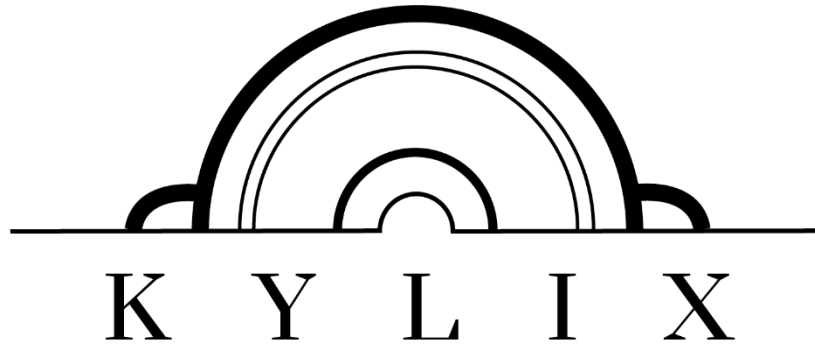


KYLIX

Classics, Ancient History, and Archaeology
Undergraduate Journal

The University of Melbourne



2023 | Volume 1

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Word from the Editors

We the editors are proud to present our first issue of a newly formed student journal. *Kylix* is intended as a place for undergraduate students of Classics, Archaeology, and Ancient History to present their work and gain publication experience as they prepare themselves for further academic endeavours. More than that, we hope for *Kylix* to be a resource for students early in their studies of the ancient world to draw upon high-quality papers submitted by their peers as a source of inspiration and guidance as they develop their own ideas and arguments.

We are tremendously pleased to have brought this first issue together. Our inaugural issue presents twelve essays submitted by twelve students from the University of Melbourne across eight different second, third, and fourth year subjects in Ancient World Studies. All essays received an H1 mark and therefore represent some of the most outstanding work produced by students at the University of Melbourne. The submitted essays have been edited for content and stylistic consistency by an editorial team consisting of third and fourth year Ancient World Studies students, led by a Classics Editor and Archaeology Editor who are both graduates of the University of Melbourne.

We see a delightful breadth of interest represented in these works, which only hint at the remarkable depth and variety present in the student body. Here you will find essays discussing the notion of a ‘third-gender’ in relation to Minoan iconography; a creative writing approach to the manumission of Roman slaves; a contemplation of the role museum curation plays in the politics of the past and present — among many others. Though some subjects are represented multiple times, no two essays are at all similar in style, focus, or perspective.

These works have been a pleasure to read and to edit. We hope in the future to see an even broader variety as new ideas emerge, new theoretical lenses are tested, and new discoveries unearthed. We encourage readers to submit their own work in 2024 and invite them to step out of their comfort zone and express their academic interests. This first issue has published only essays submitted as part of coursework, but we hope to expand next year to include archaeological field reports; reviews of books, films, and exhibitions; opinion pieces — anything you think would have value to the Ancient World Studies students of Australia.

Kylix would like to thank all its contributors for their submissions and Dr. Lieve Donnellan for her ongoing support from *Kylix*'s inception.

Tom Keep & Ella Viggiani | *Kylix* Editors

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The Angry Hero: Fundamental Rage in Heroes of the Ancient World

Chloe Majstorovic | *Classical Mythology*

Regardless of the myth in question, the generic hero both in ancient Greece and Rome is characterised by overwhelming wrath. In this essay, I will argue that the enraged generic hero remains largely unchanged given the hero's function in mythology: to assert Greek or Roman cultural superiority. I will examine this hero type by comparing Homer's depiction of the vengeful Achilles in *The Iliad* with Livy's depiction of the ruthless Romulus in *The Early History of Rome*. I will note how, despite their varying characteristics, both Achilles' and Romulus' domineering characterisations align Greece and Rome with pre-eminent cultural power and authority. I will analyse how Achilles' *menos* ('rage') and Romulus' *furor* ('rage') similarly complement each hero's shared qualities of violence, hybrid characterisation, and obsession with honour. By arguing that these fundamental traits are symptoms of each hero's *menos/furor*, I will argue that ancient Greece and Rome assert authoritative cultural superiority through the generic wrathful hero in mythology. Although my argument will recognise the different purposes of Livy and Homer's texts, this essay will argue that the historicising function of each text demands a generic wrathful hero to enable both ancient Greece and Rome to assert mythologically affirmed cultural superiority.

First, heroic rage must be defined in the ancient context. Homeric heroism is underpinned by *menos*, the overwhelming wrath that is perfectly encapsulated in the character of Achilles whose *menos* opens the *Iliad* (Homer, *Iliad* 1.1). By immediately characterising the hero with immense wrath, Homer suggests that overwhelming rage is fundamental to the hero's identity and foundational to Achilles' militaristic excellence, desire for glory, and *kleos* ('renown'). Similarly, the Roman equivalent of *menos* — *furor* — connotes a similar immense heroic rage¹ and can be observed in the character of Romulus when murdering his brother Remus 'in great anger' (Livy, 1.7). Although Livy's text functions to describe the founding of Rome, Romulus' violence associates a fundamental Roman hero with the renowned intrinsic fury of Achilles to suggest that *menos/furor* is fundamental in the establishment of both Greek and Roman cultural identities. *Menos* underpins the Trojan war as *furor* does the founding of Rome, portraying the repeated use of a generic wrathful hero in Greek and Roman cultures to depict ruthless historical dominance. While Mackay accurately notes that the *Iliad* focuses principally on Achilles' personal story while Livy's text functions to describe Rome's founding, Achilles and Romulus' wrathful characterisation enables each culture to align their

¹ Stocks 2018, 295.

culture's mytho-historical narrative with ruthless, authoritative heroes.² Thus, Johnston's assertion that heroes often share features across myths astutely recognises that the semantic variations between historicising myths do not interfere with the consistent desire for mythology to align Greek and Roman civilisations with dominance and authority.³ Rather, the generic enraged hero consistently embodies these values and aligns each culture with historic ruthless dominance.

This foundational *menos* is imperative to the Greek hero's function of asserting cultural superiority. As aforementioned, Achilles' *menos* sets the tone for not only the Iliad but one's interpretation of the hero Achilles.⁴ Homer's (*Il.* 1.3) description of Achilles, 'raging on high and seething with foam and blood and corpses' conveys the influence of Achilles' *menos* on the Trojan war as it is personified as a lethal force that encompasses nature, battle, and death. While this emphasises Achilles' destructive *menos*, King crucially notes that Achilles' rage is not futile but 'highly functional' in enabling militaristic action and altering the progression of the trudging war.⁵ Therefore, although destructive, Achilles' *menos* is fundamental to the war's progression, suggesting that *menos* not only generically characterises the hero, but dictates the mythic legacy of ancient Greece.

Contrastingly, Livy initially declares that Romulus 'was not equal to open violence' (Livy, 1.4). While this may lead one to believe that Romulus is a more rational, morally upright hero than Achilles, Livy then declares that 'in great anger...and menacing' Romulus kills his brother Remus (Livy, 1.7). The connotations of 'great anger' (Livy, 1.7) undermine Romulus' rational characterisation and expose his underlying heroic *furor*. Despite the enraged conduct of Achilles prompting Roman scorn,⁶ Romulus' violence aligns him with Achilles as Romulus' *furor* has caused similar destruction. Although Stocks argues that such violent conduct undermines Romulus' superiority,⁷ Mackay's assertion more accurately recognises that Livy aligns Romulus with the violent Achilles because Achilles is an exemplar of bravery and war-like skills.⁸ Mackay recognises the hero's generic purpose of asserting the authority of Greece and Rome whose imperialistic structures demanded ruthless heroes. Therefore, Romulus' wrathful legacy will align Rome's founding with the ruthless, unquestionable authority possessed by renowned Achilles. However, Livy's assertion that Romulus was not 'equal to open violence' (Livy, 1.4) questions the clear association of Romulus with Achilles, as it suggests Romulus' *furor* is mitigated by an intrinsic, refined Roman rationality. Therefore, ancient Rome can associate its founding hero and cultural

² MacKay 1957.

³ Johnston 2015.

⁴ MacKay 1957, 15.

⁵ King 1991, 9.

⁶ Stocks 2018, 295.

⁷ Stocks 2018, 297.

⁸ Mackay 1957, 11.

legacy with the ruthless dominance of icon Achilles while asserting Roman cultural superiority through allusion to Romulus' underlying superior rationality.⁹ Thus, the generic association of the hero with destructive rage complements Johnston's notion that the hero must be defined by that which they kill or subdue.¹⁰ Evidently, by characterising both Achilles and Romulus with extreme wrath and murder, we see the generic hero being established upon their murderous fury. This complements the hero's function in myth as the imperial histories of both Greece and Rome can be established upon heroes embodying ruthless dominance.

The hero's generic *menos* also complements the fundamental hybrid characterisation of the hero which functions in myth to bridge the gap between mortal and divine. Achilles' declaration that he descends from 'the lineage of great Zeus' (Hom., *Il.* 21.583), fulfils the generic hero's requirement of divine descent.¹¹ Further, by asserting his divine heritage, Achilles differentiates himself from mortal men based on his divine genealogy. This superior genealogy justifies Homer's construction of the *Iliad* around Achilles as it suggests that Greece's cultural legacy is not only associated with merely militaristic supremacy but Greece's historic connection with the divine realm.¹² Further, Achilles' characterisation in the *Iliad* as 'godlike Achilles' and 'glorious Achilles' (Hom., *Il.* 20.260-363; 23.80) conveys the hero's fundamental divine hybridity.¹³ The adjectives *theoeides* ('godlike') and *phaidimos* ('glorious') suggest that Achilles' violence that exhibits his *menos* is not perceived as merely destructive but indicative of his connection with divinity that must enable these heroic traits of militaristic and physical superiority. Therefore, the violence manifested by Achilles' fundamental *menos* acts as an observable indication of ancient Greece's historical association with the gods. Therefore, the generic hero's *menos* exhibits his divine hybridity, providing a tangible link between ancient Greek history and the divine realm.

This connection between the hero and hybridity creates the template for Roman heroes who are frequently related to the characters from other myths.¹⁴ Although Romulus' genealogy is heroically royal, he is identified by Livy as being reared in the wild by a wolf and facing 'only...wild beasts' to hone his militaristic excellence (Livy, 1.3). Like Achilles, Romulus is torn from the standard of the mortal man and aligned with an animalistic, wild power that justifies his violent conduct. Revell's assertion that Roman myths define Rome by a shared kinship, articulated through the mythic origins of the community astutely recognises that Romulus' animalistic hybridity aligns Rome's founding

⁹ Revell, 2016, 19–40.

¹⁰ Johnston 2015, 293–296.

¹¹ Johnston 2015, 294.

¹² Mackay 1957, 16.

¹³ Diana Burton 2016, 38.

¹⁴ Johnston 2015, 292.

hero with Greece's Achilles to suggest a shared kinship between ancient Greece and Rome.¹⁵ Consequently, this similarly generic hybrid characterisation complements Romulus' foundational *menos* and ensures that Rome's founding hero is aligned with the authority and power of ancient Greece's renowned hybrid hero Achilles.

Likewise, the hero's generic *menos* complements the stereotypical characterisation of the Greco-Roman hero by a love of honour. Despite Romulus and Achilles' heroic purposes differing, each hero's violent desires are employed in a quest for *philotemia* ('love of honour').¹⁶ Achilles' declaration that 'two fates' determine Achilles' life path and that to 'hold out [in Troy] [his] journey home is gone, but [his] glory never dies' conveys Achilles' *philotemia* (Hom., *Il.* 9.14). Evidently, Achilles' willingness to exchange life for glory conveys *philotemia*'s foundational influence over the generic hero as it dictates his violent, sacrificial *menos* and enables his undying legacy.¹⁷ Although Homer (*Il.* 21.375,538) characterises Achilles as the 'destroyer' and the 'city sacker' who 'drove [the Trojans] out of their city', Achilles' destructive actions are employed in his pursuit of honour that demands the defeat of Troy. By recognising Achilles' violence as employed in his quest for honour, we can interpret his *menos* as indicative of Homer's attempt to convey the love of honour underpinning the historic foundations of ancient Greek history. However, while Achilles acts violently in this quest for honour, Nagy crucially recognises that Achilles' anger is not always violent, but initially passive,¹⁸ particularly as he 'withdraws his vital presence' from the battle (Hom., *Il.* 9). Evidently, although Achilles' violent actions are employed in his quest for honour, so is his passivity as he will not engage in battle when it cannot grant him honour. Therefore, while Achilles' *philotemia* is complimented by *menos*, it also forces him to act un-heroically passively in the war (Homer, *Iliad* 9). Through this, we can observe *philotemia* as foundational to the generic wrathful hero type as it is the key determiner in the hero's decision to employ *menos* or passivity.

Contrastingly, Romulus is one of Rome's founding heroes and therefore adopts the role of the 'defender' or even 'creator' of ancient Rome's legacy. However, despite this differing heroic purpose, Romulus only gains this founder hero legacy when fulfilling his 'urge to found a new settlement on the spot where [he] had been...brought up' (Livy, 1.5). Evidently, Romulus' desire to found a city is not a selfless necessity but underpinned by his love of honour as he seeks to found a city in a location of personal significance rather than egalitarian benevolence. However, Romulus kills the king and his brother Remus in order to fulfil his desire for personal honour (Livy, 1.7). Thus, Romulus' willing sacrifice of others in his pursuit of personal honour compliments Achilles' *philotemia* and embodies

¹⁵ Revell 2016, 12.

¹⁶ Burton 2016, 35.

¹⁷ Panayotopolou-Doulaveras 2006, 7.

¹⁸ Nagy 2006, 14.

Paschalis' notion of the epic hero's infatuation with honour demanding sacrificial substitutes and the destruction of others.¹⁹ As Livy declares Romulus and Remus were divided by 'ambition' (Livy, 1.8), Romulus' brutality is connotatively dictated by an overpowering striving for honour that demands sacrificial *furor*. This ambitious pursuit of honour embodies ancient Rome's desire to assert cultural authority through imperialistic superiority to preceding Greece as Romulus' *furor* does not underpin a war, but the founding of the entire Roman Empire.²⁰ Further, as Livy describes Romulus' heroic immortality as 'won by worth to which his own destiny was leading him' (Livy, 1.9) the connotations of 'destiny' suggest that Romulus' heroism was preordained by an intrinsic love of honour that instigates his *furor*. Therefore, the *menos* of the Greek and Roman heroes is not differentiated by the hero's different mythological purposes but unified by its consistent employment during the generic hero's quest to attain honour. Therefore, Achilles' and Romulus' *philotemia* instigates and justifies their *menos* and conveys the Greco-Roman desire to champion historic brutality in pursuit of cultural authority. Evidently, frequent expressions of anger are fundamental components of not only the wrathful hero but the honour-infatuated hero whose fury is always dictated by a desire for personal honour.²¹

Sloterdijk's assertion that the hero and his *menos* constitute an inseparable couple perfectly encapsulates my exploration of the generic hero's fundamental *menos* in Greek and Roman mythology.²² By exploring how the fundamental overwhelming fury of Achilles and Romulus upholds the violent rage, hybrid characterisation, and love of honour possessed by the generic hero, I have argued that the hero is generically wrathful regardless of the specific culture or myth. By recognising the influence of Achilles' renowned legacy on ancient Rome's mythological construction of Romulus, I have argued that the generic enraged hero type is necessary to facilitate ancient Greco-Roman assertions of cultural authority.

¹⁹ Paschalis 2015, 138.

²⁰ Revell 2016, 12.

²¹ Harris 2004, 4.

²² Sloterdijk 2012, 10.

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Curators, Collections, and Cultural Arguments in the Narrative of the Parthenon Marbles

Emily Horne | *History of Greece: Homer to Alexander*

Museums and their collections are integral to the study and communication of knowledge of the ancient world. As institutions primarily concerned with the collection, storage, and display of material culture, museums control how both scholars and the general public think about and interact with material culture.¹ Though museums — particularly those with so-called ‘encyclopaedic’ collections — have historically been viewed as foremost examples of cultural conservation and knowledge sharing, contemporary reflection has increasingly highlighted concerning aspects of these institutions and brought into question the legal and ethical responsibilities regarding the ownership of ancient material culture. This debate, as it relates to the study of ancient Greek materials, has been most publicly prevalent in relation to ownership disputes over marble sculptures and reliefs removed from the Parthenon and the subsequent conservation and display of these materials. Though much of this material is currently displayed in London’s British Museum as part of an extensive collection of ancient Greek artefacts, the Greek government has called for the repatriation of these marbles into the care of Greek institutions, with a purpose-built Acropolis Museum opened in 2009. This decades-spanning international dispute highlights the significant role ownership of ancient material culture plays in establishing contemporary identity, and the power institutions hold over how materials are presented and understood. This essay explores the history of the Parthenon Marbles as culturally significant objects, and investigates the controversies surrounding their location and ownership, thereby illuminating the pivotal impact of curation choices in communicating specific ideas about the ancient world. Additionally, legal and logistical complexities of the proposed repatriation will be explored, and the multifaceted, continued significance of the Parthenon Marbles will be evaluated.

To sufficiently contextualise contemporary understandings of the now segmented Parthenon marbles, the history of these materials as well as plausible theories of their original purpose and symbolism must be explored to establish the basis of their ongoing cultural significance. The materials in question were sculpted marble works from the frieze, metopes, and pediments² of the Classical Athenian temple dedicated to Athena Parthenos³ that originally made up the decorative façade of the Parthenon (Fig. 1), the crown jewel of the Periclean Acropolis building program. The temple, a blend

¹ This paper was initially submitted as a coursework requirement of ANCW20022, undertaken at the University of Melbourne, 2022.

² Smith 1916, 180.

³ Azoulay 2014, 65.

of Ionic and Doric architectural conventions,⁴ was constructed under the leadership of Pericles in the mid-fifth century BCE,⁵ following successful Greek resistance against Persian expansion⁶ and the creation of the Delian League,⁷ and thus visually represents the city's success and rebirth following the sack of Athens during the Greco-Persian conflicts.⁸ Within this structure, the Parthenon marbles, particularly the frieze, worked to represent the glory of Athena Parthenos and the city of which she was patron and reflected Athenian dedication to the divine Greek pantheon in a depiction that has been traditionally argued to be a Panathenaic procession.⁹ In this original context, the Parthenon marbles existed as elements of a larger structure, one that aimed to reflect the ideas and values of Athens during the fifth century BCE and became an iconic symbol of this 'golden age' in Athenian history – a striking visual representation of Classical Greek understandings of their cultural identity within a rapidly changing cosmopolitan period. The Athenian cultural significance originally represented by these works in situ is no longer reflected in their contemporary treatment and display, with the ruins of much of the Athenian Acropolis now fragmented and dispersed across the globe. During the early nineteenth century CE, while Greece was under Ottoman imperial control,¹⁰ the seventh Earl of Elgin visited Athens as part of a larger expedition throughout the Mediterranean, with the stated aim to measure, draw, and mould the ancient ruins remaining on the Acropolis.¹¹ However, following his arrival and under dubious, perhaps only verbal agreements with Turkish authorities in Constantinople¹² Elgin's expedition began to remove original marbles from the site, both those that had fallen from the structure, and those that they deliberately stripped from the building,¹³ exporting them as part of his private collection to the United Kingdom.¹⁴ They were added to the collection housed at the British Museum in London in 1816, following a British Parliamentary investigation into the legality of the Earl's actions, which concluded that he had acted in accordance with British law.¹⁵ The marbles have been on display in London since. This removal from their original context, and their polarising shift in location and ownership has formed the basis of controversies surrounding the remains of the Parthenon marbles and has highlighted a shifting contemporary understanding of museum collections and the power they hold over public perceptions of ancient materials.

⁴ Azoulay 2014, 66.

⁵ Azoulay 2014, 65.

⁶ Root 1985, 104.

⁷ Azoulay 2014, 65.

⁸ Kousser 2009, 263–4.

⁹ Connelly 1996, 55.

¹⁰ John L. Bintliff 2007, 221.

¹¹ Smith 1916, 189.

¹² Smith 1916, 190.

¹³ Smith 1916, 190–1.

¹⁴ Smith 1916, 206.

¹⁵ The British Museum, "The Parthenon Sculptures: Contested objects from the collection".

Within the British Museum, Room 18 serves as the primary home for their collection of Parthenon marbles, and, as part of a larger collection of works from the ancient Mediterranean, is a carefully curated display space open to the public.¹⁶ Room 18, resembling an elongated corridor in footprint, is a high-ceilinged, windowless space with limestone brickwork almost identical in colour to the Parthenon marbles forming the interior walls (Fig. 2) and dark polished marble bordered by Greco-Roman styled mosaic flooring. It is predominantly lit by a frosted glass skylight that makes up the majority of the ceiling, though each work in the gallery is artificially lit to have a warm, golden glow. The marbles in this space, flanked by replica Doric columns, are displayed almost flush to the walls. They are uniformly mounted at or just above a standing visitor's eye-level (Fig. 3), irrespective of their initial placement within the Parthenon. Each end of the gallery holds fragments of marble sculptures from the pediments of the temple, which are arranged to reflect their original positioning (Fig. 4).

The structure and curation of this exhibition predominantly communicates the power and stability of the British Museum as an establishment, with its generous use of space and luxury resources, and presents the Parthenon marbles as ancient masterpieces so at home within their collection that they blend into the walls. This emulation of classical styling extends to the exterior of the museum, designed to replicate conventions of Ionic and Roman architecture (Fig. 5), and works to visually assert the British Museum as a historical authority. This assertion suggested in the British Museum's curatorial choices is again reflected in its statements regarding the Parthenon marbles, materials it considers to be part of a 'contested collection'. In a digital statement available on their website, the British Museum reaffirms the legality of Elgin's actions in Athens, the legitimacy of ownership claims regarding the Parthenon marbles by the Trustees of the British Museum and the British Parliament, and the importance of displaying the marbles within an encyclopaedic collection as an "integral part" of "a unique resource to explore the richness, diversity and complexity of all human history, our shared humanity".¹⁷ This position, in support of the marbles remaining in the museum collection, has permeated beyond archaeological and scholarly circles, and, due to the role of the British Parliament as pseudo-owners of the collection, has been highly politicised. Challis has argued that as the marbles were received by the British Museum in the historical context of post-Napoleonic Europe,¹⁸ they were co-opted as national symbols by a British public struggling to ascertain their collective identity in a rapidly modernising world,¹⁹ who clung to notions of white European ancient

¹⁶ All analysis of British Museum displays and spaces are informed by Google Arts and Culture: British Museum, London, United Kingdom.

¹⁷ The British Museum, "The Parthenon Sculptures: Contested objects from the collection".

¹⁸ Challis 2006, 33.

¹⁹ Challis 2006, 34.

inheritance prevalent in Classical Studies at the time.²⁰ This presentation of the Parthenon marbles in the British Museum works to solidify public understanding of these materials within these Western Eurocentric contexts, and reinforces their claim to these objects through specific curatorial choices designed to communicate establishment, expertise, and authority.

The Acropolis Museum in Athens, opened to the public in 2009, presents a striking contrast in their curation and presentation of ancient materials in comparison to the British Museum. The museum uses display spaces to consciously highlight both its proximity to the Parthenon and ongoing debates over repatriation of materials. The marbles in the Acropolis Museum collection reside in a highly modernised gallery, the interior of which echoes the architecture of the Parthenon in a contemporary format (Fig. 6), featuring a central concrete core structure²¹ surrounded by stainless steel columns interspaced with vaulted displays emulating the design of the ancient temple (Figs. 1 and 7). This emulation continues through the curation of the frieze and metope segments housed in the gallery, which are, respectively, mounted onto the central core and between the columns of the gallery, in a continuous wraparound display, highlighting the narrative aspect of these materials as a collective (Fig. 8). In addition to the genuine marbles on display in this gallery, stark white plaster casts of fragments from the Parthenon held in other collections — most notably the British Museum's collection — are interspersed within the exhibition (Fig. 9), conspicuously juxtaposed against the ancient materials they neighbour, serving as a poignant reminder of the contested ownership of the Parthenon marbles. In addition to these specific curation choices, the Acropolis Museum takes full advantage of their proximity to the Acropolis in their display of materials from the Parthenon with floor-to-ceiling glass making up all four walls of the gallery space, creating an unobstructed view of the ancient ruins from the north side of the gallery and allowing much of the exhibition to be naturally lit (Fig. 10). This modern departure from traditional approaches to displaying ancient materials is highly persuasive in supporting Greek claims to the Parthenon marbles — which the Acropolis Museum explicitly considers to have been the victim of “systematic looting”²² — and consciously encourages visitors to draw connections between the ancient and contemporary sites. The €130 million purpose-built facility firmly puts to rest common concerns regarding the safety and conservation of materials should they be repatriated,²³ and presents a sleek, modern, and innovative alternative to orthodox presentations of similar works. Comprehensively, the Acropolis Museum highlights the power of strategic curation in this display, through their seamless integration of ancient materials with a contemporary perspective.

²⁰ Challis 2006, 38.

²¹ The Acropolis Museum, “The Museum Building”.

²² The Acropolis Museum, “Museum History”.

²³ Green 2017, 7.

Within both the British Museum and Acropolis Museum's displays of materials from the Parthenon the elephant in the room is the looming question of the potential repatriation of the British Museum's collection of marbles. Both institutions have online statements to the matter which present conflicting recounts of the history of the marbles, the contemporary status of the conversation surrounding repatriation, and each institution's outlook on the subject. The British Museum's website affirms the legality of their claim to the marbles and uses its statement to imply the impossibility of true repatriation to the site of the Parthenon. It also proposes the argument that Greek nationalism following independence was responsible for driving repatriation requests. This suggestion, coupled with the museum's allusion to the Greek government's removal of certain materials from the Acropolis — claiming it as an attempt to “return the site to a state that reflected Greece's idealised 'Classical' past”²⁴ — aligns with rhetoric put forward by executives of other ‘encyclopaedic’ museums in response to repatriation, notably James Cuno of the J. Paul Getty Trust. In the article ‘Culture War: The Case Against Repatriating Museum Artifacts’, Cuno argues that requests for repatriation, including those regarding the Parthenon marbles, promote “a nationalist concept of cultural identity”,²⁵ and foster political climates that could “produce dangerous, often violent xenophobia”.²⁶ Although not a statement from the British Museum, Cuno's article concisely encapsulates the desire of such institutions to be seen as geopolitically neutral and exempt from accusations of upholding the ideals of any particular nation, including those linked to colonialism, by virtue of their publicly accessible collections.²⁷ These theories are contested by ideas presented by the Acropolis Museum, which although not directly addressing the issue of repatriation recount two centuries of destruction on the Athenian Acropolis under Ottoman rule,²⁸ and argue that the objects removed from the site by Lord Elgin and his team were acquired illegally.²⁹ Though not explicitly calling for the repatriation of these materials, these testimonies, alongside the clear reservation of space within the Acropolis Museum's galleries for the marbles and previous calls from Greek authorities for the marbles' repatriation,³⁰ suggest pointed messaging in the Acropolis Museum's public statements. When examined from a legal precedent, this issue becomes further complicated, as explored by John Henry Merryman in the mid-1980s under the 1970 UNESCO Convention,³¹ still considered a defining legislative guideline in these matters. The legal case for the marbles' return to Athens is considered

²⁴ The British Museum, “The Parthenon Sculptures: Contested objects from the collection”.

²⁵ Cuno 2014, 120.

²⁶ Cuno 2014, 122.

²⁷ Cuno 2014, 129.

²⁸ The Acropolis Museum, “Museum History”.

²⁹ The Acropolis Museum, “Museum History”.

³⁰ Merryman 1985, 1900.

³¹ Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, cited in Merryman 1985, 1892.

weak on legal precedent,³² while calls for repatriation supported by moral arguments may be more significant and forceful. This multifaceted and constantly developing question in relation to these materials highlights their enduring global significance and indicates the international levels of investment into understanding aspects of the ancient world, as well as the changing nature of this area of study in the contemporary era.

The Parthenon marbles reflect a broad cross section of current understandings of the ancient world and have come to communicate both their original context and the storied history of classical and ancient world studies as scholarly disciplines. They uniquely highlight the power of museum curation in assigning narrative to historical materials and demonstrate changing approaches to the display and human interaction with these materials as shared understandings of them develop. Though repatriation of these materials to their original location is unlikely at this stage, given legal and political complexities, the prevalence and persistent nature of the debate surrounding the matter reflects a shifting rhetoric within archaeological and historical disciplines, and is part of an overwhelming movement towards the active decolonisation of museum spaces. Most significantly, contemporary understandings of the Parthenon marbles reflect the ongoing significance of Classical Greece in modern cultures, emphasising the extent to which this period is considered to have an ongoing, developing legacy.

Figures

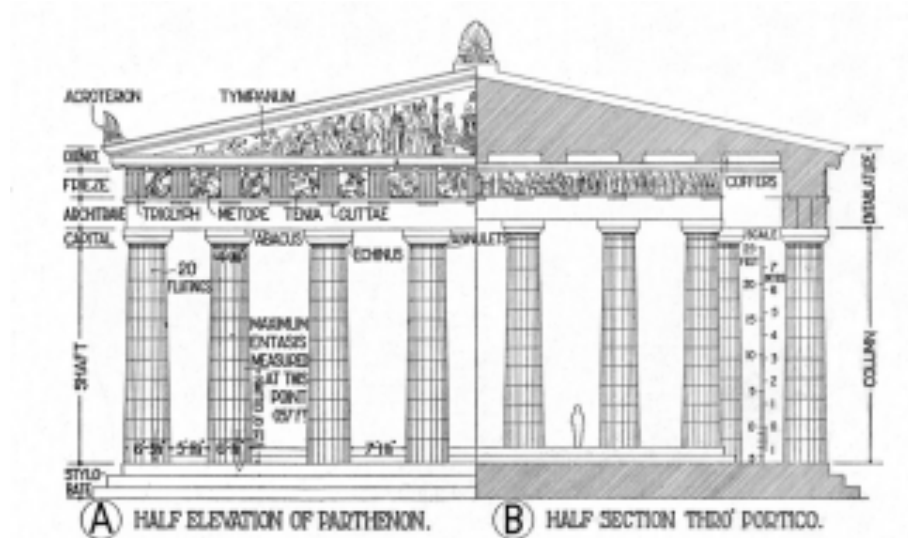


Figure 1. Iktinos, Kallikrates. Parthenon [a] Half Elevation; [b] Half Section through Portico. 447–438 B.C.E. Illustration from: Fletcher, B.1921, 79ab.

³² Merryman 1985, 1922.



Figure 2. Sections of the Parthenon frieze, Interior of Room 18, British Museum, London, United Kingdom. Accessed via Google Arts and Culture, 2022. © 2022 Google.

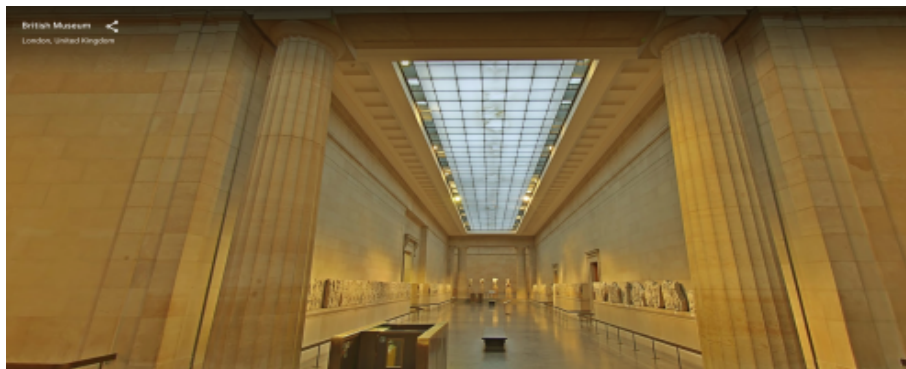


Figure 3. Parthenon Gallery, viewed facing south-eastern wing, Interior of Room 18, British Museum, London, United Kingdom. Accessed via Google Arts and Culture, 2022. © 2022 Google.

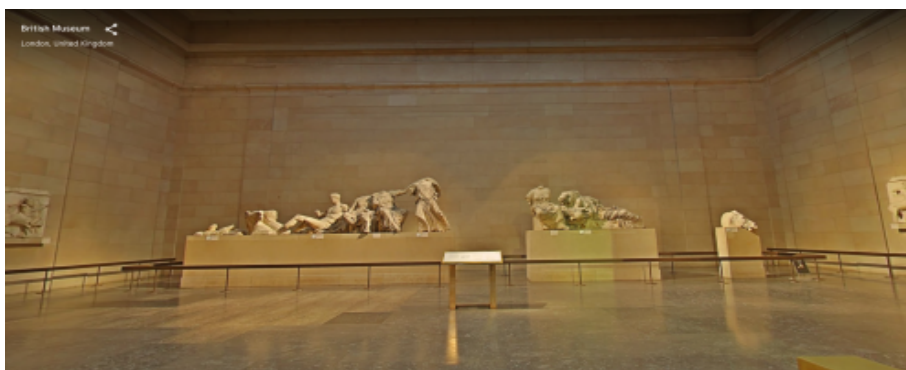


Figure 4. Sculptures from the pediments of the Parthenon, Interior of Room 18, British Museum, London, United Kingdom. Accessed via Google Arts and Culture, 2022. © 2022 Google.



Figure 5. Exterior of the British Museum, London, United Kingdom. Smirke, Robert, English, 1780-1867. British Museum. 1824-1847. © 2022 Google.



Figure 6. Various marbles and casts on display, 3rd floor Parthenon Gallery, Acropolis Museum, Athens, Greece. Accessed via Google Arts and Culture, 2022. © 2022 Google.

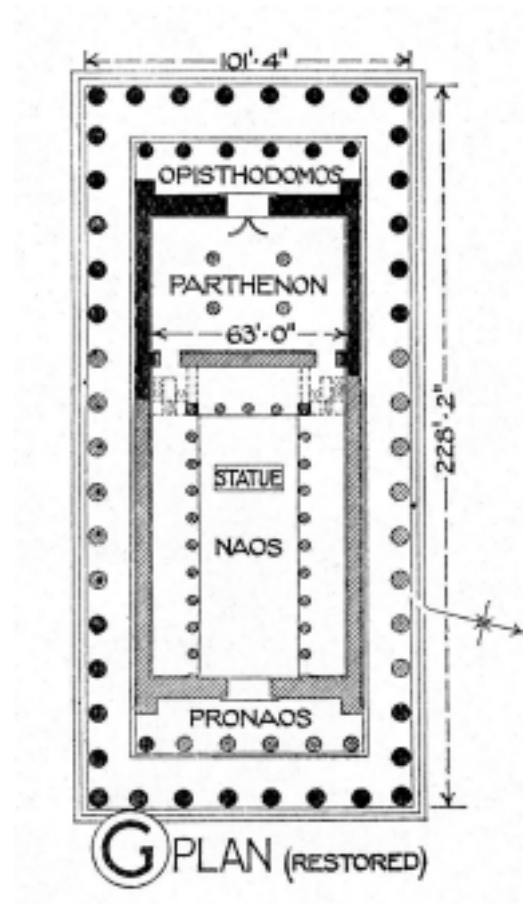


Figure 7. Iktinos, Kallikrates. Parthenon Plan (Restored). 447-438 B.C.E.
Illustration from: Fletcher, B. 1921, 87g.

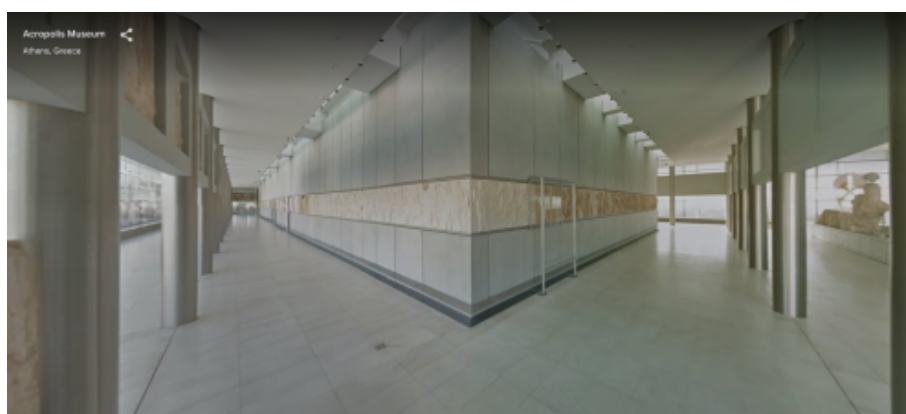


Figure 8. Sections of marble and cast frieze, 3rd Floor Parthenon Gallery, Acropolis Museum, Athens, Greece. Accessed via Google Arts and Culture, 2022. © 2022 Google.



Figure 9. Marble and cast metopes, 3rd Floor Parthenon Gallery, Acropolis Museum, Athens, Greece. Accessed via Google Arts and Culture, 2022. © 2022 Google.



Figure 10. View of the Acropolis from the Parthenon Gallery, 3rd Floor Parthenon Gallery, Acropolis Museum, Athens, Greece. Accessed via Google Arts and Culture, 2022. © 2022 Google.

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You Are a Roman Slave-Owner. Outline Your Thinking Re: Freeing One of Your Slaves

Erica Hore | *The Social History of the Roman World*

It was a warm afternoon, on the twelfth of the month Iunius, when I, Gaius Aemilius Paullus Merula, was interrupted by a knock.¹ I frowned. I was a busy man and didn't have time for unscheduled arrangements. Publius Cornelius Verres and his slaves had just left after a lengthy business discussion, and I had an appointment with Lucius Fabius Buteo in ten minutes to discuss a possible marriage contract between my daughter, Aemilia, and Lucius's son.² The golden ring on my left little finger caught the light as I drummed my fingers on the table in annoyance (Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 33.8).

I sighed. 'Enter.'

Through the doorway walked Philos, one of my most reliable slaves.³ A little of my anticipated annoyance dissipated at the sight of the man.⁴

'I am busy, Philos. Quickly, what is it? This must be important.'

Philos ducked his head politely, but his eyes darted away from my gaze. He swallowed and cleared his throat. 'Master, for nine years and ten months I have dutifully and reliably served you. In that time you have granted me *peculium* and I come to you today to ask for my freedom.'⁵

I sat back. I was not expecting this. I took in Philos—tall, with dark olive skin, warm brown eyes, and muscular arms from years of kneading and baking bread—he was certainly one of my more handsome slaves.⁶ I hadn't realised that Philos had, or would, acquire his *peculium* this quickly.⁷ Another knock sounded and a small boy poked his head around the doorway and announced there was five minutes before my next appointment.⁸ I couldn't deal with this now—Philos could wait.⁹

'I acknowledge this request, Philos. But I do not grant it at this point in time.' Some of the confidence and hope I had seen in Philos' eyes died. But ever the good slave, Philos only nodded.

¹ See Parkin and Pomeroy 2007, 158 for the Roman dating system.

² Wallace-Hadrill 1989, 65; Wiedemann 1985, 167.

³ Berger 1953, 471; Wiedemann 1985, 165.

⁴ Falx and Toner 2014, 32; Parkin and Pomeroy 2007, 154.

⁵ Treggiari 1969, 12; Berger 1953, 624; Falx and Toner 2014, 168.

⁶ Wiedemann 1985, 167.

⁷ Bradley 1984, 107.

⁸ See Joshel 2010, 179–81 for menial jobs, and 184–5 in the sense that Gaius has a lot of slaves to do menial tasks and to show off his wealth.

⁹ Bradley 1984, 26.

‘Yes, Master. Of course.’ I almost felt bad for the slave as he walked out, shoulders only slightly slumped—Philos would never have stooped to bad posture, it was unbecoming. I had made sure that all of my client-facing slaves had an impeccable appearance. It did not do well to have unseemly slaves.¹⁰ I looked at the list of appointments for the week that Felix, another slave, had recorded for me. In between meetings and a hunting expedition, I wasn’t sure when I would even have time to think about Philos’s manumission, but I knew I had to address it soon (Pliny the Younger, *Epistles* 1.6).¹¹

A week later, I sat in the *tablinum* at my grand wooden desk, idly twiddling my stylus.¹² I looked down at the blank wax tablet, pondering.¹³ Out of my current slaves I had become attached to a select few, of which Philos was one. I needed to write out a list of benefits and disadvantages of freeing Philos, though ultimately I knew what decision I’d come to.

The first reason as to why I would free Philos was because he had shown exceptional *fides*.¹⁴ He always began baking well before dawn to ensure that my shop was one of the first to open.¹⁵ The scent of freshly baked bread was delightful to wake up to and the scent must waft through the streets of Rome, enticing early risers, as there were always customers just after sunrise. He made the best bread within ten blocks and he always remembered the names of regular customers. Sometimes during the morning rush when I would go out to inspect the shop, I would forget a client’s name—not because I was forgetful, but because I had so many—and Philos would be there immediately to provide the correct name.¹⁶ He always did his best to make me look good. Unlike some of my other slaves, I’d never had any trouble with him. I knew of other owners who had to regularly tag their slaves with metal collars to dissuade them from escaping, though I admit I myself have done that a few times.¹⁷ However, I am glad I never tattooed or branded my slaves. I found the marks distasteful and thought they irreparably ruined the view.¹⁸ And besides, Philos’s freedom was more than overdue. Once, in preparation for a procession of the horsemen, my horse had spooked out the front of the *domus*. Were it not for Philos’s quick thinking and strong arms when he wrenched me out of the way, I very well may have been killed (Suetonius, *Augustus* 38.3).

¹⁰ Parkin and Pomeroy 2007, 154.

¹¹ Bragova 2016, 46–7.

¹² Wallace–Hadriell 1989, 63.

¹³ Montague 1890, 331.

¹⁴ Wiedemann 1985, 169; Berger 1953, 471.

¹⁵ Holleran 2017, 144; Berger 1953, 728.

¹⁶ Parkin and Pomeroy 2007, 157.

¹⁷ Dressel 1899; British Museum 1975,0902.6.

¹⁸ British Museum 1975,0902.6.

Not only had he been reliable in service, but over the years he had become valuable to me, and my family, as a friend.¹⁹ When I first bought him, I named him Philos—“friend”—to be ironic, but now he had indeed become a friend, and I sometimes found it hard to see him as one of the *instrumenta vocalia*.²⁰ For Aemilia’s birthday one year, without being asked, Philos made her an egg sponge.²¹ Her eyes lit up like a candle and she devoured it in a most unladylike fashion, leaving nothing but crumbs for the rest of us.

Every now and then I do worry about particular slaves who detest me, and whether or not they might try to harm me—though the punishment was severe if they were to try—but I never once felt Philos as a threat (Dio Chrysostom, *Orations* 10.12).²² Nor do I fear him spreading rumours about me because of our amicable relationship.²³ I was glad I never had to collar or brand Philos. Not only would it have marred his good looks, but under the Agustan law, *Lex Aelia Sentia*, he would not have been allowed to become a full citizen and help me later on in life as a client (Ulpian, *The Rules of Ulpian* 1.1).²⁴

Though I would miss Philos around the *domus*, being able to talk to him on a social standing closer to my own was an entertaining thought. We wouldn’t be equals by any means, but we would be closer than we currently were.²⁵

If I freed Philos, he would become my client. This was one of the more promising outcomes of his manumission. Not only did it add to my image, but I enjoyed being followed by clients pandering for my attention and asking for my opinions. Adding Philos to my clients would give me a larger client base than Marcus Valerius Mergus, and I looked forward to arriving at the baths with dozens of clients purely to show off that I had more than him (Gaius, *Institutes* 1.9.52).²⁶ By freeing Philos, I would gain a worthy, honest, already well-established client, and reap the benefits from his income. After all, it is because I have owned him for so long that I know he will continue to earn well, and for that surety of mind I didn’t mind keeping him for as long as I had; Philos had been a good source of extra income.²⁷ Though Philos had given me more than nine years of service, he wasn’t necessarily entitled to freedom.²⁸ It was still up to my discretion. But the revenue he could bring in was tantalising. In the agreements once I became his patron, I could make Philos display my name prominently, or even add a symbol on his breadstamp, to make sure that everyone who went to

¹⁹ Treggiari 1969, 15.

²⁰ Parkin and Pomeroy 2007, 159; Joshel 2010, 94, 112.

²¹ Archaeological Institute of America 2001; Evans 1990, 61.

²² Bradley 1984, 30; Parkin and Pomeroy 2007, 154; Joshel 2010, 121; Mouritsen 2011, 40.

²³ Falx and Toner 2014, 183.

²⁴ Falx and Toner 2014, 168, 180.

²⁵ Treggiari 1969, 12; Johnson and Dandeker 1989, 221.

²⁶ Treggiari 1969, 14; Parkin and Pomeroy 2007, 196.

²⁷ Treggiari 1969, 13.

²⁸ Falx and Toner 2014, 169.

him would know exactly who was funding him. And if Philos happened to pass away, all his property would return to me.²⁹ I would also make sure he would work for me for at least three days a week for five years.³⁰ The other benefit of manumitting Philos *vindicta* was that I would be alive to reap those economic benefits, unlike testamentary manumission, where he would be freed after my death—if I wrote it expressly of course. Philos would also have to support me in court and could not testify against me.³¹ He would be bound to me through *obsequiem* after all.³² And should I happen to die before him, he can attend my funeral— perhaps even bake bread for it. A funeral with loaves, that would certainly be something.³³

I'd freed slaves in the past and was proud of the base I'd set up for them, and I'd be more than happy, even happier in some cases, to give that same support to Philos.³⁴ I had no qualms pledging my help to him.³⁵ As I was wanting to free Philos *inter amicos* I wouldn't have to worry that freeing him in my lifetime would affect the slaves I wanted to free after my death (Gaius, *Inst.* 1.7.42-5).³⁶ I would free him informally and then go through the formal process at a later date to make sure he didn't become a Junian Latin.³⁷ Philos was thirteen years younger than I, and I wanted to make sure he would become a full citizen (Gaius, *Inst.* 1.9.15-17).³⁸ I suppose freeing him could be a form of euergetism, a giving back to the people.³⁹ Through Philos, I could be the one to spread his talents, and give the people excellent bread. His bread always was too good for that of a slave (Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares* 16.16). Of course I would still receive my bread, and he would be working for me, but it was the ideal that mattered more.⁴⁰

Of course I don't just give this kindness to all my slaves. They did have to earn it after all. Once I had a slave from Gaul, who I simply named Gallicus (Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 8.21).⁴¹ He was a horrid slave. He was disobedient, terrible at his job—accounting—and one of the most fickle, unreliable slaves I've ever had the misfortune to own.⁴² He even tried to run away—twice. I collared him for that.⁴³ Were he still here, barely hanging on to his position, I would never have freed him. He would have been given to Aemilia to serve, and I would have made it so that he would be a slave his

²⁹ Joshel 2010, 46.

³⁰ Mouritsen 2011, 182.

³¹ Mouritsen 2011, 40.

³² Wallace-Hadrill 1989, 67, 76; Berger 1953, 605.

³³ Treggiari 1969, 14.

³⁴ Falx and Toner 2014, 176–7.

³⁵ Wallace-Hadrill 1989, 64.

³⁶ Treggiari 1969, 15; Falx and Toner 2014, 167.

³⁷ Roth 2010, 107.

³⁸ Parkin and Pomeroy 2007, 193; Falx and Toner 2014, 169; Wiedemann 1985, 163; Mouritsen 2011, 150.

³⁹ Garnsey and Woolf 1989, 154.

⁴⁰ Wiedemann 1985, 164.

⁴¹ Joshel 2010, 94.

⁴² Wiedemann 1985, 165; Joshel 2010, 181.

⁴³ Joshel 2010, 120.

whole life, never to be manumitted. And to top it all off, and I cannot believe I bought him in the first place, despite his ugliness. But I got tired of him, so I sent him to the mines.

But even with miscreants like Gallicus, I always tried to be fair in my punishments. After all, though it was healthy to rule with a little fear, I found my slaves were more receptive to encouragement and good treatment (Seneca the Younger, *De Clementia* 1.18.2). And really, freeing Philos would be the grandest favour and reward I could possibly give him, so naturally he'd be eternally grateful to me, and would be happy to pay me back by way of handing over some of his profits.⁴⁴ By manumitting *inter vivos*, he would walk away with the *peculium* I had given him, unless I expressed otherwise.⁴⁵ But he had worked hard, so he did deserve it.⁴⁶ And with the gains he was sure to make, I'm certain Philos would earn enough to commission a grand tomb on which he would dedicate some words to what a benevolent master and generous patron I was.⁴⁷ My name would live on forever in stone. And if he did not, I'm sure I could make that a condition as his patron.

If I were to free Philos, I'd be down a good slave who attended me well and made me look important, but I could always buy another.⁴⁸ But who could I replace him with?⁴⁹ I had spent years fostering this relationship, and hundreds of sesterces on his upkeep. I didn't particularly want to find another when it seemed so many slaves seemed to drop dead upon arrival (Pliny the Younger, *Epistles* 8.16). There was also the manumission tax, but I could make Philos pay that back as part of his obligations to me (Petronius, *Satyricon* 71).⁵⁰

I knew it was right and proper to reward Philos with his freedom, but the thought of him leaving still left me wanting to cling onto him a little longer.⁵¹ I could make him a Junius Latin and keep him in limbo, I wouldn't really lose anything.⁵² But then he would not be a free citizen, and I did wish that for him. No, I should free him. I thought of the benefits, a trustworthy client, the great potential for large economic gains, and of course the revenue that would pour in.⁵³

I smiled to myself. *Carry yourself well, my friend*, I thought. *I look forward to the grand opening.*

All I had to do now was tell him.

⁴⁴ Wiedemann 1985, 163; Joshel 2010, 44.

⁴⁵ Roth 2010, 96–7.

⁴⁶ Wiedemann 1985, 164.

⁴⁷ Wiedemann 1985, 163; Roth 2010, 91–2; Peterson 2003, 230–1.

⁴⁸ British Museum 1975,0902.6; Falx and Toner (2014) 172.

⁴⁹ Parkin and Pomeroy 2007, 158.

⁵⁰ Bradley 1984, 106.

⁵¹ Falx and Toner 2014, 168.

⁵² Roth 2010, 117–18.

⁵³ Mouritsen 2011, 142. Though Gaius would like to think he is freeing Philos for benevolent and deserved reasons, his decision to manumit him is ultimately propelled by self-interest.

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The Farmer and His Coin: The Problem of Monetisation in Ptolemaic Egypt

Jeremy Ho | *The Age of Alexander the Great*

Ptolemy I established his Kingdom in Egypt in 305 BCE, beginning a dynasty that would outlast the rest of the Hellenic Kingdoms. This period oversaw the immigration of tens of thousands of Greek settlers and the reformation of the state bureaucracy, allowing the Ptolemies to draw vast amounts of tax revenues from the Egyptian population.¹ Shortly after proclaiming himself king of Egypt, Ptolemy I introduced a closed economic system and begun minting silver coins for the state. His successors expanded on this by introducing new bronze coinage in denominations representing up to the value of one drachma which eventually became the primary coin for tax payments, virtually replacing silver coinage despite the lower metallic value.² This process of monetisation is often credited for the wealth of the Ptolemaic state.³

Early literature from Michael Rostovtzeff and Moses Finley concluded from papyri sources that the Ptolemaic kingdom was largely monetised and exerted a tight control over the economy.⁴ The archetypal image was that of enlightened Greek settlers handing down free and democratic institutions of the city state to the centralised and bureaucratic organisation of Oriental Egyptians, such as a coin-based economic system. This view has been challenged by recent studies from Sitta von Reden, Christel Fischer-Bovet, and Joseph Manning, all of whom presented a more nuanced view of the Ptolemaic impact on monetisation. Von Reden and Christel Fischer-Bovet argued that the economy experienced a slow and dynamic process of gradual monetisation.⁵ On a similar note, Manning accords that a purposeful monetary policy was enacted but splits the economy into three sectors – private, public, and royal – with the public economy being the most monetised.⁶ Nevertheless, the assumption of a rapid and intentional large-scale monetisation is flawed. In particular, it greatly exaggerated the evidence provided by papyri and tended to study the Ptolemaic period in isolation.

Therefore, this essay will argue that the extent of monetisation of the Ptolemaic economy is smaller than suggested by the existing literature, and that the economy was never fully nor gradually

¹ Muhs 2005, 1, 6–7, 231; von Reden 2022, 70–71; Manning 2011, 299.

² von Reden 2016, 4.

³ Schaps (2004, 3–4) defines monetisation as the use of coinage as payment or accounting in debit and credit.

⁴ Rostovtzeff 1920, 162–168; Rostovtzeff 1936, 237–239; Finley 1974, 29, 148, 181.

⁵ von Reden 2022, 69–70, 136; Lorber 2021, 210–213

⁶ Manning 2010, 127–138; Manning 2011, 299–303.

monetised. It will apply numismatic evidence and papyri price information to justify the existence of a significant barter economy and the absence large-scale monetisation. Next, it will demonstrate the limited utility of coinage by examining the origins and conditions for its development and literary sources on the cultural attitudes of agricultural workers towards money.

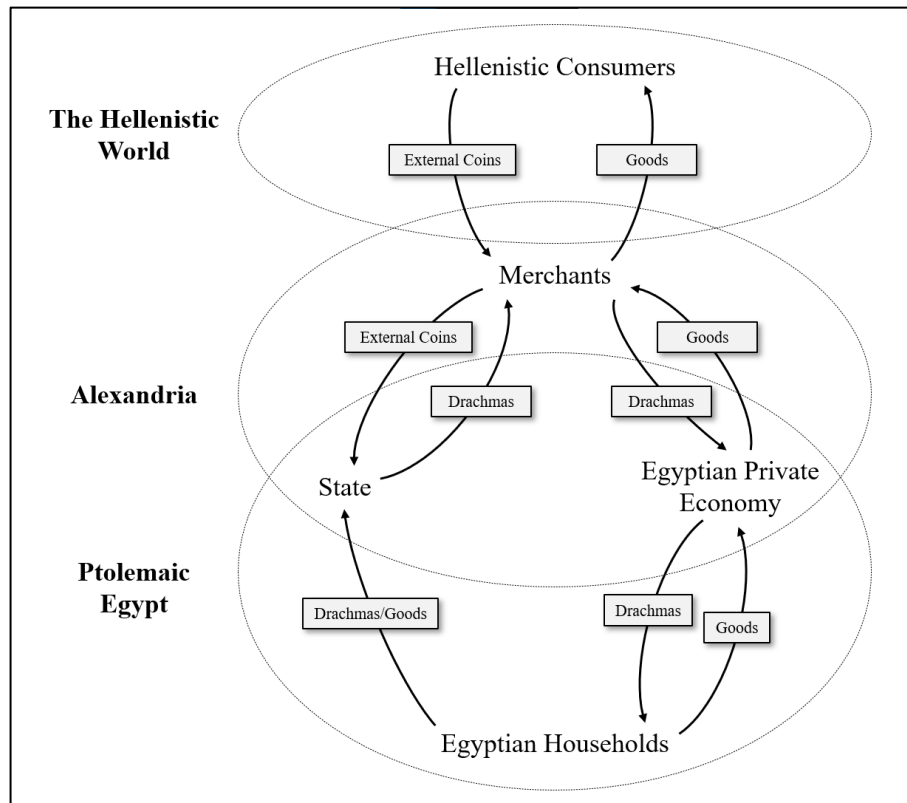


Figure 1. Flow of Money in Ptolemaic Egypt. Figure created by the author.

Money and Economy: The Lack of a Monetisation Policy

This section will demonstrate that the Ptolemaic economy was never fully monetised nor gradually became monetised. Greek mints were primarily constructed to distribute coins within a narrow geographic proximity, particularly to support military campaigns by supplying soldiers with regular wages.⁷ Most uncovered Ptolemaic mints are positioned along the coasts of the Eastern Mediterranean, while none have yet been found in Upper Egypt.⁸ Ptolemaic coin hoards discovered in Lagid and Thonis-Heracleion strongly suggest that the mints were constructed to pay troops garrisoned in these areas.⁹ Since most Egyptians resided in the Nile Delta and Valley (Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History* 1.31-3), material evidence suggests that there was little focus on supplying the Egyptian population with coins. Moreover, the incessant warfare of this period would have presented great financial challenges to the Ptolemaic state (Polybius, *History* 5.88.5, 5.88.7,

⁷ van Alfen 2022, 301–303; von Reden 2022, 128, 301, 304–305; Austin 1986, 464–465.

⁸ The geographical distribution of Ptolemaic mints can be seen in van Alfen and Gruber (2022).

⁹ Chryssanthaki 2002, 168–169; Lorber 2007; Lorber 2021, 219–220.

5.89.8, 22.7.4, 22.9.1-4, 24.6.1, 24.6.3; Plutarch, *Democracy* 17.1; Strabo, *Geography* 10.4.11, 13.1.26, 16.2.31).¹⁰ The theory of the tax state suggests that sophisticated monetary policies were enacted as a response to meet demands in military expenditure.¹¹ Except for the Great Thebaid Revolt of 205–196 BCE, Egyptians did not pose a military threat for the majority of Ptolemaic rule (*P.Köln.* 7.313).¹² Therefore, monetisation seems to be a by-product of the Ptolemaic state's need to fund its military campaigns abroad, rather than for large-scale adoption within the domestic economy.

Papyri sources provide a plenitude of evidence on taxes, loans, and wage payments transacted in cash (*P.Col.* 480; *P.Hib.* 1.102; *PSI.* 599).¹³ Despite some taxes being paid with a mix of payment in kind and cash, it seems that Egyptians had to adopt coinage if they wanted to engage fully in the economy or to receive payment for their labour.¹⁴ To illustrate, a circular effect would have occurred when, as the state continues to mint coins for military expenditure, more coins are introduced into the economy, leading to greater use of coins and an increase in monetisation. In addition, there are vast amounts of papyri that recorded everyday transactions performed in cash including gifts, dowries, bank credit, fines, and payments in dispute resolution (*P.Amh.* 31; *P.Lond.* 2017; *P.Rev.Col.* 38-56; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59031; *P.Col.* 480; *P.Tebt.* 104).¹⁵ However, a quantitative study of leases in Roman Egypt between the first and seventh centuries CE revealed that coinage was unable to supplant payments in kind.¹⁶ Levels of monetisation fluctuated greatly between the first and seventh centuries, with no discernible trend that suggested a gradual increase in monetisation.¹⁷ The dynamic changes in monetisation in Roman Egypt indicates that tax payments in cash in Ptolemaic Egypt would have had marginal impacts on the level of monetisation.

Furthermore, the drachma does not meet one of the most important conditions for a currency to be used as a trustworthy media of exchange: price stability. On closer examination of papyri records, prices seem completely arbitrary and suggest high inflation rates. In the mid to late third century BCE, women's dresses ranged from 200 to 700 drachmas (220–200 BCE), while a necklet and a muslin were valued at 1200 drachmas (225–200 BCE), a donkey was valued at twenty drachmas (244–243 BCE) and a child slave at fifty drachmas (259 BCE). Price equivalents become more irrational when we consider that a house was valued at one-hundred drachmas (209 BCE) while another was built for twenty drachmas (254 BCE; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59003; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59499; *P.Enteux.* 83; *P.Hib.* 1.73;

¹⁰ Chaniotis 2011, 122–137.

¹¹ Schumpeter 1954, 8–16.

¹² Muhs 2016, 222.

¹³ Muhs 2005, 23–127.

¹⁴ Svizzerro and Tisdell 2019, 8.

¹⁵ Muir 2009, 80-81; Muhs 2016, 220–222.

¹⁶ van Minnen 2008, 230.

¹⁷ van Minnen 2008, 229–234.

P.Hib. 1.102; *P.Tebt.* 3.1.761; *PSI.* 599; *SB.* 6.9068; *SB.* 16.12823; *SB.* 26.16635; *W.Chr.* 224a.). Even after accounting for geographic price differences, it seems unreasonable that a women's dress can be exchanged for at least two houses, or a child slave for a house, or a necklet and a muslin for twelve houses. The drachma proceeded to experience a dramatic devaluation as conversion rates between bronze and silver coins went from 1:10 in middle of the third century to 1:600 in the beginning of the second century, suggesting a compounded annual inflation rate of around 8% (*P.Col.* 270; *P.Mich.* inv.3098; *P.Tebt.* 1.11; *P.Tebt.* 1.109; *P.Tebt.* 1.110; *P.Tebt.* 3.1.796).¹⁸ In the early part of the second century, a sheep was valued at 600 drachmas (183 BCE) and a sweater at sixty drachmas (185 BCE). Later in the century, the price of a women's tunic rose to as high as 4,000 drachmas (113 BCE), a cloak at 3,000 drachmas (135 BCE), a piece of cloth at 200 drachmas (150–100 BCE; *P.Fay.* 12; *P.Hib.* 1.73; *P.Hib.* 1.102; *P.Mich.* inv.7022; *P.Oxy.* 1628; *P.Tebt.* 1.46; *P.Tebt.* 3.1.793; *P.Tebt.* 3.1.797; *P.Tebt.* 3.1.802; *P.Tebt.* 4.1096; *UPZ.* 1.121).¹⁹

This brief overview of prices equivalents allows one to deduce that the pricing of goods across the Ptolemaic period was arbitrary and experienced high inflation rates. These goods experienced dramatic shifts in value and there were no fixed equivalencies between different categories of goods. Such disproportionate and fluid price valuations seem to fit the characteristics of a barter economy.²⁰ Furthermore, economic theory indicates that high inflation rates reduce the wealth of lower classes and incentivises the switch to a barter economy.²¹ If the economy did in fact monetise, inconsistent prices and valuations should not have been observed as it would hinder commercial activity. Therefore, it is more likely that the economy remained a barter economy and coinage was treated as another commodity, its value haggled upon during transactions.

So far, we have demonstrated that the Ptolemaic economy could not have been fully nor gradually monetised due to an absence of a clear monetisation policy and a stable currency with discernible price equivalencies. Papyri are excellent primary sources, but they rarely provide us the full picture of a society, especially when a large portions of comes from literate Greek-speaking populations. When studied in isolation, it could lead us towards false assumptions and easy conclusions.

¹⁸ Milne 1929, 152; Rostovtzeff 1936, 243; von Reden 2016, 5. Inflation rate = $[(FV/PV)^{1/n}] - 1$. FV=500, PV=10, n=50 years. Sustained inflation rates higher than 2% would have adverse impacts to the economy and cause currencies to become devalued.

¹⁹ Rostovtzeff 1936, 244.

²⁰ Samuel 1984, 203–206.

²¹ Easterly and Fischer 2001, 160–178.

Money and Farming: The Role of Coinage for Egyptian Peasants

Ptolemaic Egypt had over eighteen thousand important villages and cities, but the absence of agorae highlights the limited impact of coins in the life of Egyptian peasants (Diod. *Lib.* 1.31).²² Agorae were first mentioned in the *Iliad* as a place of assembly, then during the archaic period as both a political centre and a market (Homer, *Iliad* 497-508).²³ Miller observed that the development of coinage followed closely the development of agorae, where enterprising individuals sought out convenient methods to sell their goods to easily accessible customers.²⁴ Over time, coins became a necessary tool to perform complex transactions as the variety of goods and the volume of commerce increases. Greek city states also utilised coins to engage in regional maritime commerce, with some cities producing goods solely for export (Pseudo-Xenophon, *Constitution of the Athenians* 2.11-3; Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 4.42).²⁵ Instead of agorae, Egyptians assembled at public notaries that functioned more akin to government offices than markets.²⁶ Egyptian peasants were also largely self-sufficient in growing and manufacturing what they needed, unlike Seleucid Mesopotamia which needed to import its agricultural implements (Diod., *Lib.* 34-36).²⁷ Tax payments in cash could also be substituted by produce when the supply of coins ran low, something that occurred frequently during this period.²⁸ Therefore, there was little incentive for Egyptians to adopt coinage as they would not have had a place to spend it at nor the goods to spend it on.

However, it could be argued that the introduction of Greek immigrants into Egyptian society would have initiated a gradual adoption of coinage in the private economy. Although small in proportion, Greek Egyptians were a class of elite who dictated local laws and leveraged their status for favours and financial gain.²⁹ They would have required goods from abroad to maintain their Hellenic lifestyles and coins to facilitate these transactions.³⁰ To achieve higher standings in society, Egyptians gradually Hellenised by learning Greek and adopting Greek culture.³¹ Therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that Greek immigration encouraged the adoption of coinage within the Egyptian private economy.

²² “Agora” is commonly defined as a marketplace in Ancient Greece. Liddell and Scott (1996, 13) note that the etymology of the word “agora” (ἀγορά) consists of “agorazo” (ἀγοράζω) “I shop” and “agoreuo” (ἀγορεύω) “I speak in public”.

²³ Miller 1995, 219–223.

²⁴ Schaps 2004, 111.

²⁵ Finley 1974, 132–147, 168; Bresson 2016, 402–427, 473–528.

²⁶ Rahyab 2019, 38–40.

²⁷ Schaps 2004, 43.

²⁸ von Reden 2010, 105, 127; Lorber 2021, 211.

²⁹ *P.Lond.2027*; Muir 2009, 57–59.

³⁰ Rostovtzeff 1936, 236; *P.Tebt.5*.

³¹ Bowman 1996, 124.

In response, I cite a passage from *The Acharnians* by Aristophanes, where the Athenian Dicaeopolis laments about city hawkers and yearns to return to his farm:

*Curse town life and regret my dear country home,
which never told me to “buy fuel, vinegar or oil”,
there the word “buy,” which cuts me in two, was unknown,
I harvested everything at will.*

(Aristophanes, *The Acharnians* 10-1)

Romantic fiction aside, literary sources do suggest that money may have had little impact on Greek rural society. To quote Aristotle: “[...] and possessions which bring no profit; for they are more gentlemanly [...] for a gentleman does not live in dependence on others” (Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1367a26-7). It is likely that Greek views of wealth were based on the principles of economic self-sufficiency, including an independence from wage labour. If an individual was compelled to devote his time to gain a livelihood, he would not be considered truly free. This leaves farming, an occupation of personal independence and leisure, that fulfil the conditions of a free man in the Greek world. David Schaps built upon Chayanov’s theory of rural societies to argue that many Greeks aspired to work their own land and be freed from the constant need to increase their store of coins.³² A comparison can be made to other agricultural colonial enterprises, with Greek attitudes mirrored by those of the first British settlers in Tasmania who sought ownership of land as a refuge from the servitude of elites. These settlers lived in plain conditions and were content with being isolated from the world.³³ Money would still have played a role when Greek Egyptians had to interact with the economy outside of his own community, but patterns of agricultural lifestyle suggests that this role was a marginal one.

In both modern and ancient Greeks urbanised societies, where livelihoods are based on the city and bilateral commerce, money is a measure of all things. However, to farmers, the measure of wealth is how much their land could produce and provide for their households. To them, coins represented another type of commodity for barter, whose value was subjected to seasonal factors and availability. Considering this, the question of monetisation is to many inhabitants of Ptolemaic Egypt an irrelevant one, and it is therefore reasonable that coinage may not have achieved widespread adoption in Ptolemaic Egypt.

³² Chayanov 1966, 72–84; Schaps 2004, 26, 169–171.

³³ Boyce 2008, 302–305.

Conclusion

This essay challenged the narrative of a complete or gradual monetisation of the Egyptian economy under the Ptolemies. It has argued for the absence of a monetisation policy by the Ptolemies to encourage Egyptians to adopt coinage by examining numismatic evidence and the flawed conclusions proposed by papyri price data. Next, it explored the limited role of coinage in the agrarian Egyptian economy and Greek settler attitudes that would have viewed rural life of one with little interaction with coins. Admittedly, more work remains to be done for us to understand the exact structure of the Ptolemaic economy. The nature of economic history means that methods of study must incorporate the common lack of data. I propose that further research should be conducted with an interdisciplinary focus by applying cliometrics and social arithmetics.

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The Function of Lustral Basins in Minoan Society

Isabella Greene | *The Ancient Greeks: Art and Archaeology*

The role of the so-called ‘lustral basins’ — as dubbed by Sir Arthur Evans — has been contested since their first excavations in the early 20th century and is one of many Minoan features which currently have no consensus of interpretation. The many attempts at understanding their function within Minoan daily life and cultural practices have generally landed on nonspecific ‘ritual use’, largely due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence and lack of written sources. This requires archaeologists to construct narratives around these basins, often informed by their own contemporary contexts and the historic tendency to ritualise the unknown. In this essay, I aim to analyse various theories surrounding the lustral basins, examining them in relation to spatial function, surrounding frescoes, nearby artefacts, and the role of observation and performance to lend credit to existing theories and peruse possible other functions of the lustral basin.

Early scholarship on the lustral basins focused on their perceived function as a bathing space and was characteristic of Evans’ initial interpretation of the Minoan ‘palaces’ as personal residential quarters for the Minoan royal family.¹ This interpretation is flawed as it largely draws from modern structures of family and monarchy and eschews any serious contemplation of contrary social organisation. Writing in 1962, Graham championed this theory, proposing that the lustral basins located next to the so-called ‘Queen’s Hall’ and ‘Men’s Hall’ in the Knossian palace were respectively gendered bathrooms and may have been used as domestic baths, though conceding that they may also have functioned as ceremonial cleansing spaces.² He goes on to refute other scholars’ objections to the bathing theory, such as their assertions that the gypsum coating would render the basins unsuitable for water, countering that “the Minoan housewife must have felt the advantages of having a “tiled” bathroom... sufficient to justify the occasional renewal [of the gypsum].”³ Graham’s bathroom theory seems improbable when observing the lustral basins, as it is clear that the basins have no drainage or plumbing (Fig. 1), evidence that Evans himself used to dispel this interpretation.⁴ Graham’s defense to this lack of drainage is to suggest that water could be bailed out into pots and the basin could be

¹ Despite the terms ‘palace’ and ‘lustral basins’ suggesting preconceived ideas of how Minoan society was structured, I will be using them throughout this essay for clarity, especially when discussing previous scholarly sources. I will also call them *adyta*, as referred to by N. Marinatos to distance them from the bathing theory in favour of ritual interpretation.

² Graham 1962, 105–7.

³ Graham 1962, 104.

⁴ Evans 1928, 519–24.

sponged down every time the bath was emptied.⁵ This is not only inconvenient but also nonsensical, as there are numerous examples of highly sophisticated Minoan plumbing structures including sewage disposal, runoff drains, and a two-conduit system.⁶ Graham's insistence on this theory in light of conflicting evidence, as well as his application of modern ideals to ancient Greek practices is highly problematic as his theories did not hinge on the archaeology itself but on his own preconceived ideas and context.

Whilst most modern scholars disagree with the notion of the basins as baths, there is a strong indication that liquids were significantly involved in some sort of symbolic cleansing to allow entrance into sacred spaces. This is indicated by the prolific use of libations in other Minoan ritual settings and the discoveries of pouring vessels containing oil such as in the north-west and south-east lustral basins in the palace of Knossos.⁷ Dr Alan Peatfield proposes that the lustral basins functioned as a setting for cleansing or anointing ceremonies which symbolically purified the "ritually unclean", rather than bathing for hygienic reasons.⁸ It is possible that the basins were used regularly in daily life and functioned as an aniconic cleansing practice undertaken prior to moving into a sacred space. This theory also relies on analysing the locations of the basins, many of which are positioned near an entrance to a building or the Minoan halls, specifically in Malia.⁹ Hitchcock lends further credence to the ritual entrance interpretation, investigating the sinuous route in the palace of Phaistos one would need to take from the exterior or from the central court in order to reach each basin.¹⁰ This suggests a ritual aspect to the cleansing as there is "little other purpose to this winding route, which must be repeated to leave."¹¹ Nanno Marinatos, naming them *adyta* rather than lustral basins, also considers their locations to suggest they were used by votaries when entering the palace, in which the basins were a "focal point."¹² The analysis of the basins' locations and link with fluids such as oil indicates a possible ritual aspect to the basins associated with cleansing, maybe as an everyday practice to gain entrance to the palace or hall or to symbolise the purification of an individual.

The interpretation of the basins as ritual settings can be further discussed in relation to the sunken floors, which may indicate chthonic worship or ceremony. All lustral basins found are set into the floor below ground level, an otherwise rare design in Minoan architecture due to the increased

⁵ Graham 1962, 103–4.

⁶ Rautanen et al 2010, 175.

⁷ Adams 2007, 403. For accounts of the many bulls head rhyta suggesting ritual usage found near or in lustral basins, see Sikla 2011, 224.

⁸ Peatfield 1995, 226. Peatfield also records that 14/28 identified lustral basins have evidence of liquid usage (Peatfield 1995, 225).

⁹ Adams 2007, 403, 6.

¹⁰ Hitchcock 2007, 94.

¹¹ Hitchcock 2007, 94.

¹² Marinatos 1993, 81.

difficulty of building below floor level.¹³ This may indicate that the basins were built for religious rather than practical purposes as a place of “separation or seclusion from the surrounding space.”¹⁴ Evans believed the sunken nature of the basins to be religiously significant, claiming that “these sunken purificatory basins connected themselves with the Goddess in her chthonic character,”¹⁵ a sentiment Shaw continues: “imagine entering the lustral basin as if entering the Earth, to return to [...] an element to which we ultimately belong.”¹⁶ The similarity between lustral basins, pillar crypts, and cave sanctuaries is also worth mentioning, as all three structures are subterranean and associated with chthonic worship. It is possible that the lustral basin functioned as a domestic version of the cave sanctuary and was a more accessible, everyday alternative.¹⁷ This development of chthonic worship and its association with an ‘earth goddess’ has also been linked to the seismic activity of nearby Thera, possibly a source of Minoan spiritualism.¹⁸

In the MMIIIB and LMIA periods, some lustral basins were filled in and had their floor raised, specifically at Knossos and in non-palatial houses such as Amnissos and Tylissos.¹⁹ Adams attributes this to changes in ritual patterns and a “switch from a specific, formalized area to a more nondescript space.”²⁰ The filling in of the basins indicates the prevention of previous ritual activities or perhaps a “break from tradition” rather than just neglect, which likely would have seen the basins abandoned instead.²¹ Furthermore, there were several ‘imitation’ basins built during this period which were constructed to falsely appear to have been sunken and then filled in, reflecting new ritual practices which perhaps revolved around the symbolic raising of the floor.²² The filling in of these basins further informs us of the dynamic and changing state of religion, and perhaps indicates a turn towards a more multifunctional space instead of a dedicated ritual area. The additional difficulty in building below ground level, the similarities with cave sanctuaries, and possible associations with nearby seismic activity all indicate the lustral basin as having a religious purpose, chthonic in nature, which was reformed in the late Neopalatial period.

When investigating practices involving the lustral basins, it would be negligent to ignore the evidence that performance and observation were significant elements, a consideration which further refutes the theory of the basins as baths. The presence of platforms or ‘observation windows’ indicates a type of

¹³ Shaw 2015, 153.

¹⁴ Marinatos 1993, 79.

¹⁵ Evans 1928, 12.

¹⁶ Shaw 2011, 148.

¹⁷ Marinatos 1941, 130.

¹⁸ Jusseret 2017, 226.

¹⁹ Adams 2007, 403–5.

²⁰ Adams 2007, 405.

²¹ Adams 2007, 406.

²² Adams 2007, 406.

ritual performance, ceremony, or initiation which was either presided over or was allowed to be indirectly or passively participated in by onlookers.²³ Goodison proposes that not only were lustral basins intentionally observable, but that they may have functioned as a type of sunken stage in which religious epiphanies were enacted.²⁴ Goodison goes on to analyse the role of the *polythyra* in directing dawn sunlight towards the lustral basin or the purported throne in the ‘throne room’ of Knossos throughout the year, resulting in a similar effect as a spotlight. She proposes that these epiphanies could be viewed from the benches or the ‘throne’ with the basin allowing something to be “raised from below.”²⁵ Although Goodison’s evidence indicates intentional placement of the *polythyra* to direct dawn light, this only applies to the throne room in Knossos and therefore cannot in isolation indicate the purposes of all lustral basins. Despite this, the presence of windows and platforms into lustral basins firmly rejects the concept of private bathing and indicates a ritual or performative function of the basins.

It is likely that the types of ceremonies held in the lustral basins were initiatory and marked a Minoan rite of passage, possibly women’s first menstruation (menarche) or a social ‘coming of age’. The gendered aspect of lustral basins has been much discussed, often regarding the frescoes around the lustral basin in Xeste 3 at Akrotiri. The ‘Adorants’ fresco (Fig. 2), depicts a girl holding her bleeding foot, perhaps indicative of menarche, and is thought to be an ‘initiate’ who would descend into the basin and symbolically reemerge into society as a sexually mature woman.²⁶ This analysis aligns with the depiction of a younger, veiled girl to her right, and also a mature woman to her left holding a necklace, possibly a gift for the initiate.²⁷ In an adjoining room, male figures walk towards the scene, likely to be assistants as they hold cups, jars, and cloth, which may be sacred or ritual items.²⁸ Other ritual imagery is also shown in the scene, including a bloody horn of consecration, the blood possibly also suggesting female initiation.²⁹ Above the Adorants fresco is the ‘Potnia Theron’ fresco, portraying a woman seated on a platform between a griffin and a monkey, next to which the ‘Saffron Gatherers’ fresco shows two young girls picking crocus. Crocus is a significant factor in the interpretation of this scene, as consuming it in large quantities can ease menstrual cramps and in some cases induce a miscarriage.³⁰ It also seems to be only identified in relation to women in Minoan art, which may express a ritual association of crocus with fertility.³¹ The interpretation of the lustral basins

²³ Marinatos 1993, 81, 84.

²⁴ Goodison 2004, 343. See also Marinatos 1993, 104.

²⁵ Goodison 2004, 343.

²⁶ Puglisi 2012, 200; Rehak 2002, 42.

²⁷ Campbell 2013, 9.

²⁸ Puglisi 2012, 200.

²⁹ Rehak 2002, 38.

³⁰ Day 2011, 368. Also Campbell 2013, 10.

³¹ Day 2011, 349; 371.

as spaces for female rites is also professed by Kopaka, who proposes that the lustral basin may have functioned as a secluded area for first menstruation or even childbirth.³² The link between lustral basins and initiation rituals, specifically for women's rites of passage, is indicated by multiple frescoes depicting crocus flowers, blood, and women in various stages of life. This is most clearly seen in the Xeste 3 house, and presents an interpretation of the sorts of rituals that the lustral basins may have been used for.

There are several issues that arise when attempting to interpret the cultural practices and daily lives of the Minoans based on fragmentary evidence. One such consideration is the lack of perishable goods such as food or votive offerings, which would more concretely identify places of worship, as well as the absence of wooden or textile structures, including furnishings, which shape how we view the space.³³ It is possible that the lustral basins were covered by some sort of wall and roof construction made of cloth or wood to create a temporarily secluded space.³⁴ This would be hard to prove considering the lack of surviving materials and pictorial representations of lustral basins, but may be aided by the discovery of similar Bronze Age structures in other cultures. One of the more problematic issues regarding investigating the role of the lustral basin is the historic tendency to ritualise the unknown. Although the locations, frescoes, and found objects do indicate some sort of ritual purpose, other theories not linked with ritual should also be considered. Beyond that, identifying and treating all lustral basins as homogeneous in purpose might be misleading, as individual basins may have functioned in different ways. Peatfield warns against this assumption, claiming that “of 28 recorded lustral basins, [only] 12 have finds within them which can be interpreted as sacred objects.”³⁵ He suggests instead that “the architectural form of the lustral basin was not intrinsically sacred, but rather was functional, and could be secular or sacred [...] on the basis of context.”³⁶ This argument has merit, but requires theories for the other functions of lustral basins, not simply the statement that they had other functions. These issues make determining the role of the lustral basin more difficult, but ongoing scholarship and attempts of archaeologists to uncover meaning behind the fragmentary evidence will hopefully spur more cohesive and considered historical narratives in the future.

Scholarship on the role of the lustral basins in Minoan society yields a plethora of theories, many contested and none wholly accepted by the field. This includes theories of bathing, multifunctional spaces, and the interpretation of the lustral basins as *adyta*, or places of ritual and ceremony. Whilst this is by far the most common, scholars disagree with the methods and meanings behind the ritual

³² Kopaka 2009, 189.

³³ Sikla 2011, 220.

³⁴ Shaw 2015, 150

³⁵ Peatfield 1995, 224.

³⁶ Peatfield 1995, 224

use of the basins, with some claiming them to be aniconic cleansing areas to enter sacred spaces, places indicating chthonic worship, areas for public performance or ritual observed by onlookers, and possibly as a female initiatory or ceremonial space. These many interpretations need to consider the fragmentary nature of sources and be mindful of over-ritualising the basins or amalgamating all basins under one purpose. For comprehensive accounts, analysis of the basins' function in relation to art, space, light and direction is necessary, as well as being mindful of not applying one's own context to interpretations.

Figures



Figure 1. Lustral basin in Phaistos Palace (observe no plumbing, drainage). Photo by Olaf Tausch distributed under a CC BY-SA 3.0 license.



Figure 2. The Adorants Fresco. Photo by Zdeněk Kratochvíl distributed under a CC BY-SA 4.0 license.

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The Significance of Çatalhöyük and its Connection to the Past

Sam Cowen | *Beyond Babylon*

Introduction

Located in Anatolia (modern-day Turkey), Çatalhöyük is one of the largest and most heavily documented archaeological sites of the Neolithic world.¹ This site was first excavated by James Mellaart between 1961 and 1965, with his wide-spanning excavation unearthing a substantial number of houses and buildings within the settlement.² Excavations continued under Ian Hodder in 1993, with a more in-depth and concentrated excavation, analysing a few key houses to provide significant detail into the daily lives of the inhabitants.³ Mellaart's and Hodder's excavations provide a detailed account of the social, architectural, and religious changes and continuity present in the Neolithic period. While these excavations were fruitful, care must be taken when drawing from the results as they only represent a fragment of the settlement.⁴ Using the available evidence, this paper discusses the pattern of ancestral and geographical continuity at Çatalhöyük. This is principally considered through analysis of the architectural design of the settlement, accounting for both interior and exterior architectural features. This paper concludes that there is clear evidence of cultural continuity at Çatalhöyük. Although innovations were made within the settlement, they represent cultural development rather than interruption.

Architectural Structure

The excavation of Çatalhöyük unveiled a plethora of houses, closely compacted and overlaying one another. Over generations, the community would rebuild the houses on top of one another, creating strata which are now used to differentiate different periods. Hodder theorises that this allowed the inhabitants to retain an intimacy with their gods and ancestors.⁵ When analysing the interiors of these buildings, this theory suggests an temporally enduring ideological practice that signifies cultural continuity across generations.

Continuity is significantly easier to spot prior to 6500 BCE, prior to the archaeological stratum termed Level V.⁶ Prior to the period represented in Level V, residents continuously built and rebuilt their

¹ Sagona and Zimansky 2009, 85.

² Sagona and Zimansky 2009, 86.

³ Sagona and Zimansky 2009, 86.

⁴ Düring 2001, 3.

⁵ Hodder 1996, 48.

⁶ Sagona and Zimansky 2009, 88.s

houses in the same enduring plan of closely compacted housing clusters. However, in Level V this arrangement changes with an architectural redesign. From the 15 building levels excavated, we can see elements of an overall decline in structural continuity with buildings no longer rebuilt on top of one another and the creation of more open spaces.⁷ Although rebuilding practices continued to some degree, the proportion of building continuity found in Çatalhöyük declines significantly from Level V onwards,⁸ corresponding with the estimated dates of the architectural redesign. Despite this decline in continuity, this paper maintains that the overall continuity of the inhabitants' cultural identity did not waver. While there was a change in architectural design, the inhabitants were still building in the same area and broadly creating similar types of buildings to what their ancestors had constructed.⁹ This is contrasted with places in Anatolia, where there was little continuity, both due to the lack of residential buildings and the lack of ancestral connection. An example would be Göbekli Tepe. The architecture found here suggests the presence of distinct religious and ceremonial buildings separate to residential ones.¹⁰ In comparison, the religious and ceremonial areas of Çatalhöyük are found within the house, specifically on the north side near the burial graves. This difference suggests two means by which continuity was stronger in Çatalhöyük than in places such as Göbekli Tepe: collective ancestral connection maintained through religion and geography. These methods compound to present a significant motivation for remaining at the site, as there are set foundations to build upon. Therefore, the inhabitants could build a connection with the land through their ancestors. The architectural redesign was an adaptation of what was already there, allowing for the settlement to continue in spirit. Thus, despite the architectural redesign at Level V, there remained an overall sense of continuity in Çatalhöyük.

Interior Design

We can see other elements of continuity represented within the home. The separation of rooms into 'dirty' and 'clean'¹¹ gives the impression of an evolving society, one which was adapting within the same community rather than moving on. From around 6500 BCE, evidence of pots used for cooking appear on the south side of the house, near the ovens and hearths.¹² This is opposed to the more religious elements of the house, such as the burials and wall paintings, which would occur in the north.¹³ Evidence of this comes from Hodder, who plotted the density of small bones and chipped stones found in white-plastered floors typically found in the cleaner northern parts of the house

⁷ Sagona and Zimansky 2009, 88.

⁸ Düring 2001, 14.

⁹ Sagona and Zimansky 2009, 88.

¹⁰ Schmidt 2000, 46.

¹¹ Hodder 2006, 184.

¹² Hodder 2006, 50.

¹³ Hodder 2006, 50.

contrasted with the non-white-plastered floors typically found in the dirtier southern parts of the house.¹⁴ From this, it may be inferred that there was a separation of rooms with the southern parts of the house used for domestic tasks and the northern parts for ceremonial functions. Micro-debitage from the site indicates that some parts of the house were kept deliberately clean as opposed to others.¹⁵ While this does not specify which rooms were clean and dirty it reaffirms the argument about the separation of rooms and what they were used for. Therefore, this suggests that while the inhabitants adapted and amended the specifics of their traditions, they retained their broader conceptual practices. The parts of the home which were kept clean were those related to their ancestral ties, providing evidence of a strong connection to them. Thus, we can argue that although change was occurring, continuing respect for their past maintained through ongoing cultural practices was preserved.

There is substantial evidence at Çatalhöyük of people burying individuals under the floors of their homes.¹⁶ The bodies were found in the foetal position accompanied by burial goods, with the bodies often ritualistically decapitated. Çatalhöyük is distinguished from other contemporary practices by the unique location of the burials, which are found within houses far more frequently than at other Near Eastern sites such as Göbekli Tepe.¹⁷ This was likely because the buildings at Göbekli Tepe were mainly identified as ceremonial and thus the bodies found there are interpreted as belonging to a Neolithic cemetery rather than a domestic space. However, there is a potential similarity with the mortuary rites between both settlements. The practice of beheading the dead evident at Çatalhöyük is visually represented on a stone pillar found at burial sites in Göbekli Tepe (Fig. 1).¹⁸ Therefore, removal of skulls was more likely to be a “construction of a social memory” rather than an isolated incident only happening at Çatalhöyük.¹⁹ This shows the transference of similar cultures, emphasising that Göbekli Tepe could have transferred knowledge, rituals or customs to Çatalhöyük. Göbekli Tepe predates Çatalhöyük by 500 years, and thus the rituals passed on are clear signs of continuity relating to a broader location encompassing all of Anatolia. It could even provide evidence of migration from Göbekli Tepe, which would help facilitate the argument of transference of knowledge. Regardless, by looking at the burial practises which occurred, borrowed ideas from other cultures are seen that express continuity, this time of a wider geographical scope. This is further expressed by the clear connection between the area and the burying of the dead beneath the floor. Overall, there is significant evidence to suggest high levels of continuity at Çatalhöyük.

¹⁴ Hodder 2006, 52.

¹⁵ Düring 2001, 4.

¹⁶ Mellaart 1965, 204.

¹⁷ Hodder 2006, 58.

¹⁸ Sagona and Zimansky 2009, 92.

¹⁹ Kuijt 2009, 119.



Figure 1. Stone pillar found at Göbekli Tepe. The carvings show multiple headless men, namely at the bottom right (completely headless), and the top left (where the head is replaced with some sort of bird).²⁰

As well as the burial practises, evidence of continuity can be found by looking at the wall paintings and contrasting them with archaeological evidence. Archaeologists have uncovered evidence of domestication through pottery and metallurgical instruments.²¹ Moreover, storage bins have been found outside of houses, which most likely contained grain and other food for long-term storage.²² From this evidence of longevity, continuity within the population can be inferred to have occurred. Through sustained settlement permanency at a site, developments can happen, but also a connection to the land, traditions and ancestral presence is allowed to flourish. The wall art which is found in the houses of Çatalhöyük provides an important resource for interpreting this connection. Hodder explains how the wall art depicting wild animals is in “contrast to the heavy dependence in the diet on domestic sheep and goat [...] the paintings and installations occur in the domestic context of houses. And yet it is not that domestic world that is depicted. Rather it is an outside world of wild animals”.²³ While some would infer from this that they were living a semi-domesticated lifestyle and had not settled down in the region, we must consider the other possibility. It is just as likely that these

²⁰ Photograph by the Göbekli Tepe Project distributed under a CC BY-ND 4.0 license.

²¹ Hodder 2006, 54.

²² Hodder 2006, 57.

²³ Hodder 2006, 54.

paintings were made purely for artistic purposes rather than to convey practises happening at the time. Even if they did convey practises, it is likely that they were an artistic representation of memories rather than contemporary events.²⁴ If anything, this gives stronger evidence for the existence of continuity, as they are depicting and reminiscing on past events. This can even link to the example of burial rites, with the continuations of stories coming alongside this knowledge. Thus, continuity clearly thrived and even led to artistic depictions of local life, showing us the significance of the past.



Figure 2. Deer mural from Çatalhöyük.²⁵

Conclusion

There is sufficient evidence to suggest that the inhabitants of Çatalhöyük presented continuity, both inside and outside the home. Evidence of architectural redesign, connection to ancestry and domestication all support this argument, although at times it is not clear to what extent. No doubt, the development took time, with traditions and knowledge coming from ancestors, events, or even settlements in Anatolia, such as Göbekli Tepe. However, it is due to Çatalhöyük's longevity that continuity was able to be expressed. Therefore, Çatalhöyük is significant as it gives evidence of continuity, and a rich connection with the past, whether that be from the settlement or its surrounding neighbours.

²⁴ Knüsel and Glencross 2017, 28.

²⁵ Photograph by Zdeněk Kratochvíl distributed under a CC BY-SA 4.0 license.

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The Palace of Nestor in Palace and the Ideological Control of Mycenaean Society

Yongqi Wang | *Problems in Greek Prehistory*

Introduction

The Mycenaean palaces have long been viewed as demonstrations of the highly hierarchical society of the Late Helladic IIIB period on mainland Greece, especially the status of the *wanax*, since their residences — the *megara* — were located at the centre of these complexes. However, the periphery of Mycenaean palaces should not be overlooked. This paper will focus on two peripheral parts of the Palace of Nestor from the LH IIIB period: Court 58 and the Northeast Building (hereafter NEB), to argue that these two areas demonstrate the intention of the palatial elites to apply ideological control over their subjects. Firstly, this paper will argue that Court 58 was one of the locations where the diacritical feasting activities took place; it was used to make the connection between the Palace and participants, thereby subordinating them by demonstrating the differences in social ranks. Secondly, this paper will argue that the NEB was the headquarters of the Pylian polity's chariot production, and its location not only indicated that the palatial elites wanted to centralise the production but also to control chariots as a symbol of an elite identity.

Court 58 and Diacritical Feasts

It has been argued that different groups in the Palace of Nestor might be in different locations during the palatial feasting.¹ Several pieces of archaeological evidence suggested that feasting activities took place at Court 58, the outermost part of the Palace.² According to Bendall, 405 *kylikes* ('drinking bowls') were found at Court 58, and the drain of Court 58 extended from Room 7 to Room 60.³ This number was only smaller than rooms that were identified as the pantry or associated with the pantry, and similar numbers of *kylikes* were found at another location where the feasting activities might take place, Room 65.⁴ Another piece of evidence came from the finds of Room 7 and Room 8, which was the archive room of the Palace. According to Stocker and Davis, miniature *kylikes*, a sword, and a spearhead for ritual slaughter and many cattle bones were found in Room 7.⁵ The reason such a deposit was regarded as a result of the feast is that the miniature *kylikes* were depicted on a scene of the wall painting of the throne room/megaron (Room 6) that appeared "to represent activities

¹ Egan 2015, 33.

² Hruby 2006, 2; For a plan of the Palace of Nestor see Howitt
https://www.brown.edu/Departments/Joukowsky_Institute/courses/greekpast/4870.html

³ Bendall 2004, 113.

⁴ Bendall 2004, 113.

⁵ Stocker and Davis 2004, 183–184.

associated with drinking”.⁶ Although these pieces of evidence were found in the archive room, the archive room should not be viewed as the venue of the feast, which is inferred to have initially taken place at another location based on the large numbers of cattle bones and the limited space of the archive room. According to the estimation of Stocker and Davis, the meat from slaughtered animals could supply at least 100 people, and the archive room apparently cannot accommodate that many people.⁷ In this circumstance Court 58, as the largest public area just located outside of the archive room with many drinking vessels, would be the best candidate for feasts of such scale. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that feasting activities took place at Court 58 in LH IIIB Pylos, and the archive room was also involved in the feast.

Several reasons suggest that the feasting activities at Court 58 were ‘diacritical’. According to Dietler, the diacritical feast “involves the use of differentiated cuisine and styles of consumption as a diacritical symbolic device to naturalise and reify concepts of ranked differences in the status of social orders or classes”.⁸ In the case of Court 58 of the Palace of Nestor, its highly restricted access to the inside of the Palace compared with other locations should also be viewed as a diacritical symbolic device. Palaima and Wright’s study on the structure of the archive room compared the archive room with other two-room units in the Palace and argued that there should be another doorway in Room 8 that opened to Court 2.⁹ Such reconstruction also explained the unusual location of the sentry stand at Court 1 since it had to secure the entrance of both the archive room and the propylon because they all lead to the inside of the Palace. It indicated that Court 58’s restricted access to the Palace was also the most prominent. It is reasonable to assume that participants feasted at this location and could not access the inside of the Palace by considering this restricted accessibility. Compared with other known locations of feasts, such as Court 63 with its entrance to the inside of the Palace unguarded, people at that location could directly move to the front of the megaron by passing through Room 12 and Corridor 13. Such different access to the megaron indicated that participants in Court 58 and court 63 held different positions in the social ranks.

Another piece of evidence that implied the feast was diacritical was the different quality of feasting vessels at these locations. According to the report of Blegen and Rawson in 1966, the clay of vessels in Room 60 was “not of the same fine kind as that used for the pots stored in Pantries 18 to 22”.¹⁰ Bendall further argued that the vessels from this room should be used to serve the people outside the

⁶ Stocker and Davis 2004, 190.

⁷ Stocker and Davis 2004, 190.

⁸ Dietler 2001, 85.

⁹ Palaima and Wright 1985, 251–262.

¹⁰ Blegen and Rawson 1966, 352.

main gate - Court 58.¹¹ It should be noticed that vessels in Pantries 18 to 22 were argued to be used for the feasts at Court 63. Thus, it is clear that the different quality of drinking vessels was associated with different levels of accessibility to the megaron. This idea could be further proved by identifying the throne room (Room 6) as another feast location. Although the fresco of the megaron was widely accepted as a representation of a feast, it has been argued that the megaron cannot be a location to have feasting due to its limited space and the large scale of feasting recorded in Linear B tablets.¹² However, the limited space of the megaron could now be explained if it was the venue only for the people with the highest social rank by identifying the diacritical feature of feasts at Pylos. It could also explain the limited number of metal vessels predominately found in the throne room, which Bendall regarded as the drinking vessels for the participants who feasted there.¹³ Therefore, it can be said that the feasting activities in the Palace of Nestor were diacritical by considering different locations' accessibility to the megaron and the different quality of vessels.

As Dietler argued, nearly all feasts “serve in some ways to define social boundaries while simultaneously creating a sense of community”.¹⁴ This paper contends that three messages were conveyed through the feast at Court 58 to reify Mycenaean hierarchical society. Firstly, for the palatial elites, offering people who did not have access to the inside a feast at Court 58 could be an effective way to build the connection between palatial authority and them, or even the connection between the *wanax* and them, by considering the fact that the *wanax* usually provided the largest part of the food in preparation of a palatial feast.¹⁵ Secondly, the differences in social ranks among participants were also demonstrated. For people at Court 58, their inaccessibility to the inside of the Palace and the inferior quality of drinking vessels revealed their subordination under the palatial authority and those who feasted inside the Palace. Thirdly, concerning the archaeological evidence at this location, the palatial authority's intention to demonstrate their power in front of the participants could also be seen. As Stocker and Davis noticed, the sword and spearhead from the archive room might come from the storerooms of the Palace, and the spearhead is usually associated with hunting and warfare, unlike sword figures that frequently appeared in the iconography of Mycenaean ritual sacrifice.¹⁶ Thus, the spearhead might serve to display the strength of palatial authority in such circumstances. The remains of cattle bones could also be used for the same purpose since so many bones could make a magnificent sight to the viewers. Therefore, it can be said that the purposes of sending these messages were to both include and subordinate the participants. It is worth noticing that among the tablets from the

¹¹ Bendall 2004, 123.

¹² Bennet 2007, 14; Nakassis 2012, 21.

¹³ Bendall 2004, 124.

¹⁴ Dietler 2001, 88.

¹⁵ Nakassis 2012, 2.

¹⁶ Stocker and Davis 2004, 190.

Palace of Nestor, there were about 800 named individuals without an official title, and Nakassis persuasively argued that they should be the local elites absorbed by the Pylian polity during its expansion.¹⁷ These individuals could be ideal objects for the feasts in Court 58 since it is reasonable for the palatial elites in Pylos to connect with those who had power in their respective regions and assert the superiority of the Palace. Therefore, it can be concluded that the feasts at Court 58 demonstrate that the palatial elites attempted to apply ideological control over their subjects.

The Northeast Building (NEB) and Centralisation of Chariot Production

The NEB was constructed during the later phase of the Palace, and it was initially identified as a workshop by Blegen in 1966.¹⁸ This idea was later criticised by several scholars who argued that the NEB was a redistributive centre of labour rather than “a workshop dedicated to specific types of production”.¹⁹ It seems probable on the basis of available evidence that actual production of chariots did not happen in the NEB. However, the management of chariot manufacture was still a prime focus of this building. It should be noticed that even the criticism could not deny that the NEB had a strong connection with chariot manufacture because of the many tablets that mentioned the raw materials and finished parts of chariots.²⁰ Additionally, Schon’s work suggested that the redistribution of labour in NEB could be to produce parts of chariots elsewhere and argue that NEB was the headquarter of chariot manufacture.²¹ Many arrowheads in this building could also support this connection. More than 500 barbed arrowheads were found in the NEB, and Keeley’s work on ancient weaponry argued that the barbed arrowhead was more likely to be used in warfare than hunting.²² In Late Bronze Age Egypt and the Near East chariots were mainly used as a moving platform for archers, and such usage, as Schon has argued, might also have been adopted by the Mycenaean people.²³ Considering the connection between arrows and chariots, the number of arrowheads further indicated the connection between chariots and the NEB.

A more convincing piece of evidence came from the Linear B tablet An 1281, found in the NEB. This tablet recorded labourers were allocated to several people, probably managers, and the deity Potnia appeared on lines one and nine of this tablet.²⁴ Lupack’s earlier work had already demonstrated that when the name of a deity was mentioned in these circumstances, it implied that it was the shrine named by this goddess that received labourers or economic sources.²⁵ Lupack further identified that

¹⁷ Nakassis 2013, 173.

¹⁸ Blegen and Rawson 1966, 299–325.

¹⁹ Lupack 2008, 467.

²⁰ Bendall 2003, 222.

²¹ Schon 2007, 138.

²² Keeley 1997, 52.

²³ Schon 2007, 139.

²⁴ Lupack 2008, 471–472.

²⁵ Lupack 2007, 57.

the Potnia on line 9 was followed by a specific place name while the Potnia on line 1, the Potnia Hippeia (*i-qe-ja*, ‘goddess of horses’), was not followed by a place name, and she argued that it implied that her shrine would be located at the NEB itself.²⁶ This argument can be more convincing by connecting with the finds of eleven miniature *kylikes* in Room 93, which was identified as a shrine.²⁷ Bendall argued that the miniature *kylikes* did not adequately support the deduction that Room 93 was a shrine, even though these *kylikes* were associated with ritual function, because they were also found in the archive room which Bendall argued had no connection with ritual activities.²⁸ However, this paper has argued that the archive room was associated with ritual sacrifice and feasts in Court 58. In addition, the square block that stood at Court 92 was also identified as an altar connected with Room 93 due to their close distance (ca. 3m).²⁹ Thus, identifying Room 93 as a shrine is plausible, which supports the interpretation that the NEB itself could be the shrine of the Potnia Hippeia and suggest the connection between the NEB and chariot manufacture.

Since the NEB’s connection with chariot manufacture has been demonstrated, the next thing that should be discussed is how it demonstrated ideological control from the palatial elites. This paper will argue that the NEB’s connection with chariot manufacture was symptomatic of the palatial elites’ attempt to centralise the production of chariots and signified the elite class symbolically associating themselves with chariots. Its adjacent location to the Palace indicated that the palatial elites wanted to put chariot manufacture under their control. Also, although the production of some parts of chariots was conducted elsewhere, the Palace’s monopoly of chariot manufacture was still evident. As Schon noted, the production of the wheels — which were the most sophisticated and crucial parts of chariots — was still conducted in the NEB based on the tablets that recorded wheels ‘in various status of repair’ and one of these tablets (*Sa 1313*) was found in the NEB.³⁰ Thus, the centralisation and monopoly of chariot manufacture were prominent.

There were also ample reasons to suggest such centralisation served for ideological control. Voutsaki’s work has demonstrated that the prestigious goods played an active role in institutionalising and legitimising the social differentiations in Mycenaean society.³¹ The Pylian chariot could have a similar effect since it also fitted the definitions of prestigious goods; the Mycenaean chariots were adorned by exotic materials and required “intense labour and technological sophistication to produce”.³² Thus, the chariots could be a clear symbol to reflect the owner’s status, just like other

²⁶ Lupack 2008, 474.

²⁷ Blegen and Rawson 1966, 305.

²⁸ Bendall 2003, 185.

²⁹ Blegen and Rawson 1966, 302.

³⁰ Schon 2007, 138.

³¹ Voutsaki 1997, 43–45.

³² Schon 2007, 143.

prestigious goods. In the case of Pylos, the centralisation of chariot manufacturing could make chariots the marker of palatial elite status by excluding others from possessing them. Its function of ideological control might go far beyond differentiating the possessors from others in social ranks or status — Wobst’s model may help understand how chariots could achieve a more subtle ideological control. According to Wobst, material culture was an effective tool to transmit visual messages that “defines mutually expectable behaviour patterns and makes subsequent interaction more predictable and less stressful in the absence of any verbal contact”.³³ The visual display of chariots in Mycenaean society could be highly common since it was widely accepted that the Mycenaean highways were designed and constructed predominately for chariots.³⁴ By considering chariots’ nature as prestige goods, chariots on these road networks could also be viewed as a device to transmit visual messages to viewers. The mobility of chariots might have imposed upon a much larger potential audience than other elite symbols like Palaces and *tholos* tombs. In this circumstance, the dominant position of the palatial elites that rode on the ‘prestigious’ chariots, unlike their subjects, could be established and reinforced without contact. Therefore, by revealing the chariot’s function in legitimising social differentiation, it can be concluded that the construction of the NEB served for centralisation and monopoly of chariot manufacture, which reinforced ideological control of the palatial elites over their subjects.

Conclusion

Ultimately, this paper focused on the two peripheral parts of Pylos’ Palace of Nestor, Court 58 and the Northeast Building and identified them as the venues of palatial feasts and management of chariot production. This paper further revealed how they demonstrated that the palatial elites in Pylos attempted to adopt ideological control over their subjects to reify and reinforce the hierarchical society of the Pylian polity. This paper has shown that it is not necessary to achieve ideological control only by displaying symbols. The structure of architecture and the activities conducted at a particular location could also serve for similar but more subtle and pervasive ideological impact by Mycenaean ruling classes on their subjects.

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³³ Wobst 1997, 327.

³⁴ Simpson 2002, 125.

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Commanding and Controlling the ‘Uncivilised’: How to Influence Barbarians and Manipulate them

Anthony Storey | *Imperial Rome*

It has been a common trend in previous imperial historiography to argue that the influx of so-called ‘barbarians’ into the Western Roman Empire was one of the leading causes of its downfall. Contemporary historiography and a close reading of primary sources would suggest that this idea is far from the truth, as Rome had a long history of incorporating external cultural elements into the empire. Rome controlling and assimilating this outside element was crucial to its long-term survival. Rome needed to choose how many would come in, where and how they would come in, and finally, where they would settle. This essay will seek to answer how Rome characterised the barbarian peoples, how they would maintain control over the barbarians both within and without their border, and how control could break down, spelling disaster for both the West and East.

The Characterisation of the Germans and Their Weaknesses

Tacitus, writing in the first century CE, would describe Rome’s ability to control the northern barbarian tribes through cultural, economic, and political means. Tacitus characterised the Germans as powerful people (Tacitus, *Germania* 4.8), capable of tremendous and ferocious courage in battle, to the point where their leaders had to consistently display this type of courage (Tac., *Germ.* 14.1-2). Velleius Paterculus would describe the Germans as “[...] men only in limb and speech” (Velleius Paterculus, 2.117.2.5).¹ However, Tacitus would confirm an important weakness of the Germans: their fondness for Roman wine. He noted that they could be defeated through the encouragement of vices as easily as on the battlefield (Tac., *Germ.* 23.9-12). Even Julius Caesar would agree that the luxury commodities brought from Rome had weakened the barbarians, making them accustomed to defeat (Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 6.24.12-17). A crucial element regarding the identity of the Gauls and Germans is clear from the writings of Tacitus and Caesar, specifically the changeability of the barbarian peoples.² As they were neither united ethnic groups nor compelled by single leaders — except in times of existential crisis and war — these barbarian peoples were malleable to Roman culture. Some were aware and concerned with this malleability and took steps to counter it. Tribes like the Nervii, which Caesar encountered, would disallow wine and other Roman luxuries to prevent the enfeeblement of their people (Caes., *BGall.* 2.15.4).

¹ All translations provided are the author’s own unless otherwise specified.

² Wickham 2010, 45.

The Characterisation of the Huns

The characterisation of the Huns shares similarities with the Germans and is done to separate them from the civilised Romans. The key difference is the Hunnic preference for ranged combat and surprise tactics, though they were still capable of closing in for hand-to-hand combat (Marcellinus, 30.2.9). Marcellinus also notes their disdain for the cultivation of land (Marcellin., 30.2.10.1-2), which is a typical characteristic the Romans associated with uncivilised, barbarous people. Marcellinus would describe the Huns in terms often used by Roman writers to describe a new people; he would compare them to animals, stating that they live on roots and half-raw flesh (Marcellin., 31.3.2.3-4). Roman historians' inclination to describe barbarian peoples in animalistic terms shows a standard view Romans had of these people: that they were closer to animals than men.³ Yet Rome relied on barbarian immigration, as the empire had a severe problem with depopulation.⁴ Outside populations were a vital resource, and by taking advantage of them the empire could be perpetuated and extended.

Barbarians Are in the Army Now?

Barbarian integration into Roman society and military has been argued to be one of the causes of the Western empire's downfall. Indeed, Gibbon would note that the Roman world was “overwhelmed by a deluge of barbarians”.⁵ This theory ignores that barbarians had already been a regular part of the army, such as in the Republican era when Caesar employed barbarian cavalry.⁶ Furthermore, this was an important strategy Rome would use to maintain control over the barbarian peoples. This integration would be so total that by the third century, the emperor Probus was concerned that the barbarian auxiliaries had to be split up (Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Probus* 14.16-20) so as not to make it clear to Rome’s enemies just how reliant the empire was on auxiliaries.⁷ Probus would further demonstrate the old Roman use of ‘divide and conquer’ tactics relating that the barbarians now served the empire and were used to fight against other, more distant tribes (SHA., *Prob.* 15.6-8). Another important example of Roman military practicality comes from the Roman general Flavius Aetius. He would intelligently use the Huns as a mobile strike force, allowing him to assert and maintain control over Gaul, effectively suppressing the Visigoths and Franks.⁸ For Aetius, this would be a balancing act as he would eventually face a Hunnic invasion, which would prompt him to seek the support of his old enemy.

³ Barbero 2008, 23.

⁴ Bury 2015, 25.

⁵ Gibbon and Womersley 2000, 436.

⁶ Goldsworthy et al. 2000, 118.

⁷ de la Bedoyere 2020, 56.

⁸ Kim, 2016, 92.

Breakdown in the Forest!

The Teutoburg forest demonstrates the first significant breakdown in Roman control, order, and planning during the imperial period. Rome waged numerous campaigns in Germania, leading to the mistaken belief that the German forces were pacified.⁹ Dio Cassius relates that “the barbarians were adapting themselves to Roman ways” (Dio Cassius, 56.18.2), slowly unlearning their old customs of independence and militarism. This cultural degradation needed to be fostered through careful management by the Roman authorities (Dio Cass., 56.18.3). Unfortunately, the governor of Germany felt the need to hasten these changes while treating the German people as conquered subjects (Dio Cass., 56.18.3). This would lead to a disgruntled populace, waiting for an opportune moment to strike. Varus, attempting to pacify Germany, would split his troops, as he did not understand the threat and refused to believe in the alleged plot of his guide and supposed ally, Arminius (Dio Cass., 56.18.1-3). This combination of hubris, incompetence and poor planning would spell disaster for Varus and his legions.

The Goths and Adrianople!

Adrianople was the culmination of a multitude of poor decisions that directly contradicted Rome’s usual method for dealing with large barbarian incursions, migrations, and unrest. Adrianople would exhibit another Roman leader who desired the acclaim and prestige that came from defeating an existential threat to Rome; unfortunately, it would go drastically wrong. The seeds of Adrianople were sewn by the emergence of the Huns, a nomadic people reported to have inspired terror in other groups they encountered. The outbreak of aggression from the Huns would push the Goths into the Roman borders, pleading with Rome to be allowed to enter their lands (Marcellin., 31.4.1), a request the emperor Valens accepted, viewing these peoples as recruits for an expanded army (Marcellin., 31.4.4.11-13). Moreover, barbarian peoples had proven beneficial to the empire as settlers in depopulated lands.¹⁰ Here, Marcellinus bemoans the Roman authorities' lack of control over the situation as vast numbers of barbarians entered Rome’s borders (Marcellin., 31.4.6). The situation would spiral as opportunistic merchants attempted to profit from the Goths' desperation. Following a banquet in which two Gothic leaders’ lives were threatened, it dawned that the Goths were not in the empire as equals.¹¹

The battle would go against the Romans and during a critical moment, the Batavians, Rome’s foreign allies who were in reserve, could not be found (Marcellin., 31.13.9.3-4). Without their support, the barbarian forces annihilated the Romans, with the Eastern Emperor Valens counted among the dead

⁹ Dillon et al. 2015, 755.

¹⁰ Stevens 1986, 268.

¹¹ Stevens 1986, 269.

(Marcellin., 31.13.12.4-5). The rashness of Valens would prove a considerable element of their downfall, as, despite the insistence of Richomeres to wait for aid in the coming battle (Marcellin., 31.12.5), Valens advanced to meet the Goths. This rashness is comparable to that of Varus at the Teutoburg forest, showing a common theme in these military disasters. What is clear from Marcellinus is that the Goths were eager to be integrated into the empire. They did not arrive as enemies or invaders but as eager settlers, wishing to be welcomed as loyal citizens (Marcellin., 31.5.5.6). Roman mismanagement, greed, and incompetence turned these groups hostile. With a competent general in command, the Goths could have proven helpful to the survival of the Western Empire.

The Catalaunian Plains and the Last Competent Commander!

The battle of the Catalaunian plains would demonstrate, even in its late stages of existence, how a competent Roman general could defend the Western Empire by manipulating outside barbarians through these original Roman tactics. Before the Hunnic invasion, Rome was still the predominant power of the time,¹² as the Goths and Franks could not match the centralised power of Rome.¹³ Generals like Aetius, on whose shoulders the West's safety rested (Jordanes, *Getica* 36.191.2), would effectively maintain balance in the area. Atilla would turn his attention to the West after being bought off by the East for 8100 pounds of gold,¹⁴ disregarding the Hun's previously good relationship with the West. Aetius would be instrumental in organising a coalition to confront the Huns, where the Romans were a minority (Jord., *Get.* 36.191.2-8). Future emperor Avitus would play an essential role in persuading the empire's former enemies, the Visigoths and King Theodoric, to risk their lives and kingdom for the safety of Gaul.¹⁵ What followed would be known as the battle of the Catalaunian plains. Jordanes, a Roman historian with Gothic heritage, is the primary source for this devastating battle, which he argues was so horrible that nothing like it had ever been recorded (Jord., *Get.* 40.207.3-4). Jordanes would describe a combined Roman-Gothic army defeating a force of Huns, singling out the Visigothic leader Theodoric as particularly brave for fighting to the death during the battle (Jord., *Get.* 40.209). Aetius, a man capable of using former enemies to fight new, more dangerous enemies, would soon be betrayed by his emperor Valentinian. He believed Aetius to be dangerous and had him executed, despite his inspired defence of the Empire (Procopius, *De bello Vandalico*, 3.28).

This essay has confronted the old theory of barbarian migration being the impetus for the destruction of the Western Empire, finding conversely that barbarian migration more often helped shape and

¹² Kim 2016, 72.

¹³ Kim 2016, 72.

¹⁴ Kim 2016, 94.

¹⁵ Gibbon et al. 2000, 408.

protect the empire. Through military, social, and economic innovations, barbarians contributed to the power and prestige of Rome as well as helping secure her borders. However, this contribution was only possible if Rome could control them. To take and maintain control, Rome would use several tactics, and when these tactics were either ignored due to incompetence or otherwise, the damage was done. As the empire slowly degraded and split, its ability to maintain order among its people, its armies, and those who threatened her borders would degrade. In this sense, Rome's inability to maintain order over the barbarian peoples can be considered one of the primary causes for the downfall of the Western Empire.

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The Last Performance: Status and Memory in Roman Republican Funerals

Sarah Scholz | *Underworld and Afterlife*

Death is a process that removes the dead and the bereaved from their usual social roles and moves them into a liminal state, with funerary rituals acting as transitional processes that both codify cultural norms and provide a path of reintegration for those left behind.¹ In the Roman republic, elite funerary elements were replete with cultural symbolism that pronounced the status of the individual and their families.² Performance and spectacle in elite funerals demonstrated the mechanisms that the aristocracy employed to regroup itself in the face of tragedy, reproducing and justifying the hierarchical system to which they adhered.³ This paper will examine the presentation of the body after death, the *pompa* ('procession') with its cast of *imagines* ('images', death masks), the *laudatio funebris* ('funerary oration') at the Forum, and ninth-day entertainment, in order to demonstrate that emphasis on status and glory was crucial to collective Roman memory and identity. Additionally, it will demonstrate both how these performances increased social capital for aristocratic families and address how political merit may have eased the grief of loss for the Roman men, who lived their lives in the public eye under highly stratified and codified conditions of behaviour.

Though evidence for funerary rituals is sparse, for the Roman statesmen it is assumed that rituals undertaken at the point of the death were similar to those of the common class, where certain actions were taken to acknowledge death and separate the bereaved from their usual roles and behaviours in society.⁴ A final kiss, calling out the name of the deceased, and washing and anointing the body would have all taken place within the home, which was demarcated from others with a branch of cypress or pine hung at the entrance to signify the state of *familia funesta* ('family of the deceased', bereavement).⁵ However, where the common class may or may not have displayed the body before carrying it at night to a cemetery – if they could afford land, and a mass grave pit if they could not (Suetonius, *Domitian* 17.3; Varro, *Lingua Latina* 5.25) – the body would have been put on display in the atrium of the house, the most communal and social area of the *domus*.⁶ The deceased was dressed in the toga of their highest rank, along with any military crowns they achieved in life (Cicero, *De legibus* 2. 24.60). This was a special privilege, and according to the Twelve Tables, no other type of crown or garland was acceptable, because, as Cicero asserts, "differences of wealth should cease with

¹ Hope 2009, 3.

² Hope 2009, 3.

³ Holeskamp 2014, 67–70.

⁴ Hope 2009, 66–70.

⁵ Lennon 2014, 141.

⁶ Hope 2009, 73.

death” (XII Tables 10.7; Cic. *Leg.* 2.23.59).⁷ Though extravagance in funerary practices were inhibited by the Twelve Tables legislation in the early Republic,⁸ certain practices, when performed under the facade of ‘service to the state’ served to engage the public in venerating Rome’s history, and were useful tools of republican propaganda.⁹ The military crown and ‘good’ toga drew a line between simple wealth and exalted service; those who were deserving were exhibited as the personified iconography of Roman glory.

The *pompa* that led the body of the deceased through the streets of Rome to the Forum demonstrated an interplay between the urban space and its topographical significance in the context of memorialisation.¹⁰ Under the gaze of the public, the body would be transported from the atrium of the *domus* through the streets of Rome (Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antiquitates Romanae* 4.40.50), engaging the observer with the architectural ‘knowledge representation’ of historic events in the city.¹¹ The journey along the Via Sacra and into the cultural centre of the Forum was a sensory experience where a plethora of temples, monuments, buildings and statues became mnemotopes that symbolically engaged cultural memory and cemented the identity of the Roman people, and thus, the deceased therein.¹² Most of the aristocracy lived on streets that led into the Forum, and diversions may have been taken to lengthen the procession¹³ in order to legitimise the status of the dead in the locus of topographic collective memory.¹⁴ The environment of the *pompa*, in this context, became a sacral landscape that highlighted the meanings of the public space, and saturated the deceased with socio-political capital, appointing the populus as the recipients of these symbolic messages.¹⁵

Among paid mourners, musicians, and spectators, the *imagines* of the ancestors of the deceased advertised the achievements of his family, illustrating their social distinction and consolidating the power structures of the nobility through their performance.¹⁶ Actors would be hired to wear wax masks representing the facial features of the deceased’s most successful male ancestors to impersonate the man in his lifetime (Polybius, *Historiae* 4.53.66; Pliny the Elder, *pliny epi* 35.6-7), specifically those who had at least held the magistracies of aedile upwards.¹⁷ Once at the Forum, the ‘ancestors’ sat on the ivory chairs they had used in their time as magistrates, forming an important

⁷ Dillon and Garland 2015, 26.

⁸ Hope 2009, 90.

⁹ Holeskamp 2014, 68.

¹⁰ Favro and Johanson 2010, 13.

¹¹ Favro and Johanson 2010, 15.

¹² Galinsky 2014, 9.

¹³ Favro and Johanson 2010, 16.

¹⁴ Favro 2014, 101.

¹⁵ Holeskamp 2014, 68–9.

¹⁶ Rosati 2014, 78.

¹⁷ Flower 2006, 331.

audience for the forthcoming rituals and eulogies.¹⁸ Polybius recounts that there was no more ennobling or glorious a spectacle for young men than seeing the likeness of the distinguished ancestors brought back to life (Polyb. 4.53.67), conveying Rome's culture of excellence.¹⁹ These 'actors' of history demonstrated the ideological constructs of *dignitas* and *autocras* – the hereditary property of the elite – and as scions of the nobility, the imagines derived the assent and awe of the *plebs Romanus* through the performance of ancestral embodiment.²⁰

The *laudatio funebris* recounted all the great military, political and social deeds of the statesman, as well as his ancestors, adding to their accumulated rank, and formalising the ideal of the Roman statesman.²¹ The eulogy would be delivered by a son or male relative, upon the *rostra*, and characterised the ideal of *virtus* to the Roman citizens.²² A valuable example is that of Lucius Metellus delivered by his son Quintus, who asserted that his father achieved the ten great things all 'wise men' pursued in their lives. This list included being an excellent warrior and general, attaining the consulship and a triumph, accruing wealth in a respectable way, having many children, and possessing bravery, wisdom, and honour (Pliny. *HN*. 7.139-40). Polybius writes that alongside the gloria and immortality of the person whose deeds were being spoken, the *laudatio funebris* inspired the younger generation to "endure every suffering for the public welfare of Rome," in the hopes of winning such glory (Polyb. 6.54). This rhetorical gesture imposed hierarchical distance between the common people and the state, but gave them an *exempla* to reach for, a great dream to aspire towards in the mythology of the republic.²³

In the early republic, *laudatio funebris* were only delivered upon the death of Roman statesmen.²⁴ However, from 102 onwards, women were eulogised in special cases (Cicero, *De oratoris* 2.6.44). Julius Caesar, gained much praise and sympathy in 68 BCE making speeches for both his aunt and wife, and was consequently elected as tribune that year, supporting the contention that this practice was not only useful in propagating cultural ideals, but also used by individuals as a political gamut to gain the favour of the masses (Suetonius, *Caesar* 1.6.2; Plutarch, *Caesar* 5. 1-2). The eulogies for women took a much different representation than that of the elite men: they could either be a vehicle to extoll their male relatives, or were centred on the ideals of Roman wives or mothers.²⁵ A tablet recording the eulogy of a mother named Murda by her son is a perfect example of the ideal mother;

¹⁸ Hope 2009, 122.

¹⁹ Anguissola 2014, 123.

²⁰ Holeskamp 2014, 70.

²¹ Hope 2009, 78; Holeskamp 2014, 68.

²² Flower 2006, 333–4.

²³ Holeskamp 2014, 68.

²⁴ Flower 2006, 331.

²⁵ Dillon and Garland 2015, 299.

where her obedience, fidelity, trustworthiness, and sacrifice for her husband and children are praised as her greatest attributes (*ILS* 8394).²⁶ While on the surface this is a nice commemoration, it belies that distinction between the men who ruled Rome, and the women that sacrificed for them. These feminine ideals too, were incorporated into the zeitgeist, inscribed on monuments and tombs, as well as the cultural identity of the Roman people.²⁷

On the ninth day of mourning, after purification rituals, a sacrifice and feast would have been held to conclude this period.²⁸ The family of the deceased would be reintegrated into the community, releasing themselves from the designation of *familia funesta* through shared commensuration.²⁹ While sumptuary laws in the early Republic were enforced regarding funerals (XII Tables 10.6a),³⁰ by the late Republic, funeral feasts were extravagant events of largess.³¹ Gladiatorial combat first appeared in 264 BCE (Valerius Maximus, 2.4.7), and these games, having originated as commemorative events, became a form of mass entertainment, propaganda, and social prestige.³² Though these spectacles appeared to contradict the traditions of Roman austerity (Cicero, *De senectute* 16.55-6), the rationale behind great feasts for the public was ostensibly that these events benefitted the entire *res publica*, for as Cicero states, “the people loathed private luxury, but they love public splendour” (Cicero, *Pro Murena* 76a). A demonstration of the wealth accrued by the Roman state or even its individual senators, when spent on the people, enforced their engagement in the belief that the superiority of the ruling class was beneficial to its community, integral to its greatness as a nation.

Within the communal performance and ritualisation of symbolic capital in state funerals, the behaviours of the elite individuals must also be addressed. Whilst elite funerals were opportunities for social gain and tools of propaganda, it is important to remember that the deceased were still people, whose loss was felt by those they left behind. There were clear distinctions between genders for the grieving process of the bereaved, with the Twelve Tables even legislating the abolition of anything that intensified sorrow in funerals, including tearing at the cheeks, and wailing for women (XII Tables 10. 5a).³³ Seneca the Younger asserted that in the case of bereavement, “women were wounded more deeply than men, barbarians more than the civilised, and the uneducated more than the learned” (Seneca, *De Consolatione ad Marciam* 7.3), confirming a universally held belief among

²⁶ Dillon and Garland 2015, 313.

²⁷ Hughes 2014, 112.

²⁸ Hope 2009, 123.

²⁹ Hope 2009, 123.

³⁰ Hope 2009, 88.

³¹ Hope 2007, 118.

³² Hope 2007, 125.

³³ Dillon and Garland 2015, 26.

Romans that men retained dignity through lack of outward feeling.³⁴ It was acceptable for women to express a modicum of grief at funerals, but for men, self-restraint was paramount, and they were praised for their steadfastness in the face of grief (Cic. *Sen.* 4.12; Plutarch, *Fabius Maximus* 14.4). Cicero contended that “nothing makes men more tranquil at funerals than the knowledge that “sorrow was unbecoming of a man,” and that nothing was “more disgraceful than womanish weeping” (Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 2. 24.58; 3.70).

However, when Cicero suffered the great loss of his daughter Tullia, he retired to his country villa, and experienced a depth of grief some of his contemporaries believed was inappropriate.³⁵ Cicero, in his defence, used examples of men before him who had borne the death of their sons with great equanimity, stating that the high public status of the men in question was what gave them strength and assuaged their mourning (Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares* 6.1-2). That Cicero had lost his status at the time³⁶ and therefore could likely not celebrate the life of his daughter in the same ways as other ‘great Roman men’, suggests that the funerary performances that inculcated the ‘dream of the Republic’ and the status of their recipients could also be a consolation to the Roman statesman, transforming grief to public spectacle and ingraining those departed in the communal psyche.³⁷ For the individual man, whose outward displays of grief were prohibited by convention, perhaps the memorialisation of the departed in the collective recollection of the public was the only way to unburden the grief of loss.³⁸ The afterlife of the dead was indeed symbolised in the *gloria* of their deeds, positioning them in the annals of social history, and attaining immortality by being absorbed into the mythology of the state.³⁹ In a society where the performance of grief was only acceptable in a framework of expected behaviour and gender roles, solace could be found in the knowledge that their loved ones would be remembered, and so they lived on.

Status in elite republican funerals served to uplift the families of the deceased and reproduce the nobility, but it also provided a way to commemorate the dead in the communal psyche. As Cicero asserted, “*historia*” is “*vita memoriae*” (Cic. *De. or.* 2.36) – recollection gives immortality to existence. The urban space where the funerals took place centralised and memorialised the topographical landscape into a museum of past and present greatness.⁴⁰ The expressions of status by the oppressors coerced the consent of the oppressed in a glorifying of history and refashioning of

³⁴ Hope 2009, 127.

³⁵ Wilcox 2005, 267–8.

³⁶ Wilcox 2005, 269.

³⁷ Hope 2017, 95–7; Butler 2018, 7–10.

³⁸ Wilcox 2005, 269.

³⁹ Holeskamp 2014, 67.

⁴⁰ Holeskamp 2014, 70.

oligarchical systems.⁴¹ And the grieved, the relatives still standing after death, were assuaged by the notion that these acts gave a way for their loved ones to enjoy eternal life in the *memoria Romanus*. The *pompa* through the hallowed streets of Rome, the imagines of ancestors come to claim their newest son, and the *laudatio funebris*, were the last performance for the aristocrat who spent his life performing. The collaboration of the elite class both facilitated this final curtain-call and promised an afterlife through the memory of their deeds to the *Senatus Populusque Romanus*.

⁴¹ Holskamp 2014, 70.

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Artefact Agency: How Inanimate Objects Can Exert Power

Oliver Russel | *Interpreting the Ancient World*

Agency is the ability or capacity to act or exert power; active working or operation; action; activity. Agency is widely accepted in human society as only achievable by ourselves. However, agency should not be exclusively tied to us. In archaeology, agency has been a relevant point of discussion since the 1980s, with various theoretical approaches being developed and proposed.¹ This paper will argue that an artefact can exert agency. In artefact agency, each artefact, or collection of artefacts, must be considered individually, but can be comparatively studied. Variables apply to each artefact(s) when assessing their agency and are subject to becoming more extensive. Influencing factors to be considered are: the greater the socially accepted or dictated; the importance of the object through the consultation of its own provenance; the time of discovery. This essay will use the so-called ‘Priam’s Treasure’ assemblage as a case study, examining its provenance, history, and the contentions surrounding its hosting in the Pushkin Museum (PM), Moscow.² Unlike other infamous objects, Priam’s Treasure has for the most part gone undetected in the pressures of calls for repatriation in recent years.³ This paper will later argue that though lesser known, the agency of Priam’s Treasure is of great influence.

Agency

Agency exists in many different forms. Here, it is most closely related to philosophical theories of agency, and the agency in action. When considering the agency of artefacts, the most important thing that must be considered is that agency is facilitated by humans on behalf of the artefact. The actions humans perform to, around, or about the artefact in question is where the agency of the artefact is created. Our agency creates agency within the artefact.⁴ Understandings of agency extend as far back as Aristotle.⁵ Developing a theory of human action, he constructs agency as the link to agency, habits, and skill. Since then, agency has evolved tremendously.⁶ The influential works of Anscombe and Davidson have established a

¹ Barret 2001, 141–64; Dornan 2002, 303–329; Hodder 2003, 23–42; Hoskins 2006, 74–84; Knappett 2005, 11–34; Robb 2010, 493–520.

² Treister 1995, 64–66.

³ Cuno 2014, 119–129.

⁴ Robb 2010, 496–514.

⁵ Crespo 2016, 867–874.

⁶ Crespo 2016, 881.

base framework of what agency is that can and has been elaborated upon.⁷ First, that the notion of intentional action is more fundamental than the notion of action, and second, intentional action and acting for a reason, though very close in connection, are different.⁸ How then, does one apply this to an object, something that typically only ever exists to serve in some form of functionality?

Shanks argues that action is dialectical in its relationship to structure and social context.⁹ Artefacts themselves as inanimate objects are mostly incapable of performing their own dialectical action. Instead, they spur the course of dialectical action. Take Priam's Treasures for example. Though held by the Soviet Union since shortly after the Battle of Berlin in 1945, the USSR continued to deny any knowledge of the Treasure's whereabouts until their collapse in 1991.¹⁰ Russia continued this façade until 1994, when it publicly admitted possession of the treasures.¹¹ Through the denial of the USSR, Priam's Treasure as the subject matter of this action incited a power discourse, spurring discussion and therefore allowing people to create agency for it. Being incapable of self-conceived action, inanimate objects are reliant upon humans who create agency for them, en due to the cultural significance and power that some objects hold. Barrett argues that agents are made within themselves through circumstances specific to their own cultural or social conditions.¹² Again, in the case of Priam's Treasure, which was a subject of cultural sensitivity to the Ottomans at the time of discovery (1873), and Schliemann's actions subsequently transformed its agency from one of positive exertion to negative exertion.¹³

To further emphasise the importance of human action upon an artefact as the facilitator of agency, a book is one of the strongest examples for continuous, dynamic agency of action.¹⁴ Consider Homer's *Iliad*. Within Classical scholarship, it is arguably the most recognised text that is studied.¹⁵ Thousands of interpretive journal articles and book chapters exist, with dozens of published translations.¹⁶ This singular poem has directly impacted the lives of thousands, and indirectly affected the lives of millions. The 2004 film *Troy*, viewed by millions around the globe exists due to the authorship of Homer, and the creation of *The Iliad*.¹⁷¹⁸

⁷ Anscombe 1957; Davidson 1963, 685–700.

⁸ Anscombe 1957, 89; Davidson 1963, 688–694.

⁹ Shanks and Tilley 1987, 84.

¹⁰ Easton 1994, 231–239.

¹¹ Easton 1994, 230.

¹² Barrett 2001, 152–158.

¹³ Rose 2017, 89.

¹⁴ Illies and Meijers 2009, 424–435.

¹⁵ West 1995, 204–210.

¹⁶ Alexander 2016, 51–57.

¹⁷ Petersen 2004.

People who may not study Classics or be academic at all will have viewed this film and walked away with their own unique impression. Over time, the direct intention of the author has arguably been lost and relies on modern translators to interpret and convey. The agency of the text and the agency of the translator is one that is circular in its action: it is a non-stop cycle where the audience constantly influence the translator, and the translator constantly influence the reader (Fig. 1). In this way, *The Iliad* has attained its own agency through the active effect it has on people today.

Museums

Agency requires a medium through which to work.¹⁸ Museums provide this, regardless of their design.¹⁹ As previously mentioned, human agency enables artefacts to possess agency and subsequently exert power over the audience. Agency of an artefact can be divided into two categories: primary and secondary. Primary agency is when the interaction with the artefact is active engagement, and secondary when the interaction with the artefact is passive. People are the medium through which artefacts work. We provide the platform for the exertion of power to be both exerted and received. An artefact will have either a direct or indirect effect on the viewer. Places such as a museum or an auction house act as a magnifier for the power that an artefact possesses over the viewer.²⁰ An artefact will inherently exert power over the archaeologist when they initially excavate the object. In the case of Priam's Treasure, influential power exertion is seen in the methods that Schliemann undertook upon discovery of the artefact.²¹

The power that the artefact exerts over the person is wholly dependent upon their interaction with the artefact. When considering museums, two mind as the paradigm of a 'museum'.²² The British Museum (BM) in London, and the Louvre Museum (LM) in Paris. These two remain the two most internationally recognised museums. With thousands of artworks and artefacts on display, the collections of the BM and the LM were established from the copious cultural materials provided by wealthy men during the 'Grand Tour' era.²³ However, large scale museums such as the BM and the LM, particularly in the past decade or two, have increasingly become the subject of scrutiny revolving around the nature of their collections in regards to the ethics of the procurement of the items on display, the manner of displaying them,

¹⁸ Barrett 2001, 152.

¹⁹ Diamantopolou et al. 2012, 14–26.

²⁰ Huda 2008, 156.

²¹ The methodology of Schliemann's excavations are their own topic of debate. Regarding Priam's Treasure, he excavated and hid the treasure before Ottoman officials could inspect the site, undergoing a large amount of sleuth-like work; see Easton 1994 for full details.

²² Decker 2017, 24–27.

²³ Kriz 1997, 87–89.

the information shown, and calls for repatriation.²⁴

Museums of this scale are the ones that receive the greatest amount of criticism, and in the media storm of judgement and finger-pointing smaller, lesser-known museums may go under the radar for the public – for example, the PM in Moscow, Russia. Though boasting one of the largest art collections in Europe, the PM continues to receive lower visitor numbers than the BM and LM. In 2017, the PM recorded 1.2 million visitors, in comparison to the BM and LM with 5.9 and 8.1 million visitors respectively in the same year.²⁵ The purpose for the comparison in the number of visitors is to consider what may impact these numbers. The fame associated with the BM and LM are amongst the largest tourist attractions in their respective cities, hosting pieces of art known globally: Winged Victory, the Rosetta Stone, etc. This fame is something the PM does not hold. Among people with keen interest in art it may hold greater importance, the advantage larger museums hold is that they draw people with minimal interest or knowledge about the subjects at hand.²⁶ The agency of items such as Winged Victory and the Rosetta Stone can be considered greater than the contents of Priam's Treasure, measured by the annual number of visitors to their respective museums.²⁷ The individual agency of artefacts here is seen to contribute to the societal power, or agency that the museum itself holds over people.

Priam's Treasure

The significance of Priam's Treasure lies in their excavation by Heinrich Schliemann (1873), and the subsequent voyages it underwent (Fig. 2).²⁸ In his excitement, they were falsely titled 'Priam's Treasure' by Schliemann after discovery at his excavation at Hissarlik, believing it to be the lost city of Troy.²⁹ Subsequently Priam's Treasure was smuggled out of Turkey and held in Schliemann's private collection until he loaned the assemblage for a brief period to the South Kensington Museum from 1878–80.³⁰ Thereafter it temporarily stayed in the Kunstgewerbe Museum in Berlin, until the Ethnologisches Museum opened.³¹ There, it would stay until handed over to the Red Army by German archaeologist Gerda Bruns in 1945 to

²⁴ Kucera 2009, 8.

²⁵ Cuny and Benaiteau 2018; Muchnik 2017; The British Museum 2018.

²⁶ Hoskins 2006, 787–82.

²⁷ Knappett 2005, 23–30.

²⁸ Easton 1994, 223.

²⁹ The influence of *The Iliad* is here observed: Schliemann was presumptuous in his estimation of the period as he believed the excavation site to be the city of Troy and belonged to King Priam himself. However, later stratigraphic understandings of the excavation layer date them to a flourishing civilization around 2200 BCE, a whole millennium prior to the life of King Priam as we understand.

³⁰ Rose 2017, 87–90.

³¹ Easton 1994, 225.

prevent it from being destroyed.³² For the next 50 years, the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, would deny holding the collection until its public reveal in 1996, where it remains.³³ The various movements the collection undertook, both legal and illegal, stimulate them to exert power over associated people, notably Schliemann was one such person.³⁴ Today the preservation of Priam's Treasure takes precedence over issues of repatriation, despite encompassing an incredibly tumultuous and extensive history of movement.³⁵

The secrecy and misleading information Schliemann provided from the moment of excavation of Priam's Treasure caused discord from the beginning.³⁶ Being items of fine make, and the high volumes of gold objects found, the artefacts themselves likely held great agency in the time that they were used for their purpose. The agency, and value of the artefacts and the potential historical importance of the artefacts only increased when Schliemann excavated them. However, through the methods he used in the process of procuring them, he changed the nature of their agency from items signifying wealth and prosperity to items causing controversy. They progressed from being passive agents, to active agents. He forced Priam's Treasure to have greater significance than they may have otherwise inherently possessed, forcing them into a position of potent influence. Upon investigation, the literature and history revolving around the hoard imbue Priam's Treasure with agency. It is interesting then to consider the case of Priam's Treasure in the museum context, when compared to other artefacts with equally controversial excavation, such as the Elgin Marbles.³⁷ When visiting the Pushkin Museum, the museumgoer can find all of Priam's Treasures in Room 3, Level 2.³⁸ The exhibited display will exert power over the visitor, and each artefact within will exhibit varying levels of influence.

The headdress worn by Sophia Schliemann as seen in the infamous image will exert more power than one of the comparatively small nondescript items of jewellery (Fig. 3). This is because it is a far larger, more intricate piece of work that is independently displayed, and if the audience possesses knowledge of the history of it, they will already have a pre-determined biased awareness of it. This will further magnify the power, and therein the agency of the headdress, when compared to a smaller piece (Fig. 4). Overall, Shanks' agency theory can be applied

³² Easton 1994, 234.

³³ *Joy of Museums* notes that whilst the most famous and notable objects are held at the Pushkin Museum in Moscow, the entire collection of Priam's Treasure is spread across the Pushkin Museum, Neues Museum, and Istanbul Archaeology Museum.

³⁴ Exposed to Classical literature from a young age, Schliemann became obsessed with a dream of being the one to discover the city of Troy.

³⁵ Uslu 2017, 65.

³⁶ Easton 1994, 226.

³⁷ Merryman 1985, 1895–1908.

³⁸ Traill 2000, 14–15.

to Priam's Treasure, as the action that the artefacts caused people to undergo can be considered dialectical.³⁹ We can also apply Anscombe's and Davidson's theories that the fundamental urges seen in Schliemann's actions, were intentional, and were spurred by the discovery of Priam's Treasure.⁴⁰ By the preconceived expectation and bias Schliemann held, he gave the collection primary agency.

Conclusion

The theory of artefact agency is a multi-faceted one that requires further investigation for a comprehensive understanding. Artefacts are capacitated to amplify the agency they possess through institutions such as museums and auction-houses. To understand the full influence and extent of the agency that artefacts possess, I utilised Priam's Treasure as an example. In this case, the agency of the artefact is not seen in the realised price found in an auction house, or the fame in a museum. It is found in the arc of the manner it transitioned from place to place, the news articles, academic articles and opined contributions to the controversy surrounding the subject. The discussed actions that people undertook to ensure both the safety of the treasures in its later history and to fulfill ambitions in its earlier history are all exemplifying factors of the agency that Priam's Treasure possess. From this example, I argue that artefacts do possess agency. However, to possess agency, artefacts rely on the actions, or agency that humans exert unto them, producing an ongoing cycle of the exertion of agency from a person onto an artefact, and then an artefact unto a person. Ultimately, the existence of a sustained relationship between people and artefacts will result in the ongoing existence of artefact agency.

³⁹ Shanks and Tilley 1987, 85–104.

⁴⁰ 42 Anscombe 1957; Davidson 1963, 685–700.

Figures

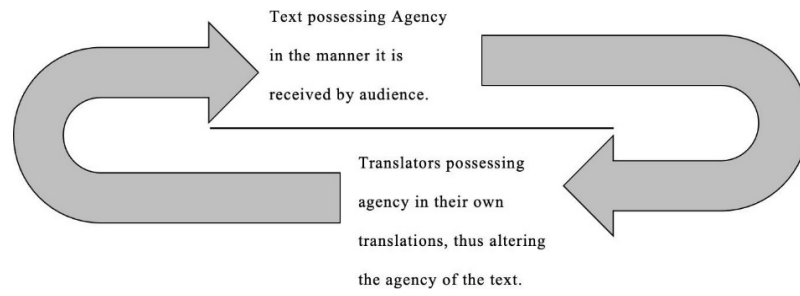


Figure 1. Diagram depicting the cyclical interaction of artefact agency. Figure by the author.



Figure 2. Priam's Treasure in an early exhibition. Public domain image.

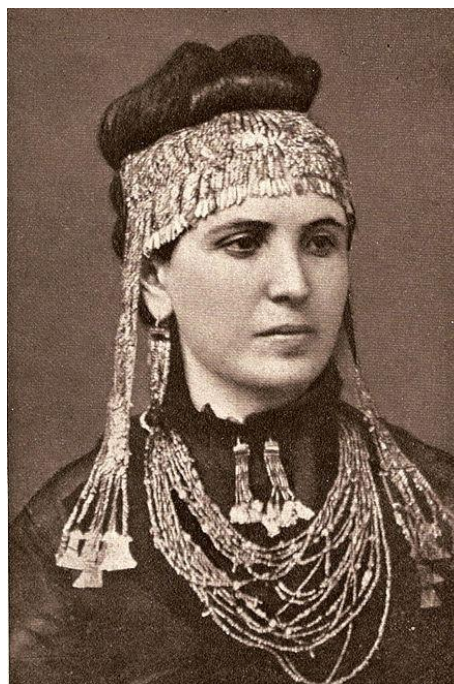


Figure 3. Sophia Schliemann wearing the golden jewellery of Priam's Treasure. Public domain image.



Figure 4. The Golden Diadem in. the Pushkin Museum. Moscow, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. Acq. 1873. Public domain image.

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To What Extent Was Tyranny a Success in Ancient Corinth?

Katrina Roziel | *History of Greece: Homer to Alexander*

The *tyrannos* flourished in ancient Corinth from 657 BCE, replacing the aristocratic rule of the Bacchiad family and helping to turn the ancient city into one of the most economically prosperous *poleis* of Greece. While this tyranny was undoubtedly a success from an economic perspective, tyrants did not always succeed in obtaining the mandate of the Corinthian people. This paper will evaluate the rule of Corinth's first tyrant, Kypselos, and how circumstances enabled him to achieve both economic and social success in Corinth. The subsequent arguments will primarily discuss the tyranny of Periander and analyse why Periander's rule was not as socially successful as his predecessor's. This paper will comment on the impacts of first and second Corinthian tyrants on their polis and seek to explain how one tyrant's reign was more successful than the other.

Ancient Corinth's first tyranny was initially successful because its tyrant did not adhere to a despotic form of rule. Indeed, Kypselos freed the Corinthians from the oppressive rule of the Bacchiads in the seventh century BCE. As White notes, Kypselos harnessed the middle class's 'hatred of the oppression of the Bacchiads' to overthrow this aristocratic family.⁴¹ This enabled Kypselos to frame himself not as an autocrat but as a liberator, because his rule began on the basis of a revolution. The middle class viewed him as a saviour, or a beacon of hope, for Kypselos had done the impossible and broken the aristocratic dominion, which was "notoriously hard to break".⁴² What truly helped Kypselos to solidify his popularity was his use of hoplites in the slaughter of the Bacchiads in the initial revolt. The use of the citizen soldiers signified the voice of the middle class Corinthians and the "hoplite phalanx [...] added force to the resentment against the aristocratic monopoly power".⁴³ It was as if the Corinthian public was finally being heard and allowed to actively contribute to the destruction of the source of their three century long oppression.

Kypselos' social triumph as tyrant is apparent from his lack of bodyguard. He was held in such high regard that he need not fear a rebellion. White suggests that this was due to the "mildness of his judicial decisions" in comparison to the "harsh decisions of the Bacchiads".⁴⁴ While this could be true, it could be argued that the Corinthians perhaps underestimated the harshness of Kypselos' dominion, since their hatred of the Bacchiads would have biased their opinion against the

⁴¹ White 1955, 6.

⁴² White 1955, 7.

⁴³ White 1955, 5.

⁴⁴ White 1955, 5.

aristocratic dominion.⁴⁵ However, Drews elucidates that Kypselos actually “courted the good will of the people” through gestures such as “dividing amongst the commoners the estates of the Bacchiads”.⁴⁶ From this, it is evident that Kypselos succeeded as a tyrant because he both placated the people and brought them justice.

However, it is important to note that Kypselos was not entirely free of traditionally tyrannical behaviour. Gray notes that Kypselos’ “onslaught was apparently not restricted to the Bacchiads”.⁴⁷ Following his social success as a tyrant, Kypselos had been able to create an environment in Corinth which propagated the development of crafts, particularly metal work, which led to greater material prosperity and encouraged a diversified economy.⁴⁸ Although it is not necessarily correct to say that Corinth was a free state under the tyranny of Kypselos, the Corinthians had just been released from the aristocratic rule of the Bacchiads and freed from the “Bacchiad incompetence” of the previous regime, so they did not have to exert their energy on hating their ruler.⁴⁹ Instead, Kypselos enabled the Corinthians to put their effort towards the exploration of Corinth’s excellent natural resources, which then placed Corinth into a prosperous economic position.⁵⁰ Evidence of this economic prosperity is illustrated through a golden libation bowl of the period in the collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.⁵¹ The 800 gram gold vessel was a votive offering made to the gods on behalf of Kypselos. Not only does this vessel reflect the immense wealth amassed by Kypselos, it also signifies that Corinth had reached a level of economic prosperity where the tyranny could afford to use precious metals for ritual purposes and not face backlash from the Corinthian people that this was a waste of resources. What is interesting to note, however, is the artistic simplicity of this vessel. The lack of extravagant carvings or designs is perhaps due to the fact that the vessel is made from gold, which is illustrious enough without the need of additional adornments. This could arguably also have been intended to reflect Kypselos, as it draws a parallel to the fact that he was already such a popular tyrant that he did not require the use of a bodyguard. Kypselos had been able to succeed as a tyrant in Corinth because he had the approval of the people, although his reign was not entirely free from violence. Fundamentally, he acted in such a way that enabled the repressed to flourish, which allowed his tyranny to succeed socially and economically.

Although the first Corinthian tyranny had managed to successfully gain the approval of the Corinthians, the second tyranny failed to succeed socially, due to increased paranoia. Periander, son

⁴⁵ White 1995, 5.

⁴⁶ Drews 1972, 134.

⁴⁷ Gray 1996, 367.

⁴⁸ White 1955, 10.

⁴⁹ Bicknell 1982, 200.

⁵⁰ Bicknell 1982, 205.

⁵¹ Boston Museum of Fine Arts 21.1843.

of Kypselos, took over as tyrant of Corinth after his father passed, but he succeeded with a more ‘drastic regime’ according to D. E. W. Wormell, prompted by his own paranoia.⁵² In Herodotus’ account on tyranny in Corinth, he notes that Periander had sought advice from a fellow tyrant, Thrasybulus, on how to govern the city. The messenger that Periander had sent to Thrasybulus, was led into a field where Thrasybulus “would ever cut off the tallest that he saw of the [corn] stalks, and cast away what he cut off, till by so doing he had destroyed the best and richest of the crop” (Herodotus, *Histories* 5.92).⁵³ Based on this anecdote, it is clear that Thrasybulus was trying to encourage Periander to eliminate anyone of significance in Corinth, or anyone who may have posed a threat to his tyranny. This advice was counterproductive for Periander, since it instilled an unnecessary suspicion within the tyrant which eventually grew into paranoia and led Periander to unleash unnecessary violence on the Corinthians.

Forsdyke notes that Periander’s understanding of Thrasybulus’ guidance led him to “banish and kill the Corinthian citizenry”, which confirms an overtly despotic approach.⁵⁴ In addition, after following Thrasybulus’ advice, Periander “introduced a bodyguard of three hundred spearmen” which confirms his paranoia about potential assassination.⁵⁵ The support of a guard also suggests that Periander was aware that he was unpopular among the Corinthian populace, as was his focus on relentlessly exterminating political opponents.⁵⁶ Further evidence of Periander’s lack of social success is the spread of “slandorous tales” about his wife, Melissa, by the Corinthians.⁵⁷ Smith explains that the creation of these rumours forced Periander to murder his wife in a “barbarous manner” and then, in his remorse, to take a “horrible revenge” on those who were responsible for the spread of such rumours.⁵⁸

In this ordeal, Periander had revealed himself to be a ‘bloodthirsty tyrant’ who was incapable of controlling his violence.⁵⁹ The murder of his wife Melissa perhaps led Periander to the peak of his paranoia where he revealed himself to be a tyrant in the modern sense of the word. De Bakker asserts that following his wife’s death, Periander attempted to ‘placate the spirit of Melissa’ and ordered Corinthian women to undress in public.⁶⁰ This demonstrates that Periander was not in control of his own emotions, and that he was deflecting his angst and regret onto the Corinthian public. In addition,

⁵² Wormell 1945, 6.

⁵³ καὶ ἐκόλουε αἰεὶ ὄκως τινὰ ἴδιοι τῶν ἀσταχῶν ὑπερέχοντα, κολουῶν δὲ ἔρριπτε, ἐς ὃ τοῦ ληίου τὸ κάλλιστόν τε καὶ βαθύτατον διέφθειρε τρόπον τοιούτῳ (Herodotus, 5.92), provided translation by Godley, 1922.

⁵⁴ Forsdyke 2009, 267.

⁵⁵ Wormell 1945, 8.

⁵⁶ Wormell 1945, 9.

⁵⁷ Smith 1867, 1002.

⁵⁸ Smith 1867, 1002.

⁵⁹ Toohey 2004, 67.

⁶⁰ De Bakker 2022, 373.

one might believe that Periander was unable to process his remorse following the murder of his wife, as Smith contends that he was ‘passionately attached to [Melissa]’ and he did not want to be haunted by his dead wife.⁶¹

However, de Bakker argues that Periander’s paranoia stemmed from not from grief but from greed, since Melissa’s ghost was supposed to guide him to “hidden treasure” and so he attempted to appease her by lashing out at the Corinthian public.⁶² From this example, it is clear that there was resentment building towards Periander since the Corinthians had no shame in spreading rumours about his wife. Yet it is also highly probable that this resentment would only have ratified Periander’s initial paranoia and strengthened his perceived need for harsh dominion. Periander would have perhaps thought that the Corinthians were set against him, which would have yet again been to his disadvantage as this would have only perpetuated the lack of approval that he had from the Corinthians, which demonstrates that in this case, tyranny had failed to socially succeed in Corinth.

While the second Corinthian tyranny did not achieve social success, the lack of social approval actually contributed to the economic success of this tyranny. Periander may not have been focused on gaining the approval of the Corinthian public, indeed Wormell argues that he ‘[substituted] a purely personal basis of power for the popular support on which Kypselos had relied’, but this enabled Periander to achieve a high level of economic prosperity in ancient Corinth.⁶³ For example, under his reign, Periander created the largest ship trackway in ancient times, known as the Diolkos. This trackway enabled ships to be moved overland, across the Isthmus of Corinth, which increased the swiftness with which goods were transported across Greece and provided the Corinthian state with a source of revenue.⁶⁴

While it is difficult to decipher the exact success of the Diolkos due to its early development, the degree of swiftness of the Diolkos is captured by Aristophanes, whose character Cleisthenes comments “that’s some isthmus you’ve got there, buddy! You shuttle your cock back and forth more than the Corinthians!” (Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 647-8).⁶⁵ From this joke, it is clear that Periander had achieved a level of economic efficiency that was renowned throughout not only Corinth, but also Greece. While he may not have won the favour of the people, Woremell notes that he was perhaps able to bring economic prosperity to his tyranny by preaching a social ideal which centred around virtues like “hard-work, frugality, and self discipline” which caused the tyrant

⁶¹ Smith 1867, 1022.

⁶² De Bakker 2022, 373.

⁶³ Wormell 1945, 11.

⁶⁴ MacDonald 1986, 191.

⁶⁵ ἰσθμόν τιν' ἔχεις, ἄνθρωπ', ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω τὸ πέος διέλκεις πυκνότερον Κορινθίων (Ar., Thesm. 647-8), translation by Henderson, 2000.

to enforce legislation to abolish idleness.⁶⁶

Although his policies were harsh and may not have been “in conformity with the will of the people”,⁶⁷ Woremell notes that Periander simultaneously provided work to those without it while also contributing to the end of slavery in ancient Corinth.⁶⁸ From this evidence it is apparent that Periander urged on economic prosperity in Corinth, although given his inability to win the approval of the Corinthian public, his motive for spurring on this economic prosperity was questionable. It is clear that Periander’s motivation for economic success would either have stemmed from a personal or commercial motive, as he rejected “compassion in favour of strict law” – a stance he reaffirmed in his maxims.⁶⁹ From this evidence, it is clear that Periander was either unconcerned with gaining social approval or he did not care for it, in which case the tyrant instead concentrated his efforts on making himself the leader of one of the most economically prosperous cities in Greece.

It is important to note that the Corinthians themselves recognised the flourishing of Corinth under the tyranny of Periander despite the lack of approval that they had for him. This is exhibited through an inscription on a cenotaph that was erected in Periander’s honour, which, according to Diogenes Laertius states “In mother earth here Periander lies / The prince of sea-girt Corinth is rich and wise” (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.7.97).⁷⁰ It is emblematic that the Corinthians inscribed such a plaque for Periander, as it proves that although he was not loved by the people he would have at least been respected for the economic prosperity that he brought to Corinth. In addition, the phrase ‘sea-girt’ is most likely an allusion to the Diolkos, and Periander’s control over the seas during his time as tyrant of Corinth. Periander had sacrificed the popular support of the Corinthian people for the economic success of his tyranny and based on the evidence available, it appears that he did so willingly.

The tyrannies of Kypselos and his son Periander both managed to succeed from an economic perspective, however, the social success of Kypselos was mainly possible due to his character and the social milieu at the time of his rise to power. Periander suffered from a disadvantage, as it can be argued that he lacked direction when he inherited the role of tyrant, and that the subsequent advice he sought from Thrasybulus led Periander to his demise. Kypselos created tyranny in Corinth as a way of adhering to the demands of the Corinthian public; Periander, on the other hand, had inherited the tyranny, which is perhaps why he had not managed to gain social success as the notion

⁶⁶ Wormell 1945, 8.

⁶⁷ Wormell 1945, 8.

⁶⁸ Wormell 1945, 9.

⁶⁹ Grey 1996, 375.

⁷⁰ πλούτου καὶ σοφίης πρύτανιν πατρις ἦδε Κόρινθος; κόλποις ἀγχίαλος γῆ Περίανδρον ἔχει (Diog. Laert., 1.7.97), translation by Hicks 1925.

of inheritance had an association with the former Bacchiad rule.

While it is difficult to decipher which tyrant had a more economically successful reign, one could argue that Periander achieved a greater level of economic success since he was not focused on gaining the approval of the Corinthians. In this way, his motivation for prosperity was self-interest, which is arguably why he was able to propel Corinth into economic prosperity. However, from a more holistic view, the tyranny of Kypselos was a greater success than that of Periander, since Kypselos was not known to rule as mercilessly as his son. This leads to the conclusion that perhaps tyranny was most successful in Corinth when it had a ruler that did not administer their power like a typical modern tyrant.

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Within and Beyond the Binary: Examining Performativity in Minoan Iconographical Representations of the Gendered Body

Charli Philips | *Interpreting the Ancient World*

Modes of representing the gendered body have long been interpreted as a key, stable element in Minoan material culture.¹ More recently, Judith Butler has argued in their theory of performativity that gender is not a stable identity, but is rather constituted through stylised repetitions of acts on the body that create the illusion of a binary gendered self.² By deconstructing the visual representations that reinforce a gendered norm, we can identify the elements that constituted the gendered body and their function in the ancient world. In this essay, Butler's theory of performativity is employed as a framework to understand how and why Minoan material culture visually constructed and reproduced gendered identities. I examine the conventions of iconography that establish a gender binary, particularly discussing bodily presentation and gendered activity. Exceptions to these conventions are considered which demonstrate conventions of gender ambiguity or a 'third gender'. I further consider how gender also had the potential to be constructed entirely outside of binaries in fluid and liminal ways. Through this examination of the performativity of gender, I aim to demonstrate the discursive nature of gender in Minoan iconography and to explore the fluid and multiple possibilities of producing identity both within and beyond gendered binaries.

Creating Gender Through Visual Conventions

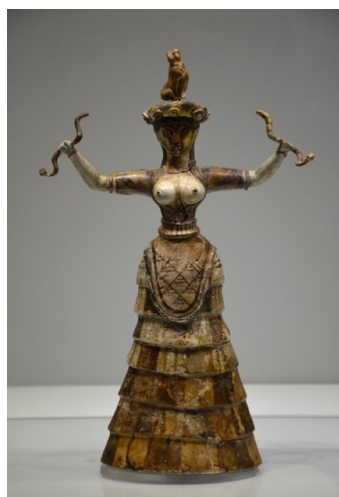


Figure 1: Snake Goddess Figurine from the palace at Knossos, ca. 1600 BCE. Photograph by Artem G. distributed under a CC BY-SA 4.0 license.

¹ Alberti 2001, 191.

² Butler 1988, 519.

Minoan material culture contains several visual conventions that produce binary representations of gendered identity, enforced through visual sexed differences and the stylised repetition of gendered acts.³ Alberti utilises Butler's sex and gendered order to identify two ways that binary gender is imposed onto Minoan material culture: first, through the representation of physical sex characteristics; and second, through cultural signifiers of gender, including clothing, hairstyle, and skin colour.⁴ Representations of physical sex characteristics are minimal in Minoan material culture, predominantly depicting female breasts or flat chests as a representation of sex.⁵ The representation of breasts seemed to strategically combine with clothing conventions to accentuate the breasts, waists, and hips, thereby creating a female-sexed body.⁶ The clothing of the so-called 'Snake Goddess' figurines, for example, intentionally highlights a feminine shape through the open bodice and tiered panel skirt that emphasise the breasts and hips of the figure (Fig. 1).⁷ The exaggerated body shape and impractical clothing imply that this is not a realistic representation, but the creation of a hyper-feminine body for a cultural or social purpose.⁸ Masculine bodies, in comparison, are typically visually produced through a lack of clothing, utilizing the lack of feminine characteristics as a way to present masculinity.⁹ These representations emphasise the female body as a site of observation, or possibly concern, compared with the male body, emphasizing and reinforcing physical differences through conventions of bodily iconography. Conventions for gendered dress reveal the regulative mechanisms that strengthen the concept of physical binary difference through the repeated usage of binary bodily acts.¹⁰

As argued by Alberti, these physical conventions that produce binary gender differences have then been employed to create cultural signifiers of gender, further defining binary notions of gender in Minoan iconography.¹¹ According to Butler, these cultural signifiers construct an illusion of a gendered self, as repeated cultural materialisations of norms demonstrate how gender must be performed based on the 'biological' conditions of sex.¹² The ca. 1600 BCE frescos at Xeste 3 in Akrotiri, Thera, demonstrate the materialisation of norms through cultural practice. Xeste 3 was a public building containing numerous frescos of ritual practice, now one of the most detailed surviving representations of Aegean women.¹³ The 'Adorants Fresco' depicts three female figures,

³ Butler 2014, 12.

⁴ Butler 1990, 8–9; Newman 2017, 215.

⁵ Lee 2000, 119.

⁶ German 2000, 103; Alberti 2002, 114.

⁷ Newman 2017, 216.

⁸ German 2000, 103.

⁹ Lee 2000, 118.

¹⁰ Sørensen 2013, 222.

¹¹ Alberti 2001, 200.

¹² Butler 1988, 519; 2014, 15.

¹³ Younger 2016, 575.

one woman swinging a necklace, one seated with a bleeding foot, and another enveloped in a yellow veil.¹⁴ A predominant explanation for the frescos in Xeste 3 is that the iconography relates to the stages of a woman's life, with the 'Adorants Fresco' representing the beginning of menstruation.¹⁵ This interpretation arises from the recurring representations of saffron — including on the belt of the garments and the yellow veil — which has been used medicinally in many cultures for menstrual pain relief.¹⁶ Together, the Xeste 3 frescos depict women in connection to saffron at different life stages, illustrating the importance of the saffron to feminine rituals or personhood.¹⁷ The lack of a male equivalent to the female figures of Xeste 3 further indicates the feminine emphasis, as the men depicted in Xeste 3 are separated architecturally and of lesser visual status.¹⁸ These representations of uniquely feminine rituals and cultural practices serve to emphasise women as inherently separate from men, based on both their physical sex and their cultural personhood.

Problematizing the Binary Conventions



Figure 2: 'Bull-Leaping Fresco' from the palace at Knossos, ca. 1450 BCE. Photograph by Carole Raddato distributed under a CC BY-SA 2.0 license.

However, these visual conventions that inform the construction of gender are not always stable or consistent, implying that there are other more fluid understandings of gender in Minoan society. Many representations diverge from the established repetition of visual conventions that inform gender, like in the fresco of the bull-leapers (Fig. 2).¹⁹ This fresco displays three figures engaging in bull-leaping, one with red skin and two with white skin. The two white-skinned figures deviate from our understanding of Minoan gendered visual conventions: white skin customarily signifies that the figures are female, but the musculature of their bodies is more commonly associated with the male

¹⁴ Rehak 2002, 38.

¹⁵ Younger 2016, 577.

¹⁶ Rehak 2002, 41–9.

¹⁷ Rehak 2002, 46–7.

¹⁸ Rehak 2002, 47.

¹⁹ Newman 2017, 214.

body.²⁰ Scholars have debated how to interpret this inconsistency, as skin colour is often interpreted as a mode of representation of sex rather than performance of the gendered body.²¹ Younger argues that the white-skinned bull leapers are female despite their lack of feminine physical representation, while others have argued that the figures are men, explaining their white skin as an expression of pre-pubescence.²² While these perspectives are possible, these ambiguities also could be posed not as prepubescent and sexed bodies, but as representations of fluid formations of gender.²³ The gender of the white-skin figures is only controversial due to modern rigid and binary pre-conceptions of gender imposed onto ancient visual conventions that may not adhere to such frameworks.²⁴ It is possible that bull-leaping communicated gender fluidity, multiplicity or liminality through its ritual practice, suggesting that gender was flexible to cultural practice.²⁵ Whilst these ambiguous depictions are a small minority of the known iconographical works, they demonstrate that bodily presentation could have been intentionally used to construct fluid gender identities outside the formulaic stereotypes modern scholars have tended to enforce.²⁶

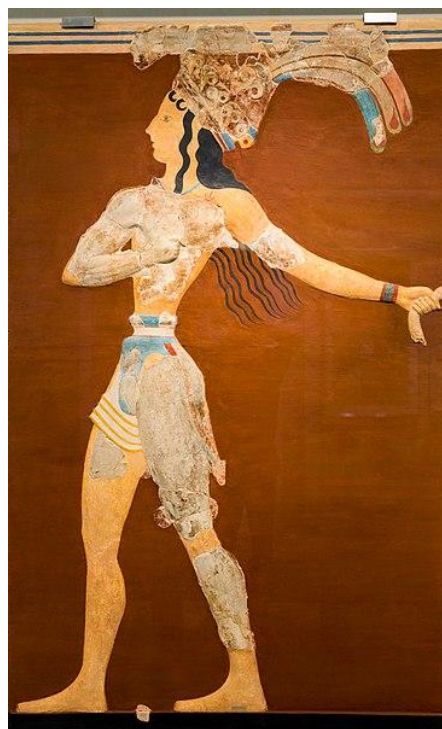


Figure 3: ‘Priest-King’ Fresco from the palace at Knossos, ca. 1450 BCE. Photograph by ArchaiOptix distributed under a CC BY-SA 4.0 license.

²⁰ Eaverly 2013, 83; Newman 2017, 230.

²¹ Alberti 2002, 103.

²² Younger 2016, 578–9.

²³ Newman 2017, 215.

²⁴ Newman 2017, 215.

²⁵ Newman 2017, 233.

²⁶ Bailey 2012, 252; Poole 2020, 21.

Scholars have also applied performativity theories to gender-ambiguous iconography to argue for the construction of a third gender. However, this can be seen as incompatible with Butler's theoretical position. Several iconographic works that perform dual conventions of gender have been perceived as forming an alternate third form of gender, as they embody both conventions rather than embracing new ones.²⁷ This is prominent in the literature on the 'Priest-King' fresco (Fig. 3). The figure cannot be clearly assigned a gender identity, as the identified conventions of skin colour, clothing and physique conflict.²⁸ The individual wears a codpiece associated with masculinity but has feminine white skin.²⁹ While there are issues — particularly with the accuracy of the colouring of the 'Priest-King', due to its fragmentary preservation — the lily crown depicted has only been associated elsewhere with sphinxes and priestesses, suggesting a feminine identity.³⁰ Hitchcock implies that this formulation of different gendered codes may represent an ambiguous construction of gender and suggest an alternative or third-gender identity.³¹ Comte also argues that the artist likely merged the conventions rather than disregarding them, to intentionally render a third-gender or transgender individual.³² However, under Butler's framework, this proposition of an additional gender category limits the potential interpretations of the artworks. By intentionally disturbing the norms that are producing gender, the works could be argued to be redefining what the gendered body is or should be, rather than just producing another category.³³ If they were producing a third gender, it must be questioned why they did not form this gendered body through new iconographic conventions and instead manipulated existing practices. By interpreting the ambiguity as a third gender, our own binary categorisation of gender is perpetuated onto the Minoans, rather than providing an opportunity to explore the possibilities for variance and liminality in gender.

Performing the Body Beyond Gender

Other visual examples provide opportunities to understand how this gender liminality is performed in Minoan iconography through representations that convey something entirely beyond binary conventions. Cadogan has referred to this as 'meta-gender', referencing the liminal zones of representation that imply that gender was embodied in ways that challenged binary categories and went beyond them.³⁴ One example of meta-gender is in the recurring examples where human bodies are merged with animals, dissolving the possibility of reading gender from the figure.³⁵ This is seen

²⁷ Comte 2021, 184.

²⁸ Alberti 2002, 103.

²⁹ Newman 2017, 215.

³⁰ Shaw 2004, 65, 79.

³¹ Hitchcock 2009, 99.

³² Comte 2021, 184.

³³ Butler 1988, 519.

³⁴ Hitchcock and Nikolaidou 2012, 515–6.

³⁵ Goodison and Morris 2012, 279.

in the engraved design of a Middle Minoan period three-sided steatite prism seal from Mallia on Crete which depicts a bird-human figure possibly wearing a skirt, with arms in a posture of a dance.³⁶ The physical posture links the figure to its human and animal nature and imposes a sense of social coherence by wearing a skirt.³⁷ There are numerous other examples of hybridisation, including more erotic depictions of animals protruding from or manipulating human genitalia.³⁸ Hybridisation may have been employed to represent non-human religious beings or as a ritualistic tool.³⁹ Whatever its purpose, hybridisation represents a chaotic mixture of human and animal, which inherently displays a bodily construction beyond gender.⁴⁰ As seen in examples such as the Mallia bird-human seal, the body's ability to display gender is hidden by its anthropomorphism which that body entirely outside the boundaries of sexual dimorphism.⁴¹ By interpreting these anthropomorphic depictions through a performative lens, they can be understood as creating bodies outside of gendered categories entirely, supporting the theory that gender was not inherent to the Minoan body but rather something produced and manipulated.⁴²

Another possible realm where bodily gender occupies a space of liminality is in the representations of humans interacting with Minoan monumental architecture. Minoan monumental and ritual architecture lacks form or rigidity, most notably in the baetyls.⁴³ Baetyls are aniconic rock deities, made typically of a natural stone situated within or around architectural structures.⁴⁴ Our understanding of baetyls as ritual and embodied objects derive from seals, and demonstrate how individuals interacted with the stones.⁴⁵ In Crooks' study of these genderless deities, they identify numerous interactive or affectionate interactions with the baetyls, such as the depiction of figures hugging the baetyl in signet ring and seal iconography.⁴⁶ As there is a spatial association between baetyls and funerary spaces, the intimacy of these figures' interaction with the baetyls can be posed as a ritualistic act, possibly associated with grief or receiving some sort of knowledge.⁴⁷ This intimacy, created by the leaning and embracing, implies that the baetyls did not just function as a marker of sacred space but were believed to embody some sort of being that could be interacted with, whether that be the dead or a deity.⁴⁸ The ambiguous nature of these beings' construction

³⁶ Goodison and Morris 2012, 280.

³⁷ Goodison and Morris 2012, 280.

³⁸ German 2000, 105.

³⁹ Comte 2021, 184.

⁴⁰ German 2000, 106.

⁴¹ Hitchcock 2009, 98.

⁴² Alberti 2012, 97.

⁴³ Comte 2021, 182.

⁴⁴ Crooks 2013, 5.

⁴⁵ Crooks 2013, 17.

⁴⁶ Crooks 2016, 17; for image of signet ring [X-A1034] see

<https://ca.heraklionmuseum.gr/ca/pawtucket/index.php/Detail/objects/449>.

⁴⁷ Crooks 2013, 58.

⁴⁸ Crooks 2013, 58.

embodies Cadogan's 'meta-gender', as human intimacy and being can be informed not only through masculine-feminine dichotomies, but also without a body altogether.⁴⁹ These genderless ritual beings suggest that in Minoan culture, the body does not have to embody gendered binaries to construct a sense of self, and that personhood could be constructed in liminal and ambiguous zones beyond the human, sexed body.⁵⁰

Conclusion

In this essay, I have employed Butler's concepts of gender performativity to explore the various ways that gender was constituted in Minoan civilisation through visual material culture. Notions of separate feminine and masculine binaries did exist, informed by visual conventions that produced both physically sexed bodies as well as culturally gendered bodies. These conventions were also challenged and reconstituted by manipulating bodily performance to reproduce non-conforming and ambiguous versions of gender. There were also representations of personhood and self that existed entirely outside these conventions, stripping away the concept of a gendered body to create liminal places of existence. Employing Butler's frameworks has helped to unpack the multiplicities of conceiving gender in Minoan society, both within and entirely outside binary notions. This has not only revealed the liminal nature of gender and personhood for Minoans but also helped to unpack our modern conceptions of the inherent nature of sex and gender, to demonstrate societal understanding of the sexed body outside these limiting modern perspectives.

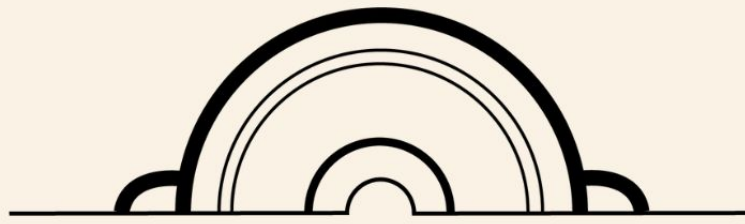
⁴⁹ Hitchcock and Nikolaidou 2012, 516.

⁵⁰ Hitchcock and Nikolaidou 2012, 515.

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K Y L I X

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