can be assumed that Plutarch is a supporter of education for all children in general. Later in this essay, he also states that all children should be taught through honourable practices and should not have to settle for less, no matter wealth or status. He believes education is the key to a virtuous society (Plutarch 1927).
[40] Weiten & McCann, *Psychology: Themes and Variations (5th ed.)*.
[41] Rubin, Kenneth H., Coplan, Robert J., & Bowker, Julie C. 2009. "Social Withdrawal in Childhood." Annual Review of Psychology 60 (2009): 141-171. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.60.110707.163642

the development of personality and foster positive growth in children. Plutarch's final piece of advice is extended to parents, as opposed to educators, telling parents to keep their children away from those of bad character as children are prone to imitation (Plutarch, *Moralia I*. p. 5). He continues by reminding fathers to not be overly harsh with their children, claiming children strive to be mirrors of their fathers, so if a child is acting out of line, a father must evaluate himself as a bad influence over his offspring (Plutarch, *Moralia I*. p. 6). His third recommendation to parents is to deliberately overlook some of their children's shortcomings. He stresses that shortcomings are normal and pointing them out in a negative light will only create further barriers between child and parent (Plutarch, *Moralia I*. p. 6-7). This part of his essay is perhaps the most relevant to modern psychology, as it links back to the ideas mentioned above about disposition and temperament. Insecurity is one of the hardest parts of psychological development for children to overcome and can severely affect performance in adulthood if reinforced.[42] Parents have expectations for their children in terms of their roles and their futures that can be greatly affected by a child's feeling of security with their parents.[43] In general, the more sensitive and responsive a parent is, the more secure a child will feel. Something that fits into sensitivity is accepting the shortcomings of one's child.

The way that ancient Greek society was structured put significant pressure on young, lower-class boys to acquire skills quickly and on young girls to get married fast. In this way, the education that children received was not always for their immediate development, but rather for their future. Art was most often used to teach this kind of education; for example, art depicted the expectations for the male body for different

[42] Weiten & McCann, *Psychology: Themes and Variations (5th ed.)*.
[43] Weiten & McCann, *Psychology: Themes and Variations (5th ed.)*.

professions and had diagrams explicitly labelling how boys were to behave.[44] Activities that were often encouraged among boys were ceremony participation, which taught patience, social norms, and religion; boxing, which taught basic defence and strength building; and fishing, the beginning of a skill that had the potential to become a profession.[45] In opposition to this, few arts in any mediums showed mother and child or solo girls.[46] A lack of instructions in this regard adds fuel to the idea that girls had limited pathways for their future and were raised as such. With fewer instructions came fewer skills, which meant fewer opportunities; this was undesired for boys but a way of life for girls.[47] Modern psychology stresses the importance of introducing children to many opportunities and fostering connections with people from diverse backgrounds and lifestyles.[48] In this regard, the ancient Greeks were not able to provide the best path of development to their children by restricting them to the gender roles assigned to them at birth.

The final stage of human life is death, a concept the ancient Greeks were very familiar with.[49] In his writings, Homer separates the living and the dead by the dead's lack of strength, or *menos*.[50] Without this strength, the dead can no longer have influence over earthly affairs, which is the last part to finally separate them from the realm of the living.[51]

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[44] Cohen & Rutter, *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*.
[45] Cohen & Rutter, *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*.
[46] Cohen & Rutter, *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*.
[47] An argument can be made that this was also unfair to young boys to be forced into a work habit so soon (Cohen 2007). Nowadays, we attend school for much longer, but it is full of variety and more opportunity for choice for the future. Children of both sexes suffered from the roles impressed upon them from a young age.
[48] Weiten & McCann, *Psychology: Themes and Variations (5th ed.)*.
[49] Adulthood in ancient Greek is a topic heavily covered as most evidence of this ancient society is from citizens' adult lives. Because of this, human development during this time will not be talked about.
[50] Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*.
[51] Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*.

He also suggests that the dead are regarded as irritable and not overly friendly.[52] This means that any offerings made to the dead are seen more as appeasement than celebration and happiness.[53]

In most modern Western cultures, death remains a taboo topic. It is avoided and people are often not taught how to cope well with loss.[54] However, in some cultures, death is celebrated just as life is. There is much debate in the world of psychology as to whether a celebration of death is necessary for coping, but it is under general agreement that complete avoidance of the subject negatively affects psychological health.[55] Ancient Greeks did hold funerals and were allowed to mourn, but these were limited to the private sphere.[56] Similar to some modern Western cultures, the notion of "being okay" earlier than likely necessary is reflected within Greek society as well. Limiting the grieving process to the private world gives the public the impression of finality and closure even if it is not the case, perpetuating the cycle of mourning expectations. Sir Moses Finley, a British academic, suggests that due to how routine death and burial became for the ancient Greeks, it is possible that the duration of their emotional healing did not need the length of time we require today.[57] It is possible that so many people became accustomed to death that it was no longer shocking, requiring less time to mentally recover.

There are many holes in the psychological record of time due to the subjectivity of the discipline. Developmental psychology, specifically, can be personal and deals with a vulnerable population. The body of research on this topic has expanded rapidly in recent

[52] The dead lose their personality, but their attitudes will follow them to Hades. The example Homer provides is that your rage and temper towards an enemy who had killed you follows you into death, but it no longer can affect the world of the living (Garland 2001). It is possible this is one of the reasons that the dead are not seen as friendly.
[53] Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*.
[54] Weiten & McCann, *Psychology: Themes and Variations (5th ed.)*.
[55] Weiten & McCann, *Psychology: Themes and Variations (5th ed.)*.
[56] Cohen & Rutter, *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*.
[57] Cohen & Rutter, *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*.

years, but as seen from ancient writers like Plutarch, the issues are by no means new debates. Although there are differences between ancient and modern practices of child-rearing, this paper provides insight into the enduring themes of early education and socialization, which directly link to development and form dispositions throughout the lifespan. Their socialization and early development was accomplished by their interactions within the family unit, and ancient philosophy, though limited, attempted to provide answers and guidance for parenting and the family structure just as researchers do today.

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SHADES OF ERŌS:
BETWEEN NEED AND WANT, MATERIAL AND INNATE BEAUTY

MUHAMMAD REHAN

Abstract

Reading Richmond Lattimore and Anne Carson's translations of The Iliad and Sapphic fragments respectively side-by-side with the Greek texts, one notices a multitude of translations for the same Greek word erōs (or, eros) e.g., "desire, love's desire, satisfaction." While diachronic semantic change for erōs— that would lead the translators to render erōs varyingly— cannot be ruled out, this paper takes a context-dependent approach and forays into its mystifying semantic waters. Using Homer's Iliad and Sappho's Fragments 15 and 121 as case studies, I try to formulate the semantics, and by extension, ontology of erōs later codified in— and popularized by— Plato's Symposium. I argue that erōs, as found in the chosen Homeric and Sapphic texts, has a broad semantic range and signifies satiety of both a need and want in Homeric formulas and, in sexual and romantic contexts, it signifies an aesthetic experience afforded by Aphrodite. This approach, I hope, contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the semantics and usage of erōs by Homer and Sappho.

ἔρος δ' ἐτίναξέ <μοι> / φρένας, ὡς ἄνεμος κὰτ ὄρος δρύσιν ἐμπέτων

Eros shook my / mind like a mountain wind falling on oak trees[1]

To say that in Ancient-Greek literature, and world literature in general, much has been written and sung about love and desire would hardly need qualifying. From the lyric poetry of Lesbians Sappho and Alcaeus in the Archaic period to the epigrams of Callimachus in the Hellenistic age, *erōs*[2] has unmistakably captivated the poet and the philosopher alike. Likewise,

[1] Sapph. *Fr*. 47. Throughout this essay, the text and translation used for Sappho' Fragments are Anne Carson. *If Not, Winter: Fragments of Sappho* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002).
[2] For the sake of consistency, even when the Greek has the form ἔρος, I use "*erōs*" in this paper throughout.

in one of Plato's arguably most-influential dialogues *Symposium*, the guests praise *Erōs* (the deification of *erōs*), uncover his/its ontology, and (attempt to) formulate the ideal relationship between the citizen and *erōs*. But what of the pre-Socratic *erōs*? Surely, we are not to believe that in the two centuries approximate between Homer and Socrates' time, the semantics of *erōs* stay static. To analyze and formulate the pre-Socratic semantics of *erōs,* I examine the occurrences of *erōs* in Homer's *Iliad* and Sappho's *Fragments* 15 and 112.[3] I argue that *erōs*, as found in the texts, has a broad semantic range and signifies satiety of both a need and want in Homeric formulas and, in sexual and romantic contexts, it signifies a satisfying aesthetic experience.

In *The Iliad*, *erōs* exists in four different contexts, three of which are central to its discussion. The first context is the Homeric formula of eating and drinking αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο ("But when they had put away their desire for eating and drinking").[4] This formula itself occurs differently in separate circumstances. In these contexts, the prefixation of the formulaic phraseology becomes essential to untangling the semantics of *erōs*. The initial context is the feast of 'young men.' 'Young men' (νέοι) prepare and execute the multi-staged sacrifices to the gods, and the Homeric formula (αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο) occurs amidst a moment of relief from the physical exertion:

> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ παύσαντο πόνου τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα,
> δαίνυτ', οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς ἐΐσης.
>
> Then after they had finished the work and got the feast ready
> They feasted, nor was any man's hunger denied a fair portion. (Hom. *Il.* 1.467-8, 2.430-1, 7.319-20)

[3] For passages from *The Iliad*, the edition used is Wyatt, *Iliad*. Translated by A. T. Murray. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999). For the translation of block quotes from Homer because of its gripping language, I have used Lattimore, *The Iliad of Homer*. Translated by Richmond Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
[4] Hom. *Il*. 1.469, 2.432, 7.323, 9.92, 9.222, 23.57, 24.628.

The ‘banquet’ (δαῖτα) becomes the place for *erōs*, a refuge from ‘labor’ (πόνος) and a necessary step in the continuation of life and narrative alike; the preservation of community of ‘young men’ (νέοι) amidst the horrific and horrifying Trojan war. The banquet is also the reward for ‘labor’ (πόνος), and the ‘young men’ (νέοι) have agency over the extent of the reward: they let go/put aside (ἕντο) the *erōs* from ‘drinking’ (πόσις) and ‘eating’ (ἐδητύς). In this instance, *erōs* becomes a matter of refreshment, nourishment, and satiety. And satiety limits the functioning of *erōs*. At the banquet, *erōs* represents a human need after physical exertion, an essential for further physical exertion and continuation of life. But its influence extends over just a *need* even within *The Iliad.*

The second circumstance in which the Homeric formula manifests is not the young men’s feast. Rather, we find the formula amidst aristocratic feasts set up by Agamemnon and Achilleus for the Achean elders.[5] In this context, the banqueters exercise agency over *erōs*, yet the *erōs* does not represent merely a need: it represents a profitable excess. At *Il.* 9.92, 9.222, and 24.628, the banqueters do not prepare the meal, but instead pleasurably partake in the feast prepared by Agamemnon or Achilles:

> παρὰ δε σφι τίθει μενοεικέα δαῖτα.
> οἱ δ’ ἐπ’ ὀνείαθ’ ἑτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἴαλλον.
>
> And [he] set before them the feast in abundance.
> They put their hands to the good things that lay ready before them. (Hom. *Il.* 9.90-1, 9.220-1, 24.626-7)

The ‘banquet’ (δαῖτα) here does not represent a necessity of physical regeneration after ‘labor’ (πόνος), but it is a ‘fitting banquet’ (μενοεικέα δαῖτα). In addition, Homer classifies the food, literally speaking, as ‘the put-forth readied advantage(s) ’ (ὀνείαθ’ ἑτοῖμα προκείμενα). Since Homer represents the consumption of ‘food’ (ἐδητύς) in this ‘banquet’ (δαῖτα) as an advantage,

[5] Hom. *Il.* 9.222, 24.628.

the satiety of a need does not limit *erōs*, but the satiety of an advantage controls *erōs*. *Erōs* acquires the exuberant quality of a want in aristocratic life. This also, at least for the modern reader informed of class dynamics, raises an analytical predicament: is Homer criticizing *erōs* in this context because it does not represent respite from labor but an abundance, a want, in aristocratic life? Or does Homer represent the *erōs* of excess, the satiety of a want, as a requirement of life in warfare? In this context, any answer to this question enters the realm of conjectural but, in other contexts, an answer is perfectly clear.

That *ēros* signifies the satiety of an exuberant delight, and can receive a negative evaluation depending on its end is clear from the second context in which we come across *erōs* in *The Iliad*. Menelaos— exulting upon the dead body of Peisander, whom he has killed in a gruesome manner[6]— criticizes the misgivings of Trojans and, among those misgivings, their unsatiety of battle (μάχη):

> πάντων μὲν κόρος ἐστί, καὶ ὕπνου καὶ φιλότητος
> μολπῆς τε γλυκερῆς καὶ ἀμύμονος ὀρχηθμοῖο,
> τῶν πέρ τις καὶ μᾶλλον ἐέλδεται ἐξ ἔρον εἶναι
> ἢ πολέμου· τρῶες δὲ μάχης ἀκόρητοι ἔασιν.
>
> Since there is satiety in all things, in sleep, and love-making,
> in the loveliness of singing and innocent dance. In all these
> things a man will strive sooner to win satisfaction
> than in war; but in this the Trojans cannot be glutted. (Hom. *Il.* 13.636-639)

Menelaos does not represent 'song' (μολπή) and 'dance' (ὀρχηθμός) as necessities, but he justifies the 'song' (μολπή) as 'sweet to the senses' (γλυκερά) and the 'dance' (ὀρχηθμός) as 'unblemished' (ἀμύμων) alongside 'sleep' (ὕπνος) and 'sexual love' (φιλότης). Menelaos puts the *erōs* of 'war' (πολέμος) in stark contrast with the *erōs* of other things that could hardly be deemed necessities like 'food' (ἐδητύς). Yet Menelaos classifies their pursuit, as objects of *erōs*,

[6] Hom. *Il.* 13.615-19.

towards the end of 'satiety' (κόρος) as either sensually pleasing or blameless. But the pursuit of another want diametric to aesthetic pleasure and innocence, namely, 'war' (πολέμος), receives a sinister and anti-normative evaluation. While the wants of singing and dancing celebrate human life and community and its continuation, the 'desire for war' (ἔρος πολέμου) destroys communities and life. This is particularly unsettling because Menelaos does not present *erōs* as an entropic force: he labels the Trojans in control of by using the middle deponent ἐέλδομαι and putting *erōs* in the oblique accusative case.

Although, when it concerns sexual pleasures in Sapphic fragments and in scenes of Homer's *Iliad*, *erōs* becomes an entropic force for humans and Gods alike. However, this entropic force, unlike the *erōs* of other things (e.g., ἐδητύς, μολπή, πολέμος), is entirely dependent on the workings of Aphrodite. Aphrodite engenders the chaotic state of *erōs*. Before Paris confesses his loss of agency to initiate sex with Helen (οὐ γάρ πώ ποτέ μ' ὧδέ γ' ἔρως φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν),[7] Aphrodite has forced Helen to dress in 'shinning mantle' (βῆ δὲ κατασχομένη ἐανῷ ἀργῆτι φαεινῷ).[8] Aditionally, while Aphrodite forces Helen to sleep with Paris, Hera willingly approaches Aphrodite and bids Aphrodite to give her 'sexual love' and 'longing' (δὸς νῦν μοι φιλότητα καὶ ἵμερον).[9] To propitiate Hera, Aphrodite produces an 'embroidered inlaid strap' (κεστὸν ἱμάντα ποικίλον) seemingly out of thin air,[10] which plays a crucial role in the seduction of Zeus. ὡς δ' ἴδεν, ὥς μιν ἔρως πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμφέκάλυψεν ("and when he saw her, desire was a mist about his closed heart),[11] sings the Homeric narrator about Zeus. The narrator emphasizes both the act of seeing (ὡς δ' ἴδεν) Hera and Zeus' helplessness, his loss of composure, as his 'composed mind' (πυκινὰς φρένας) is overcome with *erōs.* From

[7] Hom. *Il.* 3.443.
[8] Hom. *Il.* 3.419.
[9] Hom. *Il.* 14.198.
[10] Hom. *Il.* 14.215.
[11] Hom. *Il.* 14.295.

these scenes of *The Iliad*'s *erōs*, in a sexual context, emerges as an entropic force that hinges on the aesthetic appreciation of Aphrodite's actions.

Sappho mirrors this ontology of *erōs* in sexual contexts and even extends it to the domain of romantic love. In Sappho's poetry, in its fragmentary form, *erōs* exists in contexts where the end of *erōs*, 'sex' (μῖξις), is not explicit. In *Fragment 15*, for example, Sappho extends the Homeric ontology of *erōs* to a romantic love in her evocation of a curse for Doricha, her brother's ex:

> Κύ]πρι κα[ί σ]ε πι[κροτάτ]αν ἐπεύρ[οι,
> μη]δὲ καυχάσ[α]ιτο τόδ' ἐννέ[ποισα
> Δ]ωρίχα, τὸ δεύ[τ]ερον ὡς πόθε]ννον
> εἰς] ἔρον ἦλθε.
>
> Kypris, and may she find you very bitter
> and not go boasting—that Doricha—
> how he came a second time
>] to love's desire. (Sapph. *Fr.* 15.9-12)

Sappho conceives that if Aphrodite does not approve or, at least, acquiesce in, Doricha's pursuit of her lover, her boast would not be fulfilled. Aphrodite's 'bitterness' (πικρότης) has the potential to undermine Doricha's intentions to lead her lover— as Anne Carson translates for πόθε]ννον / εἰς] ἔρον— "a second time] to love's desire."[12] Even though the *erōs* here requires Aphrodite, its immediate end does not involve sex. Sappho presents *erōs* more generally with no hint of a sexual context, unlike the markedly sexual contexts in Homeric passages.[13] The connection of Aphrodite to aesthetics is somewhat implicit here, perhaps, because of the fragmentary nature of the poem.

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[12] Carson, *If Not, Winter: Fragments of Sappho*, 24.

[13] In either scene of seduction in the epic (3.441-444, 14.292-295), more explicit words referring to sex frame the use of ἔρως: μείγνυμι 'to have sex' , φιλότης ' sexual love', θύμος 'heart's desire', εὐνάω 'to lay', and τέρπω 'to delight.' preface mentions of ἔρως. ἔρως, even in Homeric passages, does not have sexual connotations in itself, but it signifies 'sexual desire' within an already sexualized context.

In *Fragment* 112 also, within a wedding context, Sappho explicitly connects *erōs*, as the product of Aphrodite's involvement, with an aesthetical concern:

> ὄλβιε γάμβρε, σοὶ μὲν δὴ γάμος ὡς ἄραο
> ἐκτετέλεστ', ἔχῃς δὲ πάρθενον ἂν ἄραο
> σοὶ χάριεν μὲν εἶδος, ὄππατα < δ' . . . . >
> μέλλιχ', ἔρος δ' ἐπ' ἰμέρτῳ κέχυται προσώπῳ
> < . . . . . > τετίμακ' ἔξοχά σ' Ἀφροδίτα
>
> Blest bridegroom, your marriage just as you prayed
> Has been accomplished
> and you have the bride for whom you prayed
> gracious your form and your eyes
> as honey: desire is poured upon your lovely face
> Aphrodite has honored you exceedingly. (Sapph. *Fr.* 112)

'Graceful appearance' (χάριεν εἶδος), 'soothing eyes' (ὄππατα μέλλιχα) and the stream of *erōs* on the bride's 'lovely face' (ἰμερτόν προσώπον) constitute an aesthetic experience for the bridegroom. Sappho materializes *erōs* as the aesthetic experience that the exceeding honors of Aphrodite (τετίμακ' ἔξοχά σ' Ἀφροδίτα) produce. Sappho does not emphasize the end of *erōs* but its very form. In Sappho's imagination, *erōs* is an increasingly reified phenomenon: just like Doricha would boast that her lover came into love's desire (εἰς ερὸν ἦλθε[14]), *erōs* is "made to flow and keeps flowing" (κέχυται)— in the stative sense of the perfect— on the face of the bridegroom. While the aesthetic experience in Homeric passages is manifested in the garments that Aphrodite forces Helen to wear and gives to Hera, the aesthetic experience in Sappho is more closely linked with the observer's perception of innate beauty. *Erōs* stands in as the quantification, a measure, of this innate beauty and its perception.

In Greek imagination then, as presented in Sappho's *Fragments* 15 and 112 and Homer's *Iliad*, *erōs* covers a broad spectrum of human life. *Erōs* is the satiety of a need and the satiety of

[14] (Sapph. *Fr.* 15.12).

a want— both destructive and restorative— and humans control this *erōs*. In sexual contexts, however, *erōs* acquires an entropic force and clouds the mental faculty, the rational thought, of both humans and Gods alike. Since Aphrodite engenders this entropic force, her influence extends over both mortals and immortals. In *The Iliad*, this entropic force manifests itself somewhat abstractedly as the aesthetic experience of garments, but Sappho imagines the more human, less material, beauty as the manifestation of the entropic force of *erōs*. She concerns herself with the perception of human beauty. In Sappho's fragments *erōs* underscores the manifestation and perception of innate beauty afforded by Aphrodite. Altogether *erōs* represents the essence of life, its needs and its wants, and the ability to control others' actions— because *erōs* becomes central to human existence— for deceptive purposes by exciting *erōs* in them. Later, as Thucydides tells us, populist politicians like Alcibiades would become masterful manipulators of the Athenians and cause massive destruction of life in the Sicilian expedition because of their potential to inspire an *erōs* for imperialistic ambition.[15]

[15] (Thuc. 6.24.3) translated by Woodruff, *On Justice, Power, and Human Nature: Selections from The History of the Peloponnesian War* (Hackett Publishing, 1993). See also, William Arrowsmith, "The Fantasy Politics of Erōs." *Arion* (Boston) 1 (1973): 119-167.

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THE MEETING OF MAGIC AND MIRACLE

Magic peers at Miracle through a murky opaque veil, she squints and strains to focus, shadows without fine detail. Convinced that's her reflected in a supernatural guise, spoken spell or penitent prayer, are both godly acts reprised?

Miracle thinks he has no bounds pursed lips restrain his smile, convinced he has both might and right his audience beguiled. It's surely jest compassion rests with those who beg and plead, yet arrogant to dare demand based just on want or need?

Magic blends stormy desire with celestial gales and gusts, Miracle quells the turbulent waves, whispered wish a sacred trust. Magic ponders long-gone hours when she transformed man to beast, while Miracle reminisces the procession and the priest.

Impulsive whim, mystic mood, scent of roses in the wind, the curtain flutters with the breeze Magic steps boldly in. "I'm here" she shouts out. "Indeed, you are!" Miracle replies.

Perhaps through their wily children Divinity survives.

COLLEEN DUNN

QUEERING METAMORPHOSES: SUBVERSIONS OF GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN OVID'S TRANSFORMATION MYTHS

JULIA SCHULTZ

Abstract

Transformation manifests itself in many ways throughout Ovid's Metamorphoses, and each time, there is an understanding that the transformation serves as a subversion of expectations. Figures are removed from their original state and brought into something new, sometimes for the better and sometimes for the worse. One of the many themes that this subversion in transformation unveils is of the performance of gender and sexuality of many different characters within the myths. Whether it is through their breaking of the binary, exploration of liminality, or different approaches to the performance of femininity and masculinity, each character that faces transformation as a queered experience displays a diversion from a strictly heteronormative existence within the narrative. Ovid's exploration of queer themes and subversive roles is quite interesting when viewed through a modern queer theory lens. In conjunction with classical views of normative relationships, there is an interesting position that one can find Ovid occupying. While there is no outright celebration of nonconformity throughout Ovid's Metamorphoses, the fact that there are numerous examples of the ever-important transformation as sexual and gendered freedom, liberation, and satisfaction lends itself to a reading of Ovid that plays into the positive subversion of heteronormative ideals.

Transformation manifests itself in many ways throughout Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and each time it does, there is an understanding that the transformation serves as a subversion of expectations. Figures are removed from their original state and brought into something new, sometimes for the better and sometimes for the worse. One of the many themes that this subversion in transformation unveils is that of the performance of gender and sexuality of many different characters within the myths. Whether it is through their breaking of the binary,

exploration of liminality and dualism, or different approaches to the performance of femininity and masculinity, each character that faces transformation as a queered experience displays a diversion from a strictly heteronormative existence within the narrative. Ovid's exploration of queer themes and subversive roles is quite interesting when viewed through an examination of these characters through a modern queer theory lens. In conjunction with more classical views of normative relationships, there is an interesting position that one can find Ovid occupying. While there is no outright celebration of nonconformity throughout Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the fact that there are numerous examples of the ever-important transformation as sexual and gendered freedom, liberation, and satisfaction lends itself to a reading of Ovid that plays into the positive subversion of heteronormative ideals.

Three characters that exemplify transformation as an exploration of the gender binary are Iphis in Book 9, Teiresias in Book 3, and Caeneus in Book 12. Each one of these stories of transformation revolves around the idea of metamorphoses used as almost a metaphor for the subject being transgender or genderfluid. Knowing that there were very rigid rules for gender expression, especially masculinity, in Ovid's time[1] makes this expression of gender exploration even more interesting. While Teiresias is a more complicated case for this reading, Iphis and Caeneus are quite straightforward in their interpretation of transformation as transgendered.

Iphis at his birth was given a gender-neutral name and was ordered to be raised as if he were a boy by Telethusa.[2] His family kept this as a closely guarded secret, dressing him in boy's clothes and not letting anyone know the truth about his gender. When he reaches puberty and is promised to Iänthe, he feels that he loves her the way that a boy would, "Consider / what you are by birth, unless you yourself / have been deceived as well. Choose what is right, / and love the

[1] Ahonaa Roy, "Non-normative Sexuality Studies," *Oxford Bibliographies,* August 26, 2020. 10.1093/OBO/9780199756384-0238
[2] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 9.1121-1139, translated by Johnston.

way a woman ought to love!"[3] In the end, Iphis is transformed into a boy and is able to fulfill the wish of loving Iänthe. This, of course, can be read as a commentary on the wrongness of female homosexuality, as there was a precedent for disgust towards sapphic relationships,[4] but it also plays out similarly to the stories of many transmasculine boys who are able to transition before puberty.

Caeneus, as well, is the story of someone who was born female and transformed into a male. Through the story of Nestor, the audience and Achilles are told how Caeneus was transformed into a mighty warrior. He was granted his wish for the transformation into a man by Neptune after the god sexually assaulted him, and was additionally given the power to never be penetrated by anything again, not even a sword.[5] This is a transformation for personal protection, but it is significant that Caeneus said, "'So grant me this— / that I am not a woman. With that gift, / you'll be offering everything I want,'"[6] as it implies that what he was seeking was more than just the protection from Neptune, but a complete separation from femininity and womanhood. Everything he wanted was to be an impenetrable and masculine man, and he received that, becoming a warrior whose story would be told to Achilles. It is a common event within Ovidian myth for women to be transformed into something to escape assault, but this instance portrays someone whose one wish to a god is to transition not their form but their gender. It is a story of being granted the ability to change one's form into the desired appearance, something that plays within the space of gender fluidity and subversion of the expected response that could have been portrayed.

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[3] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 9.1195-1198.
[4] Sandra Boehringer, "homosexuality, female," *Oxford Classical Dictionary.* May 24, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.8017
[5] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 12.323-324.
[6] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 12.315-317.

The most fluid of the three examples of gender exploration within Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is Teiresias, a man who became a woman and then a man again.[7] This story is interesting because although it is a lighter one than many others within Ovid (though it does still end with Teiresias blinded), it also portrays this gender-fluid subject as wise enough that the king and queen of the gods turn to them for advice. There is awe in the ability of Teiresias to experience the life and pleasures of a man and a woman, with the narrator explaining that "...and (amazingly!) he was then transformed / from man to woman."[8] Tieresias' sexuality is also portrayed as fluid through this interpretation, as his sexual preference is dependent on the form that he occupies. His sexual fluidity is implied through the fact that Juno and Jupiter can turn to him to settle their argument about whether men or women enjoy intercourse more. Teiresias can do this because he slept with women as a man and men as a woman. This, of course, stays in line with the appropriate sexual and gender customs of the time, and it would have been more nonnormative for Teiresias to have been with women as a woman. That structure could assume that perhaps there was some kind of masculinity assigned to Teiresias as a woman, which would put his masculinity as a man in question.[9] With the model that is presented by Ovid, Teiresias is free to have explored many facets of sexuality in both gender roles, and this is seen as an incredible wealth of knowledge. The story puts forth the idea that a transformation through different genders is a way to gain invaluable wisdom, and in that way, it makes gender transformation a positive way of life.

As well as the discussion of complete gender transformation in Ovid, there are also characters that are helpful in displaying the liminality and dualism that is present within transformation, which in itself is a subversion of normative relationships with the self. By exploring characters that are in a liminal state, there is interaction with both the idea of queer

[7] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 3.493-508.
[8] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 3.498-499.
[9] Boehringer, "homosexuality, female."

time[10] and with gender and sexuality as a nonnormative space beyond just their definitions of them. The birth stories of Adonis in Book 10 and Bacchus in Book 3 demonstrate these liminalities within different characters in the Ovidian myth. Both stories revolve around the death or transformation of the mother and the strange and terrible fates that women can endure at the hands of supernatural forces. It creates a connotation for womanhood and femininity to be a sort of purgatory that one can only escape through change, and it is further complicated through the miraculous fates that the sons of these women live to experience.

Myrrha, the mother of Adonis, is burdened with a taboo lust for her father by one of the furies.[11] She feels abject horror for her emotions but eventually succumbs to them and becomes pregnant with his child. She begs any god who is listening to assign her to a fate that is neither life nor death, as she does not want to pollute either realm with her sins.[12] Her wish is granted, and she is made into a myrrh tree, but the baby that she was pregnant with continues to grow within her new form. She eventually gives birth to Adonis, who is anointed with her tears and goes on to be an incredibly beautiful and beloved man that eventually is killed and becomes the anemone flower.[13] This story is not dissimilar to other Ovidian myths on the surface, but when examined through a queer lens, there is an interesting discussion on gender and sexuality. Myrrha's transformation is distinguished from others through the plea from the woman that she wishes to become something that is not living or dead, and in that wish being granted, she is placed in a limbo of becoming a tree. In this state, she is described as being alive and feeling, yet unable to voice any of her pains. She isn't even given an escape from her shame as she is still forced to carry her baby to term when not in a human form. This is an interesting case, as this

[10] Carla Freccero, "Queer Times," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 106, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 486. https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-2007-007
[11] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.474-478.
[12] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.744-751.
[13] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.790-794;1109-1120.

transformation of a woman into a tree comes not as an escape from a predatory other, but as an escape from the burden of shame that a woman placed on herself. Without any outside influence, Myrrha traps herself within a prison of her own making and is forced to carry out the burden of womanhood from outside of its confines.

This also creates an interesting situation for Adonis, who is a beautiful man that came from a horrible beginning, and it starts off his life as one with dual meanings. He is an envied beauty that came from terrible means; he is a beloved man who came from a plant and is perhaps doomed to return to one. As well as his strange origin, the beauty that he is granted is an almost effeminate one, with his face being compared to that of Atlanta, whose beauty was so great that she had numerous men compete for her hand.[14] This places him in a strange position, as his beauty almost impedes his masculinity, a fate that is quite uncouth for Ovidian sensibilities, with feminine men being seen as lesser than masculine ones.[15] It feels as though the liminal circumstances of his birth led to a dualistic life, as Adonis is forced, much like his mother, to embrace existing as a figure that has to be two things at once. As Myrrha is forced to be both alive and dead as both tree and woman, Adonis is forced to be masculine and feminine.

Similarly to Adonis, in the birth of Bacchus in Book 3, Jupiter takes on a fluid and liminal role in gestating Bacchus inside of himself when his mother dies by the force of Jupiter's sexual power. There is the hyper-masculine image of Jupiter being so potent that it kills mortal women, but in the same story, he becomes the mother and father simultaneously of Bacchus in sewing his son into his leg for the time he would have been in his mother's womb.[16] It is a testament to the abilities of Jupiter that he is able to nurture an infant in this way, but it also makes him into a figure that must perform both the traditionally male task of inseminating a

[14] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.876-879.
[15] Boehringer, "homosexuality, female."
[16] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 3.474-478.

woman and simultaneously the traditionally female task of gestating a baby. The birth of Bacchus becomes a subversion of gender roles in a major way and creates a space in which Bacchus' father and mother are, theoretically, the same individual. Semele becomes useless within her own story, with Jupiter taking up the task of motherly and fatherly duties. Bacchus was already a liminal figure, being a demigod, but he has the additional liminality present in the subversive nature of his gestation and birth. There is no overt transformation within this story, but there is a fluidity of gendered expectations and biological rules in that of Jupiter, the king of the gods.

Femininity and masculinity are states that are played with in more ways as well throughout the *Metamorphoses*. Two interesting cases of the consequences and tribulations of male figures being trapped within different feminine ideals are those of Hermaphroditus in Book 4 and Orpheus in Book 10. Throughout the other transformation myths, there are examples of femininity and masculinity being subverted and played with by Ovid, but in these specific stories, there is a specific queer coding to the characters, and there are direct consequences to that feminine being. Both of the men are unable to perform traditionally masculine feats, and they are punished for that, showing a different view of gender dynamics than previously expressed. Although these are negative portrayals, it is important to note that there is an interesting conversation to be had within these myths of the gender dynamics of Ovid's time and how exactly he wants these stories to be read.

Hermaphroditus' story is a direct subversion of the usual myth of assault within Ovid. Instead of a young maiden being taken advantage of by a male god, it is a young boy being attacked by a female nymph. Hermaphroditus possesses the looks of a male and female figure at once, as it is said "In his face one could make out his father/ and his mother, and from them, he

derived / his name…"[17] It is noteworthy that the boy that is targeted for a sexual attack is one that possesses the potential likeness of a maiden. Because Hermaphroditus is unable to be fully masculine, he becomes the target of a sexual assault. In this reading, however, there is the notion that Ovid was allowing the reader to see his views on the poor opinion of femininity in men, being that it is shameful that this should be punishable by an attack. This myth is opposite to others of female assault that it almost feels as though it is a satire of them, calling into question both the necessity of the genre as a whole and the insanity of the connection of femininity and rape. Through Hermaphroditus, Ovid is able to reveal an opinion of the story of the corrupted maiden as unnecessary and exploitative, in the end gifting Hermaphroditus the ability to take revenge on his entwined attacker by cursing her pool to allow others who touch the water to become bi-gendered as he is.[18] The femininity of Hermaphroditus becomes a weapon in the end, and it showcases how the stereotypical view of femininity as a weakness in men is not valid in the eyes of Ovid.

Additionally, there is the example of Orpheus in Book 10, specifically in the instance of his failure to rescue Eurydice from the underworld when he looks back at her. Orpheus fails as a husband and as a man in this instance, being unable to resist the love and care he has for his wife for long enough to rescue her from death.[19] Had he been a less caring and more traditionally masculine husband, being more steadfast in his determination to succeed at a task than in caring for his beloved, he would have perhaps been able to return with Eurydice to the land of the living. As it stands, Orpheus is the bard who loves his wife, and he looked back because of the fear and stereotypical effeminate care that he possesses. However, this position is not outrightly punished by Ovid. Though Orpheus loses Eurydice, as she is sinking back to the underworld, it is

[17] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4.426-428.
[18] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4.566-570.
[19] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.90-96.

said “Now dying a second time, Eurydice / made no complaint at all about her husband / (what could she object to except the fact / that she was loved?).”[20] Eurydice does not resent her husband for his love for her and does not complain that she is now fated to return to the underworld; she is only thinking about the fact that she was loved. She is not successfully transformed back into a living being, but she is satisfied with this fact. This act of love that is so far removed from hyper-masculinity serves as a love letter within Ovid’s myth, and it does further service to showcase that the typical view of the rigid binaries of masculinity and femininity is not of so much importance to the author. Within these myths of transformation and near-transformation, there is a clear display of a subversion of the typical view of gender roles within Ovid’s time.

Throughout all of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, the transformation myths create stories that exist outside of the bounds of reality. There are gods and monsters within the myths, sure, but there are also observations to be made about the ways in which Ovid viewed the world around him and about the places and spaces that his characters were able to inhabit. Through a queered reading of the transformations within the stories, specifically in the ways of the gender binary, the idea of liminality, and the heteronormative ideals of femininity and masculinity, it is revealed that transformation in the *Metamorphoses* is often a route to explore ways that gender and sexuality can be subverted and changed to explore different modes of being.

[20] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.97-100.

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THE EFFECTS OF THE LATE EGYPTIAN CANON ON GREEK STATUES

NOAH GRESSER

Abstract

This paper examines the influence the late Egyptian canon of proportions had on the development of the style of Greek statues. It first gives background context by defining the Egyptian canon of proportions in general, along side its corresponding canonical grid. A more specific definition is then given to the first and second Egyptian canon, which leads into detailing the late Egyptian canon, alongside examples of surviving statues of the style. This paper then transitions to discussing the development of relations between Ancient Greece and Egypt, using it as a segue to introduce evidence of the effect these relations had on Greek statues in the form of surviving examples of Greek statues that implement or are inspired by the late Egyptian canon. The paper concludes however by putting forth, again using surviving examples, how the style of Greek statues grew beyond their initial inspirations and developed their own unique flair.

I. The Egyptian Canon and Canonical Grid

The Egyptian canon refers to the system of proportions used to define the relative measurements of body parts used in the representation of human figures in ancient Egyptian art.[1,2] These proportions utilized the ancient Egyptian metrological system, which itself contained

[1] I would like to thank George W.M. Harrison for the permission to reproduce unpublished material in this paper.

The term "late canon" is used in this paper to refer to (in the same manner it is used by Iverson and Shibata) the version of the Egyptian canon introduced with the 26th dynasty; other scholars which reference this canon refer to it as the "second canon". Additionally, the terms "first canon" and "second canon" that are used in this paper (again, in the same manner as Iverson and Shibata) are grouped together by other scholars and only referenced as a singular "first canon".

[2] Erik Iversen and Shibata, Yoshiaki, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*, 2nd ed. (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1975), 5.

measurement units corresponding to standardizations of parts of the human body.[3] For instance, the base unit was at one point the "Small Cubit", defined as "the length of the fore-arm from the elbow to the tip of the thumb", which could be divided into six "palms" of four fingers' width.

These canonical proportions also served as the basis for, and could be mapped to, a canonical grid system,[4] which was a "geometrical projections of the canonical proportions, based on the identification of the modular square with anatomical and metrological fist of 1⅓ proportional palms".[5] In fact, the first speculation about the existence of the Egyptian canon by modern scholars was prompted by observations of drawings and reliefs from multiple periods of Egyptian history which retained "auxiliary lines or points" delineating to proportional measurements of body parts in the art's figures, which correlated to "the squared grids upon which other figures were occasionally drawn".[6] A good example of these retained gridlines can be seen in the unfinished bottom left corner of the *Stele of the Sculptor Usewer* (see Figure 1). Furthermore, evidence of these canonical grids has been found on a significant number of surviving examples of "paintings, reliefs, and unfinished sculptures in the round and on papyrus drawings or 'blueprints' for large sculpture projects",[7] which demonstrates that both two-dimensional and three-dimensional forms of art were made to conform to the canon. In the case of three-dimensional stone sculptures, the gridlines would be drawn on all sides of a block the sculpture was to be carved from, and reapplied periodically as the stone was worked away until the final figure had emerged.[8]

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[3] Iversen and Shibata, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*, 14.
[4] Whitney M. Davis, "Egypt, Samos, and the Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 67 (1981): 65, https://doi.org/10.2307/3856603.
[5] Iversen and Shibata, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*, 33.
[6] Ibid., 20.
[7] Eleanor Guralnick, "The Proportions of Kouroi," *American Journal of Archaeology* 82, no. 4 (1978): 463, https://doi.org/10.2307/504635.
[8] Edith W. Watts, *The Art of Ancient Egypt: A Resource for Educators* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 38, https://books.google.ca/books?id=18jpaQUMbngC.

II. The First Egyptian Canon

Throughout the history of ancient Egypt, there were multiple iterations of the Egyptian canon. The use of the first canon is thought to have spanned from Egypt's third dynasty until its twelfth dynasty.[9] While there are no surviving instances of human figures from the time period of the first canon being inscribed in gridlines,[10] the use of gridlines for other uses in Egyptian art of the same period, such as incomplete hieroglyph inscriptions on the same relief as a completed figure (see Figure 2), suggests that this may be pure coincidence rather than proof that canonical grids were not yet in use at this point. In place of surviving canonical grids for the first canon, it has been observed that figures had their canonical height, which was taken from the base of the feet to the hairline of the forehead to account for the variability in the height of different wigs and headdresses that would be separate from the proportions of the body,[11] divided in sixths along a vertical axis.[12] The evidence of this system of linear division could be seen in the form of a center-line bisecting the figure through the ear and fork of the legs acting as the vertical axis (see Figure 3), with this center-line in all instances being interspersed by the same "horizontal lines marking the knee, the wrist, and the seat, the elbows, the armpits, the nape of the neck and the canonical measuring point at the hairline".[13]

A prime example of an ancient Egyptian statue that implements the first canon would be the *Striding Statue of Minnefer* (see Figure 4). The statue depicts a single male figure, bare-chested while wearing a kilt and wig. He is in the Egyptian male figure's typical striding pose, with his left leg extended forward and his hands at his sides with his arms straight

[9] Iversen and Shibata, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*, 28.
[10] Ibid., 29.
[11] Ibid., 15.
[12] Ibid., 28.
[13] Ibid., 27.

down.[14,15] Each of his hands are clenched into fists, gripping peg-like objects that have repeatedly appeared in the same manner on statuary male figures, starting in the fourth dynasty and continuing through the entire course of ancient Egyptian history, though modern scholars still debate their purpose and meaning.[16] As is the case with nearly all stone carved Egyptian statues of standing figures, none of the space between the arms and torso, or between the legs, has been carved out of the stone.[17] Similarly, the back of the figure remains attached to a "back pillar". As a result, the figure's back is straight and centered, harmonizing with its likewise forward-facing head and face. In this way, the figure's overall pose reinforces the "frontality" and "axiality" long observed in both three-dimensional and two-dimensional figures of Egyptian art.[18,19]

Proportionally speaking, even at a distance the *Striding Statue of Minnefer* seems to conform to the first canon's division of height (see Figure 3). The length from the base to the figure's knees appears to be a third of the total height from the base to the hairline, and yet another third of the total height can be found going from the knees up to the elbows. Though less immediately apparent, it can be observed that the position of the wrists with both arms straight down seems to correspond to the halfway point between the knees and elbows.

III. The Second Egyptian Canon

During the twelfth dynasty, the Egyptian canon undergoes some form of refinement, becoming the second canon.[20] With examples of retained canonical gridlines having survived from this time period, it has been determined that the second canon divided the canonical height,

[14] Cleveland Museum of Art, "Striding Statue of Minnefer," September 16, 2022, https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1948.420.
[15] Watts, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, 106.
[16] Henry G. Fischer, "An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues," Metropolitan Museum Journal 10 (1975): 9, https://doi.org/10.2307/1512696.
[17] Watts, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, 38.
[18] Iversen and Shibata, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*, 21.
[19] Watts, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, 38.
[20] Iversen and Shibata, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*, 28.

still taken from the base of the feet to the hairline of the forehead, into eighteen units of a modular squares' height (see Figure 5). Interestingly, as this canonical grid uses the bisection of the human figure as the first canon, an eighteen modular square tall grid going from the base of the feet to the hairline can be overlayed on top of a linear division of a figure from the first canon such that each of the horizontal lines, aside from the one denoting the armpits, matches with a gridline (see Figure 6).[21] When the proportions of the first and second canons are compared in this manner, it can be seen that each of their respective vertical measures from the base match completely (see Figure 7), with only some proportional divergence occurring in the horizontal measure of the figures.[22] Thus, the second canon can be viewed as more of a stylistic development than a significant break from the previous proportional convention.

The similarity of the second canon to the first can be seen in the statue *Hatshepsut in a Devotional Attitude* (see Figure 8). The most immediately obvious differences between this statue and the *Striding Statue of Minnefer*, namely the type of kilt and headdress, along with the positioning of the hands being open and resting on the front of the kilt, can be attributed to the subject of the statue rather than any conventions of their respective canons. Hatshepsut was a female pharaoh who reigned alongside Thutmose III during the eighteenth dynasty,[23] and the positioning of her hands is a devotional gesture replicating that of the statues dedicated by a much earlier pharaoh. Hatshepsut's status as a pharaoh also explains the figure's wearing of a king's *nemes*-headcloth and false beard, as it was common to represent any pharaoh as the ideal figure of a young man in the prime of life, regardless of said pharaoh's actual age or gender. However, Hatshepsut's gender may have still been partially reflected in the statue, as the

[21] This result should be expected, given that 1/6 is a multiple of 1/18.
[22] Iversen and Shibata, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*, 29.
[23] Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Hatshepsut in a Devotional Attitude," March 26, 2022, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544446

horizontal width of the figure's shoulders seem to be proportionally less than that of *Minnefer*, which would align with the fact that female figures in the second canon were depicted as narrower than male figures.[24] On the other hand, the previously mentioned minor deviation in horizontal measure between the first and second canon may be responsible for this discrepancy.

IV. The Late Egyptian Canon

Following the refinement of the twelfth dynasty, there would not be another major change to the canon until the beginning of the twenty-sixth dynasty, also known as the Saite dynasty (Levin 1964: 14)[25], when the base unit of the Egyptian metrological system was changed from the Small Cubit to the "Reformed Cubit", which was defined as the "length of the fore-arm from the elbow to the tip of the medius".[26] Since this change of using the middle finger instead of the thumb for the endpoint of the fore-arm's measurement did not also change the fact that the base unit could be divided into six "palms" of four fingers' width, the Reformed Cubit effectively changed all standardized lengths for parts of the human body that were used for measurement units.[27] For example, before the introduction of the Reformed Cubit, the standardized length of a palm of four fingers would have been equal to 0.075 meters in today's units, but 0.0875 meters after the Reformed Cubit was implemented.[28]

With these standardized body part measurements altered, it should come as little surprise that at the beginning of the twenty-sixth dynasty the Egyptian canon of proportions also evolved into a new form, called the late canon, to reflect this new metrological system.[29] This late canon

[24] George W.M. Harrison, "lecture 4b" (presentation slides and notes from CLCV 3300 Egyptian Art and Archeology), image 27; by permission.
[25] Kim Levin, "The Male Figure in Egyptian and Greek Sculpture of the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B. C.," *American Journal of Archaeology* 68, no. 1 (1964): 14, https://doi.org/10.2307/501521.
[26] Iversen and Shibata, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*, 16.
[27] Ibid., 17.
[28] Ibid., 19.
[29] Iversen and Shibata, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*, 28.

implemented a canonical grid that divided figures' height into twenty-one modular squares, with the additional change from earlier canons that said height was measured from the base of the feet to a new point at the root of the nose, instead of the hairline (see Figure 9). In some instances, this new division retains the comparative proportions from earlier canons, such as the length from the base to the knees and elbows respectfully remaining one-third and two-thirds the canonical height (see Figure 10). Yet others, such as the proportional lengths from the base to the tip of the middle finger, to the armpits, and to the neck, all seem as though they have been rounded up in the conversion in order to line up with the gridlines, such that they are greater than simply applying the 1⅛ multiplication used to go from 18 grid squares canonical height to 21 grid squares.

The effects of the late canon's proportional revisions can be seen in statues from the twenty-sixth dynasty like the *Standing Priest Wearing Leopard Skin* (see Figure 11). Made all the more obvious by the open hands at the figure's sides, the previously described increases in proportional length have made the figure's arms clearly appear longer compared to figures from previous canons. Moreover, even with the exact delineation between the torso, waist, and legs being more difficult to see with its longer skirt obscuring most of the legs, including the knees, and its leopard skin obscuring the navel, the figure's torso also seems to be lengthened, which makes the overall proportions of the figure seem thinner by comparison.

Another example, which both demonstrates the lasting usage of the late canon beyond the Saite dynasty and provides a more direct comparison to the earlier canons thanks to their similar presentation, is the *Statue of the Priest Harnefer, son of Nesmin and of Nehemesrattawy* (see Figure 12), from the late fourth century BC. In the same manner that was used even as far back as the *Striding Statue of Minnefer*, the figure is facing forwards, standing straight, bare-chested

and wearing a short kilt, with the left leg extended forward, the arms stiff at the sides, and the hands clenched into fists around the same peg-like objects. This Matching stance makes the proportional lengthening of the arms and torso even more apparent. Additionally, the figure's completely bald head benefits from the late canon's use of the root of the nose for one of the end points of the canonical height, as conforming the figure with the canonical height used by one of the earlier canons would have been difficult given that they used the hairline as the endpoint instead.

V. Interactions Between Ancient Egypt and Greece

Taking a step back from the particulars of the canon itself for a moment, it is useful to consider the state of relations and interactions between ancient Egypt and Greece during the time in which the late canon was in use. While the twenty-sixth, or Saite, dynasty formally began in 664 BC with the accession of Psammetichu I, the foreign Nubian rulers of the twenty-fifth dynasty continued to control the south of Egypt until the Saite dynasty expelled them in 656 BC, such that their respective dynasties overlapped for just under a decade.[30] With the overall conflict between Egypt's north and south going back as far as 670 BC, there was a long period of time in which there was no commerce between Upper and Lower Egypt, necessitating the Nile Delta to turn even further north, to the Mediterranean, for trade. During this time period, it is recorded by Herodotus that Greek mercenaries had arrived in Egypt after their ships had been carried there by bad weather.[31] These mercenaries were taken into the service of Psammetichu I, and were

[30] Levin, "The Male Figure in Egyptian and Greek Sculpture of the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B. C.," 14.
[31] E. Marion Smith, "Naukratis and Her Hinterland," *The Classical Journal* 22, no. 7 (1927): 533, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3288720.

instrumental in his subjugation of eleven opposing Delta princes and cementing himself as the first king of the twenty-sixth dynasty.[32,33,34]

In appreciation of their assistance and a desire to be able to continue to rely on their services, the settlement of Naukratis, a colony originally founded in the Nile Delta by Milesian traders before Psammetichu I's accession,[35] was granted by Psammetichu I to these mercenaries circa 660 BC.[36,37,38] Until a decree during the reign of Amasis, one of the later rulers of the Saite dynasty, forbade "any other settlement of Greeks in Egypt and the trading of Greeks in other places there",[39] the movement of Greeks in Egypt was relatively unrestricted,[40] likely owing to the previous rulers' continued reliance on Greek mercenaries.[41] Even after the restrictions were put in place, or perhaps because of them, Naukratis flourished as a centre of trade and commerce between Greece and Egypt.[42]

VI. The Greek Kouros

With such avenues of trade and cultural exchange between Egypt and Greece being established in the twenty-sixth dynasty, alongside the introduction of a new canon of proportions, it should be unsurprising that Egypt's artistic developments would begin to influence Greek art in turn. For instance, it is known that the Greeks were at least aware of the Egyptian late canon circa 580 BC, going by Diodorus' account of Telecles and Theodorus's construction of the Pythian Apollo using an Egyptian method that lines up with late canon's division of canonical

[32] Levin, "The Male Figure in Egyptian and Greek Sculpture of the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B. C.," 14.
[33] Roger Matthews and Roemer, Cornelia, *Ancient Perspectives on Egypt* (London: UCL, 2003): 180, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315434933.
[34] Smith, "Naukratis and Her Hinterland," 533-534.
[35] Ibid., 533.
[36] Levin, "The Male Figure in Egyptian and Greek Sculpture of the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B. C.," 14-15.
[37] Davis, "Egypt, Samos, and the Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture," 67-68.
[38] Matthews and Roemer, *Ancient Perspectives on Egypt*, 34.
[39] Smith, "Naukratis and Her Hinterland," 536.
[40] Davis, "Egypt, Samos, and the Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture," 67-68.
[41] Smith, "Naukratis and Her Hinterland," 534-535.
[42] Ibid., 536.

height.[43] Although, some of the details of Diodorus' description implies that this account may contain some confusion or misunderstanding of the subject matter originating from obtaining the information second-hand.[44]

In terms of more concrete evidence of the effect on Greek statuary style, the influence of the late canon can be seen in the Greek "kouros", a type of statue depicting figures of nude male youths invented in the third quarter of the seventh century BC.[45] In a study by Guralnick, spanning 1968 to 1978, computer executed statistical analysis was applied to the proportions of twenty-four notable kouroi, including the famous pair of *Kleobis and Biton* (see Figure 13),[46] in order to compare them to the proportions of the late canon, to each other, and to the proportions of a statistically average adult Greek male from the modern day.[47] The results of this study suggested that some number of Greek kouroi were purposefully made to be in accordance with the Egyptian late canon, but this decision to follow the canon was likely made by individual sculptors all throughout Greece, and not universally implemented.[48]

Of the kouroi studied, one of the statues found to be most like the late canon was the *Marble statue of a kouros (youth)* (see Figure 14), which is referred to by the study as the "New York kouros".[49] The figure it depicts is immediately recognizable as being the classic striding pose of Egyptian statues. The figure is facing forward, back straight, left leg extended, arms at the sides with the hands clenched into fists. However, the pose is slightly altered in that the arms, though still at the sides of the body, are bent slightly forwards at the elbows. Additionally, it is difficult to tell at a distance whether the fists are clenched around the same type of peg-like

[43] Levin, "The Male Figure in Egyptian and Greek Sculpture of the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B. C.," 19.
[44] Davis, "Egypt, Samos, and the Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture," 35.
[45] Matthews and Roemer, *Ancient Perspectives on Egypt*, 189.
[46] Though often discussed & illustrated, they are ultimately non-productive
[47] Guralnick, "The Proportions of Kouroi," 461-463.
[48] Ibid., 470-471.
[49] Ibid., 470.

objects found on Egyptian statues, though it has been documented that some Greek kouroi did use them.[50] In terms of what the figure is wearing, the kouros has eschewed the kilt of Egyptian male statues, but does wear a wig reminiscent of Egyptian style, which could be expected given that "the use of Egyptian-type wigs in Greek sculpture can be dated back at least to 700 B.C." .[51] On the structural side, the most obvious difference between this kouros and Egyptian statuary is that it is entirely free-standing, discarding the back pillar, as well as the stone filled-in between arms and torso and between the legs, as all kouroi did.[52,53] Finally, as already analysed by Guralnick's study, the proportions of the figure, with its lengthy arms and torso that makes the entire body look relatively thin, clearly correspond to that of the late canon.

VII. Further Developments Greek Statuary Style

As can already be assumed from the fact that not all Greek sculptors chose to implement the Egyptian late canon, the style of Greek statues continued to evolve even after they were influenced by Egyptian art. Most famously, this evolution can be seen in the works of Polykleitos of Argos, a fifth century BC Greek sculptor who is credited with the establishment of Greek sculpture's high classical style, despite the fact that all that currently remains of his works are later Roman copies.[54] Polykleitos is known to have developed a system of proportions referred to as the "Canon of Polykleitos" that he applied to his works, which modern scholars are still trying to determine the mathematical principles of.[55]

[50] Fischer, "An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues," 9.
[51] Levin, "The Male Figure in Egyptian and Greek Sculpture of the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B. C.," 26.
[52] Ibid., 16.
[53] Matthews and Roemer, *Ancient Perspectives on Egypt*, 189.
[54] Ian Cornelius, "Take This Work Global." *Textual Cultures* 14, no. 1 (2021): 43-44, https://www.jstor.org/stable/48647108.
[55] Andrew Stewart and A. F. S., "The Canon of Polykleitos: A Question of Evidence." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 98 (1978): 122, https://doi.org/10.2307/630196.

But even without an exact definition of his canon, simply observing a recreation of one his pieces, such as *Fragments of a marble statue of the Diadoumenos (youth tying a fillet around his head)* (see Figure 15), makes its departure from Egyptian influence immediately clear. As an almost complete antithesis to the rigid, forward-facing statues of Egyptian traditions, the *Diadoumenos* has every limb curved, and the figure's head, torso, and hips all pointing in different directions. Moreover, in an early implementation of the contrapposto pose, the figure's weight is shifted to the frontal right leg and foot, while the left leg in the back is free and able to bend at the knee. This pose would make conforming to a grid system like in the Egyptian canons practically impossible, but the result is a more natural and dynamic-looking figure overall, which serves as an apt metaphor for the Greek style of statuary breaking away from the influence of Egyptian traditions.

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Figures:

Figure 1. *Stele of the Sculptor Usewer*; (Twelfth Dynasty. c. 1850 BC.). London: British Museum EA579. Source: George W.M. Harrison CLCV 3300 lecture 4b, image 27; by permission.

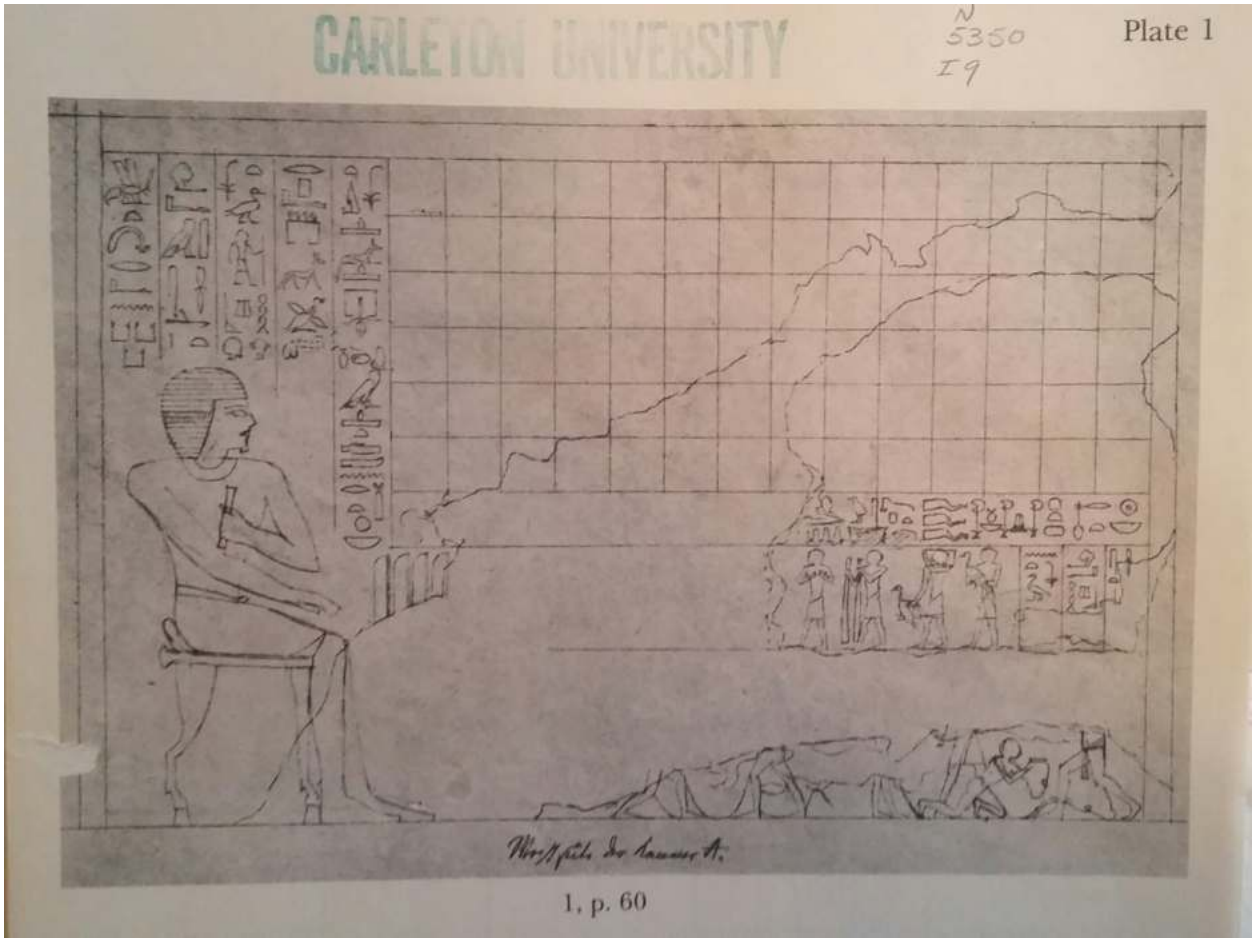

Figure 2. (Iversen and Shibata 1975: Plate 1,1)

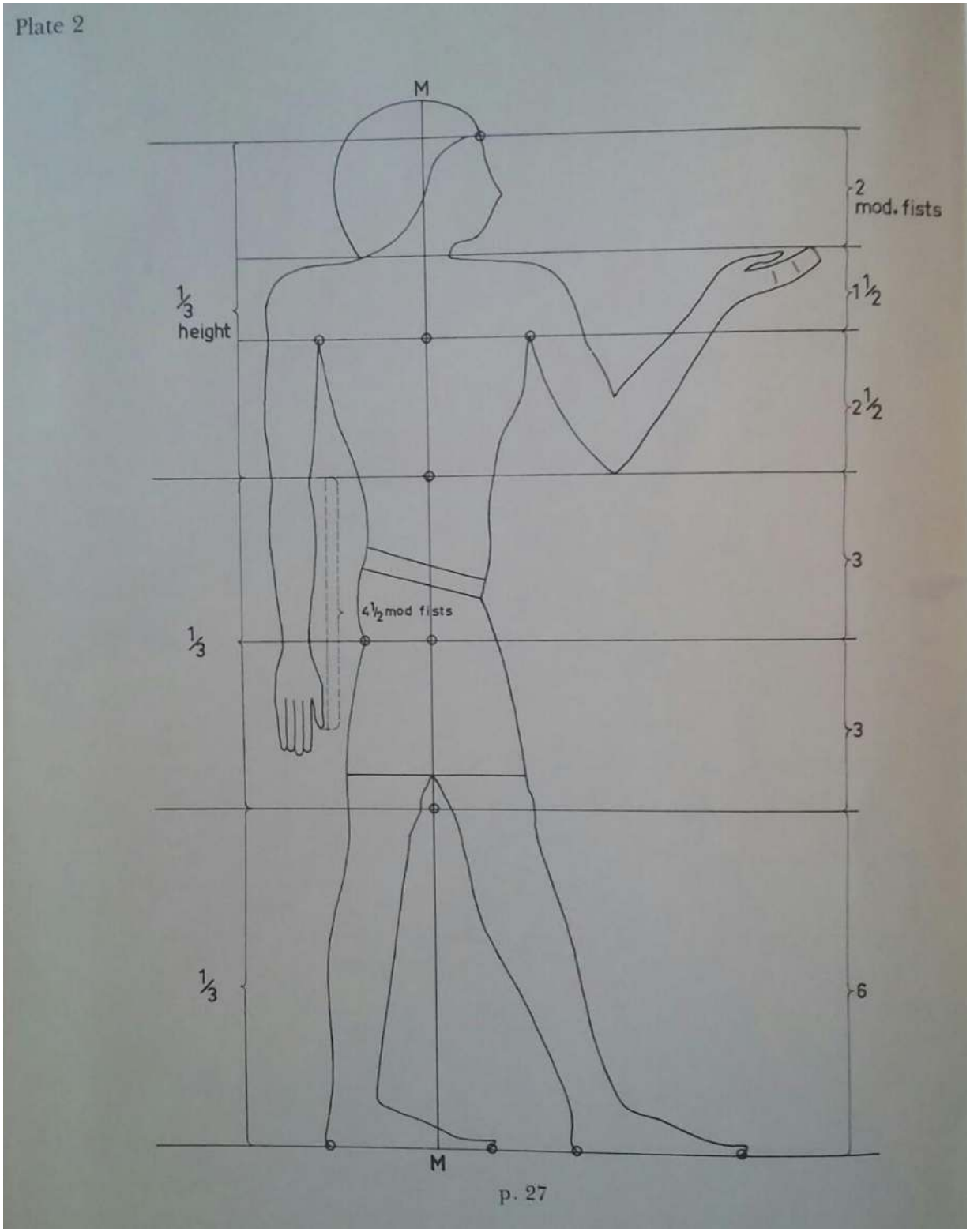

Figure 3. (Iversen and Shibata 1975: Plate 2)

Figure 4. *Striding Statue of Minnefer*; (c. 2377-2311 BC). Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art 1948.420. Source: © Cleveland Museum of Art.

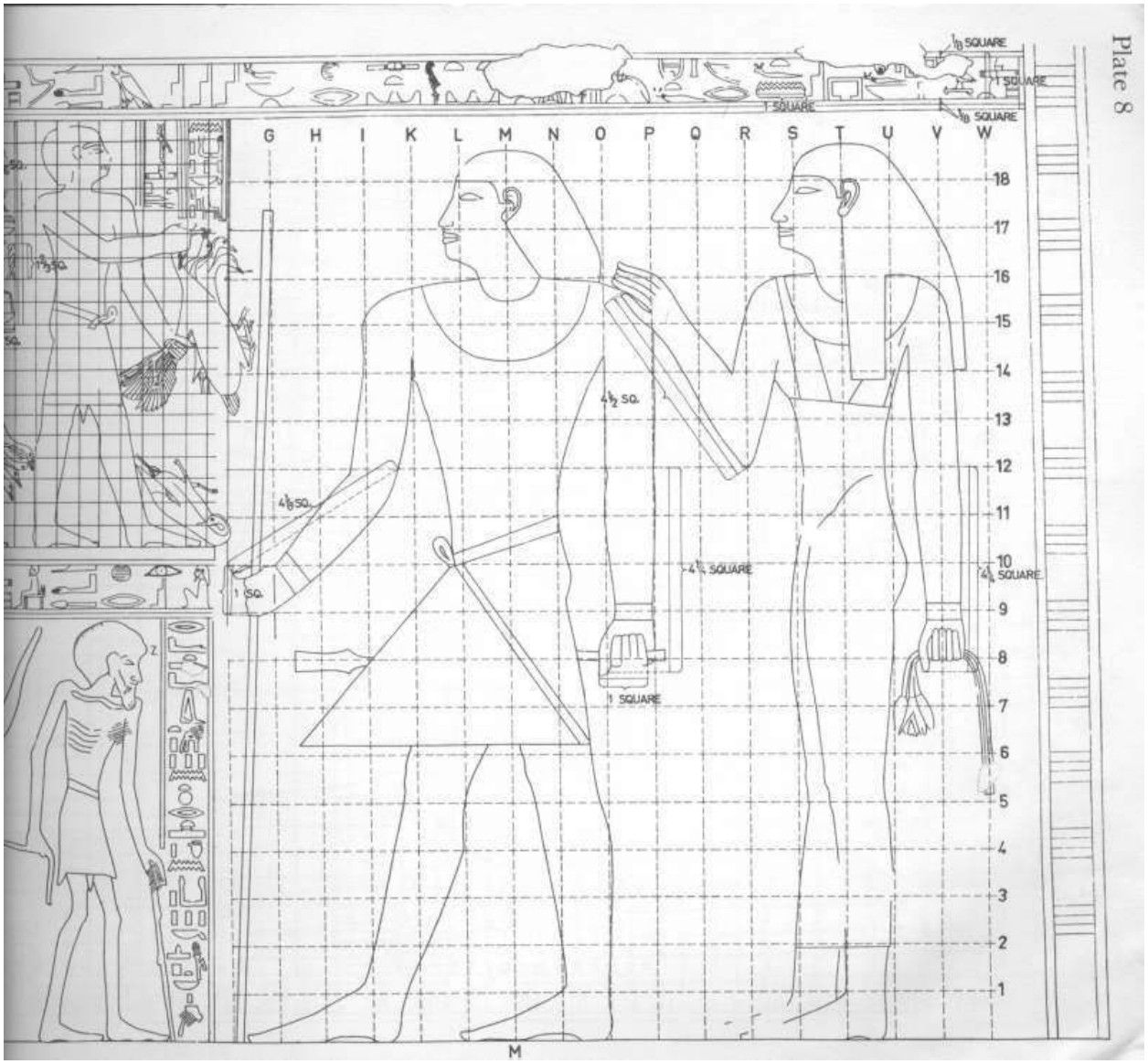

Figure 5. (Iversen and Shibata 1975: Plate 8)

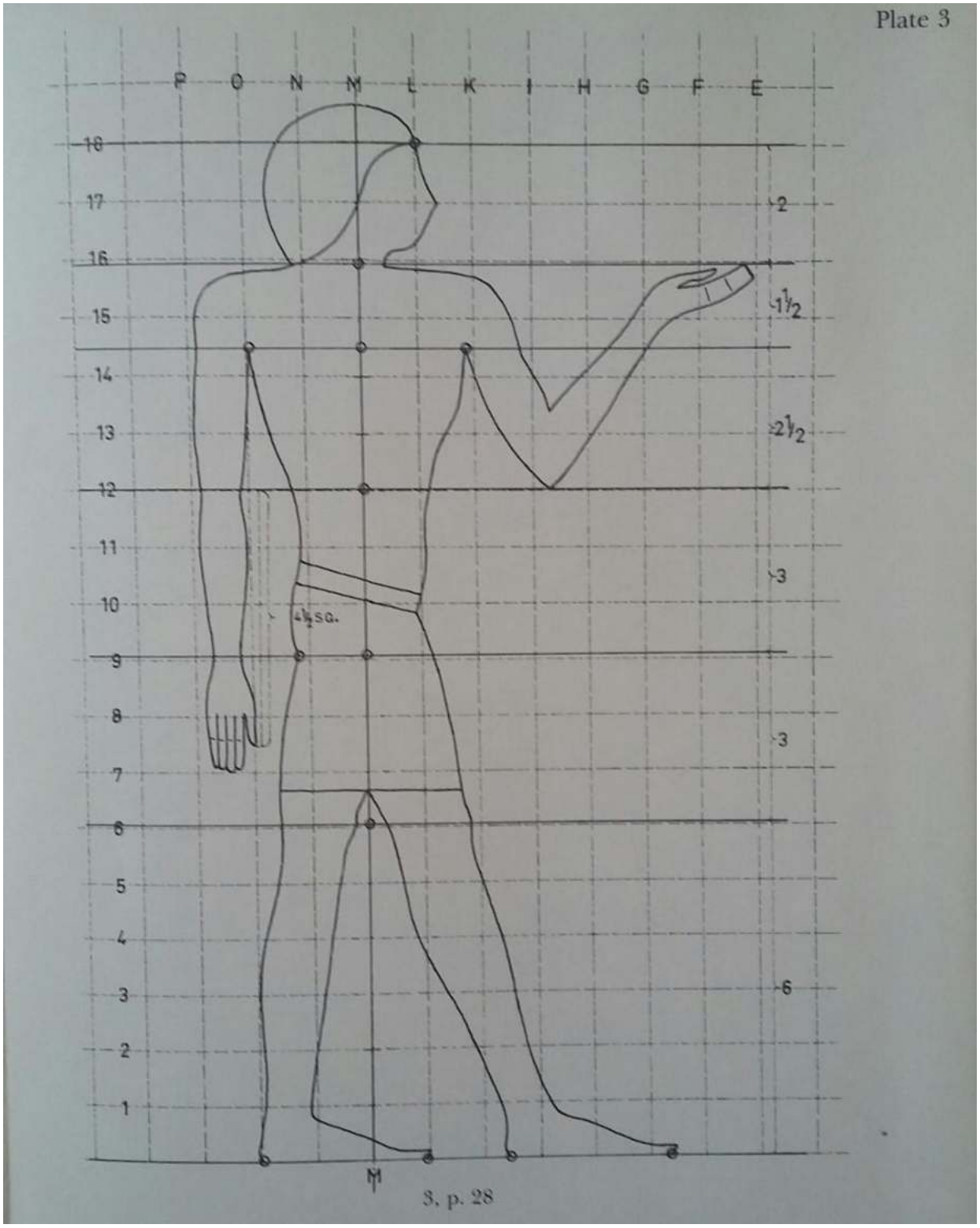

Figure 6. (Iversen and Shibata 1975: Plate 3)

Table IV, plate 4.

from base to:	squares, fists	palms	inches	digits
knee	6	8	24	32
medius[2]	6¾	9	27	36
thumb	7½	10	30	40
wrist	9	12	36	48
elbow	12	16	48	64
armpit[3]	14½	19⅓	58	77⅓
neck	16	21⅓	64	85⅓
upperlip	17	22⅔	68	90⅔
hairline	18	24	72	96

Figure 7. (Iversen and Shibata 1975: 38)

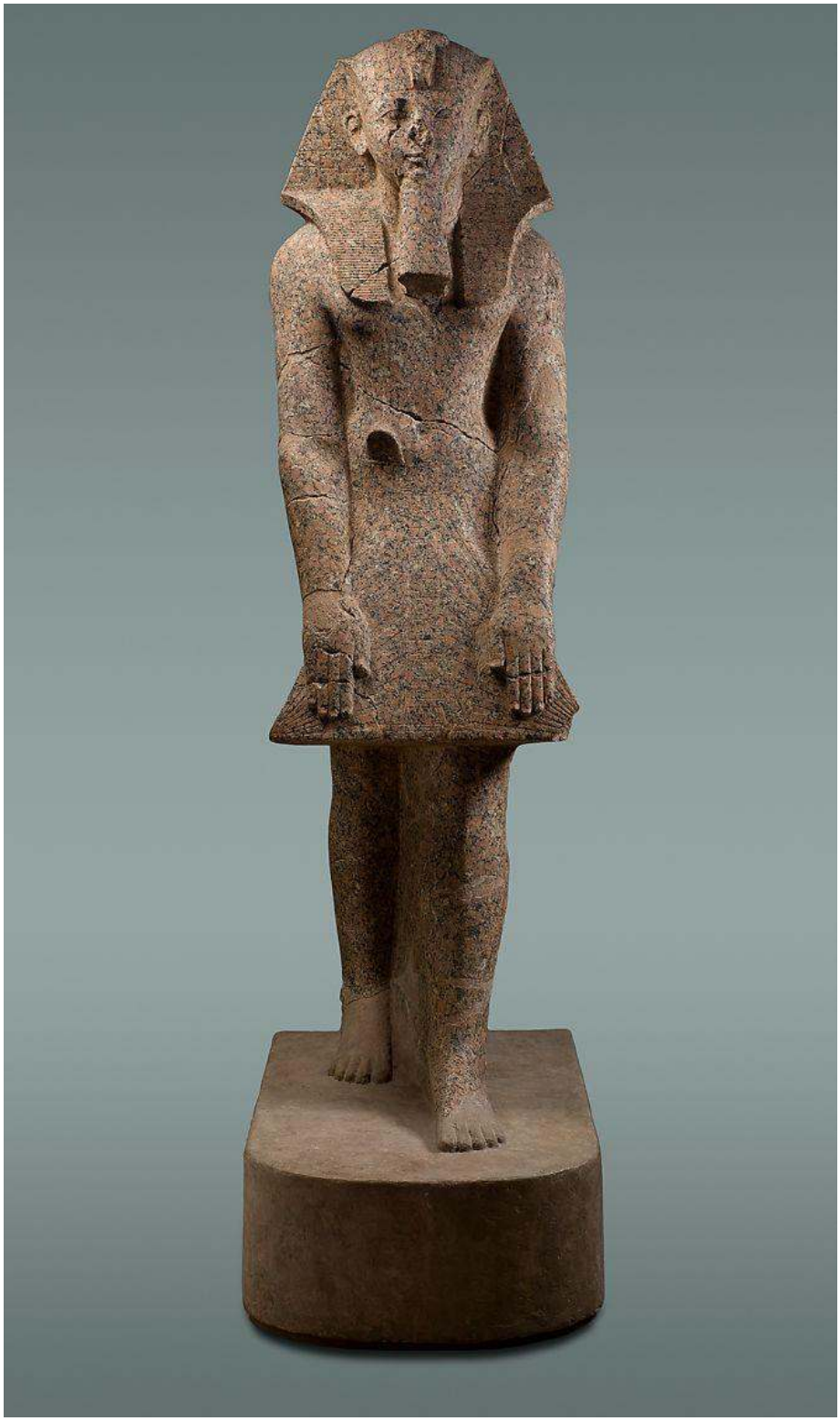

Figure 8. *Hatshepsut in a Devotional Attitude*; (c. 1479–1458 BC). New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art 28.3.18. Source: © Metropolitan Museum of Art.

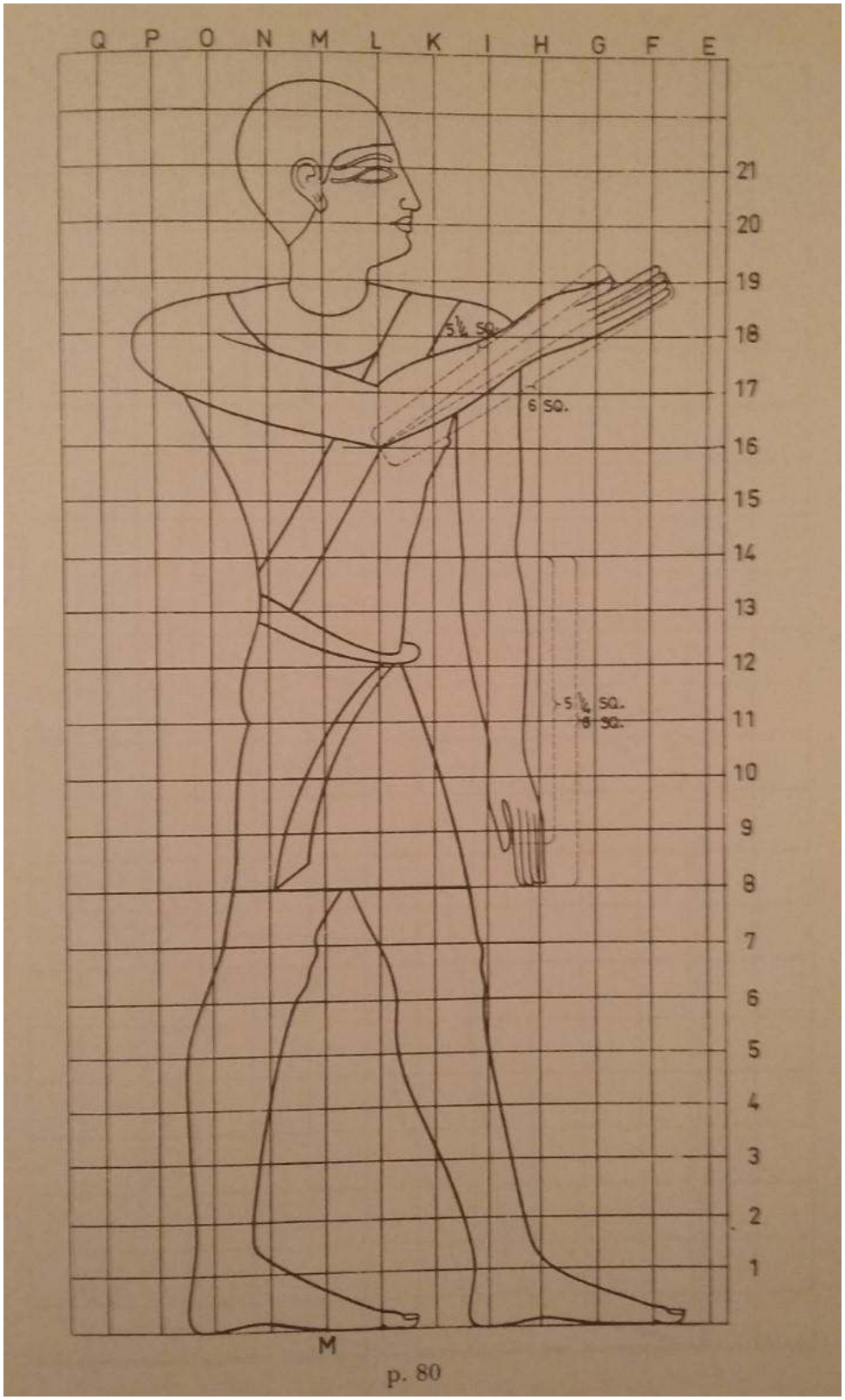

Figure 9. (Iversen and Shibata 1975: Plate 23)

Table XXIII, plate 22.

from base to	squares great palms	great digits
knee	7	28
medius	8	32
thumb	8¾	35
elbow	14	56
armpit	17	68
neck	19	76
mouth	20	80
root of nose	21	84

Figure 10. (Iversen and Shibata 1975: 80)

Figure 11. *Standing Priest Wearing Leopard Skin*; (c. 589-570 BC). Baltimore: The Walters Art Museum 22.113. Source: © The Walters Art Museum.

Figure 12. *Statue of the Priest Harnefer, son of Nesmin and of Nehemesrattawy*; (Ptolemaic Period. c. Late fourth century BC). New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.120.145. Source: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 13. *Kleobis and Biton*; (c. 590 BC). Delphi: Delphi Archaeological Museum VSCO162.01689 Source: © Delphi Archaeological Museum.

Figure 14. *Marble statue of a kouros (youth)*; (c. 590–580 BC). New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art 32.11.1. Source: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 15. *Fragments of a marble statue of the Diadoumenos (youth tying a fillet around his head)* Copy of work attributed to Polykleitos; (c. 69-96 AD). New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.78.56. Source: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

USING SACRED MUSIC TO ENNOBLE THE SOUL: EXPLORING IDEOLOGICAL CONTINUITIES BETWEEN PLOTINUS' PHILOSOPHY OF MUSIC AND CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY PRIOR TO AND DURING THE RENAISSANCE

MARINA NEKRASOVA

Abstract

The philosophical writings of Plotinus are recognized as being influential on later Christian theology. Despite this, there is a lack of scholarship surrounding the continuity between Plotinus' ideas about the effects of music on the soul and how music was conceived of as holding moral power in Christian thought prior to and during the Renaissance. The first section of this essay gives a brief description of Plotinus' philosophy of music. Following this, the second section discusses how Plotinus' understanding of the harmony of the soul – which I argue is related to the musicality of the soul – influences the understanding of the moral and virtuous wellbeing of the soul in Christian theology. The last section narrows down its focus on how Christians, in continuity with neoplatonic thought, understood liturgical music prior to and during the Renaissance period as a tool that can be used to morally guide a person towards God.

It is widely acknowledged that the philosophical writings of Plotinus have influenced Christian theology. There is, however, a lack of scholarship exploring the continuity between Plotinus' ideas about the effects of music on the soul and how music was conceptualized as having moral power in Christian thought before and during the Renaissance. This paper argues that Plotinus' understanding of music as having both a potentially ennobling or harmful effect on the soul influenced how Christians perceived music as a tool that can morally guide them to God or lead them to sin. First, I will describe Plotinus' Neoplatonic philosophy of music. Plotinus held that external music produced by audible sounds establishes the musicality – and hence the

harmony – of the soul. Through an imitation of the idea of beauty specifically, music is ennobling because it is used to help the soul recollect its nature, and hence allow one to achieve a truthful way of life by turning away from things that are not manifestly beautiful.[1] But since audible music also has the power to seduce the soul towards an ugly and evil life, noble music is seen as the counter-incantation towards the latter. Secondly, I will discuss how Plotinus' understanding of the harmony of the soul influences the understanding of the moral and virtuous well-being of the soul in Christian theology. Building upon this, the third section of the essay will narrow down its focus on how Christians, in continuity with Neoplatonic thought, understood liturgical music of the Renaissance period as a tool that can be used to morally guide a person towards God.

Before delving into an explanation of Plotinus' views on music, it is important to understand how he envisions the nature of art, beauty, and the soul as they relate to harmony in his *Enneads*. Plotinus divides the various forms of art into different categories based on "their source and the senses one uses to discern them."[2] Unlike visual arts and dance, which follow natural models by copying and reproducing forms and movements, music is situated within the more abstract intellectual cosmos along with geometry and philosophy.[3]

For Plotinus, the beauty of music is first made present in the immaterial world of the soul of the artist. In the act of creating a work of art, the artist does not merely produce a "copy of a material entity," but rather imitates the beauty of the immaterial world internal to themselves.[4] Alternately, those perceiving the work first use their senses to do so. Sensorial perception leads

[1] The writings of Plotinus contain a complex metaphysical theology with many elements that build upon one another. For the scope of this essay, I must omit an extended explanation of the technicalities surrounding the metaphysics of music, which could be found in Giannis Stamatellos' article: Giannis Stamatellos, "Plotinus on Virtue as Harmony," in *The Virtue of Harmony* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022), 123-124.
[2] Karen C. Adams, "Neoplatonic Aesthetic Tradition in the Arts," *College Music Symposium* 17, no. 2 (1977): 18.
[3] Adams, "Neoplatonic Aesthetic Tradition in the Arts," 18.
[4] Adams, "Neoplatonic Aesthetic Tradition in the Arts," 18.

to a superior vision of beauty by the mind – which Plotinus equates with the soul – that understands the Intellectual Principle of that beauty.[5] In this way, Plotinus ascribes a deep metaphysical significance to art, especially music, as a medium through which beauty moves from a sensory, materialistic state to an intelligible realm where communication occurs through the intellect.[6] The perception of the Intellectual Principle in the work then allows for the possibility of a person to experience revelation, or an ascension to higher levels of existence through the mind. Of the listener, Plotinus says:

> he must be led to the Beauty that manifests itself through these forms; he must be shown that what ravished him was no other than the Harmony of the Intellectual world and the All-Beauty, the Absolute Beauty; and the truths of philosophy must be implanted in him to lead him to faith in that which, unknowing it, he possesses within himself.[7]

From this passage, it is evident that Plotinus connects beauty to "the Harmony of the Intellectual world." Precisely what is meant by the latter is not entirely clear, since as Giannis Stamatellos notes, Plotinus does not treat the concept of *harmonia* systematically in the *Enneads*. Instead, his discussions of harmony involve musical, intelligible, and moral harmony, which he treats as interrelated concepts.[8] Stamatellos holds that musical harmony, then, is "concerned with rhythm and intelligible beauty and how a harmonious melody is analogous to mathematical harmony."[9] Intelligible harmony is that which holds "the universe together in unity."[10] Intelligible harmony also allows for the soul to break free from the earthly and physical domain and thus be purified in its ascent to the intelligible world. Based on this understanding, the virtuous soul is one in which inner harmony allows its various components to function properly and in

[5] Adams, "Neoplatonic Aesthetic Tradition in the Arts," 18.
[6] Adams, "Neoplatonic Aesthetic Tradition in the Arts," 18-19.
[7] Plotinus, *Enneads*, trans. Stephen Mackenna (B Co., 1916), V.1.3.1; Adams, "Neoplatonic Aesthetic Tradition in the Arts," 18.
[8] Stamatellos, "Plotinus on Virtue as Harmony," 123-124.
[9] Stamatellos, "Plotinus on Virtue as Harmony," 123-124.
[10] Stamatellos, "Plotinus on Virtue as Harmony," 124.

concordance with each other. The equating of virtue with harmony is a concept derived from Platonic-Pythagorean views.[11]

Plotinus does not view vice as an external factor that is "added" to the soul. The virtues of the moral soul are seen by him as "psychical states that control and harmonize the various tendencies of the soul into a well-coordinated whole."[12] Vice is likely a result of disharmony caused by the lower parts of the soul not looking to the higher states of the soul (namely, the part of the soul he calls reason) or looking to them "in a bad state of mind."[13] Further, while the soul is seen by Plotinus as an immaterial entity unaffected by "bodily affections or material modifications,"[14] Stamatellos argues that Plotinus was influenced by this idea from the Heraclitean notion of harmony. Heraclitus saw the soul as undergoing physical alterations and explains this in terms of his moral psychology. He held that a person's actions and thoughts affect the soul's physical composition. All humans, then, "are able to know themselves and be prudent,"[15] and to be prudent (phronein—φρονεῖν) is the greatest virtue; prudence is not instrumental reasoning but wisdom "to speak the truth and to act with understanding according to nature."[16] Since humans are seen as able to determine their own destiny, and hence have free will, prudence and wisdom are essential for leading a good life.[17] This Heraclitean notion, if taken into account, establishes a stronger thread of connection between Plotinus and later Christian belief surrounding the influence of music on the soul's wellbeing. The emphasis on free will later becomes an important aspect in the Catholic tradition, where one's actions in the

[11] Stamatellos, "Plotinus on Virtue as Harmony," 124-125.
[12] Stamatellos, "Plotinus on Virtue as Harmony," 126.
[13] Plotinus, *Plotinus: Ennead III.6*, trans. Barrie Fleet (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 92-93, 101-104; Paul Kalligas, *The 'Enneads' of Plotinus: A Commentary, Volume 1*, trans. Elizabeth Key Fowden and Micolar Pilavachi (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 544-545.
[14] Stamatellos, "Plotinus on Virtue as Harmony," 124.
[15] Stamatellos, "Plotinus on Virtue as Harmony," 128.
[16] Stamatellos, "Plotinus on Virtue as Harmony," 128.
[17] Stamatellos, "Plotinus on Virtue as Harmony," 128.

world contribute to salvation.[18] Moreover, because virtue allows for inner harmony, and a harmonious state in the soul is a necessary condition for its ability to ascend, all virtues can be seen as having a purifying function.[19]

Yet, unlike Heraclitus, Plotinus regards the soul as purely intelligible and unable to be affected by external sources. This causes him to view as absurd "the analogy or the association between individual faculties of the soul and individual musical pitches."[20] Nevertheless, Plotinus held that external music produced by audible sounds establishes the musicality – and hence, the harmony – of the soul. He exposes the relation between harmony and the moral soul in *Ennead* III.6, chapters 1-5. Given that the soul is purely intelligible, no physical bodily afflictions could change its state from one of vice to one of virtue or the other way around.[21] Rather, this is something that art, and especially music, can do through their beauty. Through music, the "soul announces the beauty of the intelligible in itself," which is "not contrary to the beauty of the sensible." Through an imitation of the idea of beauty specifically, music is "established as ennobling" because it is used to help the soul recollect its nature, and hence allow one to achieve a truthful way of life by turning away from things that are not manifestly beautiful.[22] Nonetheless, the allure of music is twofold: it is not only a healing force that can create harmony in the soul, but can also seduce the soul towards evil through enchantment. If music does not keep the soul in harmony, it then corrupts human nature by appealing to its passions.[23] In

[18] "About Free Will," Our Catholic Faith, accessed December 21, 2022, https://ourcatholicfaith.org/whycatholic/freewill.html. https://ourcatholicfaith.org/whycatholic/freewill.html.
[19] Stamatellos, "Plotinus on Virtue as Harmony," 132.
[20] Stamatellos, "Plotinus on Virtue as Harmony," 125; Stephen Gersh, "Plotinus on Harmonia: Musical metaphors and their uses in the Enneads," In *Agonistes*, ed. John Dillon and Monique Dixsaut (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 198.
[21] Stamatellos, "Plotinus on Virtue as Harmony," 124.
[22] Marko Tokić, "Plato and Plotinus on Music," *Filozofska Istraživanja* 36, no. 2 (2016): 202.
[23] Basil Cole, *The Moral and Psychological Effects of Music: A Theological Appraisal* (New York: Alba House, 1993), 55-59.

response, "noble music" is seen as the counter-incantation towards the latter that can absolve evil and return the soul to a harmonious state.[24]

The employment of Neoplatonic ideas by Christian theologians – even those who tried to resist the influence of philosophy – was very common during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.[25] Plotinus' understanding of the harmony and musicality of the soul influenced the understanding of the moral and virtuous well-being of the soul in Christian theology. Within Christianity, the entire world is seen as God's creation, and beauty is a product of divine creation, a "constitutive part" of the world.[26] Like everything else that God created, beauty has a teleological function, although the precise end-driven goal of beauty has been a long-debated subject in aesthetics. In line with Plotinus' thought, beauty serves the purpose of creating harmony in the soul and directing it towards virtue, so that it could further aid the person in the contemplation of God, rather than the One (the ultimate divine force according to Plotinus).[27] Given that many Christian theologians from both the West and the East appropriated Neoplatonic themes into their work, it is reasonable to assume that this had a large influence on their ideas surrounding music. In comparing the teleological function of music as understood by Plotinus to music as theologians understood it, Wegge says:

> The following could have been written by a Christian because the same argument is employed by both Christian authors and Plotinus: when we see the beautiful world, are we not then moved to contemplate its Maker? For how could there be a musician who sees the melody [*harmonia*] in the intelligible world and will not be stirred when he hears the melody in sensible sounds? [28]

[24] Tokić, "Plato and Plotinus on Music," 202.
[25] Glen Thor Wegge, "Musical references in the Neoplatonic philosophy of Plotinus" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1999), 81.
[26] Paolo Euron, "Plotinus, Neo-Platonic and Christian Conception of Beauty," in *Aesthetics, Theory and Interpretation of the Literary Work* (Boston: Brill, 2019), 28.
[27] Wegge, "Musical references in the Neoplatonic philosophy of Plotinus," 70.
[28] Wegge, "Musical references in the Neoplatonic philosophy of Plotinus," 70.

Wegge also remarks upon Plotinus' use of the phrase that the soul "sees the melody" rather than "hears the melody." The word "see" is used "in a metaphoric sense: to contemplate with the innerward eye" and be reminded of the creator of that splendor.[29] The emphasis on inwardness is prominent in Christianity, which values the state of the soul (the immaterial internal word of a person) over its external surroundings.

The relationship between the musician and the effect of their art is more complicated than the relatively more direct relationship between their produced music and their audience. This is because the "musician is preoccupied with sensible beauty and so cannot grasp intelligible beauty," and thus, "must be taught to perceive intelligible beauty, which is reflected in sounding music."[30] For this to happen, the "sounding music must be harmonious (presumably well put together) and display unity, which is both rhythmical (*rhythmos*) and shapely (*schema*)."[31] *Rhythmos* and *schema* are two Greek terms for form. They are differentiated as follows:

> Rhythmos was often identified as "a dynamic species of form, signifying the internal structure of a moving thing— ordered movement." Represented in this word is the alternation of strong/weak, sound/silence, movement/rest that characterizes the experience of rhythm and the constraints imposed upon the "flow of music in its internal organization." Schema is "outward, visible form—form as opposed to matter."[32]

Based on this, we can deduce that Plotinus suggests the musician must go one step further and hear both the dynamic and outward elements of music and what they represent – both the "ordered movement of the universe" and the "form of the whole universe."[33] Doing this will allow the musician to understand how all things in the universe are fitted together.[34] This

[29] Wegge, "Musical references in the Neoplatonic philosophy of Plotinus," 70-71.
[30] Wegge, "Musical references in the Neoplatonic philosophy of Plotinus," 70-72.
[31] Wegge, "Musical references in the Neoplatonic philosophy of Plotinus," 70-71.
[32] Wegge, "Musical references in the Neoplatonic philosophy of Plotinus," 71-72; Lewis Rowell, "Aristoxenus on Rhythm," *Journal of Music Theory* 23 (1979): 68.
[33] Wegge, "Musical references in the Neoplatonic philosophy of Plotinus," 70-71.
[34] Wegge, "Musical references in the Neoplatonic philosophy of Plotinus," 70-72.

understanding, once attained, can lead to revelation and may even be more profound than the understanding gained by the mere listener.

Beliefs pertaining to the music of the liturgy and Mass during the Renaissance varied amongst theologians, and it was common to hear music being spoken about as an evil influence on listeners. Most frequently, theologians both praised and held contempt for sacred polyphonic music of the Mass because music was considered to be a sensual pleasure that could distract worshippers and singers away from the meaning of the music. This is highly similar to the view of Plotinus on how music can serve as a mechanism of evil enchantment that appeals to the passions, rather than the intellect of the person. It is also similar to his view that music poses an extra obstacle to the performer to separate themselves from its technicalities and comprehend its true meaning. Alternately, the beauty of the music is the feature that initially attracts people to worship. Without this appeal, many worshippers may not be moved to contemplate the lyrics and sacred message being conveyed. These ideas were adopted by thinkers like St. Augustine, who was heavily influenced by Neoplatonic thought, and who in turn influenced many Christian thinkers during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.[35]

In his *De Doctrina Christiana*, St. Augustine accuses the muses of "offering nothing more than empty entertainment," and leading people to sin, an idea held in common with some of the Fathers, such as St. Basil.[36] In the *Canons of Basil*, the latter wrote that singing at the altar should not be done with pleasure, but with understanding of the words sung.[37] The lyrics are the elements of the music, in the Christian understanding, that contain moral (or immoral)

[35] "The Philosophy of Plotinus and His Influence on Augustine and Christian Theology – excerpts from Diogenes Allen's "Philosophy for Understanding Theology,"" Project Augustine, accessed October 11, 2022, https://projectaugustine.com/theology/confessions-by-st-augustine/the-philosophy-of-plotinus-and-his-influence-on-augustine-and-christian-theology-excerpts-from-diogenes-allens-philosophy-for-understanding-theology/.
[36] Cole, *The Moral and Psychological Effects of Music*, 45.
[37] Cole, *The Moral and Psychological Effects of Music*, 45.

messages.[38] In the *Confessions*, St. Augustine addresses the long debated question of whether the "sweetness" or sensual appeal of a melody is an obstacle to understanding the words of the sacred text sung.[39] He sympathizes with the reasoning behind the urges of Athanasius for minimum musical inflection in the readings of the psalms. The influence of St. Augustine could be seen in the following tract written by an anonymous author in 1632 in Cologne, known as *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum et Artium*, which criticizes the use of the motet in Mass:

> Today music has such great license in churches that even along with the canon of the Mass certain obscene little ditties sometimes have equal share; and even the divine offices themselves and the sacred prayers and petitions are performed by lascivious musicians hired at great price, not to make the hearers understand or for the elevation of the spirit, but to incite wanton prurience, not with human voices but with the cries of beasts: boys whining the descant, some bellow the tenor, others bark the counterpoint, other gnash the alto, others moo the bass: the result is that a multitude of sounds is heard, but of the words and prayers not a syllable is understood; the authority of judgment is withdrawn from ears and mind alike.[40]

In this passage, the anonymous author is criticizing the distraction caused by polyphony that makes the message of the sacred lyrics difficult to understand. During the Renaissance, it was the goal of both the Protestant Church and the Council of Trent to make music more clear and transparent to lay people due to similar concerns. The council of Trent had by legend decided to abstain from banning polyphony from worship after hearing Palestrina's "Pope Marcellus Mass," and proclaiming it as an ideal model for sacred music.[41] The following compositions were based on this style, embodying a perfect balance between beautiful melodies that attract and clarity which allows listeners to contemplate the meaning of the lyrics.

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[38] Jeff Miller, "The Morality of Music: Music in Christian Perspective," last modified September 15, 2016, https://thelightonmypath.com/morality-music-christian-perspective/.
[39] Cole, *The Moral and Psychological Effects of Music*, 44.
[40] Hyun-Ah Kim, *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music in Early Modern England: John Merbecke the Orator and the Booke of Common Praier Noted* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Cole, *The Moral and Psychological Effects of Music*, 45.
[41] "Palestrina: The Savior of Western Music?," Hubpages, last modified Mach 28, 2013, https://discover.hubpages.com/entertainment/The-Council-of-Trent-and-the-Saving-of-Polyphonic-Music.

Within the Church setting, this style of polyphony became a potent aesthetic tool that allowed for the "emotional states of the hearer" to "be edified."[42] This edification, if described using the terms of Plotinus, is the result of the soul being moved by the beauty of harmonious music. Such harmonious music, in turn, instills virtue in the immaterial soul through the understanding of the lyrics and guides the listener toward the contemplation of God. Even the influential St. Augustine, who appeared to condemn the muses in his *Confessions*, recounts his personal experience with the "sweet" music of the church service: how it had moved him to tears and caused him to understand the truth of the lyrics in his heart. Further, Plotinus' understanding of the soul is compatible with the Christian understanding, which holds the soul to be an immaterial substance that can be moved to contemplate its maker through the beauty of music. As well, Christianity adopts the Heraclitean notion that through music, one is able to know themselves by looking inwards and being prudent in the Christian sense of the term.

This essay has sought to contribute to the discussion surrounding the continuity between Plotinus' ideas about the effects of music on the soul and the Christian understanding of music as holding moral power during and prior to the Renaissance. As per Plotinus' views, it has been shown that influential Christian theologians including St. Augustine had believed music to be both a potentially ennobling or harmful influence on the soul. It is ennobling in the sense that it can instill virtue in the soul of the listener and lead them to contemplate the One in the Neoplatonic context and God in the Christian context. Harm and sin result from music that appeals to the passions and creates disharmony within the soul through enchantment, although the effects of such harmful music may be reversed by noble music. Aspects of these ideas could be seen as making their way into post-Tridentine liturgical music of the Renaissance, which

[42] Cole, *The Moral and Psychological Effects of Music*, 72.

strove to balance the beauty and sensorial appeal of polyphony along with the transparency of the lyrics in order to guide worshippers towards moral virtue and the contemplation of God.

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