Finding the Female in Ancient Greek Landscapes

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For my green-thumbed goddesses, Shirley, Elizabeth and Cathy, and my tender gardener, Hannes.

Statement of Originality:

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Signed:_____ Date: 29/09/2018

Thesis Summary

This thesis examines the associations between females and landscape in ancient Greek evidence from the Archaic to Hellenistic periods. Drawing on select linguistic evidence, it demonstrates that ancient Greek poets and authors use landscape and its features in numerous ways in relation to females. These include their bodies and physical appearances; culturally prescribed female experiences including maidenhood, womanhood and motherhood; female sexuality and sensuality; the manifestation or expression of female power, ability and persona; and female participation in society such as in ritual and religion, marriage as an institution and physical labour in cultivated landscapes.

The investigation reveals women who negotiate their roles in social norms, expectations and relationships with others, whilst challenging the assignment of the female to passivity, silence and seclusion.

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Abbreviations, Translations and Greek Text

All Greek text cited in this thesis is from the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae,* unless otherwise stated. All Greek inscriptions are from *PHI Greek Inscriptions* online via https://epigraphy.packhum.org. All translations are my own, unless stated. I have followed the traditional abbreviations and Latinised spellings for ancient authors and works. The following abbreviations are used consistently throughout for particular scholarship and resources:

ARV	Beazley, J.D., *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1956).
ARV^2	Beazley, J.D., *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters i-iii,* second edition (Oxford, 1963).
BAPD	Beazley Archive Pottery Database online (Classical Art Research Centre, University of Oxford, 1997-2018).
BNJ	*Brill's New Jacoby* online, General Editor: Ian Worthington (Macquarie University) (Brill online, Leiden, 2007-).
BNP	*Brill's New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and, Helmuth Schneider, English Edition by: Christine F. Salazar, Classical Tradition volumes edited by: Manfred Landfester, English Edition by: Francis G. Gentry (Brill online, Leiden, 2005-).
CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* online (University of Oxford, Union Académique Internationale, 2000-current).
KRS	Kirk, G.S., Raven, J., Schofield, M., The Presocratic Philosophers, second edition (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983).
	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC) online (Actualité des études anciennes, 2016).
LSJ	Liddell, H.G. and R. Scott-Jones, *Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon,* digitised online by the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (University of California, California, 2009).
M.D.	Macquarie Dictionary, sixth edition (Macquarie Library, Macquarie University, 2013-current).
O.E.D.	Oxford English Dictionary online, second edition (Oxford University Press, first published online 2000-current).
TLG	*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. A Digital Library of Greek Literature* (Irvine, University of California, 2001-current).

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Chapter One

Finding the Female in Ancient Greek Landscapes: Introduction, Scholarship and Methods

Introduction

The connection between landscape and person is a well-attested relationship, both in ancient and contemporary histories. Landscapes such as gardens, groves and fields cultivate a person, as much as a person cultivates the space. What can a study of select ancient landscape terms reveal about the hidden lives, experiences and agency of females in Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Greece? To answer this question, I investigate the associations, representations and connections between females (παρθένος, νύμφη, γυνή, θεά/θεός) and landscape in ancient Greece. The landscape words selected for this study are κῆπος (garden), λειμών (meadow), ἄλσος (grove), ἀγρός (field, plot of land), ἀροῦρα (fertile field, grassy, flowering area), νομός (pasture), ὄρχατος (orchard), ὕλη (forest, woods) and ἀλωή (orchard and/or vineyard). My investigation is concerned with the ways in which ancient poets use areas of Greek landscape to describe experiences and representations associated with female beings' lives—including girlhood, maidenhood, womanhood, motherhood, and the transitional stages in between—as well as emotions and bodies. These concerns are topical, in terms of feminist research. They direct scholarly attention to constructions of the female gender, body and experience through imagery and symbolism associated with places from which some scholars argue women are historically and physically removed—landscape and the 'outdoors'. It is an interesting paradox, and one that reveals a complex web of ideas, poetic creativity and fragmented reality that surround females in ancient Greek studies. Through my analysis, I show that females are not secluded, passive or disempowered.

Scholarship and Scope

Gardens are topical in current research. From 2015 to 2018 alone, several scholarly contributions concerning ancient gardens and associated landscapes were released. These works considered gardens from myriad perspectives including those of archaeologists examining practices and material remains of cultivated spaces, scholars tracing the historical developments and changes of gardens in ancient Greece, Rome and beyond, as well as investigations concerned with the imaginary and philosophical features of garden landscapes.[1] Less prolific are the investigations

[1] Hilditch's PhD thesis entitled *Kepos: Garden Spaces in Ancient Greece: Imagination and Reality,* 2015*;* the publication of a paper-back edition of *A Cultural History of Gardens in Antiquity,* under the editorship of Gleason,

of female associations with landscape. Nevertheless, several scholars and their work on women and landscape need recognition. In his study of the ancient Greek country estate and its surrounding environment, Bowe states that ancient Greek textual evidence highlights the multifunctional use of land. He shows that ancient estates have purposes that are complementary: spaces for productivity and for enjoyment and leisure; wild forests for hunting, meadows and fields for livestock, as well as tended orchards and fields.[2] However, Bowe's overly-simplistic statement about depictions of females in harvest scenes as pertaining to 'leisure' diminishes the significance of these pottery scenes and the ideologies they represent. Complementary to Bowe's assessment of ancient estates being multifunctional, the study of female associations with landscape reveals multiple scholarly approaches. The approaches are: summaries of the extant evidence to determine roles and responsibilities of females in landscape; landscape and associated imagery as representative of female bodies, personas, experiences and sexuality; and the iconography of females and landscape.

In the combined research areas of females and landscape, a scholar of special note is Scheidel, who presents a wide-ranging survey of women in rural Greece and Rome and includes a variety of texts including Biblical, Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and Roman, under the umbrella term 'Graeco-Roman'. Focusing on textual evidence predominantly,[3] Scheidel's method of analysis identifies texts that concern rural women, with the aim of interpreting "the comments and silences of the ancient sources" about the women who live outside the urban centre.[4] He finds that women's work falls under field labour and livestock shepherding.[5] Although Scheidel consults a wide-range of evidence in his study, a re-examination of ancient Greek sources shows that there is still much to explore within the scattered evidence of women's associations with field landscapes in text, particularly from a poetic perspective.

2016; Farrar's *Gardens and Gardeners of the Ancient World,* 2016; *Gardens of the Roman Empire,* from expert garden archaeologists Jashemski, Gleason and others (late 2017); the March/April edition of *Archaeology Magazine* features an article entitled 'The Archaeology of Gardens' from various contributors, Brown, Kim, Urbanus, Lobell and Weiss, 2018. For garden archaeology studies, see: Jacques 2012, 3-10, who provides a useful summary of the scholarship. For the history of gardens, see: Leach 1982, 1-16; Conan 1999; van der Veen 2005, 157-163. Jones 2005, 164-176, provides a scientific background for the study of garden and cultivation; Bowe 2010, 208-223 summarises the changes of gardens over Greek periods; Hunt 1970, 3-17 investigates the 'metaphysics' of water and political and philosophical explorations through garden landscapes; Shaw 1993, 661-685, for an enlightening investigation of Aegean gardens, notably Thera; Boyd and Jameson 1981, 327-342 for their analysis and discussion of land division of ancient Greece in both rural and urban settings. This list is not exhaustive, as the study of gardens, both historical and archaeological, is wide-ranging and extensive.

[2] Bowe 2015, 268-70.

[3] Scheidel has a section dedicated to Literature and Art in Scheidel 1996, 5-8.

[4] Scheidel 1995, 203.

[5] Scheidel 1995, 202-217, Scheidel 1996, 1-10. The two papers, published a year apart, are a two-part investigation of rural women in ancient Greece and Rome.

Larson and her research concerning nymphs and their associated landscapes is influential. Through her detailed analysis of ancient literature, epigraphical and material evidence, Larson communicates the complexity of nymph identities, and convincingly argues for their importance in the study of ancient Greek mythology and associated belief systems.[6] Larson's research is applicable to Chapter Four, as she notes that Calypso and her island home are an exemplar of a "Garden of the Nymphs."[7] Larson writes,

> To the Greeks, a "garden of the nymphs" was a space intermediate between the untamed wild and the carefully tended field of grain or pruned orchard. The garden might exhibit signs of planned improvement, such as a built fountain, but it was ideally a natural spot that already serendipitously possessed everything needed to appeal to human tastes and comforts... [8]

Through the analysis of key features of landscape, Larson's argument supports the denotation of Calypso's surrounding landscape as a κῆπος, though the text does not use this word explicitly. In so doing, I find that Larson problematises the classification and denotation of κῆπος, which offers a denotation that reflects the complexity of meaning in the Greek word.

The clarity with which Larson denotes a 'Garden of the Nymphs' is advantageous, because the studies of human-influenced spaces and their denotations, including κῆπος, ἀγρός, ἀλωή and ὄρχατος, provide complementary and conflicting ideas. For example, Jones argues that the definition of a garden is "variously based on the scale of cultivation, the methods employed or the crops grown." In this definition, garden crops (other than ornamental plants and trees) usually include vegetables, fruit, root crops and herbs:

> …crops that are cultivated in gardens today or in historical periods… Gardens in this sense of the word make their first definite appearance in Britain during the Roman period…[9]

Spaces designated as gardens and areas of productivity that form part of the κῆπος, like orchard and vineyard (ἀλωή, ὄρχατος), exist prior to the Roman period in Greek evidence, and can include plants not intended to be consumed but still serve a function (see Chapter Four). For Miller and Gleason, gardens and fields are "defined by two fundamental characteristics: they are

[6] Larson 2001, esp. 8-9, 20-21, 28-29, 101-111.
[7] Larson 2007, 56-70.
[8] Larson 2007, 58.
[9] Jones 2005, 165.

bounded and they are cultivated."[10] Osborne states that ancient Greek gardens were not agricultural,[11] though denotations of the words *agricultural* and space are contentiously reliant on modern differentiation between practice and land use. Carroll-Spillecke provides a static view of the nature of κῆπος, when she writes, "As a rule, the *kepos* was planted with fruit trees", forming part of a person's expansive farm or estate.[12] In their apparent contradictions, I find that these scholars reveal or emphasise different facets of the same word. In their areas of similarity, these scholars reveal a feature common to each denotation—a garden is the direct result of "human intention and deliberate manipulation of the organic and inorganic world."[13]

The study of 'women' is a fraught subject area, according to Katz, though it proves to be an area that generates much scholarly interest. The pitfalls of the category and word 'woman' include the collective nature of the word that does not communicate the fluidity of an individual, or how a particular historical, social, political and/or individual perspective characterises the individual and group. The collective 'woman' does not challenge the designation of female beings into a single category.[14] The most relevant message that Katz highlights for current purposes is that the identification of females in ancient evidence needs to be careful and considered, with clear denotations of the use of Greek words for female beings. Katz's argument serves as a poignant reminder because females and their experiences as presented in the evidence are all constructions of (predominantly male) Greek poets, artists and voices, though females are also co-creators and viewers of this evidence.[15]

In a collection of essays edited under Cohen entitled *The Distaff Side. Representing the Female in Homer's Odyssey,* expert voices in the study of women in literature, classics, art history, feminism and history approach the females of the *Odyssey*. One of the essays is Graham's introductory chapter. He writes, "[i]f we include the goddesses and semidivine women, the *Odyssey* presents a great panorama of womanhood."[16] Graham's chapter provides a firm base on which to approach the characterisations of female beings, a task that can be difficult due to complications of historicity, determining a reflection or aspect of 'real women', and so on. Graham argues for the treatment of the epic poem as an historical piece of evidence composed

[10] Miller and Gleason 1994, 2.
[11] Osborne 1992, 377.
[12] Carroll-Spillecke 1992, 84. See Chapter Two and the contemporary denotation of 'garden' for a discussion of the problematic application of 'farm' to ancient κῆποι.
[13] Hunt 1999, 75.
[14] Katz 2000, 511, citing Riley 1988, 2.
[15] So Deacy 2013, 403 and Lewis 2002, 88-90 assert.
[16] Graham 1995, 3.

by one poet, basing his analysis on a comparative method undertaken by Janko. Janko found that the small linguistic differences between the *Theogony* and *Works and Days* correspond to changes expected over the time of a person's life, and thus confidently attributes them to the same author (Hesiod). Building upon Janko's analysis and approach to Hesiodic material, Graham argues that similar methods and techniques in the study of Homeric compositions assist in the hypothesis of a single authorship and the dating of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to one person's lifetime. Graham finds that the differences between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are likewise no greater than those between the *Theogony* and *Works and Days.*[17] Graham's hypothesis for the authorship of the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* provides historians with a reasonable basis for examining the ideals and representations of women in the eighth to seventh centuries of Archaic Greece.[18]

Schein's investigation of divine female representations highlights the topical studies of goddesses such as Circe and Calypso. Schein notes that poets describe these characters with physical appearances that "are grounded in the effects they have on other characters or on themselves."[19] As an example, Schein argues that Circe's character is reflected in her association with Scylla, which implies she is a man-eater, a dreaded goddess, and, therefore, monstrous.[20] Though I challenge Schein's interpretation of Circe's character, his point shows that Circe's appearance reflects her powers and abilities, which have the capacity to influence and manipulate those around her in a notable way. Roessel and Hill's assessments over-simplify Circe as a "witch in the woods",[21] and an "evil enchantress."[22] Coulter's analysis finds that Circe is both "cruel witch of the fairytale" for her powers of transformation and "potions" and a "fairy lady" for her beauty, charm and love for the hero, Odysseus.[23] Whilst the poets and the main characters through which one meets these characters are male, there is an over-emphasis of the androcentric judgement and perception of these female characters. The scholarly interpretation of Circe as a "witch in the woods" and a destructive female, which these scholars choose to replicate,[24] continues to conceal and downplay other aspects of her character. Unlike the interpretations of Schein, Roessel and Hill, Coulter's appraisal of Circe recognises that the goddess is a more complex characterisation than simply an unfavourable, monstrous character.

[17] See Janko 1982, cited in Graham 1995, 6.
[18] Graham 1995, 6.
[19] Schein 1995, 17.
[20] Schein 1995, 17.
[21] Roessel 1989, 34 citing Page 1973, 56-65.
[22] Hill 1941, 119.
[23] Coulter 1925, 48.
[24] Schein 1995, 19 and 21 refers to Circe as a powerful, "dangerous, non-human female", which also removes aspects of her humanised qualities.

However, she fails to note that Circe's "potions" are used to both detrimental and beneficial effect. One of the consequences of these interpretations is that they fail to recognise the double standard with which scholars and the evidence treat male and female divine activity. In the analysis, I note that in some cases divine male harm towards females is unquestioned or unrecognised, whereas divine female harm, especially against males, is emphasised and unreasonably criticised. The labels witch, enchantress and 'fairy lady' perpetuate derogatory, harmful feminised language and stereotypes, and inhibit a more comprehensive reading of female characterisations in ancient texts. Whilst the double standard may not be surprising in the ancient evidence, considering the patriarchal culture in which the poets compose, it is concerning that scholars, possibly unconsciously, perpetuate this inequity.

Brilliant, in contrast, acknowledges Circe's role as both magician with powers of transhumance and protector of Odysseus. In his reading of the *Odyssey,* Brilliant considers her behaviour towards the companions as similar to Penelope's and the unwelcome suitors: "Singers and weavers both, Circe and Penelope ensnared men, distracting them by their beauty; they unmanned these intrusive males, the Companions and the Suitors, rendering them helpless by the exercise of their feminine arts, at least until the advent of Odysseus."[25] Brilliant's interpretation is an improvement on Schein, Hill and Roessel's because he considers Circe from a more neutral perspective. He uses humour to challenge the negative-focused view of Circe with reference to a later, sixth century B.C. epic poem, the *Telegony.* In this poem, the son of Circe and Odysseus, Telegonos, unknowingly kills his father and takes Penelope and Telemachus back to Circe's island. There, Circe and Telemachus marry, as do Telegonos and Penelope. In his humorous reading of the relationships in the *Odyssey* and *Telegony* and in opposition to the criticisms of Circe*,* Brilliant states that it is certainly simpler to see Circe as "sometimes witch and contender for Odysseus' affections" rather than "to think of her as simultaneously Penelope's daughter-in-law and mother-in-law, a combination much more to be dreaded."[26] My interpretation of Circe has commonality with Brilliant's because I show that a closer reading must acknowledge her favourable qualities in addition to her other, dangerous abilities.

A potentially damaging practice in some scholarship is the exploitation of female characterisations to evidence Greek development from 'primitive' cave-dwellers to socialised,

[25] Brilliant 1995, 171. See also Bertolín 2008, 95-96, citing de Jong 2001, 258-259.
[26] Brilliant 1995, 172-73. Brilliant recounts the story of the *Telegony* by Eugammon of Cyrene. As a summary, the story goes: Telegonos, the son of Circe and Odysseus, goes to Ithaca, accidentally kills his father, brings Penelope and Telemachus back to Circe's island, where Telemachus marries Circe and Telegonos marries Penelope.

civilised *polis*-members. Scholars, including Giesecke, Haller and Carroll-Spillecke, use Calyspo and her landscape as evidence to support a 'human evolutionary perspective'. Giesecke argues that "the cave [and woman] is the natural womb out of which man set forth to conquer the world." She claims that women and nature are forces of menace that need to be made "impotent" and are at a less evolved point in civilisation.[27] Haller expresses a similar sentiment, arguing that Odysseus' journey from Calypso's cave "replicates societal evolution from the primitive cave-dweller to the apex of human culture."[28] Calypso and Circe are viewed as "sexual holds" from which to escape, and goddesses who keep the hero in "the darkness of time wasted."[29] I contest the damaging over-simplification of female characterisations because such practices do an injustice to these characters and the sophisticated narratives that poets create.

Chaniotis' interrogation of material evidence from sanctuaries shows that emotions and emotional manipulation are powerful methods of persuasion in Greek dedications to goddesses.[30] Encouraged by his reading, I show that a consideration of emotions and emotional manipulation is applicable to the study of female associations with landscape and the perceptions other have of goddesses and their natural surroundings. In particular, Circe's emotional manipulation impacts upon the relationship between goddess and mortal(s) and the latter's perception of the goddess and her landscape. As the relationship changes, so does a character's perception of the surroundings. The perception of landscape, such as a cave in a meadow and woods, is also conceptualised differently depending on the purpose of the area and relationship between the landscape, its features and its inhabitants.[31] I demonstrate that poets describe these features and inhabitants in different ways that transform the interpretation of area and female, and show that characters' personas are not necessarily static.

Female sexuality is a fundamental theme in the study of vegetation and landscape. In the selected poetic evidence from Archaic to Hellenistic Greece, scholars identify a "recurrent erotic pattern",[32] in which landscapes (for example, κῆποι *gardens*, λειμῶνες *meadows*, ἀγροί *fields*) feature in the construction and exploration of female sexuality. Products of landscape, such as

[27] Giesecke 2007 (a), 17-19, 36, 75, citing Carroll-Spillecke 1989, 82; Giesecke 2007 (b), 201 "Meanwhile, the goddess [Calypso] herself lives in a cave, here clearly represented as the womb of the Earth located at the "navel of the sea" (1.50) From this cave Odysseus issues forth alone, naked, adrift in the briny sea to be born anew in the nurturing hands of the Phaiakians."
[28] Haller 2007, 162.
[29] Brilliant 1995, 170-71.
[30] Chaniotis 2009, 51-68.
[31] Larson 2007, 58 notes that a Garden of the Nymphs has everything required to appeal to human tastes and comforts.
[32] Heirman 2012, 2.

flowers and fruit, are transformed into erotic and sexualised symbols that are associated with females.[33] Scholars whose research has been instrumental in this research area include Deacy, Heirman, du Bois, Bremer, Johnson, Wilson and others.[34] These studies of female sexuality have major themes in common such as their considerations of the male-female, subject-object, active-passive dichotomies, which are embedded within the words one uses. As Rabinowitz shows, 'sex' and 'sexuality' are embedded with phallocentric definitions and their unquestioned application in heterosexual and same-sex relationships.[35] In some scholarly interpretations, such as that produced under structuralist or second-wave feminist readings, the assumed dynamic in sexual relationships is the subject-object, dominant-passive, to which females are frequently viewed as objects and passive participants.[36] The assignment of women to the passive/object binary in contemporary interpretations of ancient Greek evidence reveals that phallo-centricity is still present because the focus is directed towards the male participant and his desires. An essential purpose of the current study is to disrupt these dynamics within scholarly approaches, particularly in the assignment of females to passivity only.

Winkler, a notable scholar of ancient Greek gender and sexuality, sets forth the bases for two of my research considerations: his interpretation of the relationship dynamic between goddess and mortal male; and his reading of the roles and symbolism behind women and men's roles in the female festivals of the Adonia and Thesmophoria, which have wider-reaching implications for the current the study of the female in ancient Greek evidence. Firstly, Winkler raises the point that in the mythic examples of male mortal lovers carried off by goddesses, the latter keeps and cares for the male, though he becomes a 'detumescent' and dormant person in her house or "in that part of nature which is her territory—a mountain cave or garden".[37] Though his interpretation, and that of structuralist, feminist scholar, Stehle,[38] explains well the myth versions concerning Dawn (Eos) and her mortal lovers, encapsulates the relationship between goddess and male in these explicit instances and notes the setting of a goddess' territory, their interpretations are not entirely appropriate in my reading of another goddess-mortal male relationship, the one shared between Calypso and Odysseus. It is interesting that Winkler

[33] Döpp 1995, 341-45; Wilson 1996, 80, 96-99; du Bois 1995, 48-54; Johnson 2007, 50-51; Deacy 2013, 395-413.
[34] du Bois 1995, esp. 43, 48-54; Heirman 2012, 2-7; Bremer 1975, 268-80.
[35] Rabinowitz 2002, 2.
[36] So Henderson 1975, 45 argues in his analysis of female genitals as represented in agricultural metaphors. du Bois 1988, 34, 45-49 would agree, as she views the female body as a passive vessel into which the male pours and stores his seed.
[37] Winkler 1990, 204.
[38] Like Winkler, Stehle 1996, 195-96 notes also that the young male's impotence is part of the myth pattern, in which the relationships between Aphrodite and Adonis, Aphrodite and Phaon, and Dawn (Eos) and Tithonos belong.

considers the two are incompatible because, elsewhere, Winkler finds that Homer uses other female characters—to which Calypso is comparable—to pay "tribute to the usually concealed but powerful operations of a Greek wife in maintaining an estate jointly with her husband".[39] My approach to Calypso's dual identity as both nymph and goddess, which is reflected in her landscape, pertains to Winkler's perception of a wife and husband' joint management of their household.

Secondly, Winkler's interpretation of men and women's attributive roles in the Adonia and Thesmophoria festivals is revolutionary for the ways scholars approach the evidence of female experience and participation in religion and society. He identifies men in the characterisation and role of Adonis, a young male who represents men's comparatively short involvement in ploughing fields and sowing seeds, which can also be metaphors for human sexual reproduction. Winkler argues that rather than men performing the more labour-intensive and socially significant role, "it is Mother Earth who does the eight months' labour" of germinating and growing the seeds, "as it is human mothers who carry the long burden of human generation".[40] Winkler shows that men are attributed the "marginal or subordinate role in both agriculture (vis-à-vis the earth) and human generation (vis-à-vis wives and mothers)". His argument contravenes a 'masculinist' reading like Detienne's,[41] in which women contribute to their own patriarchal oppression.[42] Detienne argues that the purpose of such women's festivals is to either express "the excellence of male farmers" in the Thesmophoria or "the tawdriness of pleasure-bent females" at the Adonia whereby their 'wantonness' puts at risk the entire social system.[43] As Winkler phrases it, "to interpret ancient female rites of fertility in terms of good male agriculture as opposed to bad female sexiness is surely a patriarchal appropriation",[44] one that completely ignores the roles of women in creating meaning and importance of the rites for themselves. However, Winkler concedes that even his own analysis may "still be overly preoccupied with phallic issues of interest to men" because his investigation focuses on men, though they have been relocated to the periphery. His relocation of ancient men to an outer position creates space and invites to the discursive floor a re-focusing on women, the female gender and their experiences, into which my investigation of females through landscape terms and imagery fits.

[39] Winkler 1990, 12, 73.
[40] Winkler 1990, 205.
[41] Winkler 1990, 199; Stehle 1996, 200-202 is also critical of Detienne's focus only on how male observers might have perceived the festival, without consideration of significance for the female participants.
[42] Detienne 1977, 89, 116, 118. Stehle 1996, 200 observes that the "courtesans, on this [Detienne's] interpretation, would be enacting their own marginality".
[43] Detienne 1977, 66, 90, 107 (table: the sowing of seeds, from Sirius to Demeter), 119, 22.
[44] Winkler 1990, 199.

Stehle's reading of the *Odyssey* and other archaic Greek myths presents two potential outcomes to the asymmetrical relationship between goddess and mortal male for the latter: "eternal subordination and passivity (absence of desire)"; or temporary desire "but also aging and confinement as its necessary correlate".[45] Due to Stehle's structuralist approach towards male/female-mortal/immortal couplings, she argues that the males are presented with only two choices. They can accept of the relationship to the detriment of his masculinity; or reject the relationship. The latter choice, though also potentially dangerous, in her reading of the text re-establishes or reaffirms the socially preferred hierarchy of male dominance and female subordination.[46] Contra to Winkler and Stehle's interpretation of Calypso and Odysseus' coupling, my argument provides a third potential outcome following the acceptance of relationship and immortality with a goddess. My analysis, which confronts current scholarship, shows that Calypso and Odysseus' relationship is intended to be mutually beneficial and the goddess' behaviour is motivated by a genuine affection and love for Odysseus. Their relationship, if he were to accept it, could instead exhibit a sharing of authority, as modelled by another Homeric couple, Arete and Alcinoös.

Other relevant feminist research includes the study of Sapphic fragments because of the convergence of female beings, sexuality, experience and landscape. However, some scholars' approaches towards Sappho's poetry and their interpretation of female experience requires refutation. For example, Wilson, in her contribution *Sappho's Sweetbitter Songs*, views the apple as an erotic, passive object only,[47] to which brides and maidens are likened. The impact of Wilson's statement is to undervalue the "traces of resistance"[48] of female agency and choice.[49]

Studies from du Bois, Deacy and Lewis are valuable because they assist in the identification of females who quietly challenge the male-centred system. du Bois' study lends support to my contestation of Wilson's interpretation of perceived passivity (above) because she identifies female agency within the same Sapphic fragment.[50] Likewise, Deacy's study on "Virginal Subjectivity" and agency is pertinent because it challenges the assignment of female to object and victim only. Her study encourages scholars to consider carefully and from different

[45] Stehle 1996, 209.
[46] Stehle 1996, 196-97, 203-204, 209.
[47] Wilson 1994, 96.
[48] Katz 2000, 514 borrows this phrase from Bar On 1994, xv, in which instances of female action and agency are detected in the ancient texts.
[49] Deacy 2013, 395-413, and her analysis of "Virginal Subjectivity" in meadow scenes.
[50] du Bois 1995, 42-43. See also Johnson 2007,114-15.

perspectives ancient Greek female experiences in metaphorical meadow scenes, because alongside victimisation, there is evidence of female agency and positive experience. I apply Deacy's approach to select evidence including Sappho's apple-girl in fragment 105a and Ibycus' *Garden of Maidens*. In terms of iconography, Lewis' *The Athenian Woman* is instrumental,[51] particularly for my approach towards the symbolism attached to fruit in Archaic poetry and its re-invention and re-use in artistic evidence of the Classical period. My interpretive contention builds upon such scholarship because I argue that ancient females are empowered and challenge male partners, whilst working within a patriarchal system that favours males. Put another way, females find ways to negotiate and thrive within a patriarchal structure.[52]

The representations of females in and through landscape feature female relationships with others: other women, men, children, families, strangers and communities. Though most of the women in this thesis are imaginary, except for Menophila (though even her true identity remains hidden since funerary evidence presents a public-facing, idealised image), poets use female characters to explore identities that Greek society assumed or expected of women. "Women were brought together with other women on many occasions and in many settings",[53] physical or metaphoric settings include the κῆπος, λειμών, ἄλσος and ἀλωή, and in religious and social settings, such as ritual and festival. In some cases, the gathering together of women for group experiences speaks to their roles associated with death, birth, ritual and myth, all of which are significant, because of the impact at individual, group and communal levels.[54]

Scholarship has considered women as mothers and carers in the ancient Greek world. Demand's extensive monograph, *Birth, Death and Motherhood in Classical Greece* and Hackworth Petersen's and Salzman-Mitchell's volume *Mothering and Motherhood in Ancient Greece and Rome* are specialist studies of women, motherhood and the associated experiences and roles. Demand's argument, in some instances, paints an overly grim picture of mothers, such as the malnourished state in which many ancient mothers lived, and the view of girls as never fully accepted members in their natal families. However, her study highlights the tensions of transitional stages for females. She also notes the more positive relationships between other women that are enabled through motherhood and mothering (with her exclusion of the daughter

[51] Lewis 2002, esp. 84-90.
[52] du Bois 1988, 29 would call this instance of Acrotime as one of the ways in which "subversion [is] caught up again in the logic of domination." As a result, du Bois would argue that Acrotime, and the current thesis by extension, is "accepting their own castration" (p.17).
[53] Rabinowitz 2002, 2.
[54] Dillon 2004, 69-70; Goff 2004, 39; Dietrich 1961, 37; Demand 1994, 11, 55, 103; Robertson 1993, 238; Hornblower 2015, 95, 330-31; Parker 2005, 184.

in-law and mother in-law relationship).[55] By contrast, Petersen and Salzman-Mitchell's collection presents a more positive view of women's lives, such as Taraskiewicz's contribution that investigates the use of ritual to ease the anxieties of transitional life-stages and to welcome women into their roles as mothers and members of their husbands' families.[56] Demand and Taraskiewicz highlight that ancient texts construct motherhood and child-rearing as central experiences in women's lives.[57] Whether women are as inclined towards motherhood as poetry describes, the sources do not explicitly say.[58] However, these examinations still do not fully represent the value that female parenting has in ancient society. Whilst fatherhood was highly valued, I investigate the important role and value of motherhood and a woman's relationship to her child as identified through 'vegetal', landscape simile and imagery.[59] Aside from a woman's reproductive capabilities, there is evidence to suggest that women held profoundly important positions as mothers in Greek families and society, which furthers the interests of Demand and Taraskiewicz.

Methodology and Methods

The sections below outline the approaches and methods that are fundamental to my study of females and ancient Greek landscape terms. The selected frameworks and methods aid in identifying, analysing and interpreting ancient perceptions of gender, personas and the roles and attributes of females in Greek societies of the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods. Utilising the tools that scholars offer from certain theoretical backgrounds, my interpretations reveal that female identities and experiences are complex and multifaceted. I identify an undercurrent of women's agency and empowerment within the remnants of an ancient patriarchal culture, and offer findings that challenge modern interpretations of female experiences, roles and bodies in ancient Greece.

Conceptual Framework

Second and third wave feminism: female visibility, recognition and agency

In the work of notable second-wave feminist scholar, Pomeroy, ancient Greek females are understood as oppressed by men in all areas of their lives.[60] Particular ancient patriarchal voices may inform this view, such as Aristotle's belief that the male is by nature superior to the inferior

[55] Demand 1994, 2-4, 8, 18.
[56] Taraskiewicz 2012, 43-70.
[57] Demand 1994, 2-4 and 7-8; Petersen and Salzman-Mitchell 2012, 1-22.
[58] Cf. Sappho loved her daughter and says she would not exchange her for anything (Sapph.132). However, Sappho does not reveal whether motherhood was a high priority for her personally.
[59] Other works consulted on the topic of motherhood and goddesses are Slatkin 1896, 1-24; Lynn-George 1996, 1-26; Pratt 2007, 25-40; Kitts 2000, 103-124.
[60] Pomeroy 1975, 57.

female, which means that the male should rule over the female who lives in subjugation.[61] In such second-wave feminist scholarship, female agency is sparingly addressed, if noted, and these ancient opinions are rarely questioned. My study contributes to second-wave feminism as it aims to gauge a clearer picture of females' lived experiences in ancient Greece. However, the project aligns more readily with third-wave feminist research because it assumes the existence of females and their experiences and seeks to expand current knowledge of real, idealised and imaginary females in ancient Greece. I explore the themes of female agency, recognition and visibility that are notable in third-wave feminist research by Deacy, Lewis, Fowler, Dillon and Winkler. My third-wave feminist appraisal seeks to disrupt scholarly consensus and interrogate the evidence for findings that may appear contradictory: female desire alongside victimisation;[62] female agency within a patriarchal social and cultural structure that others have interpreted as oppressive; the highly valued roles of female parenting and motherhood within a society that emphasises the role and value of fathers and male parenting; and a gendering of space that reflects female authority in which historians may see only male leadership and management.

Building upon previous research of the scholars noted above, I demonstrate the following: females are active in landscape; they are not simply detectable but visible in the ancient evidence corpus; females are recognised as valuable members of the family and wider community; and women's lived experiences and their metaphorical, mythical and poetic representations in the evidence attest to female agency and empowerment. Based on an analysis of the evidence, I contest the traditional scholarly interpretation of secluded, oppressed and silent Greek women that is seemingly endorsed even by Pomeroy. However, my aim is not to disprove the existence of the cultural ideal of female seclusion. Rather, I question its applicability to all females and the extent to which it is applied. I argue that if female seclusion remains as an unchallenged, all-encompassing rule and ideology, the result is the continued invisibility and non-recognition of women who are excluded from this ideal, such as working women with Greek citizenship, female slaves and non-citizens. Building upon Winkler's efforts to relocate men to the periphery,[63] my research brings females to a focal position, and considers more closely how they might have felt in their experiences.

[61] Arist.*Pol.*1.2.1254b.
[62] Deacy 2013, 395-413.
[63] Winkler 1990, 206.

Outside the *oikos*: females and landscape

The οἰκός, as Antonaccio defines it, is the household, the family, the built house structure itself. It is both the constitution of the Greek family and the basic, physical residential unit.[64] The centrality of females to the household and the οἰκός demonstrates the importance of women to the family and to the house. If one considers Aristotle's conception of the *polis* as constructed from the οἰκός wherein humans are "creatures of the *polis*",[65] then females hold profoundly important and powerful positions indeed.[66] There are studies that dedicate their analyses to the connections between women and the indoor world of the *oikos*. Pomeroy, Giesecke and Huffman argue that women are intimately connected to the indoors, to the management of the household, the essential production and processing of household goods, such as grain storage and textile production and the birthing and rearing of children.[67] Certainly, Xenophon's description of the household, and the placement of the wife within a privileged, elite system, aids such scholars' designation of women as components of the home's internal structure.[68]

Female associations and representations with the physical world outside the home receive far less attention than they deserve, and the acknowledgement and assignment of women to the household means that women's connections to natural landscapes seem less important and harder to prove. Scheidel notes that the focus on urban environments causes the neglect of the rural, as well as the study of women in these rural areas.[69] This scholarly neglect extends to female associations with landscape spaces such as the garden, which is surprising and contradictory since scholarship assumes that the garden is a designated place of women's activities.[70]

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[64] Antonaccio 2000, 519 and n.12.
[65] Arist.*Pol.*1252a; Antonaccio, 519.
[66] The relationship between oikos and *polis* is complex, as Nevett 1999, 4-20 highlights. Wohl 1993, 20-21 argues that it is woman's power over procreation, the ability to create life as representative for "either good or evil", that is central to men's patriarchal need for control. Pomeroy 1994, 34, 36 argues that certain comments in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* (Xen.*Oec.*7.32, 10.1) indicate the potential for women to have "masculine intelligence" and superior authority over household management.
[67] Pomeroy 1975, 57; Bertolín 2008, 92-93, 95-96, who finds the loom as a main marker of "female space", and their roles indoors; Wohl 1993, 19-20, using the ideal of Penelope in the *Odyssey* to illustrate the designation of women to the indoors. Huffam 2005, 1, wherein she summarises that all women were slaves (women are slaves as wives through marriage). Huffam argues women "were expected to live a life of subservience", and, as exemplified through Penelope, were not permitted to leave the palace grounds during Odysseus' twenty-year absence. Goff 2004, 2-4 summarises the main points of women's seclusion and exclusion. She identifies 'exceptions' to the general rule of seclusion, though her book's focus is on the regularly requirements of women to be present and active in public, namely ritual.
[68] Xen.*Oec.*7.22-23.
[69] Scheidel 1995, 202.
[70] Goff 2004, 59. However, Goff includes no reference to ancient evidence for this claim, and she also considers women's roles in the outdoors as exceptions (pp. 1-2, 48).

As a way of countering the imbalance, my project focuses predominantly on the evidence that reveals female associations with landscape, through the multiple references to gardens, meadows, orchards, vineyards, forests, fields and pastures. I also include other items associated with these spaces, such as baskets, because they stand as signifiers of female virtues. I extend the scope to include an analysis of Calypso's cave to show that it is conceptualised as a house in the *Odyssey,* because of the significant impact it has on the interpretation of her character and connection to landscape.

My study finds that certain scholars contribute a negative interpretation of the natural world and women as two analogous entities. For example, Giesecke argues in her analysis of the *Odyssey* that women and nature are menacing forces to be restricted and controlled, and that the main reason for the lack of gardens in urban settings and the restriction of women to the indoors is due to their shared, fear-inducing, wild natures. According to Giesecke, women, like the natural world, are dominated and subjugated in ancient Greece.[71] However, I will demonstrate that the evidence also speaks positively and appreciatively about females through landscape, which provides a more complete picture of females and their representations. Poets describe, compare and articulate female characterisations, bodies and experiences using landscapes for positive purposes including praise and to portray the values and virtues of females. With this focus on a more positive reading, I am not ignorant of the patriarchal and gendered viewpoints that poets present about women. Rather, my focus shows that positive interpretations are also important and deserve recognition.

Agriculture/Horticulture: beware the danger of contemporary English classifications

Leach proposes that distinctions between agricultural and horticultural words need to be maintained, and that previous misclassifications of agricultural or horticultural production practices in pre- and early- English settled New Zealand "is a telling example of cross-cultural misinterpretation."[72] Although her caution is directed at studies of regions and practices outside Southwest Asia and Europe, her warning is relevant for studies that investigate the practices of other civilizations and time periods:

> For the rest of the world, we should justify the applicability of western terms like 'agriculture' and 'horticulture' before employing them to

[71] Giesecke 2007 (a), xxi, 75, 159.
[72] Leach 1997, 143.

> describe recent or ethnographic practices, and consider adopting new or neutral terms when discussing origins.[73]

Words such as agriculture and horticulture should not be used without first critiquing their denotation, use and purpose. Contemporary uses and denotations of these words connote modern, post-industrialised ideas and expectations, which can cause misunderstandings and misrepresentations when applied to another society's contexts. As I am not concerned with the categorisation of ancient practices using modern words, such as agriculture and horticulture, and to avoid the danger of inaccurate classification, I use a more general word *cultivation* (*cultivational, to cultivate*) instead. This general word applies to the interpretation of two ancient Greek words γεωργός and γεωργία (See Chapter Two).

Sensory Studies

The study of the senses and the ways in which sensory experience is embedded within the evidence of ancient civilisations is a topical field of research. Historians have shown that modern scholarship evidences a "pre-eminence of vision",[74] or "ocularcentrism" as Squire phrases it,[75] perhaps due in part to the focus ancient authors have towards the visual. Certainly, Squire defends, not overly convincingly in his edited volume *Sight and the Ancient Sense,* the volume's clear focus on sight primarily and other senses secondarily by arguing that,"[l]ike it or not (and there are many good reasons for *not* liking it), classical ideas about the senses recurrently start from the assumption of sight's supremacy".[76] In contrast, Betts contends that examining the senses is "a way of broadening our perspective on the past by recognising that by focusing on the visual we have neglected a vast body of data and interpretative tools for understanding ancient societies".[77] Treating sight preferentially at the expense of the other senses means that one only gains a fragmented, incomplete understanding of human or imaginary characters' experiences of the physical (space, landscape or place) and of the emotional-psychological. A narrower 'view' of sensory experience with a preference for sight limits scholarly perceptions of ancient cultures, and the cultural markers evoking the other senses, which poets or artists build into their creations. A study of the senses is revolutionising the way historians approach and comprehend ancient societies.

[73] Leach 1997, 146.
[74] For example: Wade 1998, 89; Weddle 2011, 272, 293.
[75] Squire 2015, 8.
[76] Squire 2015, 9.
[77] Betts 2017, 2. Betts refers readers also to Zardini 2005, 22; Hamilakis 2011, 220; Hamilakis 2013, 409; Hamilakis 2014, 10, all of whom are critical scholars in the field.

Building upon Bett's contention, I consider how a reading of the senses and sensorial experience expands current understandings of Calypso's imaginary landscape. I argue that, in the case of Calypso's island, sight is not treated preferentially and that her landscape requires a multisensorial consideration. The application of sensory studies as a theory and approach has not previously been applied in a reading of Calypso's island. Yet, the senses play a fundamental role in constructing the delightful, multisensorial experience from Hermes' focalisation in the goddess' landscape. Hermes' experience typifies what Robb and Harris term as 'embodiment', a concept which explores how beings experience the world through the senses and their bodies, and how such experiences reveal the "sensory qualities of places and things".[78] The study of the senses in this Odyssean extract reveals a deep emotional and psychological engagement and response to the sensorial stimuli.

I advance Bett's aims in sensory studies through my analysis of touch and physical stimulation in Chapter Three. Touch has been neglected in previous studies of female sexuality and the delights of meadows, despite its prominence in ancient poetic evidence. A closer reading of physical sensations and stimulation in select ancient poetry reveals a richer understanding of female sexuality and imagined experiences.

Methods

Method: originality, data collection and selection criteria

The thesis brings together a selection of words—κῆπος, ὄρχατος, ὕλη, λειμών, ἄλσος, ἀγρός, ἄρουρα, νομός and ἀλωή—not studied together previously, and encompasses a substantial range of Greek historical periods (Archaic to Hellenistic). Due to the time and attention required for such research, I have limited the study to the above words as single linguistic examples, with the exclusion of others such as ὀρειάς *mountain*, seas, oceans and rivers. I have not examined all the linguistic alternatives for each of the above terms, such as ἄλτις for ἄλσος.

I identified the corpus of select evidence using Textual Searches and Lemma Searches via the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG),* which are arranged chronologically. Lemma searches proved useful because they identified the word in the evidence of the entire database, which were helpful for the survey approach used in Chapters Two, Six and Seven. For an in-depth analysis of a particular text or author and their use of words, the *TLG's* Browse function was also useful, and assisted with the case studies of Chapters Three to Seven.

[78] Betts 2017, 2; Robb and Harris 2013, 17.

As a collective group pertaining to different areas of landscape, the words and sources were selected using the following criteria:

1) the source describes or portrays a woman or women in one or more of the above areas;
2) the source refers to specific tasks undertaken by or expected of women that are identified with one or more of the above areas;
3) the source has language that uses physical or metaphorical aspects of the areas to describe or conceptualise women, thus creating a connection or association between women and that area;
4) the source identifies particular themes, such as prescribed female experiences (motherhood, maidenhood, transitional life-stages, ritual), emotional experiences and expressions (grief, enjoyment, effort), and qualities or traits (skill, beauty, industriousness, value) which are conveyed through references (imagery, symbolism, metaphor, simile, other language) to the above areas and/or the vegetation that grows in these areas.

I also found the Beazley Pottery Archive Database online and *PHI Greek Inscriptions* online crucial. Similar to the approach used for the *TLG,* I identified relevant artistic evidence in the BPAD based on decoration descriptions using key words and words, and key word searches on *PHI*.

Method: a survey of the evidence

One of the approaches in my project is the wide historical range from which I draw evidence. Chapters Two, Three, Six and Seven present a survey of evidence from Archaic to Hellenistic periods, while providing special and in-depth analyses of selected examples. The purposes of such a survey are two-fold: to present a quantitative collection of evidence; and to offer a complex and detailed picture of ancient Greek female beings in certain landscapes. I use this survey approach to identify a wide variety of textual references to females in landscape whilst also presenting in-depth interpretations of several of the identified sources. The investigation of evidence from a wide-set chronology is not a new approach, and there are three notable scholars whose works are exemplars for this thesis: Scheidel, Larson and Buxton. Scheidel and Larson investigate a wide chronological range of data for their respective interests of rural women in Greece and Rome (Scheidel) and nymphs (Larson).[79] In the case of Scheidel, his investigation

[79] Scheidel 1995, 202-217 and 1996, 1-10; Larson 2001.

surveys Biblical, Greek and Roman women, all of whom are depicted in rural areas and perform various tasks associated with these areas. Larson's study of nymphs includes evidence from Archaic through to Hellenistic Greece. Her survey enables the demonstration of the widespread worship, societal and cultural value of nymphs, as well as various changes in the evidence towards nymphs over time. Buxton in his investigation of myth, "the distance and interplay between the imaginary world of stories and the (real?) world of the tellers", covers a similarly wide-ranging chronology of evidence and is inclusive of Archaic (for example, Homer and Hesiod), Classical and early Hellenistic periods.[80]

In this project, the survey identifies recurrent themes and attributes with which poets use landscape to communicate their constructions of female beings. For example, the evidence for fields, meadows and gardens, and orchards and vineyards conceptualise and praise female beauty and industriousness. This evidence shows consistently that poets use landscape to construct and comment on female experiences, such as motherhood, maidenhood, transitional life-stages (approaching sexual maturity, marriageability), sexual encounters and marriage. Consistent, too, is the use of landscape to conceptualise the female body.

Various poetic tones and attitudes reveal themselves through a survey of the evidence. From the Homeric and Sapphic evidence of epic and epithalamia, I show that the texts have an appreciation for female beings and their roles such as mothers and brides, and their constructed experiences and temperaments, such as Thetis' role as mother and her display of grief in response to the prophesied death of her son, Achilles. In the textual evidence from Athenian comedy, including Aristophanes, the poet uses humour to draw a comparison between women's bodies and the produce of landscape. Other observations that are the result of a survey approach confirm that poets recognise landscapes as appropriate settings of women's ritual and the expression of emotion in a ritualised setting, such as Erigone and the Aiora or Thetis and the women's lament in Lycophron's *Alexandra*.

In Hellenistic evidence, poets such as Theocritus make use of idealised pastoral settings to create female characters who challenge or negotiate their places in the cultural institution of marriage. The way in which Theocritus does this is comparable to the meadow and harvest scenes in Homeric, Sapphic and other Archaic poetry. These poets reflect inferences of women's negotiations with cultural and societal expectations. Though they are victims of another's sexual

[80] Buxton 1994, 4-6, quote cited on p.5.

aggression, maidens and goddesses in meadows also demonstrate agency, such as choice, preference and subjective sexuality (Chapters Three, Four, Six and Seven).

The inclusion of inscriptional and ceramic evidence shows that the themes and attributes that poets explore through imaginary women and landscape have historical basis. This evidence provides a way of connecting mythical and imaginary women with the attributes and traits of historical women. Other scholars have already identified the value of studying material evidence in this way. For example, Tsoukala finds that a series of terracotta statuettes and vase-paints of the archaic and classical periods "were perceived as references to feminine industriousness and virtue, and belonged to the discourse on gender."[81] Connelly argues that inscriptions are a valuable category of evidence for the study of ancient female priesthoods.[82] Tsoukala's and Connelly's analyses provide the foundations for my assertion that material and textual evidence demonstrates the echo of popular themes, female traits and attributes. I argue that these recurrent themes, traits and attributes show females have substantial societal and cultural value.

Method: denotation and connotation

The ways in which ancient poets denote a word is important. I have made a point of translating most of the evidence used in this project myself, to obtain a better understanding of how specific words function in the evidence, and how poets and authors use them. My translations are a more poetic and freer style as opposed to a more literal, word-for-word approach, as I find that my approach draws out more of the nuanced and inferred commentary about females in the relevant textual evidence. Chapter Two is concerned with the denotations of each word. Each provides an in-depth, detailed discussion of the denotations of the relevant words through the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods for the sake of comprehension and clarity. My close, detailed examination reveals that the denotations and connotations of these terms change over time, which reveals a more nuanced understanding of the texts. Aside from Chapter Two and these discussion, each successive chapter's discussion is concerned with the connotations (associated imagery, metaphor, simile) of the words, their impact and application in the depictions of female beings.

Overview of Chapters

I have structured the project with a consideration of, firstly, the denotations of landscapes and females, and, secondly, the connotations of these words. Chapter Two investigates the

[81] Tsoukala 2007, 387.
[82] Connelly 2007, 2-3.

denotations of key landscapes and females, and how the uses and nuances of these words change over the Archaic to Hellenistic periods. It demonstrates the importance of carefully considering the complexity and sophistication of the words and how different poets throughout this wide chronological timeframe conceptualised the natural world around them. It establishes the necessary foundational knowledge for each landscape and female that is explored in the successive chapters.

Chapters Three to Seven offer in-depth case studies of each space in relation to females. A close analysis of words with a focus on female associations offers a richer picture of how the evidence considers or represents females through and in these landscapes. These females range from mythical Homeric females, to the idealised women in Classical textual and artistic evidence, to real women like Menophila and other, important female characterisations in Hellenistic poetry and epigraphy. Inherent in each case study is the emphasis on experience and persona. Chapter Three demonstrates that an examination of touch brings reality and richness to mythical or poetic female experiences in the κῆπος and λειμών. It also considers how the mythical meadow is used from the Archaic to Hellenistic periods to convey female persona and experiences.

Chapter Four turns to the mythical nymph-goddess, Calypso. I consider how Homer has created a complex, sophisticated character that embodies traits of different females (νύμφη, θεά) that has a direct impact upon the way her surrounding landscape is viewed, experienced and interpreted. Through the focalisation of Hermes, I investigate how Calypso's nymph-goddess identity encourages visitors and audiences to experience the sensory delights of her island, and challenges scholarly perceptions of female authority and the organisation of Homeric household space. With a similar purpose in mind, Chapter Five analyses Circe, Athena and Artemis and their connections to wooded landscapes. I consider the ways in which divine female power manifests in the surrounding landscape. I show that Circe's characterisation is multi-shaded, which has an impact upon the relationships she has with other characters and their perceptions of her in the epic.

Chapter Six has a different approach. It surveys Archaic to Hellenistic evidence to show that females are active in cultivated and non-cultivated field landscapes, and that poets use metaphorical fields and pastures to construct and represent female bodies, sexuality and experiences. Of special note are the representations of female transitions between different life-stages, such as that from maidenhood into womanhood.

Lastly, Chapter Seven approaches female associations and representations from the cultivated spaces of ἀλωή and ὄρχατος. I show that the features, symbols and tasks associated with vineyards and orchards convey female industriousness, beauty, desirability, skill and sexuality. Poets and artists make use of these cultivated spaces to praise females for their assumed or expected roles and experiences in motherhood and child-rearing, grief, transitional life-stages and ritual. The Archaic to Hellenistic evidence examined in Chapter Seven demonstrates that females are simultaneously subject and object, active and passive. Thus, I assert that a strict assignment of females to passivity, seclusion and silence is not only inaccurate, but that the evidence reveals empowered, self-assured and agentic females who are important and valued members of families and communities.

Chapter Two

Digging-Up the Earth: Denotations of Ancient Greek Landscapes and Female Beings

Introduction

Ancient Greek landscapes of κῆπος, ἀγρός, ἄλσος, λειμών, ἀλωή, νομός, ὄρχατος, ὕλη and ἄρουρα feature in the scant survivals of literature and documents from ancient Greece. Landscapes provide inspiration for metaphors and similes that describe experiences and personas of female beings. They are the settings for scenes of labour and production, leisure, self-exploration, the pursuits of lovers, religious festivals and rituals. They are prominent in the memories of lost heroes returning home, or are temporary residences for political and social figures, and are sources of livelihood and inheritance. I demonstrate that denotations of landscape words offer insight into how ancient people conceptualised the world around them, and investigate the impact that these conceptualisations have on ancient people's world views. Related to ancient world views are the ways that people identify one another. I consider how ancient females are identified in Greek culture, and whether they are perceived with simple, fixed identities, or, more likely, whether they embody different identifiers simultaneously.

A close examination of selected ancient Greek landscape words provides the evidentiary foundation of my study, with the aim of improving understanding of ancient usage and how Greek writers and poets conceptualised these spaces. Examining the evidence is important because there are differences in usage and denotation between ancient words and their English translations. English has the words like garden, field and orchard, and these are used to translate the Greek words κῆπος, ἀγρός/ἄρουρα, ὄρχατος and ἀλωή. However, the denotations and connotations of these English words do not necessarily carry the same meaning as the Greek words. Historians have detected these difficulties and the dangers in using English words and measures in the assessment of other cultures, societies and their practices. In fact, Leach and van der Veen suggest creating new words or adopting neutral words, and, at the very least, of being critical when employing modern words to describe and assess different cultural contexts and practices.[1] In the same vein, it is necessary to be critical of the English words used to interpret ancient Greek evidence.

[1] van der Veen 2005, 157, 160; Leach 1997, 146.

The analysis of the landscape words κῆπος, ἀγρός, ἄλσος, λειμών, ἀλωή, νομός, ὄρχατος, ὕλη and ἄρουρα are organised by the chronological periods of Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic. A chronological structure allows the identification of differences and similarities across different time periods and amongst authors and poets of similar dates. The purpose of presenting these denotations of landscapes and female beings first is that it sets out the parameters of each word and provides the basis for analysis in successive chapters.

Landscapes: Ancient Words and Their Denotations

ἀγρός, -οῦ, ὁ: *field*

The type of field of interest here is used for cultivation not war.[2] The key aspect in the denotation of ἀγρός is that it is an area tended, controlled or cultivated by humans, or that it holds people's interests for future cultivation.

Archaic

In Archaic evidence, ἀγρός is an area in which humans deliberately grow plants, flowers or crops. In their most basic function, ἀγροί are cultivated spaces. The predominant form of evidence for this word during this period is epic poetry, specifically the *Iliad, Odyssey, Homeric Hymns* and Hesiodic texts. In the instances when a text refers to the labours of people, it can be assumed that they are working in a field (ἀγρός or ἄρουρα) with crops—sowing, tending or harvesting—and not with animals in a pasture.[3] For example, in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite,* the goddess says Hermes carried her across "ἔργα... ἀνθρώπων *the labours of people*", meaning land that humans cultivate.[4] In the cultivated land belonging to Laertes, Odysseus remarks that there is no untended πρασιά *plot* in all of his father's κῆπος *garden*. Rather than ἀγρός, the poet uses πρασιά to denote the cultivated earth.[5]

Laertes' and Odysseus' fields are imagined as their familial farm or estate in the *Odyssey*, from which people return (ἀγρόθεν),[6] and go out into (ἀγρόνδε).[7] In the case of Eumaeus, he lives in his own house out in the fields,[8] which enables him to care more closely for the animals and suggests he is some distance from Odysseus' familial house. In the *Iliad,* the landscapes

[2] Μάχη is one of the words used to denote a battle field, or battle. E.g. Hom.*Il.*5.824.
[3] Hom.*Od.*6.259.
[4] h.Hom.5.122.
[5] Hom.*Od.*24.247.
[6] Hom.*Od.*13.268.
[7] Hom.*Od.*15.370.
[8] Hom.*Od.*14.5-16.

represented on Achilles' shield evidences land division that locates cultivated fields at a distance from the city.[9] Though it is a mythical, imaginary example, the shield suggests that land division, in which fields for crop growing could be located outside of the urban centre and away from the spaces in which property owners live,[10] is practised in the Archaic period. Like Eumaeus, Homer describes an ox (βοῦς) that works and lives on the land with the adjective ἄγραυλος *dwelling in the field* or *living on a farm*, in which ἀγρός forms part of the adjective.[11] These examples show that the word ἀγρός is in use and is incorporated into poetic conceptualisations of landscape and place. Related to ἀγρός is the word, ἔργον, which connotes human-cultivated fields.[12] While ἀγρός denotes the physical space, ἔργον (and the verb ἐργάζομαι) represents the activities of cultivation,[13] which can include animal-assisted cultivation using an ox (βοῦς) or mule (ἡμίονος).[14]

Specific goddesses are associated with field cultivation in the Archaic period. For example, the poet of the *Hymn to Demeter* sings of the goddess' powers over the yielding of crops (καρπός) from the tended earth, as well as the emergence of flowers and leaves from the ground.[15] In the *Hymn to the Earth Mother of All,* the earth, personified as the goddess Gaia, is praised for the rich fields from which harvests come and the grassy land on which girls dance.[16]

Classical

In the Classical period ἀγρός is cultivated land in which crops grow,[17] which is consistent with Archaic use. Texts show that oxen are used for ploughing fields in preparation for cultivation.[18] The word can denote rural areas, which fields characterise,[19] the area of land away from the city designated for crop growing,[20] or fallow land.[21] The differences in cultivational state implies that these fields might be under separate, private ownership, and that neighbouring fields can be sold

[9] Hom.*Od.*16.383.
[10] Cf. Hom.*Il.*18.541ff.
[11] Hom.*Od.*12.253; Hes.*Theog.*26, though Hesiod criticises the field-dwelling shepherds in this example.
[12] E.g. Hom.*Il.*12.283, 16.392.
[13] h.Hom.4.119-25; Hom.*Il.*2.436, Hom.*Od.*10.147; Hom.*Od.*14.222. In Hesiod, ἔργον consistently describes physical work, labour or tasks: Hes.*Op.*20, 311, 412, 421.
[14] Hes.*Op.*46: "…ἔργα βοῶν…." Cf. Thgn.1196-1201. Verdenius 1985, 43 also interprets this reference as mention of cultivational labour.
[15] h.Hom.2.470-3.
[16] h.Hom.30.9-15.
[17] Xen.*Oec.*20.4; Dem.29.3; Soph.*OT.*112, 761; Hdt.5.29; Arist.*Ath.*Pol.2.2; Pl.*Leg.*824b. In Pomeroy's commentary of Xen.*Oec.*20.4, she argues that a well-run, flourishing estate with abundant stores of food "advertises the virtue of a man who owns it". See Pomeroy 1994, 338.
[18] Hdt.1.31.
[19] Soph.*El.*313; Hdt.1.59, 120; Ar.*Ach.*32; Lys.1.11.
[20] Soph.*OT.*761.
[21] Pl.*Leg.*761b.

separately.[22] In his *Characters* entry on 'Stinginess', Theophrastus tells that a tight-fisted person is extremely protective of his crops and produce. He does not allow others to eat from his garden, collect fruit that has dropped to the ground from his trees, or cross through his field in fear that someone might sample his produce. This particular entry is interesting because it evidences the linking of separate spaces within a person's estate, which, like Odysseus' familial estate, could be located away from the main house. The κῆπος (garden), ἀγρός (field) and fruit trees (ἀλωή or ὄρχατος) are areas belonging to person's private land and are important to the overall wealth of the household.[23] In other Classical evidence, Xenophon uses ἀγρός for unspecified human cultivated land, similar to the Homeric poet's use of the word in the *Hymn to Aphrodite*.[24]

In this period, authors mention activities and tasks associated with field cultivation without the explicit use of ἀγρός. For example, the Classical writer Timocles (cited in Athenaeus) talks of workers harvesting capers. This harvest is presumably undertaken in a field that grows the crop.[25] Likewise in *Airs, Waters, Places*, Hippocrates describes the fruitful harvests of crops from cultivated earth.[26] Other Classical texts describe workers in fields, such as Sophocles, with mentions of hired labourers who work in and return "ἐξ ἀγρῶν *from the fields.*"[27] In other evidence from this period, the word describes areas that do not grow crops but are still used for cultivational purposes. For example, inscriptional evidence dated to the fifth century B.C. details the use of ἀγροί for keeping bee hives.[28]

Hellenistic

The Hellenistic period remains consistent with earlier periods in the denotation of ἀγρός as cultivated land.[29] Texts of this period demonstrate the continued use of oxen to plough and prepare the earth intended for crops,[30] though Euphorion uses the word γύνης for cultivated land.[31] Callimachus uses the word in his criticism of βιοπλανές *beggars* who wander "ἀγρόν ἀπ'

[22] Aeschin.*In Tim.*101.
[23] Thphr.*Char.*10.8-9.
[24] Xen.*Oec.*16.7; h.Hom.5.122.
[25] Ath.13.22.
[26] Hippoc.*Aër.*12.20-23 (*TLG*).
[27] Soph.*OT.*1051.
[28] *IG* I^3 426, dated to approximately 414 B.C.
[29] Theoc.9.23; Men.*Georg.*4; Men.*Dys.*777; Men.*Cith.*54.
[30] Call.*Hymn.*3.175-76.
[31] Euphor.*Fr.*5.21b.33-34.

ἀγροῦ *from field to field*",[32] which could also mean *from farm to farm*, and Theophrastus notes hired labourers who work "ἐν ἀγρῷ *in the fields.*"[33]

Ἀγρός is a setting in the bucolic poetry of Theocritus, a poet who romanticises shepherds and country life. In *Idyll 9,* the poet awards Daphnis for his song with a κορύνη *staff* grown in his father's ἀγρός.[34] In this example the type of wood is unknown, which means that here ἀγρός denotes simply cultivated land that produces wood. In *Idyll 27,* Daphnis refers to his ἄλσος, which is one area of his family's farm.[35] ἀγρός and ἄλσος are two different areas of his father's property, which includes the field in which Daphnis pastures his bulls (ταῦροι). This pasturage is next to Acrotime's field, in which she pastures her family's goats (αἶγες).[36] The implication is that both families own land that may not be located all in one area, but still collectively constitutes their familial properties.

In *Idyll 16,* Theocritus again describes ἀγρός simply as cultivated earth, but he qualifies the labour with the verb ἐργάζομαι *to work, labour,* or *cultivate*.[37] His use of this verb to qualify field cultivation shows the distinction between ἐργάζομαι, ἔργον and ἀγρός identified in Archaic evidence,[38] revealing the continued differentiation between labour (ἔργον) and space (ἀγρός) in Hellenistic evidence.[39] Theocritus uses ἀγροιώτης that is derived from ἀγρός to qualify country people. The word is not used here in a derogatory way. Rather it confirms a fundamental feature of the denotation of ἀγρός, specifically that the word has a connection to field areas. Other examples of the basic definition of ἀγρός are found in the plural, which reinforce the word's collective meaning to signify a person's estate.[40] The function of the plural is similar to the collective meaning of μεγάρα *halls* to denote a house in Archaic evidence.[41] Fertile land (ἀγροί) describes the space through which cattle move in their return to their stalls from pasture.[42] Fields of this kind are not used for crop cultivation, but speak to their richness and value. [43] These ἀγροί, like those for cultivation, are the field areas that are part of a person's property.

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[32] Call.*Fr.*489.
[33] Thphr.*Char.*4.6.
[34] Theoc.9.23.
[35] Theoc.27.45.
[36] Theoc.27.47-48.
[37] Theoc.16.90.
[38] h.Hom.4.119-25; Hom.*Il.*2.436, Hom.*Od.*10.147; Hom.*Od.*14.222. Ἔργον: Hes.*Op.*20, 311, 412, 421. Verdenius 1985, 23 notes the denotation of ἔργον as labour in Hes.*Op.*20.
[39] ἔργον for labour elsewhere in Theocritus: Theoc.25.2.
[40] Theoc.25.48, 25.57.
[41] Hom.*Od.*4.556-58. See Chapter Four for further discussion of μέγαρον.
[42] Theoc.25.97.
[43] Theoc.25.153.

The denotations of ἀγρός and ἀγροί share some similarities with the modern English words *field, farm, property* and *estate*. The individual areas belonging to a person's farm or estate are represented in the singular (ἀγρός). A person can own multiple 'fields' (ἀγροί) that may be located near the familial home or outside a city in rural areas. In Greek and in English these areas that are separate from or located on the same land as the house all constitute a person's property. In Homeric evidence, Odysseus' familial property includes the land on which his house stands and the fields (ἀγροί) further away. The same principle exists in Classical and Hellenistic evidence.[44] As Boyd and Jameson assert, "land division involved both town and country… where colonists received plots [χώρα] both inside and outside the walled area", an assertion supported by fourth century epigraphic evidence from Kerkyra Melaina.[45] These particular features of the singular and plural word denotations mean that one must consider the context of the word carefully, to determine whether the singular ἀγρός signals the collective *farm,* or a field. The plural form ἀγροί *fields* indicates areas that constitute a person's property, though they may be located near a house (rural) or outside a city. When used in plural form, ἀγροί can be interpreted as multiple farms or fields, as is possible in particular Classical and Hellenistic examples from Theophrastus and Callimachus.[46] These particularities of the ancient words encourage a more critical awareness of context, word usage, nuance and careful denotation.

ἄλσος, -εος, ὁ: *grove*

Ἄλσος[47] is commonly translated as *grove*, though it can mean any defined area that is sacred, consecrated or significant to a deity, with or without vegetation. That the area is consecrated or pure is central to the denotation of a grove.

Archaic

In Archaic texts that describe organic groves, these spaces are typified by the growth of trees[48] or lush vegetation.[49] The spaces are described with adjectives such as πολυήρατος, ἀγλαός and ἀγνός which convey a sacred, divine atmosphere and/or religious importance.[50] This sacred

[44] Thphr.*Char.*10.8-9; Theoc.9.23, 27.47-48.
[45] Boyd and Jameson 1981, 327.
[46] Thphr.*Char.*4.6; Call.*Fr.*489.
[47] An alternative term for ἄλσος is ἄλτις, though, as explained in Chapter One, not all linguistic alternatives have been examined or included.
[48] Sapph.2.1-3 (apple trees); Stesich.*fr.*8.5 (daphne trees); Hom.*Od.*6.291-92 (black poplars); Aesop.297 (Gibbs 184).
[49] Ibyc.282a.34 (Campbell 1991).
[50] h.Hom.4.187, 3.330.

atmosphere is attributed to the fact that these groves often form part of a god's sanctuary,[51] or due to their association with nature deities like the nymphs and Artemis.[52] These groves are naturally-occurring, though human activity or alteration in or near a grove does not change its sacred nature, such as the grove located near the old man's ἀλωή in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes.*[53] However, in the *Hymn to Apollo,* the fact that no mortal had entered or approached Apollo's grove prior to the founding of Thebes is an important feature for that area.[54] Organic groves do not have creators, but seem to have existed "from time immemorial."[55]

In other Homeric examples, groves are places for travellers to rest or sit in, and are used as points of reference in directions to help guide strangers to their destinations. Quite deliberately, the grove known well from the *Odyssey,* which Nausicaä uses to aid Odysseus in finding his way to her father's house, is a grove dedicated to Athena.[56] In this grove, while he sits and waits before joining Nausicaä at her father's house, Odysseus prays to Athena.[57] The dedication of the grove to Athena demonstrates that groves, similarly to gardens, could be owned or dedicated to deities. Circe uses the Groves of Persephone (ἄλσεα Περσεφονείης) as a navigational point of reference for Odysseus in his journey to the Underworld.[58]

Classical

In the Classical period, ἄλσος denotes areas that grow trees,[59] as indicated through adjectives like εὔδενδρον,[60] which exist on the earth's surface and in the Underworld. These groves are explicitly connected with divinities,[61] and they have special religious or divine atmospheres.[62] Examples of this type include Artemis's grove at Halys mentioned in a fragment of Diogenes, in which women worship the goddess.[63] In the plays of Euripides, there are multiple references to the groves of gods. In *Herakles,* Amphitryon questions Herakles as to whether he did indeed visit the Underworld to retrieve the three-headed animal Cerberus. In reply, Herakles confirms he did, referring to the grove of the Underworld Goddess (Persephone) as one of the places that

[51] Sapph.2.1-3 (Aphrodite); Hes.*Sh.*1.65-72 (Apollo); h.Hom.3.225-30 (Apollo); h.Hom.4.185 (Poseidon); Hom.*Od.*6.291 (Athena).
[52] h.Hom.5.20 (Artemis), h.Hom.5.97 (nymphs).
[53] h.Hom.4.182-88.
[54] h.Hom.3.225-30.
[55] Osborne 1992, 380.
[56] Hom.*Od.*6.291-4.
[57] Hom.*Od.*6.322-3.
[58] h.Hom.3.383-85, 3.229-30; Hom.*Od.*10.509.
[59] Aesch.*Fr.*8.103.1-8.
[60] Pi.*Ol.*8.9.
[61] Parm.Fr.20, " ἡ δ' ἡγήσασθαι ἀρίστη ἄλσος ἐς ἱμερόεν πολυτιμήτου Ἀφροδίτης, the noblest woman led the way to the lovely grove of highly honoured Aphrodite."
[62] Pi.*Ol.*5.10-14.
[63] Diog.*Fr.*1.6-11.

once held the animal.[64] In *Iphigenia in Tauris*, the playwright dramatises the mythical tale of Dionysus' birth and connects a laurel grove with the site of an oracular shrine.[65] In a Euripidean fragment, the text refers to Nemean Zeus' grove, though it is not clear whether this is a wooded grove. Pindar sings of Nemean Zeus's grove or sanctuary,[66] which demonstrates that this sacred area is known during the Classical period. The important features are that the area is designated as ἄλσος, and is attributed to a god.[67] In the genre of history writing, Herodotus uses ἄλσος for a wooded area within a sanctuary. The grove encircles the image of a goddess, which means that it is an important feature of the space.[68] Herodotus refers to a grove of plane-trees belonging to Zeus *Stratios* in Labranda (a site in modern day Turkey); it is ἅγιος *sacred*.[69] Herodotus shows that Classical writers continue to attribute or include groves as important features of sacred land.

The non-organic ἄλσος is prominent in Pindar's poetry. The significant feature of these non-organic groves, which they share with the wooded ἄλσος, is a sacred, divine importance and atmosphere. In non-wooded ἄλσεα, the verb ἱερόω emphasises the space's sacredness.[70] Aristophanes describes the sacred precinct (ἄλσος) in which the women hold their secret rites.[71] Another example of ἄλσος usage shows that groves are areas that are defined or set apart from their surroundings. In a poem attributed to Bacchylides, the poet names an ἄλσος of the sea in to which a character jumps from a ship.[72] In this example, the ἄλσος is an area or precinct that is distinguished from the rest of the seascape.

Hellenistic

Hellenistic poets define ἄλσος as a tree-covered, wooded area that has implicit boundaries and divine importance.[73] These boundaries are implied through the designation of the area under the ownership of a divinity or hero,[74] in which a grove can be a special part of a wooded area

[64] Eur.*Heracl.*610-15.
[65] Eur.*IT.*1239-49.
[66] Pi.*Nem.*2.5.
[67] Eur.*Hyps.*1.4.10-14. Epigraphic evidence for ἄλσεα (sacred, but not necessarily a wooded grove or precinct) include: a "κλυτὸν ἄλσος *glorious grove*" in *IG* IV^2 1 618 (PH29059), 350-300 B.C.; a "δάσκιον ἄλσ[ος] *bushy grove*" in *IG* V, 1 455 (PH30815), date unknown; a "ἄλσος κάλλιστον *most beautiful grove*" in *IG* IX, 1 683 (PH42412), end of third century B.C.; "τὸ ἄλσος καὶ τὸν βωμόν *grove and the altar"* in *IG* XII, 2 122 (PH74783), date unknown; a sanctuary with trees in *Samos* 7 (PH254165), date unknown; a grove dedicated to the Muses in *IG* XIV 1011 (PH141174), date unknown.
[68] Hdt.2.138.7-14.
[69] Hdt.5.119.-7-10.
[70] Pi.*Ol.*7.47-8. Verdenius 1987, 69 on this reference also argues that ἄλσος does not necessariy "imply the existence of trees".
[71] Ar.*Thesm.*1149.
[72] Bacchyl.*Dith.*3.77-85.
[73] Ap.Rhod.*Argon.*123; Euphron.*Poet.Fr.*102, 186; Lyc.698.
[74] Philit.51; Euphron.*Poet.Fr.*102, 186; Lyc.698; Ap.Rhod.*Argon.*404.

wherein the rest of the woods are not sacred and only the grove is;[75] or it is a designated area of trees within a τέμενος.[76] Apollonius of Rhodes refers to a δρυμός that is similar to a grove because it is a wooded area, though it appears not to be sacred.[77] In the Hellenistic poetry of Theocritus, the poet writes prolifically of ἄλσεα in connection with his characters. In his poetry, ἄλσος is the word the poet uses for tree-growing areas.[78] Theocritus uses these groves in different ways. In one poem, a κόρη *girl,* Acrotime, wanders through the groves.[79] In another, the poet uses the image of tall trees in a grove as a sexual innuendo that represents Daphnis' male genitalia.[80] However, with the frequent reference to Pan and Priapus in the *Idylls,*[81] the ἄλσεα in these Hellenistic poems bear a divine atmosphere because they are places that a nature god visits and enjoys. They may be close to areas under Priapus' guardianship. These Theocritean groves carry a similar divine or religious sentiment to the groves in Classical evidence. However, in another of Theocritus' *Idylls,* ἄλσος denotes wooded areas that have no divine significance. Rather, it is a designated wooded area of a person's property, in which his male character, Daphnis, has sexual relations with a girl, Acrotime.[82]

In the poetry of Callimachus, ἄλσος signifies sacred areas of the gods. In his epigram *To Artemis,* the poet describes βωμόι *altars* and ἄλσεα *groves* in all the cities and islands under the goddess' patronage.[83] In another poem, an ἄλσος belongs to Demeter wherein a variety of trees grow and underground water feeds the area. The varieties include fruiting trees like γλυκύμαλα *sweet-apples*, ὄχναι *pears* and ornamentals πίτυς *pine* and πτελέαι *elms*.[84] In a fragment of Euphorion, the poet records a contest between two diviners concerning the fruit on a tree in a grove to Apollo.[85] Euphorion's example reveals the inclusion of fruiting trees in groves of other Hellenistic poems alongside Callimachus.

[75] Bion.*Fr.*13.1; Euphron.*Poet.Fr.*186. Euphorion states that it is the height of the trees in the grove that distinguish them from the surrounding woods.
[76] Ap.Rhod.*Argon.*1713-18.
[77] Ap.Rhod.*Argon.*581.
[78] Theoc.1.83, 1.117, 2.67, 5.32, 7.8, 25.169, 27.34, 27.45, 27.48.
[79] Theoc.1.83.
[80] Theoc.27.46.
[81] Theoc.1.15-18, 1.123, 5.58-59 (Pan); Theoc.1.21, 1.81-83 (Priapus). In other references, the characters swear "by Pan" (Theoc.4.47-48, 6.12, 27.21), or appeal to the god, such as in Theoc.7.103-108 (Pan).
[82] Theoc.27.48.
[83] Call.*Hymn.*3.33-38. Cf. a temple (ναός) and ἀγνὸς ἄλσος *pure grove* in *IC* III iv 38 (PH200342), first century B.C.
[84] Call.*Hymn.*6.25-29.
[85] Euphron.*Poet.Fr.*102.

The English word *grove* most commonly refers to a wooded area or small woodland, a group of trees that occur naturally or are deliberately planted.[86] When using the English word *grove* to translate ἄλσος, one must pay careful attention to convey the context in which the word appears. The context may include important religious or divine sentiment, especially if the grove belongs to a god. A sacred grove in ancient evidence can represent part of the English denotation for orchard as "an area given over to the cultivation of fruit trees",[87] which forms part of a god's sanctuary.[88] An ἄλσος may simply be a wooded area of an individual's property.[89]

ἀλωή, -ης, ἡ: *orchard, vineyard*

Archaic

In Archaic evidence, ἀλωή is interpreted as orchard or vineyard and its denotation dependent upon context, such as the kinds of plants that are grown. However, the word is difficult to interpret in some examples, as illustrated in two examples below. The first is from the *Odyssey*:

> ... γουνὸν ἀλωῆς οἰνοπέδοιο.
>
> ...the slope of his vineyard abounding in wine.[90]

The second example is in the *Iliad*:

> ὃ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἶσος:
> τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ θρέψασα, φυτὸν ὣς γουνῷ ἀλωῆς...
>
> And he shot up like a young shoot. And I reared him, like a sapling in the high, sloped ground of an orchard…[91]

In the first example, the adjective οἰνόπεδος clarifies the use of the space and the produce that grows there. Note the use of the noun, γουνός, in both extracts. Γουνός clarifies the spaces' physical structures in both extracts, though ἀλωή is interpreted differently. Though the second example uses ἀλωή, the noun's meaning is less clear. The noun could mean either orchard or vineyard, as φυτὸν simply means plant in this context. However, if compared with the use of this simile in another example,[92] in which the plant is designated as a young olive tree, φυτόν in the example above could be interpreted as *sapling* and the space in which it grows as an orchard.

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[86] "grove" s.v. *O.E.D.* online 2016; "grove" s.v. *M.D.* online 2016.
[87] "orchard" s.v. *O.E.D.* online 2016.
[88] Call.*Hymn.*6.25-29; Euphron.*Poet.Fr.*102.
[89] Theoc.27.48.
[90] Hom.*Od.*1.194.
[91] Hom.*Il.*18.56-57. See Chapter Seven for an interpretation of this simile in reference to motherhood and ἀλωή as *orchard.*
[92] Hom.*Il.*17.53-55.

The noun, ἀλωή, is an interesting word in Homeric Greek texts. The word can denote the areas orchard and vineyard, which are differentiated in English. The Iliadic example above is poignant for the complex definition of ἀλωή. In the example, the poet uses the imagery of an orchard and a young sapling to illustrate a parent's rearing of a child. Here, three translations reveal the word's complexity; the third translation provided is my own:

> … and he shot up as a sapling; I tended him as a plant in a goodly garden…[93]
> ... and he shot up like a sapling; then when I had reared him like a tree in a rich orchard plot…[94]
> And he shot up like a young shoot. And I reared him, like a sapling in the high, sloped ground of an orchard…[95]

The translation of ἀλωή as orchard in this extract relies upon the interpretation of ἔρνος as *sapling* and the use of the word here and in other Archaic evidence. In the *Odyssey,* Odysseus remarks on Nausicaä's beauty and appearance. He compares her to a νέος ἔρνος *young sapling* of a φοῖνιξ *palm,* a type of tree (δόρυ).[96] In Book 14, the poet captures Telemachus' growth and development into young adulthood through vegetal imagery, wherein he is described as a ἔρνος ἴσος *young sapling*.[97] When the poet uses ἔρνος in these two examples, the comparison is positive and complimentary. In line with the use of the first example in which the ἔρνος is a tree type, it is plausible that the poet is using the word similarly in reference to Achilles and Telemachus. The interpretation of φυτόν as *sapling* in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* relies on the interpretation of ἔρνος as sapling, because φυτόν denotes a plant without reference to variety.

Next, γουνός influences the translation of ἀλωή, but poses more difficulty to the interpretation of ἀλωή than ἔρνος. The word γουνός is problematic for English translations because its precise denotation is unclear, which has an impact upon the interpretation of ἀλωή in this extract. However, the difficulties English translations face is first identified in the ancient evidence. Ancient commentators on this extract show that there are difficulties in understanding the precise meaning and quality of ἀλωή and γουνός in this extract. The *Scholia in Iliadem* has the following entry for γουνός:

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[93] Hom.*Il.*18.56-57 (Butler 1898).
[94] Hom.*Il.*18.56-57 (Murray 1924).
[95] Hom.*Il.*18.56-57. See the discussion below for my inclusion of high in the translation of γουνός.
[96] Hom.*Od.*6.163, 167. The word δόρυ denotes stem, trunk and tree. See "δόρυ" s.v. *LSJ* Online 2018, 445.
[97] Hom.*Od.*14.175.

> Γουνῷ: γουνόν τινες τὸ γεώλοφον, ὅ καὶ τῶν καταιγίδων ἀπηλλάκαται καὶ αὔραις αὔξει τὰ φυτά.
>
> Γουνῷ: the high ground on a hill; and a sudden, violent gust of wind or storm that one wishes to be rid of; and plants that one grows in fresh morning air. [98]

The commentary shows that this noun has three possible denotations, two of which relate to cultivation. It reveals that the noun is linguistically related to other words, such as the adjective γόνιμος *productive, fertile*.[99] In addition to γόνιμος, the noun's function in the *Iliad* invites the connotation of γονή *offspring, children, family,*[100] because the poet is describing a person's upbringing. Thus, the definition of γονή influences γουνός in this example.

Considering the imprecise and conflicting views of ancient commentators, it is no surprise that current English translations interpret γουνός in different ways. The first and second translations capture a similar meaning, conveying that the space is rich, fertile, productive or pleasing, and use γουνός adjectivally. Considering the metaphorical use of ἀλωή in the simile, γουνός could connote the mother's good or morally approved upbringing of the young sapling. However, if the metaphor, γουνός ἀλωής, is translated with topographical features in mind, γουνός could comment on the physical structure of the orchard being sloped, high, or on a hill. Γουνός qualifies a characteristic of the main noun and behaves as an adjective would in the attributive position, while the use of attributive genitive of ἀλωή supports the translation using "of" and the adjectival use of γουνός. However, as its use is metaphorical, γουνός in this example carries the connotations of a good upbringing, as well as the sloped topography of ἀλωή.

If γουνός is interpreted as a qualifier for landscape topography, there is another example that supports this qualification, though this time it depicts a vineyard:

> ... γουνὸν ἀλωῆς οἰνοπέδοιο.
>
> ...the slope of his vineyard abounding in wine.[101]

In the example above, οἰνόπεδος qualifies ἀλωή, revealing that the poet is describing a thriving vineyard. In another Homeric example, the poet describes a fruitful, thriving vineyard using participle form of ἀνθέω, *to flourish* or *blossom*.[102]

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[98] Sch.*Il.*18.57d.
[99] "γόνιμος" s.v. *LSJ* online 2018.
[100] "γονή" s.v. *LSJ* online 2018.
[101] Hom.*Od.*1.194.

Classical and Hellenistic

There is no extant literary evidence from the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. in which the word features. While texts include fruiting trees in the descriptions of landscapes, such as the Garden of Hesperides in texts attributed to Scylax and Timaeus,[103] they do not use ἀλωή in their descriptions. In epigraphic evidence from Classical and Hellenistic periods, the word ἄμπελος *grape-vine* denotes land used for viticulture.[104]

The word resurfaces in textual evidence dated to the fourth and third centuries B.C., such as the Hellenistic poetry of Theocritus. ἀλωή is a cultivated vineyard or orchard and the storerooms in which harvested produce is kept.[105] In one of his *Idylls,* Theocritus describes a beautifully wrought cup with extraordinary details, including a vineyard that is fruiting (βέβριθεν ἀλωή) under the care of a boy who is seated on a wall (αἰμασιά).[106] This artistic ἀλωή is depicted as belonging to someone's property and the fruit is important, as indicated in the presence of the wall and the young guard. In *Idyll 24,* Theocritus adapts the Homeric imagery of mother as gardener and child as sapling in an orchard in the simile of Alkmene and Herakles.[107] In *Idyll 25,* Theocritus qualifies ἀλωή with the adjective δενδρήεις *wooded.* In this example, it is clear that ἀλωή denotes an orchard.

Like Theocritus, other Hellenistic poets indicate cultivated vineyards and orchards with ἀλωή.[108] In Book 3, Apollonius mentions an ἀλωή *orchard* that belongs to Zeus, which is noted as θαλερός *flourishing* and πάγκαρπος *rich in every fruit* or *fruit covered.*[109] Whereas, Moschus portrays Herakles preparing the earth in a οἰνοφόρος ἀλωή *wine-producing vineyard,* in which the adjective qualifies the purpose of the area.[110]

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[102] h.Hom.4.87.
[103] Scy.108.35-38; Ti.*Fr.*164.19.1-3 (*BNJ* 566 F164). Timaeus' account of the garden of Hesperides uses κῆπος to denote the space in which many (unspecified) tree types grow, and Scylax uses τόπος to denote the area of land around which trees of many varieties (such as lotus, apples, pomegranates, pear, myrtle, daphne, and others) grow.
[104] Cf. *IRhamn.*3 Fr.1.11 (PH308989), 269/8 B.C.; *IG* I^3 425 (PH439), date unknown; RO 88, 350-325 B.C.; RO 37, 363/2 B.C.; *IG* XII, 4 1.293 (PH349863), late second century B.C.; *IG* XI, 2 162 (PH62624), 278 B.C.; *IG* XI, 2 203 (PH2665), 269 B.C.; *IG* XI, 2 208 (PH62670), 314-250 B.C.; *IG* XII, 2 476 (PH75154), date unknown; *ID* 104 (PH62531), 364/3 B.C.; *ID* 104(2) (PH62533), 434-315 B.C.
[105] Theoc.7.34.
[106] Theoc.1.45-48.
[107] Theoc.24.103.
[108] Vineyard: Ap.Rhod.*Argon.*2.138.
[109] Ap.Rhod.*Argon.*3.114 (θαλερός) and Ap.Rhod.*Argon.*3.158 (πάγκαρπος).
[110] Mosch.*Meg.*100.

In other Hellenistic evidence, the word signifies features other than cultivated land. In the *Phaenomena* attributed to Aratus, the poet uses ἀλωή differently. The three occasions in which the word appears in his epic poem, ἀλωή consistently denotes the rings or halos of the moon.[111]

ἄρουρα, -ας, ἡ: *fertile, tillable or tilled land or field*

Archaic

The denotation of the noun ἄρουρα, which has the adjectival use ἀρουραῖος, is complex. The word ἄρουρα describes a similar kind of area to ἀγρός. ἄρουρα is land that humans maintain or work using methods such as tilling, or that has the potential for human use.[112] However, ἄρουρα describes metaphoric or poetic landscapes, as the poets might speak of poems as labour or cultivation, and landscapes as belonging to particular goddesses or gods. ἄρουρα encapsulates wildness and fertility but also land that has the potential for growing plants or crops.[113]

The word has positive associations with its definition. For example, the beauty and lush growth of an ἄρουρα (field) is mentioned in Sappho. The poet conjures images of meadows covered in wildflowers with πολυανθέμοι ἀρούρᾳ *richly flowering fields*.[114] In this example, the field is not a cultivated one, or, at least, has not yet had humans prepare the ground for cultivation. Sappho's use indicates a fertile area of land. Pindar uses ἄρουρα metaphorically to infer sexual intercourse, wherein he describes the bodies of women as fields that men furrow.[115] The metaphors that Pindar employs are less clear elsewhere, such as in his reference to Ἀφροδίτας ἄρουραν *Aphrodite's fertile field* in his sixth *Pythian Ode*.[116]

In Homeric evidence, the poet uses the fertile, rich aspect of ἄρουρα to denote a section of cultivated land.[117] The poet describes τέμενος that is καλός *beautiful* with φυταλία *plants growing* and ἄρουρα *rich, fertile land*. [118] In another Homeric example, it is the earth (ἄρουρα) in which a person's bones will decompose.[119]

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[111] Arat.*Phaen.*1.811, 816, 877.
[112]Denoting an area intended for cultivation, see Hom.*Od.*6.10; Aesop.175.1.7 (513 Gibbs); Pi.*Nem.*6.9. Denoting land: Pi.*Ol.*2.14, 12.19; Pi.*Pyth.*11.15.
[113] Hes.*Op.*461: "…ἵνα τοι πλήθωσιν ἄρουραι: in order that your land will be full."
[114] Sapph.96.11. h.Hom.4.96 uses the adjective ἀνθεμόεις *flowery,* and the poet of h.Hom.30.14 sings of girls in χοροί πολυανθής *flower-carrying dances.*
[115] Pi.*Pyth.*4.255.
[116] Pi.*Pyth.*6.1-2.
[117] Hom.*Od.*6.10.
[118] Hom.*Il.*6.194-95.
[119] Hom.*Il.*4.174.

Classical

Similar to ἀγρός, ἄρουρα shares an association with country, rural areas. It is land intended or used for the growing of crops.[120] However, unlike the romanticised view of ἄρουρα in Sapphic poetry from the Archaic period, the association between the word and rural areas becomes a way of mocking others in the Classical period. An example that plays on the wild, rustic characteristic of ἄρουρα is a joke that Aristophanes makes about Euripides and his mother: "ἄληθες ὦ παῖ τῆς ἀρουραίας θεοῦ; *Truly, you child of the country goddess?*"[121] Chervil (parsley) was a common wild herb that playwrights say the poor consumed regularly. This association with wild herbs and those in poverty forms the main point of the joke about Euripides' mother, with the implication that they are both of low birth.[122]

Hellenistic

Hellenistic evidence shows that ἄρουρα remains consistent with earlier use and definition. It is rich ground in which plants and crops grow.[123] In a way that is reminiscent of a woman whose beauty is comparable to the moon's light shining over πολυανθέμοι ἀρούρᾳ *rich flowering fields* in a poem of Sappho,[124] Theocritus compares the beauty of Helen to a cypress tree (κυπάρισσος) that stands out from an ἄρουρα *fertile field* or κῆπος *garden*.[125] Though the fertile field and garden are spaces considered beautiful in other texts,[126] Theocritus finds that the woman is even more beautiful than these spaces and her beauty distinguishes her from the surroundings.

γεωργία (γεώγρια), -ας, ἡ: *cultivation*

The word γεωργία denotes cultivation and is derived from the noun γεωργός, which is interpreted as cultivator.

Archaic:

In the Archaic period, the word γεωργία appears only in extant evidence from the sixth century B.C. The remaining sources are the *Fables* of Aesop, wherein Aesop uses the word to denote the activities of land cultivation. In one *Fable,* he does not mention specific tasks. Instead, he uses the word broadly to describe a man's activities involving crops (καρπός).[127] In another *Fable,* Aesop describes an old γεωργός and the cultivation (γεωργία) of his ἄμπελος *vineyard.* In this

[120] Eur.*El.*79; Hdt.1.193, 2.14, 2.111, 2.116; Cratin.*Fr.*235; Emp.D43.8.59; Panyass.*Heracl.*24; Pl.*Ti.*73c.
[121] Ar.*F.*840. See also Ar.*Thesm.*387 for the same joke.
[122] Roselli 2005, 7-8.
[123] Thphr.*Hist.pl.*8.7.6, 8.9.1; Lyc.620, 979; Call.*Aet.*24.7.
[124] Sapph.96.11.
[125] Theoc.18.29-30.
[126] Ibyc.5-6.4; Anacr.1,1.7-9 (P.Oxy.2321).
[127] Aesop.175.1.1-3 (513 Gibbs).

example, the specific task is digging up the ground which prepares the earth for sowing and harvest.[128]

Despite the scarcity of γεωργία in the textual evidence, references to Demeter as an agrarian goddess are many.[129] These references to Demeter demonstrate that cultivation is important during this period, even though the poets do not use the word to denote cultivational activities.

Classical:

During the Classical period, the word appears more frequently in the evidence for activities associated with cultivation and land tillage.[130] Ancient writers, such as Aristotle and Xenophon, provide their own definitions of the word, which is useful because one gains a clear understanding about γεωργία in Greek thought at that particular point in time. According to Aristotle, γεωργία is one of the main methods of wealth-making and is sub-divided into πεφυτευμένη (crop-growing), μελιττουργία (bee-keeping) and animal husbandry (or, as Aristotle calls it, "ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ζῴων *the matching of future animals*").[131] If a person has the necessary skills and assistance in these areas, then one's household and wealth will grow and flourish.[132] Xenophon notes that γεωργία is a worthwhile τέχνη *skill* as it develops character and skills in other areas, such as war and fitness.[133] Γεωργία is sometimes translated as agriculture, though it can refer more generally to cultivation and the plants that are cultivated.[134] Plato, in a similar vein to Aristotle, considers γεωργία to include the care of all animals and the creation and production of all items and products (collectively the "συγκεφαλαιωσάμενοι").[135] According to these ancient writers, cultivation includes animal care, raising and harvesting crops and the production and manufacture of items.

Classical evidence considers the more abstract ideas of γεωργία. In a fragment attributed to Aristophanes, the playwright personifies the noun γεωργία as a female character. Γεωργία lists all the things that Peace (Εἰρήνη) has in her: "τροφός, ταμία, συνεργός, ἐπίτροπος, θυγάτηρ,

[128] Aesop.42.1 (494 Gibbs).
[129] E.g. Hes.*Op.*32: Δημήτερος ἀκτήν "*grain of Demeter"*; h.Hom.2.4; Hom.*Il.*5.499-502, 13.322, 21.76; Hom.*Od.*5.125-27. Verdenius 1985, 33 on Hes.*Op.*32 notes that the "goddess was believed to be present in the corn [grain], just as Hephaestus was thought to be present in fire", countering the view that this reference should be understood as 'metonymy'.
[130] Thuc.1.11.1-2; Isoc.*Orat.*7.44; Xen.*Oec.*6.19.
[131] Arist.*Pol.*1258b.
[132] Hes.*Op.*403-9.
[133] Xen.*Oec.*4.4, 5.1-2, 16.4; Pomeroy 1994, 47, 51.
[134] Dem.13.30-31.
[135] Pl.*Soph.*219b.

ἀδελφή *a nurse for children, a housekeeper, a helper, a guardian, a daughter, a sister.*"[136] In Aristophanes' personification of the noun *cultivation*, she becomes the associate and signifier of Peace. This association reveals that the practice of cultivation and the ability to perform cultivational tasks mark periods of peace. The implication is that during periods of war, Cultivation and Peace are absent or limited in their appearances.

Crop-growing (πεφυτευμένη) is mentioned indirectly, and particularly in regards to women in their collection and harvest of the plant matter. A goddess highly influential over this sphere of activity is Demeter.[137] She has power over the earth but she influences primarily crops, such as grains.[138] Harvest rituals and festivals demonstrate the centrality of crop-growing and cultivation to ancient Greek culture and society. The Haloa involved the 'threshing floors', though there is no consensus on the cultivation purposes of this festival.[139]

The other word mentioned above, ἔργον, and its related words (ἐργασία) and verb (ἐργάζομαι),[140] can be used to refer to the physical labour or work associated with cultivation. Γεωργία should be viewed as the category in which nouns such as ἔργον belong. It is notable that ἔργον and γεωργία are often translated as farm or farming, and their meanings in modern works appear interchangeable. In one way, they both represent work and labour in a specific space and sense. However, the words are clearly distinct, as illustrated in this extract from Xenophon:

> ὄμνυμί σοι τὸν Μίθρην,
> ὅτανπερ ὑγιαίνω, μηπώποτε δειπνῆσαι πρὶν ἱδρῶσαι ἢ τῶν
> πολεμικῶν τι ἢ τῶν γεωργικῶν ἔργων μελετῶν ἢ ἀεὶ ἔν γέ
> τι φιλοτιμούμενος.
>
> I swear to you, Mithras, since I am healthy, never have I ever made a meal before I have sweated over the labours of war or cultivation; I have always, in some way, given attention to something earnestly.[141]

[136] Ar.*Frag.*305 (Stobaeus 4.15).
[137] Ar.*Av.*580 (though Aristophanes is mocking the existence and powers of Demeter); Xen.*Mem.*3.3.9; Eup.*Fr.*196 refers to "Χλόη Δημήτηρ *Green Demeter"*; Eur.*Bacch.*275-77, who connects her to the earth and the growth of grains.
[138] Greek Anthology 9.89.
[139] Dillon 2004, 120-22; Nixon 1995, 104-5.
[140] See the discussion of ἀγρός above.
[141] Xen.*Oec.*4.24-25.1. According to Pomeroy's commentary on Xen.*Oec.*5.1, which contrasts with the current reference, Xenophon offers a far more optimistic view of cultivation in comparison to the Hesiod's, the latter arguing that the cultivator must work especially hard to make earth yield her crops. However, clearly Xenophon indicates that cultivation requires hard physical labour, since he notes his "sweating over labours of war or cultivation" in the above extract.

Xenophon's privileged socioeconomic position is identifiable in this example, as his involvement with cultivation is a choice. Unlike those he likely has for the strenuous physical labour,[142] Xenophon is in a position of advantage from which he can choose to involve himself in a task or delegate to another. He can choose to manage his own estate as an οἰκόνομος, or appoint an estate manager.[143] Xenophon privileges those who are estate managers and cultivators as among the bravest and loyalest of citizens because cultivation involves living outside of the city, away from the majority.[144] Xenophon's purpose of highlighting the value in estate management and cultivation is due to his attempts to legitimise and promote his own choice to purchase and manage his own estate.

Hellenistic:

In Hellenistic evidence, historians, poets and playwrights use γεωργία and its derivatives for cultivation and associated activities.[145] For example, Menander uses the verb γεωργέω in reference to activities in the ἀγρός *field*.[146] In the late Classical-early Hellenistic works of Theophrastus, the word γεωργία signifies cultivation.[147] He uses the word κατεργασία, which, like γεωργία, signals the activities of working the land.[148] Theophrastus indicates that cultivation is the process through which wild varieties become domesticated,[149] but notes that some domesticated plant species do not thrive under the constant care of cultivation.[150] In a fragment attributed to Heracleides Lembos, the writer details that in the country of Athamanes the women take care of cultivation, while the men pasture the livestock.[151]

There are differences between the Greek γεωργία and the modern English denotation of work and activities associated with cultivation. Historians interpret the word γεωργία in ancient texts as agriculture or horticulture. However, using these modern words is contentious because ancient Greek does not have strict, separate words for agriculture and horticulture and their methods, as English does. Rather, the evidence provides a basis for a more general interpretation of γεωργία as *cultivation*. For example, Theophrastus, referencing Hippon, states that a plant is considered cultivated if it has received attention. Though he says that not all plants or animals should or can

[142] Xen.*Vect*.4.5.
[143] Xen.*Oec*.1.1-3.
[144] Xen.*Oec*.6.10.
[145] Hecat.Abd.*BNJ* 264.F25.21.11 (Diod.Sic.2.1.11); Megasth.*Fr*.35.6-8; Polyb.2.17.10.
[146] Men.*Georg*.35.
[147] Thphr.*Caus.pl*.3.2.1. Theophrastus also uses the participle form γεωργούμενα of the verb γεωργέω when discussing cultivation (Thphr.2.14.1).
[148] Thphr.*Caus.pl*.3.1.5, 4.9.11.
[149] Thphr.*Hist.pl*.3.2.2.
[150] Thphr.*Caus.pl*.3.1.6.
[151] Heracleid.Lemb.*Fr*.53.

be tamed, only those which live with humans and can be tamed are the cultivated types.[152] It is less contentious to translate γεωργία as cultivation, because it avoids the connotations that modern words, such as agriculture and horticulture, convey.

γεωργός, -οῦ, ὁ: *cultivator*

Archaic

Like γεωργία, γεωργός first appears in late Archaic evidence, with no extant source utilising the word prior to Aesop. The word denotes a cultivator, though in an example from Aeschylus, the poet differentiates γεωργοί from ἀμπελοσκάφοι *vine-diggers* and a ποιμήν *shepherd.*[153] This differentiation is interesting because evidence from the Classical period consider these three roles within the sphere of a cultivator. In terms of crop-raising and vineyard work, Aesop describes γεωργός, who wishes to pass on his knowledge of cultivation to his children:

> ἀνὴρ γεωργὸς μέλλων τελευτᾶν καὶ βουλόμενος τοὺς
> αὐτοῦ παῖδας ἐμπείρους εἶναι τῆς γεωργίας μετακαλεσάμε-
> νος αὐτοὺς ἔφη· "τεκνία, ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἀμπέλων μου θησαυ-
> ρὸς ἀπόκειται." οἱ δὲ μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν ὕννας τε
> καὶ δικέλλας λαβόντες πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν γεωργίαν ὤρυξαν.
> καὶ τὸν μὲν θησαυρὸν οὐχ εὗρον, ἡ δὲ ἄμπελος πολυπλασίως
> τὴν φορὰν αὐτοῖς ἀπεδίδου.
> ὁ λόγος δηλοῖ, ὅτι ὁ κάματος θησαυρός ἐστι τοῖς ἀν-
> θρώποις.
>
> A man, who was a cultivator, being about to die and desiring that his children be experienced in cultivation, summoned them, and said, "Young ones, there is treasure buried in one of my vineyards." After his death, they took his plough and two-pronged forks and dug up all of his cultivated land. Though they could not find the treasure, the vineyard yielded produce to them frequently. The story shows that produce is treasure to people.[154]

Although the man in this fable refers only to the produce of his vineyards, this does not change the use or meaning of γεωγρός. It is a useful example because it notes that an area under the care of a cultivator is a vineyard (ἄμπελος), the tools used in cultivation (ὕνις *plough* and δίκελλα *two-pronged fork*), and that γεωργία encapsulates the activity and knowledge are Aesop's example shows clearly the link between γεωργός and γεωργία, the person and the practice.

[152] Thphr.*Hist.pl.*3.2.2.
[153] Aesch.*Fr.*46a.18-19.
[154] Aesop.42 (494 Gibbs).

Classical

In the Classical period, γεωργός is someone whose work and activities are concerned with cultivation, such as crop-raising, livestock and bee-keeping. Epigraphic evidence attests to the existence of γεωργοί in this period.[155] As I translate γεωργία as cultivation and considering that the verb γεωργέω is to cultivate or work at something, I interpret γεωργός as cultivator. A similar word that appears in Xenophon is ἐργαζόμενος, translated as cultivator.[156] Aristotle divides γεωργία into three categories (crop-raising, livestock and bee-keeping).[157] Thus, it is logical that γεωργός has knowledge and experience in these three categories. Ancient evidence suggests that people could specialise in different areas of cultivation, as there are references to bee-keepers, cultivators, gardeners and shepherds, and the laws that govern them.[158]

Cultivators grow different plant varieties. A cultivator in a fragment attributed to Aristophanes refers to his cultivation of all kinds of fig-trees, except Laconian.[159] In reference to the careful storage of harvested crops, Xenophon claims that a cultivator (γεωγρός) must have precise organisation at all times. In his example, he refers to a disorganised cultivator who has stored barley, wheat and pulse all in the same storage vessel, and must pick out the barley grains when he wants to make barley-cakes.[160] Plato asserts that a serious cultivator understands and follows the rules of cultivation because he desires his crops to reach maturity and does not do it only for enjoyment.[161] One fragment makes note of a cultivator who enjoys his work,[162] though it is expected that the work is still undertaken seriously. Theophrastus describes the methods through which γεωργοί *cultivators* propagate date palms.[163] The *Phaedrus* cultivator is respected for his knowledge in much the same way that the expert bee-keepers and gardeners are in Theophrastus, Aristotle, Plato and Aesop.[164] Other knowledge includes proper ground preparation before and

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[155] Cf. *IG* II^2 1191 (PH3406), 321/20 B.C.; *I.Eleusis* 95 (346555), 321/20 B.C.; *Rhamn.* II 3 (PH308909), 268/267 B.C.; *SEG* 24.154 (PH292111), 265/64 B.C.; *IG* XII, 9 191 (PH80772), late fourth century B.C.; *SEG* 20.317 (PH303486), mid-second century B.C.

[156] Xen.*Oec.*5.2.

[157] Arist.*Pol.*1258b.

[158] Pl.*Leg.*842c-d.

[159] Ar. *Fragment* 108.

[160] Xen.*Oec.*8.9: "...ἡ δ' ἀταξία ὅμοιόν τί μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι
οἷόνπερ εἰ γεωργὸς ὁμοῦ ἐμβάλοι κριθὰς καὶ πυροὺς καὶ
ὄσπρια, κἄπειτα, ὁπότε δέοι ἢ μάζης ἢ ἄρτου ἢ ὄψου, δια-
λέγειν δέοι αὐτῷ ἀντὶ τοῦ λαβόντα διηυκρινημένοις χρῆσθαι. If I imagine disorder it is someone like the cultivator who has put barley and wheat and pulse in the same place, then, when he needs to make cooked barley-cakes, he must pick them out instead of finding it carefully arranged to be used."

[161] Pl.*Phae.*276b.

[162] Ar.*Frag.*100.

[163] Thphr.*Hist.pl.*2.6.2.

[164] Thphr.*Hist.pl.*7.2.5; Pl.*Minos.*316e; Aesop.32; Arist.*HA.*627b.

after the seeds are sown,[165] and the breeding of animals that can be used in religious sacrifice and for a cultivator's own personal use.[166] It is interesting to note that γεωργός is separate to κηπουρός, even though they might grow the same plant types and possess the same expert knowledge of and serious attitude towards crop-raising (πεφυτευμένη).

In Classical evidence, there are other words that denote cultivators, and authors use the word in different ways. For example, in Euripides' play *Electra* one of the characters is αὐτουργός.[167] This adjective is similar in its denotation to γεωργός, though a person labelled with this word is noted as one who works the land themselves. In another derivation of γεωργός, Xenophon uses the word γεωργικώτατον for a cultivator.[168] In fragments attributed to the fourth century chronographer Ephoros, he uses the word as a label for a group of people. He calls them 'Georgians' because they are the cultivators and the people who work the earth.[169]

Hellenistic

The denotation of γεωργός in Hellenistic evidence remains consistent with the Classical period. The word and other derivative words signify a cultivator,[170] a person who tends and harvests crops and prepares the earth of sowing.[171] One such word that is derived from γεωργός appears in the poetry of Callimachus. In his *Aetia,* the poet mentions a γειομόρος (γεωμόρος) digging the seed furrows.[172]

Historians, in their interpretations of the word γεωργός, use *farmer* as the word they consider is the closest English language equivalent.[173] Certainly, farmer fits the ancient practice of cultivation, as one who "farms; someone who cultivates land or operates a farm." However, to be consistent with my translation of γεωργία, I translate γεωργός as cultivator. In part, this decision relates to the deliberate avoidance of the English words including horticulture and agriculture, in favour of a more neutral word. My interpretation of γεωργός as *cultivator* is methodological, as it is a way of highlighting the linguistic connection between γεωργία and γεωργός, as *cultivation* and *cultivator.*

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[165] Aesop.42.
[166] Xen.*Oec.*4.25.
[167] Eur.*El.*1.
[168] Xen.*Mem.*3.3.9.
[169] Ephor.*BNJ* 70 F158.
[170] Hecat.Abd.*BNJ* 264.F25.28.5 (Diod.Sic.28.5); Bato.*Fr.*2.11; Posidipp.*Ep.*22.2.
[171] Arat.*BNJ* 231 F1 (Plut.*Agis.*15.2).
[172] Call.*Aet.*22.
[173] E.g. translators/historians of Aesch.*Fr.* 46a.18-19; Ar.*Eccl.*198; Aesop.42 (494 Gibbs); Arist.*Oec.*1349a to list only a few.

κῆπος, -ου, ὁ: *garden*

This noun is interpreted as garden, though it can mean orchard, plantation or enclosure. Κῆπος is consistently used from the time of Homer down to the *Suda.*[174] The word appears frequently in epic, lyric poetry, comedy, and geographical and travel writings, and in documentary evidence including inscriptions. As the evidence below shows, κῆποι in Archaic and Classical periods are often attached to a house, which the household utilises. I consistently translate κῆπος as garden because poets use other words, such as ἀγρός, ἀλωή or ὄρχατος to denote fields, vineyards and/or orchards.

Archaic

According to the *TLG*, the earliest appearance of κῆπος is in the *Iliad*:

> μήκων δ᾽ ὡς ἑτέρωσε κάρη βάλεν, ἥ τ᾽ ἐνὶ κήπῳ,
> καρπῷ βριθομένη νοτίῃσί τε εἰαρινῇσιν,
> ὣς ἑτέρωσ᾽ ἤμυσε κάρη πήληκι βαρυνθέν.
>
> Like a poppy when it casts its head to one side, heavy with seed, in a garden with spring dampness, so he bowed his head to the side weighed down with a helmet.[175]

The poet describes an image of κῆπος that is presumably relatable to an ancient audience. Similar to orchard harvest scenes,[176] this Homeric garden exists at the "interpenetration of the mythical and the realistic."[177] Though this is not a real, physical garden, the imagery of the κῆπος recalls similarly idealised imagery in other evidence from this period.[178] The garden in this extract has specific temporal characteristics. The poppy with its full head of seeds reflects the garden's thriving vegetation, and the moisture of springtime (ἐαρινός) conjures images of other sensual, blossoming metaphorical gardens and landscapes.[179] Here, the poet uses καρπός for the poppy's seeds, the same word for fruit and crops.[180] The connotative image is a garden or field growing much produce.

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[174] Suda s.v. Οὐδ΄ ἐν σελίνοις (omicron,808). A cognate word for *garden* is κήπευμα. See Ar.*Av.*1100 in reference to the Graces' garden.
[175] Hom.*Il.*8.306-308.
[176] See Chapter Seven.
[177] Lewis 2002, 3.
[178] Other similar settings are described in Sappho (Sapph.96.11), Pindar (Pi.*Pyth.*4.255.) and the Homeric *Hymns* (h.Hom.4.96, h.Hom.30.14).
[179] For example, Ibyc.5-6.4 (see Chapter Three), or Calypso's grassy, moist meadow in Hom.*Od.*5.72-73 (see Chapter Four).
[180] E.g. Hom.*Il.*6.142.

There are other examples that describe κῆπος as a space that is influenced or shaped by human activity, where one expects to find or actually finds plants and crops. Plants that grow in κῆπος include trees, vines, flowers, herbs or vegetables, as they do in the gardens belonging to Laertes and Alcinoös and others.[181] Κῆποι have a water source or sources, such as a spring that runs through or is directed into other areas using methods of irrigation.[182]

The arrangements and purposes of gardens vary in the ancient evidence. Influences such as land topography, the types of plants grown, what is required of the space and personal preference account for the differences in the arrangements. Compare three garden spaces mentioned in the *Odyssey*: Alcinoös', Laertes' and Calypso's. Alcinoös' and Odysseus' gardens are designed to support large households, including slaves, the rulers and their families and guests. These gardens are connected to the identity and reputation of the owner,[183] and they feed and nourish households. Their fundamental purpose is for cultivation. The purpose of Calypso's nymph garden relates to her status as a nature deity.[184] Calypso's garden concerns pleasure and sensuality, and it is enticing and sensual like its owner.

Archaic evidence demonstrates that the owner/user of the garden determines its variety, denotation and purpose. An example of a space that communicates features of κῆπος, but is without the specific word, is Calypso's nymph-garden in the *Odyssey.* As Larson argues,

> …to the Greeks, a "garden of the nymphs" was a space intermediate between the untamed wild and the carefully tended field of grain or pruned orchard. The garden might exhibit signs of planned improvement, such as a built fountain, but it was ideally a natural spot that already serendipitously possessed everything needed to appeal to human tastes and comforts…[185]

Uncovering information about κῆποι unearths details about ancient irrigation and water systems employed in gardens. As expressed in metaphor, an extract from the *Iliad* describes how a man creates irrigation channels for conducting water through his garden:

> ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ ὀχετηγὸς ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου ἄμ φυτὰ καὶ κήπους

[181] Laertes' well-ordered κῆπος, including his ἀλωή in Hom.*Od.*1.193, 4.737, 24.221, 335-344, and ὄρχατος in Hom.*Od.*24.222, 244-45; Alcinoös' κῆπος, in which his ὄρχατος (fruit tree orchard) and ἀλωή (vineyard) are situated in Hom.*Od.*7.112-32. Other examples include Hom.*Il.*8.306-8, Eur.*El.*774-98, and Dem.50.61.
[182] Hom.*Il.*21.258-62; Ibyc.5.1-7. Thphr.*Chr.*20.9; *Agora* XIXL 4b; Diod.Sic. 5.42.6, 43.2, 2.10.1-6; Dem.50.61.
[183] Hom.*Od.*7.112-132; Hom.*Od.*24.336-344.
[184] Hom.*Od.*5.55-80.
[185] Larson 2007, 59.

> ὕδατι ῥόον ἡγεμονεύῃ χερσὶ μάκελλαν ἔχων, ἀμάρης ἐξ ἔχματα βάλλων·
> τοῦ μέν τε προρέοντος ὑπὸ ψηφῖδες ἅπασαι ὀχλεῦνται· τὸ δέ τ᾽ ὦκα
> κατειβόμενον κελαρύζει χώρῳ ἔνι προαλεῖ, φθάνει δέ τε καὶ τὸν
> ἄγοντα·...
>
> Like a man using a conduit to direct water from a spring of black, deep water towards his plants and gardens, using a pick to lead the spring water stream, clearing out blockages from the water channel, so that all the pebbles are swept along with the flowing stream. Swiftly his flowing water babbles down to a sloping section, arriving first before the guide...[186]

This extract provides a reference for garden tools and to the natural slope and topography of a garden. The gardener relies on a natural spring, which he directs via irrigation through his garden.

Classical

In Classical evidence, κῆπος describes a space where καρποί and plants grow,[187] which are owned and used.[188] In the evidence, the ownership of sanctuary gardens, private gardens or estates is expressed or indicated through the references to an individual's name and words like τέμενος, τόπος and χωρίον,[189] and ὅρος *marker stone* or *boundary*.[190] In inscriptional evidence, there are οἰκία *houses* with their attached κῆποι that individuals have dedicated to gods.[191] Owners make use of checkpoints, doors or guards to signal ownership of an area.[192] The vegetation and produce growing in sanctuary gardens is to remain unharvested or used in dedications and projects for the god's sanctuary, unless permission is given from the council to do otherwise.[193] Without any explicit borders such as αἱμασιαί *walls* or *terraces*, poets indicate ownership through the restriction of access in other ways.[194] An interesting example of naturally-formed boundaries is the Garden of Hesperides, as recorded in the *Periplus* of Scylax in the fifth or fourth century B.C.:[195]

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[186] Hom.*Il.*21.258-62.
[187] Thphr.*Hist.pl.*1.2.2.
[188] Pl.*Criti.*112c; Pl.*Leg.*842e.
[189] IG IV 659/PH28178; IG II^2 1596/PHI3860; IG II^2 2721/PH4972; Pl.*Sym.*203b; Soph.*Fr.*11.8.956.
[190] IG II^2 2761/PH5013; Agora XIX H84/PH232560; Antiph.P16. 834A-B ((≠ DK) Ps.-Plut.Vit.10.Orat.833D-F); Arist.*Ach.*719.
[191] *IG* II^2 4969; *Rationes,* Stele 3
[192] Dem.47.53; Pl.*Leg.*347a.
[193] Dillon 1997, 17-18.
[194] Thphr.*Chr.*10.8; IG X.21608(PH137795).
[195] Scy.*Fr.*108.27-45.

Ἔστι δὲ τόπος βαθὺς ὀργυιῶν ιη΄, ἀπότομος
κύκλῳ, οὐδαμοῦ ἔχων κατάβασιν· ἔστι δὲ δύο στα-
δίων πανταχῆ, οὐκ ἔλαττον, εὖρος καὶ μῆκος. Οὗτός
ἐστι σύσκιος δένδρεσιν ἐμπεπλεγμένοις ἐν ἀλλήλοις,
ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα πυκνοτάτοις.

There is a place that is eighteen rods deep, cut off in a circle, and is accessible to none; it is no smaller than two stades on each side, in width and length. This garden is closely-shaded from very thick trees entwined around one another.[196]

"Ἀπότομος κύκλῳ" interpreted as *cut off in a circle* (lines 27-28) shows that there are boundaries marked without the description of human-made structures such as fences or walls. That it is "accessible to none" (line 28) implies the boundaries are controlled and defined. The trees are a main feature in the garden's privacy, their entwined nature forming a barrier. Vegetation that grows in garden spaces includes the edible and non-edible, though Scylax lists many varieties of edible produce in this garden:

Τὰ δένδρα ἐστὶ λωτὸς,
μηλέαι παντοδαπαὶ, ῥοαὶ, ἄπιοι, μιμαίκυλα, συκά-
μινα, ἄμπελοι, μυρσίναι, δάφναι, κισσὸς, ἐλαίαι,
κότινοι, ἀμυγδαλαὶ, καρύαι.

There are lotus trees, fruit trees of every kind, pomegranate trees, pear trees, strawberry-trees, mulberry trees, grape-vines, myrtle, daphne (laurel), ivy, olive-trees, wild olive-trees, almonds, nut-trees.[197]

The poet imagines the garden of Hesperides as part of a city and harbour located at the most western part of the Cyrenean district in Libya, North Africa.[198] It is a place that excites the audience with its wide range of fruits. The poet presents a fantasy garden, in which "fruit trees of every kind" grow,[199] which shares similarities to a nymph-garden that is designed to cater for human desires and tastes, [200] or to Alcinoös' thriving garden on Scheria in the *Odyssey.*[201]

[196] Scy.*Fr.*108.27-31.
[197] Scy.*Fr.*108.35-38.
[198] Pliny also supports the location of Hesperides in Libya. Plin.*HN.*5.1.3:
… ibi regia Antaei certamenque cum Hercule, et Hesperidum horti.
… this was the site of the palace of Antaeus and the scene of his combat with Hercules, and here were the gardens of the Ladies of the West. (Rachkham 1942). Pliny also refers to poplar trees growing in the garden (Plin.*HN.*37.11.39).
[199] See Chapter Seven for the an analysis of μῆλον.
[200] Larson 2007, 58.
[201] Hom.*Od.*7.112-32, which is described as a gift from the gods.

Timaeus, whose fragmentary writings are dated to the fourth or third century B.C., speaks of a fertile island near Libya's west bank, which is similar to Scylax's description of the Garden of Hesperides:

> …κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Λιβύην κεῖται μὲν πελαγία νῆσος
> ἀξιόλογος [μὲν] τῶι μεγέθει, κειμένη δὲ κατὰ τὸν ὠκεανόν, ἀπέχει [δὲ]
> πλοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης ἡμερῶν πλειόνων, κεκλιμένη πρὸς τὴν δύσιν.
> (2) ἔχει δὲ χώραν καρποφόρον, πολλὴν μὲν ὀρεινήν, οὐκ ὀλίγην δὲ
> πεδιάδα κάλλει διαφέρουσαν· διαρρεομένη γὰρ ποταμοῖς πλωτοῖς, ἐκ
> τούτων ἀρδεύεται. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχει παραδείσους καταφύτους
> παντοίοις δενδρεσι, παμπληθεῖς δὲ κηπείας διειλημμένας ὕδασι
> γλυκέσιν· ἐπαύλεις τε πολυτελεῖς ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐν
> αὐτῆι, καὶ κατὰ τὰς κηπείας κατεσκευασμένα κωθωνιστήρια τὴν
> διάθεσιν ἀνθηρὰν ἔχοντα, ἐν οἷς οἱ κατοικοῦντες κατὰ τὴν θερινὴν ὥραν
> ἐνδιατρίβουσι, δαψιλῶς τῆς χώρας χορηγούσης τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν
> καὶ τρυφήν.
>
> … Downstream of Libya's west bank on the Nile, near the sea, is a great, important island. It lies a few days' ocean voyage away from Libya, towards the west. It has fruitful lands, which are mountainous, and flat fields of exceeding beauty. Through it flow rivers, fit for sailing, from which water is irrigated. It bears many pleasure gardens full of plants and all sorts of trees, divided by streams of sweet-tasting water. Extravagantly constructed houses are set out here; the gardens are equipped with banqueting houses amidst flowers. Throughout summertime, people spend time in this planted space, which is well-supplied for pleasure and luxury.[202]

Timaeus and Scylax place the Garden of Hesperides near or part of Libya, and remark on the Garden's luscious vegetation. There is an abundance of trees, lush plant growth and the garden's close proximity to water. Although Scylax is the only account to refer to the measurements of the garden, the large size is implied in Timaeus. Aside from the variety of trees, Timaeus mentions other plants growing, such as flowers.[203] Pliny, albeit writing about the garden six centuries later, recalls the growth of the *laserpitium* spice in the Garden, known to the Greeks as *silphion* (σίλφιον).[204] The main purpose of the garden of Hesperides in both accounts is that is a place designed for pleasure and luxury, as indicated in the references to banqueting houses in Timaeus' fragment and the abundance of fruit varieties in Scylax's account.

[202] Ti.*Fr.*164.19.1-2 (*BNJ* 566.F164).
[203] Ti.*Fr.*164.19.2 (*BNJ* 566.F164).
[204] Plin.*HN.*1915.

Restricted access to produce and space is a feature noted elsewhere about gardens. Theophrastus writes of a man who is protective of his garden including the fruit that has already fallen to the ground:

> καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐᾶσαι οὔτε συκοτραγῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κήπου οὔτε διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγροῦ πορευθῆναι οὔτε ἐλαίαν ἢ φοίνικα τῶν χαμαὶ πεπτωκότων ἀνελέσθαι. καὶ τοὺς ὅρους δ᾽ ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι ὁσημέραι εἰ διαμένουσιν οἱ αὐτοί.
>
> And he does not permit anyone to eat the figs from his garden nor go through his field nor pick up purple olives that have fallen down on the ground under his olive tree. And he inspects his boundaries daily to ensure that they remain the same.[205]

Ownership of the produce extends to the fruit that has fallen and that which is still to be collected and harvested. The produce is intended for the owner and he decides by whom and how the goods are consumed. The strict control of the space, including checking that the boundaries have not been moved, supports other sources regarding disputes over land ownership due to repositioned boundary stones.[206] Around the property the boundaries are physical elements and are intended to be permanent, though it seems they cannot be permanently fixed. In conjunction with the sources of the garden of Hesperides, Theophrastus as evidence supports the importance of boundaries surrounding a person's land and garden. Though in Theophrastus, these boundaries are marked by human-made structures. Note the use of κήπος rather than ἀλωή (orchard or vineyard), ὄρχατος (orchard) or ἄλσος (grove) in the text above to describe the space. There is no mention of any other plants, though this possibility cannot be discounted. The significance for the study of κῆπος from this example is that a garden contains a variety of plant types and the careful use of κῆπος highlights this feature. If Theophrastus intended to speak of a specific area of the garden (such as orchard or vineyard) it is likely that he would have used the word particular to that area. The use of κῆπος in this example shows that the word encompasses the entire space, which could consist of other areas (such as ἀλωή or ὄρχατος).

Some of the smallest spaces for growing plants are labelled as κῆποι. Examples of these tiny gardens are the fragmented pots used in the Adonia, a festival for Aphrodite and Adonis. Theophrastus details the technique used in the gardens of Adonis for propagating wormwood:

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[205] Thphr.*Chr.*10.8.

[206] A dispute involving far-reaching αἱμασιά that encroached on the public road and risked damage to another's field is preserved in a speech from Demosthenes. See Dem.55.11-30, as cited and translated in Price and Nixon 2005, 666-7, 687-8.

> Ἀβρότονον δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ σπέρματος βλα-
> στάνει ἢ ἀπὸ ῥίζης καὶ παρασπάδος· χαλεπῶς δὲ
> καὶ ἀπὸ σπέρματος· προμοσχευόμενον <δὲ> ἐν
> ὀστράκοις, ὥσπερ οἱ Ἀδώνιδος κῆποι, τοῦ θέρους·
>
> Wormwood readily grows from seed, root or cutting—though with difficulty from seed—and in planting it out in broken pots, just like the gardens of Adonis during summer.[207]

It is an interesting insight into the practices of cultivation and the recycling of materials. Contrary to certain modern and ancient views that argue the gardens of Adonis are examples of trivial, improper cultivation, [208] Theophrastus states that using the broken pots associated with the festival is a viable method for the germination and propagation of seedlings. Though the Classical evidence concerning the Adonia gardens does not have a consensus view; the sources, nevertheless, use the word κῆπος to denote these potted gardens.

Other ancient evidence demonstrates that the Greeks conceptualised the vegetal area attached to a house as κῆπος, which is inclusive of the property that is leased or rented out. An inscription dated between 434-432 B.C. refers to a house and garden on Delos that were hired out:

> [ἐν] Δήλωι δὲ Βουφονιὼν μὴν ἄρχοντος Εὐπτέρος. [τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐν
> Δήλωι τὴν]
> [ἰ]ερὰν ἐμίσθωσαν καὶ τὸς κήπος καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ [.c.4. δέκα ἔτη·
> χρόνος ἄρ]-
> [χ]ει Ποσιδηιὼν μὴν Ἀθήνησι ἄρχοντος Κράτητος, ἐ[ν Δήλωι δὲ — —
> — — — μ]-
> [ὴ]ν ἄρχοντος Εὐπτέρος·
>
> For a period beginning in Metageitnion month with Athen[ian archon---
>] [in] Delos Bouphonion month of archon Eupteros. [The consecrated
> land on Delos] they hired out both the garden and the house of [c.4 ten
> years; first] for a period beginning in Posideion month with Athenian
> archon Kratetos, i[n Delos and -----m]onth of archon Eupteros…[209]

This inscription shows that the denotation of κῆπος reflects areas of land that could be cultivated, though which possible crop or plant types are unknown.

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[207] Thphr.*Hist.pl.*6.7.3.
[208] Pl.*Phdr.*276b criticises the Gardens of Adonis, because no proper cultivator (γεωργός) would grow seedlings using this method nor for the purposes of play or amusement. See Guzman 2014, 19-36 for an analysis of the significance of the gardens of Adonis in relation to religious practice and women's agency. Goff refers to the Adonia and the germination of seedlings within this festival as "Adonic horticulture." See Goff 2004, 59.
[209] IG I^3 402 Att.-stoich-. 434-432a. lines 15-18.

Texts reveal that some gardens rely on different forms of water and irrigation, such as natural (rain water, free-flowing and undirected springs) and irrigated (from springs) for the feeding of crops. Water is a precious commodity during the Classical period.[210] Some texts show that the reliance on natural or irrigated water sources can have disastrous situations if the water runs dry. For example, Demosthenes refers to the period during which his household experienced hardship and illness that extended even to his estate. The ill-health of his family is reflected in the state of his land. He speaks of the spring that ran dry, "ὥστε μηδὲ λάχανον γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ κήπῳ, *so that not even a vegetable grew in the garden.*"[211] Water for the purposes of cultivation is under strict protection in Plato's *Laws.* He explains that water is the most important substance in the care of a κηπεία *garden*, a derivative noun of κῆπος. It is a substance that is easily corrupted by ill-intentioned magic and substances (φαρμακεία), hence it requires legal protection.[212] Plato and Demosthenes demonstrate that water is highly valued for the nourishment of plants in κῆποι in the Classical period, but that its absence and corruption are damaging and harmful for the garden and the owner.

Hellenistic

Hellenistic evidence denotes κῆπος as areas that grow plants and produce.[213] The third century historian Silenos, cited in Athenaeus, states that there is a πολυτελής κῆπος *expensive garden* near Syracuse. It is named Μῦθος, which implies that it is a place for conversation and leisure rather than productivity. This appears to be the way that the garden served the Syracusan βασιλεύς Hiero, as Silenos says Heiro used it as a place for conducting his business.[214] Another poet, Machon, preserved in Athenaeus' collection, describes that Euripides is discovered in a garden with his writing tablet and stylus. There is no mention of the vegetation, only that the playwright is using the space to work.[215] There are gardens that exist as metaphors in Hellenistic poetry. For example, Moschus uses a κῆπος with its perennial herbs and plants to illustrate the sadness and finality of Bion's death in his *Lament for Bion.*[216] Such metaphorical use of gardens is similar to Ibycus' "Παρθένων κῆπος *garden of Maidens"*, though Ibycus' has sensuality and sexuality as its inherent meaning.[217]

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[210] Thphr.*Chr.*20.9; *Agora* XIXL 4b.
[211] Dem.50.61.
[212] Pl.*Leg.*845d.
[213] Nic.*Fr.*74.54*;* Heracleid.Lemb. *BNJ* 369A.F1.21; Eratosth.Cat.1.3.11.
[214] Silen.*Fr.*8 (Ath.12.542a).
[215] Macho.*Fr.*18.402-405 (Ath.13.582c).
[216] Mosch.*Ep.Bion.*99-104.
[217] Ibyc.5-6.4. See Chapter Three.

Post-Hellenistic evidence reveals interesting insight in the denotation and design of κῆποι. In his detailed description of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, Diodorus states that παράδεισοι *pleasure gardens* of Babylon have irrigation techniques that mechanically pump and direct water.[218] This kind of garden differs from κῆπος in purpose and impact. Bremmer suggests that the preference for παράδεισος over κῆπος in Persian royal settings is the apparent desire to reflect an extravagant 'paradise' space that has less to do with productivity and practicality, and more representative of "the world of wealth, leisure and luxury",[219] as well as biblical links to the heavenly paradise Garden of Eden.[220] Bremmer finds that Hellenistic royal gardens, though somewhat influenced by Persian royal gardens, were "less wild than their Persian predecessors but more wooded than their later Roman descendants."[221]

There is an entertaining, late antique example of a garden from the *Suda.* It is an expression that utilised the arrangement of gardens to describe those who were hesitant in making a start in their affairs:

> Οὐδ' ἐν σελίνοις: ἐπὶ τῶν μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν πεφθακότων. ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τοὺς κήπους ἰόντων: ἐπὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄκρα, τοὺς λεγομένους περικήπους, σέλινα καὶ πήγανα κατεφύτευον. βούλεται οὖν λέγειν ἡ παροιμία, οὔπω οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχεις τοῦ πράγματος: καθάπερ οὐδὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς κήποις εἰσιόντες ἐν τοῖς σελίνοις εἰσίν.
>
> Not even among celery: about those who have not made a start. Of those who go into the garden: for near the edge, in the so-called garden surroundings, they used to grow celery and rue. Certainly, as the proverb suggests, you are not even making a start in your affairs, just as they who are entering into the garden are not yet among the celery.[222]

The *Suda* is referencing and explaining an expression that was known from Aristophanes' *Wasps*.[223]

There are points of conflict and similarity between ancient denotations of κῆπος and modern English definitions of *garden.* Two dictionaries, Barnhart and Partridge, that are concerned with the origins of words, traces the origins of the noun *garden* to the Old French *gardin*, Old High

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[218] Diod.Sic. 2.10.1-6.
[219] Bremmer 2008, 54.
[220] Bremmer 2008, 52-54.
[221] Bremmer 2008, 53.
[222] Suda s.v. Οὐδ΄ ἐν σελίνοις (omicron,808).
[223] Ar.*Vesp.*480:
"οὐδὲ μὴν οὐδ' ἐν σελίνῳ σοὐστὶν οὐδ' ἐν πηγάνῳ· τοῦτο γὰρ παρεμβαλοῦμεν τῶν τριχοινίκων ἐπῶν. *You are not even in the celery nor in the rue—we will add this in from our many expressions."*

German *garto,* and modern German *Garten,* Old Saxon *gard*, and Old English *geard,* with all words meaning *enclosure.*[224] Another source defines the noun as, "a plot of ground devoted to the cultivation of useful or ornamental plants; a piece of ground, or other space, commonly with ornamental plants, trees, etc., used as a place of recreation: *a botanic garden; a roof garden;* a fertile and delightful spot or region."[225] Much like the Greek κῆπος, these definitions capture the multiple uses of a space designated as garden, which shows that a garden can function in many different ways that include productivity and recreation. They imply that it is a set or defined area of ground or space, reflecting the etymological origins of the word. Modern gardens as areas for plant cultivation are defined in other social and cultural words. In some works, gardens are "battlegrounds for elite factions" and can be studied as "complex works of art", as well as living art forms.[226]

Scholars offer definitions that are based on or are influenced by the gloss above, with slight but often significant deviations or differences in their interpretations of ancient gardens. These contemporary glosses, which encompass ideas of modern and ancient gardens, are illuminating. In one denotation of a garden noted in Chapter One, Jones states that the definition is "variously based on the scale of cultivation, the methods employed or the crops grown", such crops including vegetables, fruit, root crops and herbs.[227] The significant point in Jones' considerations of gardens in Britain is gained through the crops:

> …based largely on the crops that are cultivated in gardens today or in historical periods… Gardens in this sense of the word make their first definite appearance in Britain during the Roman period.[228]

The type of garden that Jones is interested in is the "horticultural" garden (meaning intensive garden cultivation and practice) and the remains in archaeology.[229] Citing Leach in her conclusion, Jones presents the argument that crop type does not represent the type of garden practice used. Though focusing on the horticultural garden, it appears Jones places this type of cultivation within the general "history of agriculture",[230] which suggests that horticulture is viewed as a sub-field. Other historians focus on the boundaries of gardens. Fundamental to

[224] Barnhart 1988, 422; Partridge 1966, 246-7.
[225] "garden" s.v. *M.D.* online, 2016.
[226] Conan 1999, 2, 4-5; Duncan 1990, 11. For a thought-provoking discussion on the meaning of gardens as art-forms and the ways in which society prescribes meaning to spaces, see Ferrari 2010, 33-45.
[227] Jones 2005, 165.
[228]Jones 2005, 165.
[229] Jones 2005, 165.
[230] Jones 2005, 174.

Miller and Gleason's definition, gardens and fields are bounded and cultivated.[231] To Osborne, gardens are "in essence artificial, man-made, and constantly being remade by man", they are bounded, "and distinctly not for animals… [and] were essentially productive;"[232] gardens are not agricultural.[233] Essential to the above definitions are two features: gardens are defined by boundaries, and they are created and cultivated by human hands.[234]

Cook's analysis and re-classification of Alcinoös' κῆπος as a farm exemplifies the influence of modern denotations of garden and farm on the evidence.[235] In his analysis, Cook refers to Alcinoös' large garden as a working farm with a vegetable garden.[236] The current English definition of farm is,

> A tract of land or water devoted to agriculture, or some other industry, especially the raising of livestock, fish, etc.; the system, method, or act of collecting revenue by letting out a territory in the districts; the rest or income from leased property or rights such as lands or revenues; to raise (livestock, fish, etc.) on a farm.[237]

The use of farm in Cook's interpretation only partially fits the description that Homer provides of Alcinoös' estate. I argue that it should be classified as a garden because line 129 refers to two springs, one of which "ἀνὰ κῆπον ἅπαντα σκίδναται *runs throughout the garden spreading over everything.*"[238] Κῆπος refers to the entire section of cultivated land that is closest to the house. It is a useful example of a large garden, using intensive cultivation practices. Typically intensive cultivation, such as Alcinoös' garden, is a significant form of food production that "is capable of supporting individual households" and is marked by a high yield of production per unit area of land.[239] From the description in the Homeric epic, it can be assumed that Alcinoös' household receives a high yield of produce from the garden, as other factors including climate and irrigation suggest its high productivity. As Homer calls Alcinoös' space a κῆπος, it is appropriate, therefore, to label the space as a garden, and not a farm. However, it is reasonable to label

[231] Miller and Gleason 1994, 2.
[232] Osborne 1992, 380.
[233] Osborne 1992, 377.
[234] Hunt 1999, 75.
[235] Carroll-Spillecke 1992, 84 also calls Alcinoös' estate as a "farm", as well as Laertes' garden as a farm.
[236] Cook 2004, 53.
[237] "farm" s.v. *M.D.* online 2016; "farm" s.v. *O.E.D.* online 2016.
[238] Hom.*Od.*7.129-30.
[239] van der Veen 2005, 158.

Alcinoös' entire estate (τέμενος) as a farm, of which his κῆπος and his ἀλωή are distinct areas within it.[240]

The size of κῆπος impacts upon modern English interpretations of the word as garden, which is not shared in the ancient denotation. In ancient Greek evidence, size is not an influential factor in the classification of a space as κῆπος, which is an interesting contrast with modern connotations of the word garden. In the ancient examples, κῆποι are a range of sizes and it is not contentious to label a space as a garden that, under modern denotation, would be classified a farm. It is clear that even if the garden's size is limited due to city structures, the space that surrounds an *oikos*, in which one assumes plants or other organics are growing, is referred to as κῆπος.[241] This designation is regardless of purpose (leisure and/or production).[242] Cook, critiquing Hainsworth's estimated dimensions of Alcinoös' κῆπος as approximately 930m^2, argues that due to the variety and amount of plants and trees referred to in the Homeric account, Alcinoös' garden must have been far greater than Hainsworth's estimation. However, the only clues to the size or measurements of the space are the words μέγας meaning 'large' or 'great' and τετράγυος—which has no firm definition[243]—that qualify the ὄρχᾰτος.

κηπουρός, ὁ: *gardener*

In a literal sense, the word κηπουρός denotes a garden-keeper, which is interpreted as a gardener.[244] Thus, the word could refer to people who are known as gardeners in a professional or occupational capacity, as well as people who perform tasks related to the maintenance of a garden. According to Carroll, the earliest evidence of a professional gardener is recorded in a list of Athenian metics from approximately 404 B.C.[245] However, ancient evidence demonstrates that gardeners and others with gardening knowledge existed prior to the Classical period.

Archaic

The word surfaces in the Archaic fables of Aesop. He utilises a discussion between a gardener and a man to illustrate the importance of a mother's nurturing and care.[246] In the fable, the gardener explains why cultivated plants do not thrive as well as some wild varieties:

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[240] In Hom.*Od.*6.293, Homer refers to Alcinoös τέμενος and ἀλωή that can be seen from Athena's road-side grove (ἄλσος).
[241] Dem.47.53.
[242] Pl.*Ep.*347a; IG4 659 (PH28178); IG I3 402.
[243] Cook 2004, 53.
[244] Aesop.32*;* Simon.6.1-4; Antiph.*Fr.*116; Pl.*Minos.*316e; Thphr.*Hist.pl.*7.2.5.
[245] Carroll 2003, 85.
[246] Aesop uses gardeners elsewhere in his fables. See Aesop.96.1, 190.1.

ἀνήρ τις κηπουρόν τινα θεασάμενος τῶν λαχάνων ἀρδείαν ποιούμενον ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· "πῶς τὰ μὲν ἄγρια φυτὰ μήτε φυτευόμενα μήτε ἐργαζόμενα ὡραῖα πεφύκασι, τὰ δὲ τῆς ὑμῶν φυτηκομίας πολλάκις ξηραίνεται;" ὁ δὲ κηπουρὸς ἀντέφησεν, "ὡς τὰ ἄγρια τῶν φυτῶν μόνῃ τῇ θείᾳ προνοίᾳ ἐφορᾶται, τὰ δὲ ἥμερα ὑπὸ χειρὸς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιμελεῖται."
ὁ λόγος δηλοῖ, ὡς κρείττων ἡ τῶν μητέρων ἀνατροφὴ πέφυκε τῆς τῶν μητρυιῶν ἐπιμελείας.

A man was watching a gardener irrigating his vegetables and asked, "How are the wild plants produced without being deliberately planted and seasonal labouring, but often the vines you care for dry up?" The gardener answered, "the wild types of plants are attended by divine Forethought alone, but the cultivated plants are cared for by human hand."
The story reveals that the mother's nurturing puts forth stronger shoots than those of the step-mother's attention.[247]

In Aesop's fable, the purpose of the gardener's knowledge is to communicate a moral point about the difference between mortal and immortal influence over plants. Though the motherly care he refers to could suggest a preference for a biological parent, this suggestion seems unlikely. Rather, the fable seems to indicate Aesop's recognition that the gods are infinitely better caretakers than an experienced mortal gardener. In either case, his example is useful for the information it communicates about the knowledge of gardeners and irrigation techniques. His fable provides evidence that gardeners tend to different plant varieties. Though he is watering his vegetables, the man indicates that the gardener also tends to cultivated vines.

In a poetic, metaphorical example, Simonides highlights that gardeners know how to grow flowers, which are then used in the worship of the gods:

Σιμωνίδης τὸν Ἡσίοδον κηπουρὸν ἔλεγε, τὸν δὲ Ὅμηρον στεφανηπλόκον, τὸν μὲν ὡς φυτεύσαντα τὰς περὶ θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων μυθολογίας, τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν συμπλέξαντα τὸν Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσείας στέφανον.

Simonides used to say that Hesiod was the gardener, and Homer was the wreath-plaiter, and so Hesiod planted these stories about gods and heroes, and Homer plaited the wreath of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* from them.[248]

[247] Aesop.32.
[248] Simon.6.1-4 (*TLG*).

Although this source could be used in the analysis of the ancient attitudes towards different authors, the example highlights the relationship between those who care for and raise plants and people who transform the plants into products. It shows that poets expect audiences to know of gardeners, as those who grow and raise plants (who may or may not be 'professional gardeners' in Carroll's view),[249] as well as those who perform gardening tasks like planting crops and building garden walls.[250] If Simonides' extract is consolidated with the other examples within this chapter, this evidence shows that the plants gardeners grow vary in their type and use, and cannot be neatly classified under the contemporary denotations of agriculture and horticulture.

Knowledge about garden practice attributed to gardeners is evidenced in examples where the word κηπουρός is not used. Odysseus' father, Laertes, and the household slave, Dolius, both possess a similar level of knowledge as the gardener in Aesop's fable. Odysseus tells us that his father knew each plant by name within his garden,[251] and tends to a plant in the ἀλωή as one who is skilled.[252] Dolius is an example of a person who keeps a garden, and whom Bowe refers to as the first gardener "in Western literature."[253] He is a slave belonging to Penelope and Odysseus' household, and maintains their garden. Specifically, he cares for the section that is qualified with the adjective πολυδένδρεον *of many trees,*[254] and presumably does so alongside Laertes.

Classical

Classical evidence demonstrates that κηπουροί *gardeners* were known during this period.[255] For example, Antiphanes' lost play Κηπουρός, for which we have only the title, attests to the existence of gardeners and the use of the word to denote them.[256] Likewise, Hippocrates refers to the wife of a gardener (κηπουροῦ γυνή) who was taken ill with a burning fever.[257] In a fragment attributed to Callisthenes, there is a man who is a musician but had previously been a κηπουρός.[258]

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[249] Socrates also mentions gardeners who are "in the business of gardens', which I would understand as paid, professional gardeners for hire. See Pl.*Min.*316e.
[250] E.g. Eurymachus condescendingly offers Odysseus paid labourer's work in Hom.*Od.*18.357-61.
[251] Hom.*Od.*24.335-44.
[252] Hom.*Od.*24.244-45 "ἀμφιπολευειν ὄρχατον." Note that I have translated ἀλωή as orchard instead of vineyard.
[253] Bowe 2010, 209. It is possible that Dolius is imagined as holding an elevated position amongst the slaves, as Heubeck, Fernandez-Galiano and Russo 1992, 386 reflect on Dolius in Hom.*Od.*24.222 as appearing "here as master of other servants".
[254] Hom.*Od.*4.735-7.
[255] Ar.*Frag.*40 (*Fr.*697 Henderson); *IG* II^2 10 (PH228), 401/0 B.C.
[256] Antiph.*Fr.*116: Κηπουρός.
[257]Hippoc.*Epid.*5.1.
[258] Ps.-Callisth.*BNJ* 124.F5.16.

Gardeners, and those who perform garden maintenance, are respected for their knowledge of plants and cultivation (γεωργία), though they are differentiated from γεωργοί.[259] Their knowledge includes the manipulation of soil levels to increase the size of certain crops,[260] and correct watering methods and amounts.[261] Plato provides details about the expected knowledge of gardeners. Using Socrates as his spokesperson in his work *Minos*, Plato expects that gardeners (κηπουροί) are experts on garden practices and the control of gardens.[262] He expects that gardeners can read written works about gardening ("κήπων ἐργασίας συγγράμματα"). This expectation that gardeners are able to read immediately excludes those who are illiterate, despite their knowledge, expertise and experience. It could be a way of differentiating between those who manage gardeners (who are 'gardeners' in words expertise and knowledge, like Plato's gardeners) and people who perform the physical labour of garden maintenance such as Dolius in the *Odyssey*.[263]

Hellenistic

Hellenistic poets and writers use the word κηπουρός to indicate people who guard spaces in which plants grow. They are garden-keepers in a literal sense, and their knowledge about gardening is unknown. In Theocritus' first *Idyll,* he describes the carving on a two-handled cup. One of the images is of a little boy, sitting on the αἱμασιά, guarding the grapes growing in the vineyard.[264] If placed alongside the lesson in Aesop's fable about the cultivator and his children, it is acceptable to use this image as an example of the training children might have received about the basics of cultivation and gardening, such as the importance task of guarding and protecting one's crops from outsiders.

Mythical creatures are κηπουροί *garden-keepers* in Hellenistic texts. In a fragment attributed to Euphorion, the poet calls the snake that guards the golden apples in the Garden of Hesperides a κηπουρός. Though it is doubtful that the snake has knowledge of cultivation, it is a keeper of the garden and guards the precious χρυσᾶ μῆλα.[265]

The ancient denotation of κηπουρός as *gardener* shares similarities with the modern English definition of gardener. The modern English definition of gardener as "a person employed to take

[259] *IG* II^2 10 (PH2228) from 401/0 B.C. lists γεωργός and κηπουρός as separate occupations.
[260] Thphr.*Hist.pl.*7.2.5.
[261] Thphr.*Hist.pl.*7.5.2.
[262] Pl.*Minos.*316e.
[263] Hom.*Od.*4.735-7.
[264] Theoc.1.45-48.
[265] Euphor.*Fr.*148.

care of a garden; someone who gardens"[266] represents well the denotation that the sources convey.

λειμών, -ῶνος, ὁ: *meadow*

The meadow is one of the most important landscapes included in this study. It is a central setting for the activities of the female, immortal and mortal, for leisure and educational purposes, and it is a popular motif for the poetic descriptions of female sexuality. Meadows could be sacred spaces for religious festivals, such as the Anthesphoria,[267] and the Meadow of Asphodel is important in Greek religion and myth.[268]

Archaic

In Archaic evidence, a λειμών is a space that is typified by grass, lush plant growth and springs.[269] In the *Odyssey,* the nymph-goddess Calypso lives in a cave that has a ὕλη *forest* and λειμών *meadow* surrounding it, with four springs that provide her space with fresh water.[270]

A variety of plants and flowers grow in meadows. Calypso's meadow grows grass, celery and violets.[271] Other meadow flowers include the crocus, hyacinth, narcissus, rose and iris.[272] In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes,* the stolen cows of Apollo feed on λωτός *clover* and ἐρσήεις κύπειρον *dewy mash-plant*.[273] Similar marsh-plants are eaten by the mules that pull Nausicaä's wagon in the *Odyssey.*[274] In the *Iliad,* the city Antheia is described with the adjective βαθύλειμος *rich meadows*.[275] As the city's name is probably derived from the noun ἄνθειον *flower*, it is plausible that the city's surrounding meadows grow an abundance of flowers. Homer also sings of houses built with roofs of ὄροφος *thatch* that is "λειμωνόθεν ἀμήσαντες *gathered from meadows.*"[276]

The λειμών is a space frequented and associated with female beings.[277] Typically, these female figures are in the midst of gathering flowers, such as in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter.* In the

[266] "gardener" s.v. *M.D.* online 2016.
[267] Guzman 2014, 73-89.
[268] The Meadow of Asphodel is mentioned in Hom.*Od.*24.13ff and is the setting for the opening of Book 24 during which Hermes summons the ghosts of the suitors. See also Pl.*Grg.*524a.
[269] Sapph.2; Hom.*Il.*20.9.
[270] Hom.*Od.*5.70-75.
[271] h.Hom.3.118.
[272] h.Hom.2.6-8.
[273] h.Hom.4.105-6.
[274] Hom.*Od.*6.90: "ἄγρωστιν μελιηδέα."
[275] Hom.*Il.*9.151, 9.293.
[276] Hom.*Il.*24.450-51.
[277] Sapph.2.

hymn, Demeter's daughter, Persephone, and her young friends gather flowers.[278] In another *Hymn*, a meadow is the scene in which a goddess delivers her child. Leto's delivery of Apollo in a meadow "made the earth smile."[279]

In Archaic evidence, meadows are used to pasture animals,[280] though such use is in conjunction with a god. One such instance is found in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes.* After Hermes steals Apollo's cattle, the animals, "ἔχεσκον βοσκόμεναι λειμῶνας ἀκηρασίους ἐρατεινούς, *were kept and grazed on lovely untouched meadows.*"[281] After pasturing, Hermes leads the cattle to stables that are "in front of a bright meadow",[282] which shows a clear distinction of space (meadow and stable) and use (pasture and protection).

Classical

The λειμών is a landscape of natural beauty.[283] They are spaces that humans are not permitted to negatively change or damage, though they may visit them.[284] Classical texts differ concerning the use of meadows as pastures for livestock and crop-raising. While some describe the pasturage of livestock and crop growing in meadows,[285] other poets, such as Euripides, state explicitly that certain meadows are not used in these ways. For example, in the Euripidean play *Hippolytus*, the character Hippolytus offers a plaited chaplet (στέφανος) to a statue of Aphrodite:

> σοὶ τόνδε πλεκτὸν στέφανον ἐξ ἀκηράτου
> λειμῶνος, ὦ δέσποινα, κοσμήσας φέρω,
> ἔνθ' οὔτε ποιμὴν ἀξιοῖ φέρβειν βοτὰ
> οὔτ' ἦλθέ πω σίδηρος, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατον
> μέλισσα λειμῶν' ἠρινὴ διέρχεται,
> Αἰδὼς δὲ ποταμίαισι κηπεύει δρόσοις…
>
> For you, lady, I bring this plaited chaplet that I have made from an untouched meadow, a place where a shepherd will not lead his animals to feed, nor where iron has gone, but a meadow unharmed where wild bees in spring pass through, and Aidōs tends it with rivers like a garden with dew ...[286]

[278] h.Hom.2.425-29.
[279] h.Hom.3.117-19.
[280] Hom.*Il.*16.148-51; Thgn.1249-52.
[281] h.Hom.4.70-2.
[282] h.Hom.4.104.
[283] Ar.*Av.*245: "λειμῶνά ἐρόεντα *lovely meadow."*
[284] Ar.*Ran.*326-27.
[285] Soph.*Aj.*143-45; Aesch.*Fr.(Europa* or *Carians)*99; Thphr.*Caus.pl.*3.6.8, 3.11.3.
[286] Eur.*Hipp.*73.

Euripides emphasises the pure nature of the meadow through the implication that none but Hippolytus and the bees have entered the space, though this is an idealised image. He states that neither humans use this meadow for cultivation, nor do animals graze within it, though Hippolytus has gathered flowers from it. A plausible explanation for the restrictions on this meadow in terms of harvest and animal use is its importance to Aphrodite. Euripides, through Hippolytus' wreath-offering to Aphrodite which is crafted from plants grown in the meadow, reveals a special connection between this meadow and goddess. Certainly, other texts describe the connection between Aphrodite and meadows, and it is often sensual in nature.[287] Without explicit reference to Aphrodite, meadows are scenes of sexuality and sensual experiences.[288] Similarly, in Aristophanes' *Frogs,* a character talks about wishing to avoid being caught plucking from the sacred λειμών of the Muses.[289] These examples show that if the meadow belongs to or is associated with a divinity, it may have restrictions placed upon it that others do not.

Classical texts describe meadows as green places,[290] resulting from their rich plant life.[291] Meadows are noted for their wet, marsh-loving plants. For example, Theophrastus describes plant species that grow near marshy, moist areas, such as marsh-celery (τό ἐλειοσέλῖνον) that grows next to water channels and in marsh-meadows (…ἐλειοσέλινον τὸ παρὰ τοὺς ὀχετοὺς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι).[292] However, these marsh plants are not unique to Classical meadows, as noted in the Homeric sources above.[293]

Hellenistic

Hellenistic evidence remains consistent with earlier denotations of λειμών. In Hellenistic texts, a λειμών is a lush space with the growth of grass and plants, upon which livestock may feed.[294] Flowers are gathered from meadows to plait garlands, which are used in ritual and ceremony.[295] In a fragment attributed to Euphorion, the poet uses εἰαμενή to denote a meadow.[296]

[287] E.g. Sapph.2; Theoc.*Ep.*1 AP 6.336; Call.*Hymn.*2.80-3; Bremer 1975, esp. 268-71 and 275-80.
[288] Bacchyl.*Fr.*10.
[289] Ar.*Ran.*1300.
[290] Eur.*Bacch.*866-67.
[291] Pherecr.114.
[292] Thphr.*Hist.pl.*7.6.3.
[293] h.Hom.4.1-5-6; Hom.*Od.*6.90.
[294] Theoc.25.15-17; Arat.*Phaen.*1120.
[295] Theoc.18.39-42.
[296] Euphor.*Fr.*135.

νομός, -οῦ, ὁ: ***pasture***

Archaic

Νομός is an area, such as a grass field, on which wild and domesticated animals feed.[297] Νομοί might be enclosed or open.[298] In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo,* the poet sings of a metaphorical pasture in lines 20-21:

> πάντῃ γάρ τοι, Φοῖβε, νομὸς βεβλήαται ᾠδῆς, ἠμὲν ἀν᾽ ἤπειρον πορτιτρ
> όφον ἠδ᾽ ἀνὰ νήσους.
>
> Everywhere for you, Phoebus, they laid out a pasture of songs,
> both throughout the land nourishing calves and over the islands.

In this metaphorical example, the νομός reflects the denotations of the word as a space that nourishes and feeds the calves, land that is suitable for rearing livestock. Pastures can exist in wooded or forested areas, such as the νομός on which the great stag feeds in the *Odyssey.*[299] Archaic poets denote pastoral spaces with other words including βοτάναι,[300] "ἄγκεα ποιήεντα",[301] and χόρτος (enclosed place, connoting a feeding place or farmyard).[302]

Classical

Classical sources describe a νομός as a place for holding and feeding animals in an outdoors setting,[303] which is consistent with Archaic evidence. In Aristophanes' *Birds,* the word describes feeding on (νομός) plant matter in a garden (κῆπος).[304] Whereas, in other evidence, the word denotes generally an area or district, with no reference to specific cultivational or pastoral use.[305] Texts use the adjective ποίμνιος *frequented by flocks* to denote an area in which a shepherd pastures a flock.[306]

Hellenistic

Bearing the denotation that a νομός is a section of land that nourishes animals,[307] a νομός appears metaphorically in a Hellenistic poem of Callimachus. Like the pastures that are sources

[297] Hom.*Il.*2.475, 18.575, 18.587; Hom.*Od.*9.438, 10.159.
[298] For example, h.Hom.5.78; h.Hom.3.20-21. In Pindar's *Olympian Ode 7*, the poet speaks of an entire island as a νομός. From the use of *pasture,* the image of the island is one of lush, green, grassy landscape. Pi.*Ol.*7.33.
[299] Hom.*Od.*10.159, the "…νομός ὕλης, …*pasture in the forest."*
[300] Hom.*Il.*2.287.
[301] Hom.*Od.*4.337, 17.128.
[302] "χόρτος" s.v. *LSJ* online 2016.
[303] Hdt.2.46.3; Eur.*Cyc.*61; Eur.*Alc.*573-4.
[304] Ar.*Av.*238-39.
[305] Pl.*Ti.*21e; Eur.*Rhes.*477; Hecat.*BNJ* 264.F24.88.7; Arist.*Oec.*1352a.
[306] Soph.*OT.*1028.
[307] Ap.Rhod.*Argon.*747; Call.*Aet.*27.

of nourishment in Archaic and Classical evidence, Callimachus' νομός, which belongs to the Muses, carries a similarly nurturing image.[308] Aratus mentions a νομός in which a νομεύς *shepherd* grazes his flocks.[309]

Poets use other means to denote pastures. Derived from the word πόα *grass,* Hellenistic poets such as Theocritus use πόα for grassy areas that feed livestock.[310] He employs the verb νομεύω *to pasture* for the land on which animals, such as sheep and cattle graze.[311]

ὄρχατος, -ου, ὁ: *orchard, row of trees*

Archaic

The word ὄρχατος denotes an orchard. In a search of the *TLG,* the only extant sources that use the word are the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* during the Archaic period. In the *Iliad,* the ὄρχατος is one of the cultivated areas that surrounds a person's house and is located near their crop-growing field (ἄρουρα). These cultivated areas sustain the person and the household.[312] There are five occurrences of ὄρχατος in the *Odyssey,* and all denote the cultivated land and vegetation of an orchard in Alcinoös' and Laertes' properties. Upon arrival at Alcinoös' estate, Odysseus is mesmerised by Alcinoös' garden. Standing in his position near the doors (θύρα), he sees the flourishing ὄρχᾰτος.[313] The second ὄρχατος belongs to Laertes, which he and his household's slaves tend.[314]

Classical

There are two single fragments, one attributed to Aristotle and one to Euripides, that contain the word ὄρχατος in the Classical period. In the Aristotelian fragment, the word indicates an area planted with grapes, in which Poseidon's son Ancaeus meets his demise.[315] The Euripidean fragment has ὄρχατοι in late summer as the setting for a "φιλάνθεμος *flower-loving"* Bacchic ritual.[316]

[308] Call.*Aet.*112.9.
[309] Arat.*Phaen.*1104-5.
[310] Theoc.25.15-17.
[311] Theoc.8.41, 42, 43, 48, 27.68.
[312] Hom.*Il.*14.121-24.
[313] Hom.*Od.*7.112.
[314] Hom.*Od.*24.222, 24.245, 24.257, 24.358. Heubeck, Fernandez-Galiano and Russo 1992, 385 postulate that ὄρχατος in Hom.*Od.*24.222 is formed from the agricultural word ὄρχος, which means "row (of trees, etc.)" and has come to mean a vineyard or orchard organised in rows.
[315] Arist.8.44.*Fr.*571.29.
[316] Eur.*Fr.*896.

Hellenistic

Hellenistic poetry is similarly scarce in its evidence, with only three extant sources that use the word ὄρχατος. In Lycophron's *Alexandra*, the word denotes an orchard. However, this orchard does not belong to a mortal individual; rather, it forms part of Hera's sanctuary, which means its trees are sacred.[317]

The second and third extracts describe areas that involve grapes, not fruit trees. The second extract attributed to Moschion involves Bacchic sites. He communicates a rule that neither a workman nor his iron tools should care for the Bacchic vines in ὄρχατοι. This example is interesting because an ὄρχατος is typified by the growth of trees; but, in Moschion's example, vines also grow there.[318] The third example, attributed to Dionysius Thrax, is the same in content to the Aristotelian fragment above, in which the author details the death of Ancaeus in an ὄρχατος.[319]

ὕλη, -ης ἡ: ***forest, woods, wood***

Archaic

The word, ὕλη, denotes a wooded, tree-covered area such as the *woods* or *forest*.[320] Homer labels firewood with the words ξύλον and φιτρός.[321] Hesiod, Homer and Anaximander use ὕλη for the raw material cut from a forest.[322] The word expresses that a forest consists of different types of trees.[323] ὕλη qualifies the wild, wooded landscapes, such as tree-covered mountains and glens that goddesses such as Circe and the Nymphs call home.[324] Hesiod refers to people living in the forest as "ὑληκοῖται."[325] In the wilder settings of the ὕλη, these areas are suitable for hunting, frequented by characters such as Artemis and hunters.[326] Forests can adopt the sacred nature of groves if they share an association with a divinity, which is one way that the Homeric poet describes Circe's wooded home.[327] Both Circe and Calypso live on wooded islands in the

[317] Lyc.856-65.
[318] Moschio.Trag.6.12.
[319] D.T.*Fr.*36.1-16.
[320] "ὕλη" s.v. *LSJ* online 2018; Hom.*Od.*10.150, 14.353; Archil.*Fr.*21; Alcm.*Fr.*90; Pi.*Pyth.*3.37; Hes.*Op.*508; Aesop.10.2; h.Hom.2.386; h.Hom.3.225.
[321] ξύλον: Hom.*Od.*14.418; φιτρός: Hom.*Od.*12.11.
[322] Hom.*Od.*10.104; Hes.*Op.*421; Anaximand.*Fr.*14.7.
[323] Hom.*Od.*13.246-47 "…ὕλη παντοίος, *trees of all sorts*."
[324] Hom.*Od.*10.150; h.Hom.5.285; Pl.*Criti.*111c; Hes.*Op.*509-11; Pi.*Pyth.*3.37-38.
[325] Hes.*Op.*529.
[326] Hom.*Od.*17.312-17, 19.427ff These examples also include hunting dogs. Also Hom.*Od.*10.151-56 Odysseus hunts the great stag in the woods on Circe's island.
[327] Hom.*Od.*10.275, wherein the poet uses ἱερή *sacred* to describe the βῆσσα of Circe, another word denoting forest or wood.

Odyssey, though Homer uses "νῆσος ὑλήεσσα" for Circe,[328] and "νῆσος δενδρήεσσα for Calypso.[329]

Forests are places that livestock and animals feed upon. Hesiod describes a "βοῦς ὑλοφάγος *forest-feeding cow* or *ox*",[330] which shows that forests are suitable for human and livestock use. On Circe's island, the forest is a source of nourishment for the wild inhabitants such as the great stag that moves towards the river "… ἐκ νομοῦ ὕλης *from his pasture in the forest*."[331]

Classical

The word ὕλη in Classical evidence is forest or wooded area,[332] and is the organic material used in various ways such as construction, carpentry and wood-burning fires.[333] Forests are qualified with adjectives such as χλωρά *green* and δάσκιον *thickly-shaded,*[334] which convey aspects of their appearances. As it is in Archaic evidence, the wildness of forests, however, does not necessarily negate their safety for human and livestock use. Euripides describes "Βοῦς ὑλοφορβός *forest-feeding oxen*", which shows that Euripides finds the forest to be an acceptable place for animals to be pastured.[335] The word is incorporated into adjectives that denote particular animal species and landscapes. In his investigation of animal species, Aristotle qualifies a kind of bee that forages in the woods as a "ὑλονόμος *forest-dweller*."[336] In his description of a mountain peak (ῥίον), Aristotle captures its wood-covered appearance with the adjective ὑλήεις.[337] The incorporation of the word into qualifiers for animals and other areas suggests that ὕλη is a well-known area of landscape in Classical evidence.

There is another word that evidence uses for wooden things. In his descriptions of items and structures built from wood, Herodotus utilises the adjective ξύλινος,[338] derived from the noun ξύλον. He uses ὕλη at other points.[339] Likewise, Xenophon describes shields that are made from

[328] Hom.*Od.*10.308. Polyphemus' island is also described using ὑλήσσα (Hom.*Od.*9.18).
[329] Hom.*Od.*1.51.
[330] Hes.*Op.*591.
[331] Hom.10.159.
[332] Aesch.*Fr.*23; Thuc.4.30.2; Eur.*Andr.*849; Eur.*Bacch.*688, 1138, 1221; Eur.*Hipp.*215; Soph.*Ant.*420; Soph.*OT.*477*;* Hdt.9.37; Xen.*An.*2.31; Xen.*Cyn.*10.23; Pl.*Criti.*107c; Thphr.*Caus.pl.*1.5.1, 1.5.4; Thphr.*Hist.pl.*3.1.5, 5.8.2, 8.2.8.
[333] Hughes 1990, 193; Pl.*Criti.*114e; Pl.*Leg.*761d; Thphr.*Hist.pl.*5.6.2, 5.9.5; Aesch.*Ag.*497; Soph.*Trach.*1195; Hdt.2.107; Ar.*Av.*92; Xen.*Cyn.*2.9; *SEG* 21.527 (PH291512), 363/2 B.C.; *I.Eleusis* 175 (PH346635), 330 B.C.
[334] Green: Eur.*Hipp.*17; Soph.*OT.*1028; Shaded: Bacchyl.*Ep.*11.93.
[335] Eur.*IT.*261.
[336] Arist.*Hist.an.*8.624b.
[337] Arist.*Hist.an.*6.578b.
[338] Hdt.2.63 (wooden weapons), 2.86 (wooden models), 3.57, 4.3 (wooden buckets), 4.108 (a city, its buildings, shrines and walls built from wood).
[339] E.g. Hdt.2.107, 9.37.

wood and the raw material with ξυλίνα and ξύλον.[340] As part of the commemoration of the Asklepeion at Athens, the inscription mentions a ξυλοπυλίο *wooden gate.*[341]

Hellenistic

Hellenistic evidence remains consistent with earlier denotations, wherein ὕλη is a forest and/or wood.[342] The word signals the wooded area on a person's estate, which is the case for the ὕλη χλωρός *wooded greenery* in Theocritus' *Idyll 25.*[343] Forests can be cultivated (ἡμερίς), meaning that they are deliberately planted and/or maintained,[344] such as those on private property and estates. Theocritus also describes that a ὕλη *forest* can be used to pasture livestock, such as goats.[345] The word forms adjectives such as ὑλώδης *wooded,* that qualify other areas of landscape.[346]

In a Hellenistic inscription, the text outlines the laws of a sanctuary to Apollo, which includes the treatment and use of the trees growing within it. The word ξύλα is the wood from trees, and none are permitted to cut or carry away any of the wood, including φρύγανα *dry sticks* or *firewood*.[347] Borza notes that Athenians had a high demand for timber, that Athens was a "timber starved" Greek city.[348] Both Dillon and Borza note that Athenians had to obtain wood through political ties with Macedon, which the latter attributes to demand for ship-building wood.[349] The demand for wood and the scarcity of it within the city at least partially explains the explicit laws that protected the trees within sanctuaries, which included dry sticks that had already fallen from trees. The protection of sanctuary wood demonstrates forethought and planning because it considers the negative consequences and problems that could arise, such as divine vengeance. More practically, it guards against the depletion of the vegetation that enhances and supports

[340] Ξυλίνα: Xen.*Hell.*2.4.25; ξύλινος: Xen.*Cyn.*9.12; ξύλον: Xen.*An.*4.4.12, Xen.*Hell.*2.4.26, Xen.*Oec.*17.3. Aristotle also uses ξύλον for a wooden bed/couch/recliner at Arist.*Gen.an.*1.724a. Cf. *SEG* 36.206 (PH294175), 300 B.C., which evidences the word ξύλα for wood.
[341] *SEG* 54.232, 400 B.C. Cf. *IG* II^2 4960 (PH7263), fourth century B.C.
[342] Hecat.*BNJ* 264.F25.13.2; Ap.Rhod.*Argon.*1.1117, 1.1338, 4.139, 4.216; Chrysipp.*Stoic.Fr.*300.4*,* 302.1; Polyb.34.2.16; Nic.*Fr.*1.6*,* 1.28*.*
[343] Theoc.25.158; Bowe 2015, 268.
[344] Euphor.*Frag.B.fr.*3.6.
[345] Theoc.8.49-51.
[346] Polyb.3.40.12.
[347] *IG* II^2 1362 (PH3578). Cf. *IG* II^2 1177 (PH3392), mid-fourth century B.C., which decrees similar restrictions on gathering wood from the Thesmophorion sanctuary at Piraeus.
[348] Borza 1987, 32-34.
[349] Dillon 1997, 127; Borza 1987, 32.

sanctuary grounds and religious practice. In terms of the latter, inscriptional evidence, such as detailed provisions lists, shows frequently the need for firewood in festivals and rituals.[350]

The Denotations of 'Womankind'

In Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* or Ἠοῖαι, the poet records a detailed list of 'womankind', beginning with the Muses, working through goddesses to notable mortal women. Describing them with the plural γυναῖκες, the inference is that they are their own race as determined by prescribed cultural markers of women's dress (μίτρα),[351] and their relationships with and begetting of children by male gods and mortals.

However, *womankind* and *woman* are problematic words in English and are not descriptive when used in translations and interpretations of ancient evidence. These words do not reflect qualifiers of an individual's identity, social and economic background, nor their ethnic and/or racial identity.[352] There are differences in the Greek concepts regarding different kinds of female beings, their denotations and connotations presented in ancient evidence, which the generalised English words such as *woman, girl, female* do not capture.

The discussion below provides the denotations of the Greek words that represent female beings that are important to this thesis. The words are παρθένος, κόρη, νύμφη, δάμαρ, ἄκοιτις, γυνή and θεά/θεός. Each word's denotation is based on their use in ancient evidence. As such, the denotations are formulated using Greek standards and usage, not contemporary English criteria.

Παρθένος, ἡ, κόρη, ἡ and νύμφη, ἡ: *maiden, girl, bride and nymph*

The nouns παρθένος and νύμφη signify a maiden or young woman and are associated with a woman's sexual maturity and readiness for marriage. Παρθένος denotes an unmarried girl, who is sexually inexperienced, but is approaching or has reached sexual maturity.[353] In some cases, a παρθένος is an unmarried woman but has had sexual relations with someone.[354] The word, κόρη, denotes girls similar to the life-stage of παρθένος. Κόρη is used to emphasise a girl's youthfulness, even though she is considered as being an appropriate age for marriage.[355] A female character that evidences this point is Persephone. Initially the poet of the *Hymn to*

[350] Cf. *SEG* 54.214, 400-375 B.C. (provisions for priests and priestesses, which mentions firewood eight times); *IG* I^3 246, 470-450 B.C. (sacrificial calendar fragments).
[351] Hes.*Cat.*1.4.
[352] E.g. semi-divine girls in h.Hom.30.7-16; Demeter as a goddess, divine; Agroeo, a mortal woman and female labourer in Timocles' fragment, whose background and location is not known.
[353] The Homeric poet uses παρθένος to denote Nausicaä in Hom.*Od.*6.109.
[354] E.g. Hom.*Il.*2.514, Pi.*Pyth.*3.34, as cited in "παρθένος" s.v. *LSJ* online 2018.
[355] For example, Pandora is denoted as a κόρη in Hes.*Cat.*5.3.

Demeter calls her only κόρη, which highlights her youthfulness.[356] Hekate is the first to call her Persephone.[357] Later, the poet calls her Hades' wife, which is indicative of their relationship and her transitioning away from inexperienced κόρη.[358]

Greek poets use νύμφη to describe either a maiden or young woman of marriageable age, a bride,[359] as well as the semi-divine being *nymph*. One example that shows the use of νύμφη as representative of young women's marriageability is the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite.*[360] There are θέαι (goddesses), such as Calypso, who are denoted using the words νύμφη and θεός/θεά.[361]

Once married, a woman remains a νύμφη until the successful birth of her first (living) child, when she becomes known as a λεχώ *woman in childbed*.[362] As Taraskiewicz shows, a woman's transition from λεχώ to γυνή occurs only after a post-partum period and other essential rituals.[363] There is an example of this distinction of νύμφη and γυνή in a fragment attributed to Hecataeus of Thasos, wherein the epigram laments the death of a mother at eighteen years old and the death of her twelve-day old baby. As the epigram uses νύμφη and μήτηρ for the woman and not γυνή, it is plausible that this example demonstrates the distinction between the words νύμφη and γυνή and highlights a case of an unsuccessful transition to γυνή.[364]

Γυνή, ἡ, δάμαρ, ἡ, ἄκοιτις, ἡ: *woman, wife, bed-fellow, spouse*

The noun γυνή denotes a *woman* and/or *wife.*[365] In some cases, such as in Demosthenes or Hesiod, the word γυνή denotes *woman,* though without any specific information like age, life-stage, social or marital status. Hesiod instructs that a γυνή, interpreted as female slave, not a

[356] h.Hom.2.8.
[357] h.Hom.2.56. Foley 1994, 38 suggests that the poet's use of Persephone's name here is to mark her changed identity (her transition from inexperienced κόρη) or "Kore's acquisition of new powers as goddess of the underworld".
[358] h.Hom.2.343.
[359] Pi.*Nem.*5.32; Eur.*Alc.*331.
[360] h.Hom.5.119-25.
[361] Hom.*Od.*5.57 (νύμφη) and Hom.*Od.*5.78 (θεά/θεός).
[362] Thphr.*Char.*16.9.
[363] Taraskiewicz 2012, 57-59.
[364] Hecat.*Anth.Gr.*167.
[365] Pindar uses γυνή for a man's wife in Pi.*Nem.*9.17. See also: Eur.*Alc.*329, 935, 1122, 1124, 1133; Eur.*El.*9; Ar.*Ach.*816; Dem.41.9, 41.11, 41.18, 41.21, 46.15;Aesch.*Ag.*260, 402, 602, 861, 1500; Soph.*Trach.*227; Men.*Dys.*828, 938; Aeschin.*fals.leg.*31, 149; Thphr.*Char.*3.2, 10.6, 10.13, 16.11, 18.4, 19.5, 21.11, 22.10, 28.4; For its denotation as woman: Isoc.*Orat.*19.47; Soph.*Trach.*9, 70, 400, 438, 545, 880, 898; Aeschin.*In Tim.*15, 97, 111, 131, 171, 183, 185; Aeschin.*fals.leg.*4, 112, 154, 158; Aeschin.*In Ctes.*172, 242; Thphr.*Char.*13.10 (though the woman in Theophrastus' example is married, so the word could also denote her married status); Aesch.*Ag.*483, 1318; Ar.*Ach.*1062.

γᾰμετή (married woman, wife) should follow the oxen used for ploughing.[366] Archaic examples show that poets and Greek writers use γυνή when describing female slaves or maids who belong to a household (Hesiod), though they might have characteristics and mannerisms that παρθένοι or νύμφα typify, such as the maids with Nausicaä in the *Odyssey*. The handmaids behave in a similar manner to Nausicaä, who is a young woman of marriageable age, which signals that they are similar ages.[367] Demosthenes laments about all the γυναῖκες *women* who are seeking paid employment.[368]

One of Theocritus' *Idylls* supports the interpretation of γυνή as woman. His use of γυνή shows that poets use the words differently. In this example, Theocritus describes Acrotime's transition from κόρη to γυνή. Considering the context and Theocritus' use of the different nouns, γυνή is woman here because Acrotime is not married and has not birthed a living child. Theocritus uses the word to signal Acrotime's first experience of sexual intercourse and her initiation into the realm of Aphrodite.[369]

In extant literary evidence from the Archaic period, the words δάμαρ and ἄκοιτις indicate a person's wife.[370] More common in this period is ἄκοιτις (total references on the *TLG*: 57 times) over δάμαρ (total references on the *TLG*: 15 times), which means *wife* in multiple instances.[371] The context of these examples pertains to the themes of marriage and female spouses. For example, the word applies to Helen twice.[372] The notable usage is when Helen uses it towards herself: whichever man, Menelaos or Paris (representative of their respective armies) wins the war, to him she will be his ἄκοιτις.[373]

In Classical literary evidence δάμαρ is far more common (a total of 139 times in the *TLG*) in comparison to its use in extant Archaic (15 times) and Hellenistic texts (12 times).[374] It is clear from these figures that the word is most popular during the Classical period, wherein in its

[366] Hes.*Op.*405-406. A fourth century inscription uses γαμετή for a man's wife: *IG* II^2 1237 (PH3452), 396/5 B.C., which hints at continued use of the noun from Archaic to Classical evidence.
[367] Hom.*Od.*6.80.
[368] Dem.57.45.
[369] Theoc.27.65-73.
[370] Δάμαρ: Hom.*Il.*3.122, 14.503; Hom.*Od.*4.126, 20.290, 24.125; h.Hom.3.212; Periand.*Ep.*2.2; Pi.*Nem.*4.57; Aesch.*PV.*560, 767.
[371] ἄκοιτις: Sapph.58.23; Hom.*Il.*3.447, 6.350, 6.374, 9.397, 9.399, 9.450, 14.268, 14.353, 18.87, 24.537; h.Hom.2.79; Hes.*Theog.*410, 608, 937, 946, 948, 953, 999; Pi.*N.*1.73; Pi.*Nem.*7.28; Pi.*Nem.*5.36; Pi.*Pyth.*2.34. The total number of references for both words in the Archaic period are identified using the *TLG* lemma statistics.
[372] Hom.*Il.*3.447, 6.350.
[373] Hom.*Il.*3.138.
[374] These numbers are taken directly from the *TLG* from a search of the lemma in their statistics database.

consistent denotation is wife,[375] or engaged woman.[376] The word ἄκοιτις is also used for wives,[377] though less so than δάμαρ during this period.[378] Epigraphic evidence from the Archaic to Hellenistic periods attests to the denotation of female spouses with γυνή, ἄκοιτις and δάμαρ, which demonstrates that all three words were in use.[379]

Θεά, ἡ, θεός, ἡ: *goddess, female god*

θεά or θεός, are two nouns that Greek poets use to signal goddesses.[380] In the evidence, θέαι are females of different social and age groups. For example, Calypso's identity in the *Odyssey* involves the characteristics of a νύμφη, γυνή and θεά.[381] In other evidence, Aphrodite is a goddess, but appears as a παρθένος *maiden* and calls herself a καταθνητή *mortal* in her fictitious tale to Anchises.[382] The Earth (Γαῖα or Γῆ) is anthropomorphised as a παμμήτωρ (mother of all) and θέα (goddess).[383] A joke by Aristophanes portrays Euripides' mother as a θεός.[384] Poets denote goddesses with references to particular places. For example, the sea-goddess, Thetis, is a θεά.[385] Pindar communicates her sea origins using the adjective πόντιος *from the sea*.[386] As a daughter of the sea god, Nereus, this means that she and her sisters are the Nereids.[387]

Conclusion

The scrutiny of context, the nuances inherent in denotations and the important, unchanging features of a space's or being's denotation reveals that Greeks represented different people and spaces at different times with the same words, though with subtle changes. While, for instance, the fundamental feature of a κῆπος—that it is a cultivated space—remained consistent, usage

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[375] Eur.*Alc.*930, 932, 953, 1126, 1129, 1131; Eur.*Andr.*4, 626; Eur.*Hec.*493; Soph.*Trach.*406, 428, 429, 650, 1124; Aesch.*Ag.*1319.
[376] Dem.46.18 uses the word for a woman during her betrothal, thus the use is still in the context of marriage. He apparently relies on the laws of Solon as indicated in 46.14, which suggests that these laws and the word usage of δάμαρ is derived from the Archaic period.
[377] Eur.*Alc.*526, 994; Soph.*Trach.*1048;
[378] *TLG* lemma statistics for the Classical period: ἄκοιτις 12 times; δάμαρ: 139 times.
[379] Γυνή: *SEG* 40.216 (PH294756), fourth century B.C.; *IG* II^3 1 898, 274/3 B.C.; *Agora* XIX, Poletai P5 (PH232637), 367/6 B.C.; *IG* I^3 136 (PH139), 413/2 B.C. Ἄκοιτις: *IG* IV 297 (PH277793), seventh century B.C.; *IG* IV 301 (PH27797), seventh century B.C.; *MAMA* I 232 (PH274999), date unknown; *SERP* 176,69 (PH275663), date unknown; *Heberdey-Wilhelm,* Reisen 96.179 (PH285457), date unknown. Δάμαρ: *Peek, Att. Grabschr.* II 215 (PH234299), date unknown; *Rizakis, Achaïe* III 23 (PH343402), second/first century B.C.; *BCH* 64/65 (1940/1) 58, Inv. 19 (PH329253), date unknown; *SEG* 24.578 (PH152668), fourth/third century B.C.; *IK Byzantion* 8B (PH170849), 340 B.C.; *IG* XII, 5 302 (PH77524), date unknown; *SEG* 30.1431 (PH279800), date unknown; *I.Kourion* 68 (PH208475), first century B.C.; *Bernand, Inscr.Métr.* 28 (PH216916), third century B.C.
[380] Goddesses such as Circe (Hom.*Od.*10.36), Athena (Hom.*Od.*1.44).
[381] See Chapter Four for an analysis of Calypso's identity and her relationship to landscape.
[382] Παρθένος: h.Hom.5.82; καταθνητή: h.Hom.5.110.
[383] h.Hom.30.1, 16, 17.
[384] Ar.*Ra.*840.
[385] Hom.*Il.*18.381, 24.104.
[386] Pi.*Nem.*3.35.
[387] Hes.*Theog.*240-44; Hom.*Il.*18.52, 139.

shows that the Greeks recognised different kinds of gardens under the single word. Similarly, the fundamental element of an ἄλσος as an area of sacred or religious import remained whether it was wooded or not. This sacredness was consistent across the centuries of the Archaic to Hellenistic periods. Though the nuances and unchanging features of such words may seem like contradictions, they show that Greek words are complex and sophisticated. These landscapes form a tapestry of cultivated and non-cultivated spaces, each of which is valuable and, together, form a picture of how the Greeks perceived the natural world around them.

As noted in the introduction, Leach and van der Veen suggest either creating new words or using neutral words and being critical of modern usage and interpretation.[388] Though I have not invented new words, my analysis of each landscape has demonstrated the imperative of being critical and having a nuanced consideration of context. For the interpretation of the words γεωργία and γεωργός, I have provided neutral translations: cultivation and cultivator.

The study shows that ancient denotations cannot always be easily captured in English interpretations. The words κῆπος, ἀγρός and λειμών illustrate this complexity. Ancient usage and nuance reveal that scholars, such as Osborne, were correct in their assessment that ancient Greek evidence used words like κῆπος in different ways,[389] and, as such, modern interpretations require flexibility. For example, in the *Odyssey,* Homer used κῆπος to describe the area of Alcinoös' estate that was closest to his house and included the ἀλωή *vineyard,* ὄρχατος *orchard* and the κῆποι *garden beds* planted with herbs and flowers.[390] In contrast, Demosthenes and Plato, used κῆπος to denote the planted area around the house that was within the confines of the outer wall and gate without reference to plant types.[391] However, even these Classical authors used the word to signal different areas. Demosthenes also considered that κῆπος was a cultivatable space on a larger estate,[392] similar to Alcinoös' Homeric garden. Though these examples denote spaces with different features, such as size and purpose, these sources all use the same word. The study of κῆπος shows that modern interpretations require a careful, considered approach that must pay special attention to the context and use in the determination and interpretation of κῆπος areas.

The study of ἀγρός confirms that, as far back as Homer, landscape was divided between urban and rural space. Homeric examples, such as the idealised landscape portrayed on Achilles' shield

[388] van der Veen 2005, 157, 160; Leach 1997, 146.
[389] Osborne 1992, 377.
[390] Hom.*Od.*7.112-132.
[391] Dem.47.53; Pl.*Ep.*7.347a.
[392] Dem.50.61.

in the *Iliad* and Scheria in the *Odyssey*, provide evidence for land division that designed the placement of cultivated space around the urban, outside the walls.[393] Though separated by city walls, the fields are not disassociated from the city's inhabitants. Evidence from the Classical period, including Demosthenes, shows that such land division using walls was still in practice. As Osborne asserts, "[i]t was the limits of farming activity that classically marked the limits of the city, and it was the agricultural fields, not in the mountains, where the border was theoretically drawn…"[394] These findings demonstrate that a study of ἀγρός brings land division methods to light, and that a study of landscape is useful in the investigation of certain aspects of Greek history. However, one would need to look closer at the evidence to determine if other social and cultural changes or methods are reflected in landscape.

Contextual information relating to the activities which are permitted in a space plays an important role in the denotation of λειμών and how scholarship interprets the word's fundamental features. In his definition of a meadow, Osborne draws attention to the two features of meadow epithets: firstly, meadows have a divine atmosphere; secondly, they are 'virginal' in status. He finds that they are areas that have not been trampled on (used as pasture), have not been cut (cultivated) because these restrictions prove its untouched, inviolate and pure state.[395] Euripides' *Hippolytus* attests to these characteristics, in which pasturing livestock and cultivation are prohibited in a meadow belonging to Aphrodite.[396] However, in consideration of certain examples of Archaic and Classical meadows, Osborne's definition does not encompass all of the evidence. Rather than existing as places that are only pure if left untouched, in some cases meadows remain pure provided human interaction and activity does not facilitate permanent negative change. These spaces still permit the pasturing of animals and the collection of plants, whilst remaining designated λειμῶνες.[397] In the cases where the meadow belongs to a god or is associated with a deity in some way, there might be additional regulations or restrictions in terms of how that space is used. These regulated meadows share similarities with land included in sanctuaries, which Dillon argues have strict rules about the use and cultivation of vegetation and produce from those spaces.[398] Thus, Osborne's definition of a meadow applies only in certain

[393] Hom.*Il.*18.541ff; Hom.*Od.*6.291-99, 7.44-45; 13.268, 14.5-16, 15.370; Hes.*Theog.*26, 1196-1201; Hes.*Op.*46.
[394] Osborne 1992, 375.
[395] Osborne 1992, 381.
[396] Eur.*Hipp.*73.
[397] Archaic evidence: h.Hom.4.70-72; h.Hom.3.117-19; h.Hom.2.5-7. Classical evidence: Soph.*Aj.*143-45; Aesch.*Fr.(Europa* or *Carians).*99; Thphr.*Caus.pl.*3.6.8, 3.11.3. Hellenistic evidence: Theoc.25.15-17; Arat.*Phaen.*1120.
[398] Dillon 1997, 117-19.

cases because the evidence also shows that human and animal activities do not necessarily negate a space's classification as a λειμών.

Approaching the subtleties and nuances of ancient words and their careful interpretation into English extends to the words for female beings. The Greek words παρθένος, κόρη and νύμφη, for example, have the potential to denote females of similar life-stages, such as young women who are considered marriageable. Or they indicate notably different females: a young maiden of marriageable age (παρθένος and/or νύμφη); young girl or young maiden (κόρη) who may or may not be approaching sexual maturity; a bride, a newlywed or a nature deity (νύμφη). The only way to adequately comprehend these subtle and significant differences is to consider carefully the context in which a poet or author uses the word.

Nuances in words that signal female beings reveal that those identified as female embody many characteristics simultaneously. For example, in the *Hymn to Demeter* the poet uses the words κόρη, νύμφη, ἄκοιτις and their meanings to convey the different facets of Persephone's character. When first introduced in the poem, her characterisation embodies playfulness and youthfulness and she is called a κόρη *girl*. Girls are not without sexuality and so her playfulness connotes this sexuality. Though she is identified as κόρη,[399] her image and behaviour connote that of a παρθένος as a *sexually desirable, marriageable maiden* and a νύμφη *nymph* (nature deity).[400] Following the nuptial arrangements between Zeus and Hades, Persephone becomes the νύμφη *bride* and wife of Hades.[401] Yet, she appears once more as a κόρη in behaviour and conversation with her mother at the close of the poem.[402] Her characterisation shows the complex amalgamation of traits associated with various female beings, wherein context and use of these words signal her fluid movements between κόρη, νύμφη, ἄκοιτις. Persephone's characterisation is not simply one of these words but is representative of all at different points in the narrative.

[399] h.Hom.2.8 and 2.66 (κόρη).
[400] h.Hom.2.417-28. Deacy 2013, 400 convincingly argues that "by inhabiting the space of the meadow, the girls [Persephone, Kreousa, Europa] are being equated with the mythological meadow-inhabiters par excellence, the nymphs…." On p.408, Deacy notes that the inclusion of goddesses like Artemis and Athena as companions of Persephone "breaks down the binary that elsewhere differentiates nymphs from these deities and constructs the goddesses as comparably nubile to Persephone and the nymphs." Thus Persephone's behaviour in the meadow likens her to a παρθένος and νύμφη.
[401] h.Hom.2.79.
[402] h.Hom.2.384-433.

The analysis of the various words for *wife* in ancient Greek evidence demonstrates that the relationship and marital status of a wife is evidenced in each investigated historical period. These words indicate two important considerations. Firstly, one must be aware of multiple words when identifying female spouses in ancient evidence because different periods favour particular words. For example, ἄκοιτις was more common in Archaic evidence, with a total count of 50 times, than δάμαρ (15 occurrences); whereas the latter occurred at a total of 139 times and the former only 12 times in Classical literary evidence. In fact, δάμαρ occurred more in texts from the Classical period than at any other point in the textual chronology of Archaic (15 times) to Hellenistic (12 times) Greece. The word γυνή could mean both *wife* and *woman,* though only context revealed which denotation was indicated. Epigraphy reveals that these different words for wife were in use throughout the Archaic to Hellenistic periods. Secondly, the analysis demonstrates that wives are well-attested in the ancient record, meaning, women are visible in many different genres and types of Greek evidence. For example, wives feature in comedic and tragic plays, as well as epigraphic material. Particularly the latter shows that being a wife was important, and was a way of identifying certain females in ancient communities.

Each space involved the gods. Whether a space pertains to sacred landscape, like an ἄλσος or λειμών, or the fruits of the ἄρουρα and ἀγρός sprout forth because people believed Demeter and Gaia allowed it, the Greeks saw their gods manifest in the world around them. It is from the gods that humans know how to cultivate the earth and fruitful harvests are gifts from divinities who favour mortals.[403] The beautiful and pleasing nature of cultivated and uncultivated landscapes, such as meadows, groves and gardens, and the cyclic processes of cultivation reminded the Greeks that "all things are full of gods."[404]

[403] E.g. Hes.*Op.*32: Δημήτερος ἀκτήν "*grain of Demeter"*; h.Hom.2.4; Hom.*Il.*5.499-502, 13.322, 21.76; Hom.*Od.*5.125-27; h.Hom.2.470-3; h.Hom.30.9-15.
[404] Thales, *KRS* no.91, cited in Warrior 2002, 1.

Chapter Three

The Sensuality and Physicality of Κῆπος, Λειμών, Vegetation and Females in Archaic to Hellenistic Evidence

Introduction

Κῆποι *gardens* and λειμῶνες *meadows* are spaces that inspire poets to sing of beautiful goddesses, delicate κόραι *girls*, alluring παρθένοι *maidens* and other female beings that reflect and enliven features of landscape. The meadow "is a place where the Πότνια reigns, in which she manifests herself."[1] The anthropomorphism of females and the personification of vegetation reveal a poetic fascination with many aspects of nature and female existence, and, as Gilhuly argues, evidences a gendering of place.[2] Gardens and meadows are especially favoured for their connotative imagery that construct idealised representations of females, bodies and experiences, such as a girl's "ποηφόρος κῆπος" *grassy garden* in a fragment attributed to Archilochus,[3] and golden flowers as representative of the beauty of Sappho's daughter, Cleis.[4] At the centre of female experiences in meadows and gardens are the senses, which emphasise the connection between female and space. Of significance here is the prominence of touch and physical stimulation. A closer investigation of touch adds richness to the analysis of sexualised experiences in meadows and gardens. The flower varieties of the ῥόδον *rose*, κρόκος *crocus* (saffron), ἴον *violet*, ἀγαλλίς *iris,* λείριον *lily*, ὑάκινθος *hyacinth* and νάρκισσος *narcissus* that grow in the meadow of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* are important for their long association with female beings in the centuries spanning Archaic to Hellenistic Greece.[5] As in Archaic poetry, these meadow flowers are used symbolically and attributively in Hellenistic evidence for the representations of personas and the works of poets. It is the connotative and symbolic imagery that is most interesting for the current purposes.

Scholarship already recognises the connection between meadows, gardens and females, especially female sexuality, playfulness and experience. Deacy encourages scholars and historians to look beyond the victim view of women in ancient Greece and to see females as

[1] Bremer 1975, 268-69, citing Motte 1973, 147-153. Pindar personifies Libya as the "εὐρυλείμων πότνιά *queen* [or mistress] *of broad meadows"* in Pi.*Pyth.*9.55.
[2] Gilhuly 2018, 5 states, "the eroticisation of place always entails the gendering of that place."
[3] Archil.196a.23-24. See Wilson 1996, 80 and Heirman 2012, 4-5 for analysis of Archilochus' fragment and its poetic imagery and interpretation.
[4] Sapph.132.
[5] h.Hom.2.6-8, 2.426-28. In the first telling, the poet mentions violets (line 6) in addition to the other varieties and does not include lilies. Whereas Persephone's account does not mention violets but instead includes lilies in her play. As such, the list I have compiled includes the flowers from both accounts.

curious, sexual beings independent and in addition to their victimisation under (male) mistreatment and abuse. Deacy's argument is important because of the empowerment and agency she identifies in the characterisations of Persephone and Europa, two notable meadow visitors.[6] Deacy also demonstrates that young females desire the meadow's "sensory delights",[7] that the saffron scent Zeus uses to overpower Europa reflects the role of scent in meadow experiences. Similarly, Heirman, whose work examines erotic landscape in select lyric poetry of the Archaic period,[8] highlights that hyacinths, one of the often-mentioned meadow flowers, have a sweet, seductive smell. As he asserts, the smell connects the hyacinth with the seductive, scented goddess, Aphrodite.[9] However, neither Heirman nor Deacy mention the sense of touch, as their focuses lie elsewhere (Heirman, erotic landscape generally; Deacy, female sexuality in meadows).

Other scholarship highlights the central role of physical play and engagement with space in meadow experiences. Rosenmeyer investigates girls at play in gardens and meadows, specifically the verb παίζω and its compound συμπαίζω in connection with girls, sexuality and Eros in Archaic Greek poetry.[10] Rosenmeyer's investigation of παίζω is poignant because she uses the Persephone episode to evidence girls at play in the transformation of flowers into attractive toys (κᾶλον ἄθυρμα),[11] and Persephone herself describes her activity in the meadow with παίζω.[12] Rosenmeyer's study of physical engagement with meadow spaces supports my contention that there is a deep connection between individual and space, in which an individual's physiological and emotional responses manifest in the vegetal and meteorological features of the garden.

[6] Deacy 2013, 395-413.
[7] Deacy 2013, 398, 402.
[8] Heirman 2012, 2-7.
[9] Heirman 2012, 3.
[10] Rosenmeyer 2004, 163-78.
[11] h.Hom.2.16.
[12] h.Hom.2.425.

Sensual Connotations, Imagery and Experiences in Κῆπος and Λειμών in Archaic Evidence

Hera, Zeus and the sensual touch

An episode in the *Iliad* involving Hera and Zeus introduces the sexual and sensual aspects of gardens and meadows. These spaces are associated with sexual acts and the sexuality of the people who visit them. The vegetal features of these landscapes represent the sensual and sexual attributes of a person.

Figure 1: Goddess and god (Zeus and Hera?) seated between eyes and vine decoration. BPAD 13857 (*CVA* 3.H.12, PL.1189, 40.5; *LIMC* 34265), Athenian black-figure cup, 550-500 B.C., Italy, Etruria, Tarquinia, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, 569.

Hera orchestrates the tryst with Zeus on the Gargarus peak on Mount Ida, with the intention of distracting her husband from the Trojan War. It is a notable moment between the two gods because they are constructed as lovers devoid of the tension between them that is evident throughout the *Iliad* (Fig. 1).[13] Equipped with Aphrodite's ἱμάς ποικίλος as her tool of persuasion, Hera entices Zeus into spending his time with her:

> Ἦ ῥα καὶ ἀγκὰς ἔμαρπτε Κρόνου παῖς ἣν παράκοιτιν·
> τοῖσι δ' ὑπὸ χθὼν δῖα φύεν νεοθηλέα ποίην,
> λωτόν θ' ἑρσήεντα ἰδὲ κρόκον ἠδ' ὑάκινθον
> πυκνὸν καὶ μαλακόν, ὃς ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψόσ' ἔεργε.
> τῷ ἔνι λεξάσθην, ἐπὶ δὲ νεφέλην ἕσσαντο
> καλὴν χρυσείην· στιλπναὶ δ' ἀπέπιπτον ἔερσαι.
>
> So there and then the son of Cronus took his wife into his arms. Under them the earth put forth fresh-sprouting grass, and dewy lotus, crocus and hyacinth, thick and soft, which kept them aloft above the ground. On this they both lay, wrapped in a beautiful, golden cloud, from which fell glistening dew.[14]

The area is ripe with new growth, and the flowers that grow are the result of the intoxicating charge of the couple. The crocus and hyacinth flowers attest to the couple's sexual activity, because the connotative imagery connects the flowers to other beings and scenes in which

[13] Synodinou 1987, 13-22 investigates Zeus' threats of abuse to Hera, while O'Brien 1991, 105-125 examines the association between Hera's characterisation as represented in her desire for vengeance, her "relentless rage and demonic degeneracy" (p.106) and the moral degeneration of other characters in the epic.
[14] Hom.*Il.*14.346-51.

sexuality and sexual behaviour are prominent features.[15] In a poem of Sappho, the hyacinth represents the loss of innocence or metaphorical death of a female.[16] The crocus flower and its by-product saffron are also associated with the god's sexual behaviour, such as Zeus' use of saffron to entice and intoxicate Europa.[17]

There is timelessness to the encounter as though the audience, like the couple, has been caught in the immediacy and complete enrapture of the moment. Bremer argues that the significance of this moment is that it reiterates Zeus and Hera's first sexual experience together, in which the same feeling that they felt when they first slept together takes hold of Zeus.[18] They are once again like their former selves in which they sneakily delight in one another "φίλους λήθοντε τοχῆας, *without notice of their beloved parents."*[19] I assert that the prominence of the sense of touch is key to understanding the passage. From the softness and dampness of the flowers and the thickness of the grass to Zeus' embrace of Hera, the entire episode features the sense of touch.[20] It is essential to the depiction of the couple's sexual experience and description of the space.

Figure 2: Danae and the divine rain shower from which she conceives Perseus. BAPD 203792 (*ARV*[2] 360.1; *LIMC* 33674) Athenian red-figure krater, 500-450 B.C., Italy, Etruria, Cerveteri, St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 637.

The dew on the vegetation and cloud illustrate the lushness of the space that is felt through the sense of touch. It demonstrates that the poet represents the bodies of divine beings through the physical features of the landscape and atmosphere, such as the cloud.[21] Literary and artistic evidence shows that the cloud can be representative of Zeus' physical form and is connected to his abilities, as his epithet νεφεληγερέτα *cloud-gatherer* suggests.[22] For example, Classical Greek art portrays his ability to transform into rain droplets to fulfil his sexual desires. A fifth-century B.C. krater portrays the

[15] E.g. Aphrodite's unyoked but tamed horses in a field of hyacinth flowers in Anacr.1, 1.7-9 (P.Oxy.2321), and the sexuality of Persephone and her friends in h.Hom.2.177-78.
[16] Sapph.105c.
[17] Hes.*Fr.*89, cited in Deacy 2013, 402. This episode, Deacy suggests, is comparable to "stranger rape or even drug rape." Certainly, Zeus' use of saffron/crocus has the intent to overpower and intoxicate Europa.
[18] Bremer 1975, 269.
[19] Hom.*Il.*14.296.
[20] Bowe 2015 (b), 59 notes of the vegetation surrounding Hera and Zeus that Homer "responds to the mixtures of flowers of different species that occur in meadows, engaging not only his sense of vision but also, in their suppleness, his sense of touch".
[21] Hom.*Il.*8.306-8.
[22] Hom.*Il.*14.293.

sexual union of Zeus and Danae wherein the god transforms into rain droplets to have sexual intercourse with Danae (Fig. 2).[23] In a similar fashion, the cloud represents Zeus' and Hera's forms. Like beads of sweat on warm bodies, the dew glistens on the golden cloud.[24] Thus, the cloud alludes to the physiological effect that the sexual activity has on Hera and Zeus, and is representative of them.

Garden of the Παρθένοι: girls in and as κῆποι in Archaic evidence

Ibycus provides an explicit view of the arousing nature of gardens in spring. In his poem, he transforms the world around him into a garden in which παρθένοι *girls* are fruiting trees and plants. He alludes to their beauty and his presence among them as a person walking through a garden.[25] The poet describes his experience in detail through the physical sensations that he experiences as the results of his intense desire, which are pain and heat:

(5) ἦρι μὲν αἵ τε Κυδώνιαι
μηλίδες ἀρδόμεναι ῥοᾶν
ἐκ ποταμῶν, ἵνα Παρθένων
κῆπος ἀκήρατος, αἵ τ' οἰνανθίδες
αὐξόμεναι σκιεροῖσιν ὑφ' ἔρνεσιν
οἰναρέοις θαλέθοισιν· ἐμοὶ δ' ἔρος
οὐδεμίαν κατάκοιτος ὥραν.
†τε† ὑπὸ στεροπᾶς φλέγων
Θρηίκιος Βορέας
ἀίσσων παρὰ Κύπριδος ἀζαλέ-
αις μανίαισιν ἐρεμνὸς ἀθαμβὴς
ἐγκρατέως πεδόθεν †φυλάσσει†
ἡμετέρας φρένας.
(6) Ἔρος αὖτέ με κυανέοισιν ὑπὸ
βλεφάροις τακέρ' ὄμμασι δερκόμενος
κηλήμασι παντοδαποῖς ἐς ἄπει-
ρα δίκτυα Κύπριδος ἐσβάλλει·…

In spring there are Cydonian apple-trees and pomegranate trees, watered by rivers, in an untouched garden of Maidens; there are wild-vines and under these thriving vines, young shoots grow in their shade. For me, there is no rest from desire in any season. As the Thracian wind shoots flashes of lightning from Cypria in scorching madness, dark and fearless, so desire is master of the depths of my heart. Eros, with dark

[23] In Ovid's later version, Zeus appears as a golden rain shower to visit and have sexual intercourse with Danae. See Ov.*Met.*4.697.
[24] Zeus mentions the cloud's colour (χρύσεος) also in Hom.*Il.*14.344.
[25] Bowe 2015 (b), 59 notes this mirroring of the beauty of vegetation with "human beauty and vice versa" in art following the Hellenistic period in Greek colonies in southern Italy.

hooded eyelids and melting, clear-seeing eyes, casts me under many spells and into the entangling nets of Cypria…[26]

The space shares the features of a κῆπος, such as a mix of plant types including fruit-producing trees and vines, but has a distinctly meadow-like sensuality. There are plants at varying stages of development, which conveys Ibycus' sense that the garden's vegetation grows continuously. Like other meadows in Greek poetry, humans do not tend to this garden-meadow; rather, natural rivers keep the space watered. From another perspective, the κηπουροί of this garden are Cypria and Eros (Fig. 3). Eros' and Aphrodite's association with this tantalising, springtime garden suits well other descriptions of the gods in poetry. In the *Cypria,* Aphrodite is clothed in fabrics dyed in the colours and scents of spring flowers.[27] Aphrodite and Eros' powers are reflected in every feature of the space from the continuous growth to the fruiting trees and thriving vines and the seasonal weather. The plants and trees grow and flourish during spring, creating the image of activity and energy.

Figure 3: Eros with seated woman and fruit tree. BAPD 12590 (*CVA* 1, 35-36, PL.(1242) 30.8-10), Athenian red-figure lekythos, squat, 425-375 B.C., provenance unknown, Stuttgart, Wurttembergisches Landesmuseum, 128.

As the meadow is the place of the Πότνια and the space a physical manifestation of her being,[28] Ibycus' garden is a configuration of symbols and features of landscape and female beings, wherein the vegetation represents the alluring young women. They are the fruiting trees and the wild growing vines. The fruit trees he selects and the space in which they grow share associations with Aphrodite and sexuality.[29] The wild vines and young shoots complement the image of Cypria's entangling nets, as the beauty and attractiveness of the young women capture the complete focus of the narrator. As Persephone returns to the earth's surface at a time when the flowers and plants are thriving after the winter,[30] this springtime garden puts forth new shoots that grow in shaded, sheltered positions. The young shoots represent younger girls, growing into womanhood like the more mature vines and trees that protect and precede them. The poet eroticises the development of the younger girls wherein he

[26] Ibyc.5-6.4.
[27] Cyp.6.1-7.
[28] Bremer 1975, 269 suggests that the "ἱερὸς γάμος" of Gaea and Uranus create the meadow, thus the queen of the meadow is the Earth herself. Though Hes.*Theog.*116, 126ff describes Earth's primacy and the births of her many children. Considering Earth's role in the abduction of Persephone in h.Hom.2.8-18 and the way in which Earth causes the narcissus to grow and opens up the ground to assist Hades, it is reasonable to view Gaea as the queen of the meadow.
[29] Sapph.2; h.Hom.2.371-76; Suter 2002, 98; Lincoln 1989, 233; Deacy 2013, 398.
[30] h.Hom.2.398-403.

believes he can already perceive their developing beauty and sexual readiness, as they grow like the young women before them.

Considering the garden is untouched, Heirman interprets it as uncultivated and representative of the virginity and inexperience of the girls.[31] In this example, there is no explicit indication that the girls are aware or curious about their sexual appeal. However, this garden is crafted on the connotative and suggestive. As is the case in other erotic meadow scenes, Deacy shows that inexperience does not necessitate unawareness of one's sexuality.[32] So, in this example, the girls' representations as Cydonian apples, pomegranates, entangling vines and the sensual garden connects them to other realms of Aphrodite, which could be suggestive of their awareness of their gradual sexual ripening.[33] Females contribute to the erotic atmosphere themselves, even when appearing in different forms like flowers, fruit and trees.

Although the παρθένοι remain untouched by the narrator, his deep desire causes him to feel the impact of the beautiful girls in physical ways. In keeping with the use of a garden setting, the poet describes his own experience of seeing beautiful women through meteorological processes and physical sensations of pain and heat. The heat and shooting movement of the wind-driven lightning convey that his desire is so intense that it is painful and uncomfortable.[34] His experience is similar to the experience of a person (or poet) in one of Sappho's poems. She describes a sweaty, feverish experience while watching and desiring a woman.[35] While Sappho describes the impact of the desire through explicit references to the body, such as fire under the skin, a cold sweat and the pallor of pale grass, Ibycus prefers the setting of a garden and its climate to convey his experience.

His experience typifies McEvilley's "dynamic of presence and absence", in that Ibycus' experience has "desire and withholding" balanced with "emptiness and fullness."[36] Ibycus' experience evidences the presence of desire's power counter-weighted with his feelings of powerlessness and unfulfilled longing. The beauty and allure of the young women is so powerful that he feels powerless, and the implication of their virginal and untouched state is that his desire remains insatiate. In addition to the abstract features of the presence and absence dynamic,

[31] Heirman 2012, 3. A similar connotation is evident in the ἀκήρατος ἐμπόριον '*virgin' market* in Hdt.4.152.
[32] Deacy 2013, 409.
[33] A similar sentiment about sexual ripening and fruit is identifiable in Sapph.105a.
[34] Ibyc.5.8-13.
[35] Sapph.31.10-16.
[36] McEvilley 1972, 333, cited in du Bois 1995, 52.

Ibycus' example substantiates the counterweights of touched and untouched. The untouched state of the beautiful girls is balanced with the ways that Ibycus' body and desire feels physically and torturously touched, which connotes the imaginary entrapment of the narrator in Cypria's entangling nets.

Κόραι in the λειμών: girls and sensory experiences in meadows from Archaic evidence

There are multiple scholarly approaches for the *Hymn to Demeter,* ranging from cult and ritual practice, an etymology for the seasonal changes, glimpses into mother-daughter relationships,[37] the transition from girlhood to womanhood and the transmission of religion from the gods.[38] Throughout the hymn, nature in its many forms is a main feature: the beautiful, luscious meadow in which the girls play;[39] the land laboured over by mortals, including fields and olive trees full with fruit;[40] the empty, lifeless earth during Demeter's withdrawal;[41] and the κραναός *rugged* urban space of Eleusis.[42] Of relevancy here is the meadow in an unnamed location, because it has strong connections to females and portrays the sensory and emotional experience of Persephone. Though the hymn describes Persephone's activities in the meadow twice, I have selected the second because Persephone describes the experience herself.[43]

Deacy notes the sensory experience of smell in the meadow scene: the beauty of a meadow full with flowers and the aromatic flavours in the air, equated or, at least, complementary to the space's allure. She argues that the sensory experience is desired as much as the activities associated with meadows. [44] Desire, attraction, allure, pleasure, enjoyment and curiosity are all facets of experience that are common for female characters in meadows and grassy spaces,[45] and Persephone's episode in the meadow is no exception. Of special note are the meadow's features that the female characters enjoy, as evidenced through bodily and emotional senses. The senses examined are touch and sight. Smell receives adequate treatment by Deacy,[46] so it requires no further analysis here.

[37] Suter 2002, 49-71; Foley 1994, 118-137.
[38] Suter 2002; Deacy 2013, 395-413.
[39] h.Hom.2.5-16, 417-29.
[40] h.Hom.2.470-73.
[41] h.Hom.2.305-309.
[42] h.Hom.2.356.
[43] Deacy also focuses on the second recount of the abduction, because it offers "a feminine construction of the experience of the abductee." Deacy 2013, 404.
[44] Deacy 2013, 398.
[45] E.g. Hes.*Fr.*89 (Deacy 2013); Hom.*Od.*6.81-101; h.Hom.30.14-15.
[46] Deacy 2013, 398.

The activity of Persephone, daughter of Demeter and Zeus, and her friends in the meadow is physical and interactive, in which touch is central to the experience. In Persephone's account, she explains that, "ἡμεῖς μὲν μάλα πᾶσαι ἀν' ἱμερτὸν λειμῶνα, *we were playing all together in a lovely meadow…"*, and proceeds to list all the names of her friends. Suter views the list of names as significant, because it is information that is particular and relevant to Persephone's ownership of the account and memory.[47] Persephone uses her sense of sight to identify the features and beings in her surroundings, remembers each flower by name and qualifies some of the flowers with adjectives:

> παίζομεν ἠδ' ἄνθεα δρέπομεν χείρεσσ' ἐρόεντα, 425
> μίγδα κρόκον τ' ἀγανὸν καὶ ἀγαλλίδας ἠδ' ὑάκινθον
> καὶ ῥοδέας κάλυκας καὶ λείρια, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,
> νάρκισσόν θ' ὃν ἔφυσ' ὥς περ κρόκον εὐρεῖα χθών.
> αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ δρεπόμην περὶ χάρματι...
>
> …we were playing and picking lovely flowers with our hands,
> among which were soft crocus and dwarf irises and hyacinths and roses
> and lilies, wonderful to see, a narcissus, yellow as a crocus, which wide
> earth put forth. I plucked it in delight...[48]

Touch and the use of one's body for pleasurable activities are central to Persephone's experience in the meadow. Even the verbs involved in the retelling, παίζω and δρέπω, *to play* and *to pick* or *pluck,* reflect her physical enjoyment. The middle form of δρέπω, *to pluck* or *pick for oneself*, emphasises Persephone's personalised experience and is reinforced with the pronoun ἐγώ.[49] Accompanying the verbs are the noun for hands (χείρ) that reinforces the involvement of touch and the adjective ἀγανός *soft,* which describes the textural quality of the crocus flowers. These details contribute to the highly somatosensorial experience, meaning that touch is paramount in the activity and enjoyment ("περὶ χάρματι") of the meadow.[50] The flowers are transformed into toys because they are the objects with which the girls play (παίζω),[51] a verb which Henderson connotes as "to dally amorously."[52] The colour of the narcissus draws Persephone's focus and she reaches out to pick it (Fig. 4), and it is the flower with which Hades is able to trap her.

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[47] Suter 2002, 30. Foley 1994, 60 views Persephone's inclusion of her friends' names as a method through which the account becomes subjective, more personal. The amended recount through Persephone's focalisation also functions so as to avoid exact repetition of the initial account of Persephone's abduction in the epic.
[48] h.Hom.2.425-29.
[49] h.Hom.2.29.
[50] h.Hom.2.29.
[51] In the first telling of this scene at the beginning of the *Hymn,* the description of the bright narcissus flower calls it a ἄθυρμα *toy.* h.Hom.2.16.
[52] Henderson 1975, 157 n.240.

In Persephone's account, the poet employs transitive language that communicates and invites the audience to engage with the goddess and her activity. The three transitive aspects of the episode are: δρέπω, the verb describing the main action;[53] θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι, *a wonder to see*, which describes the visual effect of the flowers;[54] and, the description of Persephone's action and desire for the narcissus flower, "αὐτὰρ [ὁ νάρκισσος] ἐγὼ δρεπόμην περὶ χάρματι *I plucked it [the narcissus] in delight*…."[55] These "transitive verbs of feeling"[56] demonstrate Persephone's complete engagement with the meadow and call the audience to experience the sensual delights with her. The enactment of these verbs in Persephone's experience of the meadow supports the interpretation that the space is enjoyable and alluring, and that it invokes an irresistible, sensual and physical experience.

Figure 4: Persephone, who is holding a flower, stands with Hermes. BAPD 3615, Athenian black-figure amphora, date unknown, provenance unknown, Sotheby's market, London, 4.5.1970, PL.OPP.52, No.146.

Garlands and Floral Imagery in Hellenistic Evidence

Meadows and the flowers that grow in them connote imagery and meaning in a variety of ways. Plants that grow in meadows are associated with female and male beings, immortal and mortal. These associations demonstrate a strong connection between ancient Greeks and nature. The personification of plants and association with people adds to the beauty or talent of the person and prescribes qualities associated with plants to these people. An example that Heirman notes is the way that poets use the same adjectives to describe plants, such as tender, that refer to "(body parts) of women."[57] The textual evidence under investigation here are two extracts from Meleager (Hellenistic) and the grave stele of Menophila (Hellenistic). One of Meleager's poems links flowers and plants to poets, and the other involves the anthropomorphic description of flowers. Menophila's grave stele provides an historical basis for the association between females, flowers and the representation of female persona.

[53] h.Hom.2.424.
[54] h.Hom.2.426.
[55] h.Hom.2.428.
[56] Koziak 1999, 1073.
[57] Heirman 2012, 2.

Meleager's *Garland*

The *Garland of Meleager* features as the introduction to Book 4 of the *Greek Anthology*. The introduction paints Meleager as one who collects flowers and plant cuttings, plaiting them into a garland (or wreath). Plaiting flowers and plants into a garland is symbolic for the poet's method of collecting and intertwining other poetic works into his own. One of the more interesting aspects is the association of both male and female poets with specific plants and flowers, and he includes in his collection poets such as Sappho and Erinna. The flowers under analysis are those identified in meadow scenes, specifically the ῥόδον *rose*, κρόκος *crocus* (saffron), ἀγαλλίς *dwarf iris* or ἶρις *iris,* λείριον and κρίνον *lily*, ὑάκινθος *hyacinth* and νάρκισσος *narcissus*:

Μοῦσα φίλα, τίνι τάνδε φέρεις πάγκαρπον ἀοιδάν,
ἢ τίς ὁ καὶ τεύξας ὑμνοθετᾶν στέφανον;
ἄνυσε μὲν Μελέαγρος· ἀριζάλῳ δὲ Διοκλεῖ
μναμόσυνον ταύταν ἐξεπόνησε χάριν.
πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπλέξας Ἀνύτης κρίνα, πολλὰ δὲ Μοιροῦς
λείρια, καὶ Σαπφοῦς βαιὰ μέν, ἀλλὰ ῥόδα,
νάρκισσόν τε τορῶν Μελανιππίδου ἔγκυον ὕμνων,
καὶ νέον οἰνάνθης κλῆμα Σιμωνίδεω·
σὺν δ᾽ ἀναμὶξ πλέξας μυρόπνουν εὐάνθεμον ἶριν
Νοσσίδος, ἧς δέλτοις κηρὸν ἔτηξεν Ἔρως·
τῇ δ᾽ ἅμα καὶ σάμψυχον ἀφ᾽ ἡδυπνόοιο Ῥιανοῦ,
καὶ γλυκὺν Ἠρίννης παρθενόχρωτα κρόκον,
Ἀλκαίου τε λάληθρον ἐν ὑμνοπόλοις ὑάκινθον,
καὶ Σαμίου δάφνης κλῶνα μελαμπέταλον·
ἐν δὲ Λεωνίδεω θαλεροὺς κισσοῖο κορύμβους,
Μνασάλκου τε κόμας ὀξυτόρου πίτυος·
βλαισήν τε πλατάνιστον ἀπέθρισε Παμφίλου οἴνης,
σύμπλεκτον καρύης ἔρνεσι Παγκράτεος,
Τύμνεώ τ᾽ εὐπέταλον λεύκην, χλοερόν τε σίσυμβρον
Νικίου, Εὐφήμου τ᾽ ἀμμότροφον πάραλον·
ἐν δ᾽ ἄρα Δαμάγητον, ἴον μέλαν, ἡδύ τε μύρτον
Καλλιμάχου, στυφελοῦ μεστὸν ἀεὶ μέλιτος…

Dear Muse, to whom are you bringing these many different fruits of songs, who is the one who made this garland of poets? Meleager made it; he worked hard at this thanks-offering, a memorial for much-admired Diocles. He plaited in many white lilies (κρίνον) of Anyte, many lilies (λείριον) of Moero, a few of Sappho's, which are roses, a narcissus pregnant with piercing hymns of Melanippides, and a young twig from the grape-vine of Simonides; together with these he plaited in the sweet-breathed blooming iris of Nossis, whose bees-wax writing-tablet Eros melted; and together with it majoram from sweet-breathing Rhianus, and Erinna's sweet, maiden-complexioned crocus, and Alcaeus' talkative hyacinth for hymnists, and Samius' twig of dark-leaved sweet bay; Leonidas' thick ivy clusters, Mnasalcas' foliage of pointed pine; he

> cut off vines from Pamphilus' twisted plane-tree, plaited in young shoots of Pancrates' nut-tree, Tymnes' leafy poplar, a pale green mint of Nicias, Euphemus' growing in sand by the sea; in went Damagetus' dark violet, and a pleasant mytle of Callimachus, sweet yet always full of sour honey…[58]

There are interesting observations about the prescription of flowers and plants to certain poets. One such observation is that a few poets (predominantly, though not exclusively, female) mentioned above are prescribed flowers that are included in meadow scenes in other literary sources. For example, in the *Hymn to Demeter,* Persephone and her friends list the following flowers in their collection: κρόκος *crocus*, ἀγαλλίς *dwarf iris*, ὑάκινθος *hyacinth*, ῥοδῆ καλύκη *rosebud*, λείρια *lilies*, and νάρκισσος *narcissus,*[59] to which the poet adds ἴον *violet.*[60] In Meleager's *Garland,* the following poets are attributed these flowers: Anyte with κρίνα-type *lilies*; Moero with λείρια-type *lilies*; Sappho with ῥόδα *roses*; Melanippides with νάρκισσος *narcissus* and Alcaeus with ὑάκινθος *hyacinth*; Nossis with ἶριν *iris*; Erinna with κρόκον *crocus*; and Damagetus with the ἴον *violet.* The poet personifies some of these flowers with adjectives that pertain to human voice or song and human bodies. For example, Melanippides' narcissus is pregnant with τορῶν *piercing* song, while Alcaeus' narcissus is λάληθρον *talkative*, which pertain to human voice or music; and Erinna's κρόκον *crocus* is γλυκύν *sweet* and παρθενόχρωτα *maiden-complexioned*.[61]

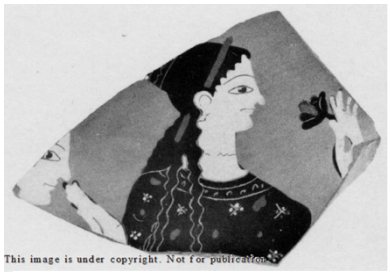

Figure 5: Woman holding flower. BPAD 591 (*CVA* PL.(680) 58.6, Athenian black-figure amphora fragment, 550-500 BC, provenance unknown, Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 03.849.

Meleager uses the flowers as symbols of the poets and their works, which represent particular themes or features of their poetry or personas. One of the clearer representations is the rose as a qualifier of Sappho. The rose is fitting for Sappho because it has a place in the worship and association of Aphrodite.[62] Two of her most well-known fragments concern Aphrodite's powers and roles in intimate human relationships,[63] and the sensual nature of the goddess' sanctuary and apple-grove.[64] In scenes from pottery, women are depicted holding and smelling roses and flowers, which represent these sexualised themes evident in Sappho's poetry (Fig. 5). According

[58] Mel.4.1.1-23.
[59] h.Hom.2.425-7.
[60] h.Hom.2.6.
[61] Mel.4.1.1-23.
[62] Sapph.1.2.6; Noss.1.1-4.
[63] Sapph.1.
[64] Sapph.2.

to Henderson, attic comedic poets have attributed to the rose sexually suggestive imagery, whereby the flower is representative of female genitalia and sexual allure.[65] It seems unlikely that Meleager is employing this kind of suggestive imagery. He is, however, reflecting the rose's connotations for the themes of erotic experience and feminine allure, all of which are evident in Sappho's poetry.[66]

Meleager characterises Erinna's flower with adjectives that could, in turn, be speaking of her. The poet attributes a crocus to Erinna that is qualified as sweet and with a maiden's complexion. These qualities suit Erinna because she is known for her youthfulness. Her poetry conveys the themes of maidenhood and the loss of innocence. *The Distaff* is an emotional recollection of her friendship with another young woman, Baucis. Though it is a lamentation, the poem recalls sweet moments shared between young friends.[67] The crocus flower has a strong connection to images of beauty and females in spring that predates and informs Meleager's use of the flower. One example is the *Cypria* and its reference to Aphrodite's clothes which have been dyed using the flowers of spring:

> …ἔν τε κρόκῳ ἔν θ'ὑακίνθῳ
> ἔν τε ἴῳ θαλέθοντι ῥόδου τ' ἄνθεϊ καλῷ
> ἡδέι νεκταρέῳ ἔν τ' ἀμβροσίαις καλύκεσσι
> ἄνθεσι ναρκίσσου καὶ λειρίου…
>
> … in crocus and hyacinth and blooming violet and the beautiful bloom
> of rose, pleasant and fragrant, in divine rose-buds, in flowers of
> narcissus and lily…[68]

The impact of these springtime flowers is that Aphrodite's clothing excites the senses. Like the flowers and the places in which they grow, her garments are pleasing to look at and carry delightful aromas.

[65] Henderson 1975, 135 n.126.
[66] Such as Sapph.2.1-11; 94.9-23 (lines 9-17 for feminine beauty/allure, lines 21-23 for erotic experience). Roses also feature as part of a dreamy landscape in Sapph.96.13.
[67] Eri.*Dis*.1-3.
[68] Cypr.6.3-6. Sappho describes women wearing flowery wreaths (στέφανοι) of violets and crocuses and "ἀνθέων...μύρωι *flowery perfume",* as adornments. Sapph.94.12, 17-18.

Maidenhood and loss of innocence are associated with the crocus flower in Archaic myth. In these mythic scenes, the maiden is comparable to the flowers she picks, as she is plucked away by an approaching male. The scent of saffron (crocus) features in the story of Europa. Hesiod describes that Zeus uses the scent of crocus to approach Europa without frightening her. Zeus, appearing in the form of a bull, breathes the scent of crocus from his mouth as he approaches Europa (Fig. 6).[69] In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* the daughters of Metaneira are described as "ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται ὤμοις ἀΐσσοντο κροκηΐῳ ἄνθει ὁμοῖαι, *their flowing hair gliding around their shoulders like a crocus flower.*"[70] In later evidence, Theophrastus writes that crocus produces one of the purest scents.[71] These sources demonstrate the association between the crocus and qualities that poets associate with young women, specifically youthfulness, innocence, sweetness and irresistible allure. In Meleager's representation of Erinna and her poetry as a sweet, maiden-faced crocus, he adapts this long-standing association between maiden and flower, of innocence and maidenhood evidenced in Archaic poetry, wherein the maiden poet is a pure and sweet yet alluring flower.

Figure 6: Europa and Zeus (the bull). BPAD 202588 (*ARV*^{2} 286.13; *LIMC* 26803), Athenian red-figure pelike, 500-450 BC, Sicily, Monte Saraceno (?), Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale, 1319.

Meleager represents Nossis as an iris, a flower which has ties to nature and Greek myth. Irises are known for their colours, mimicking the vibrancy of rainbows.[72] Plant notes that many of Nossis' epigrams are centred on and intended for women and goddesses, painting vivid images and personas of female beings.[73] The selection of the iris flower for Nossis' works reflects the vivid nature of her poetry and connects them to the mythical character of Iris, a messenger for the gods.[74] As a poet inspired by at least one god, Cypris,[75] drawing a comparison between Nossis as the messenger of the gods could be viewed as praise. It hints that some poets consider the gods as the tutors of their poetry and the poets as the messengers of their divine song.[76] The adjectives μυρόπνους (*breathing perfume*) and εὐάνθεμος (*blooming*) personify the iris flower,

[69] Hes.*Cat.*89; Mosch.*Eur.*162-6.
[70] h.Hom.2.177-8.
[71] Thphr.*HP*.6.6.5-6.
[72] Dsc.1.1.
[73] Plant 2004, 63.
[74] Hes.*Theog.*266; Hom.*Il.*2.786.
[75] Noss.1 (Plant 2004).
[76] Hes.*Theog.*22-23.

which are similar to the adjectives that refer to vivid sexualised images of women in Nossis' epigrams.[77]

Meleager attributes two different lilies, κρίνον and λείριον, to the poets Anyte and Moero, who were contemporaries of one another.[78] His use of these varieties is interesting because these two types are mentioned in Archaic Greek poetry.[79] Theophrastus writes that the λείριον is actually another name for the narcissus flower and maintains that κρίνον is the lily, which reveals ancient confusion regarding differentiation between varieties.[80] Nonetheless, the lily carries positive poetic connotations. The λείριον-lily appears in literary evidence as a qualifier of feminine beauty.[81] In an extract from the *Anacreontea* which describes Aphrodite's birth from the sea, Aphrodite is described as a "κρίνον ὥς ἴοις ἑλιχθὲν διαφαίνεται *lily that danced among violets*."[82] The implication is that the κρίνον-lily (Fig. 7), which represents the goddess, is noticeably beautiful in her sea-foam form from amongst other 'flowers' (waves), imagined as ἴα *violets*. In a fragment attributed to Apollophanes, the poet mentions a choral dance that is called the κρίνον,[83] which complements Anacreon's imagery of a lily (Aphrodite) that dances among violets.

Figure 7: Woman holding lotuses, whose flower heads are shaped similarly to lilies according to Thphr.*Hist.pl.*4.8.9. BAPD 28955, Athenian red-figure pelike, 500-450 B.C., provenance unknown, Christie's market, London, sale catalogue 8.6.1988, 67, No.259.

The implication of the lilies for Anyte and Moero is that their poetry belongs to a collection of beautiful voices, though theirs stand out as noteworthy. Considering, also, that lilies symbolise exceptional female beauty, Meleager's selection of these flowers for two female poets adapts the traditional symbolism to highlight excellent female poetic talent. That both poets are represented in the *Garland* as lilies suggests that they are of the same high calibre, as Plant posits.[84]

[77] Women and places associated with goddesses in Nossis' epigrams include a painted portrait of blossoming Kallo (epigram 7), Hera's sweet-scented temple (epigram 3), the sweet-scented hair-net of Samytha (epigram 4). See Plant 2004, 64-5.
[78] Plant 2004, 56 and 61.
[79] h.Hom.2.427.
[80] Thphr.*Hist.pl.*6.6.9.
[81] Bacchyl.*Dith.*95; Hes.*Theog.*41; Hom.*Il.*3.152, 13.830.
[82] Anacr.57.21-22.
[83] Apolloph.*Fr.*2 (Ath.114).
[84] Plant 2004, 61.

Similarly, Barnard and Balmer argue that Anyte, Erinna and Nossis are compared to Sappho,[85] which shows a positive ancient attitude towards Anyte's poetry. Indeed, Balmer praises Anyte for her ability to "straddle the two spheres" of 'patriarchal', 'masculine' themes of war and the 'domestic' world of women.[86] Whether Meleager is praising Anyte for the same reasons as Balmer is not clear. It is, however, evident that ancient and modern views alike express positive judgements of Anyte's poetry.

Meleager represents male poets as meadow flowers in his garland. His association of flowers to particular male poets is interesting because the associations lack the explicit sexualisation and eroticism that occurs in the representations of females as flowers. Melanippides and Alcaeus are represented as narcissus and hyacinth flowers. These flowers in their mythical stories are personifications of young men with tragic ends. Ovid and the *Suda* recount the story of Narcissus, a youth, loved by Echo, whom Nemesis curses causing him to fall in love with his own reflection.[87] While it is not clear whether Meleager is inferring a negative association between Melanippides and Narcissus, it is plausible that the poet is suggesting that Melanippides' work and music style are piercingly beautiful like the mythically youth.[88] The sexual undertones evident here do not objectify Melanippides, but are more akin to the painful yet alluring desire evident in Ibycus' poem above.

Alcaeus' work is represented by the hyacinth flower. In ancient myth, there are different representations of Hyacinth (or Hymenaeus in Hesiod),[89] who was περίβλεπτος *admired by all*.[90] Meleager could be suggesting that Alcaeus' work was admired by many, though this seems like mockery because the poet was exiled.[91] The adjective λάληθρον *talkative* is not necessarily critical, but is representative of the political focus of Alcaeus' epigrams.[92] However, comparisons to the hyacinth flower are also positive, such as the description of Odysseus' hair curling like the flower with the adjective ὑακινθινῳ.[93] This description of his hair is used again after Odysseus is bathed and anointed with oils following his return to Ithaca.[94] Hyacinths are

[85] Barnard 1978, 210; Balmer 1996, 83.
[86] Balmer 1996, 67, citing Barnard 1978, 210.
[87] Ov.*Met.*3.413-3.510; *Suda* s.v. pi,1934. It is narcissus flower that Hades uses to deceive Persephone in the meadow, which conveys the flower's desirable and attractive nature. h.Hom.2.428.
[88] "Melanippides" s.v. *BNP* (Robbins 2006).
[89] Ov.*Met.*10.162; Paus.3.19.4.
[90] Hes.*Meg.Eoi.*16.
[91] Dale 2011, 15.
[92] Alcaeus' political topics are referred to in Edson 1948, 116-121; Dale 2011, 15-24; Henderson 1994, 103-6.
[93] Hom.*Od.*6.231.
[94] Hom.*Od.*23.158.

also associated with the hair of beautiful flower nymphs, presumably for the way in which their hair curls like the flower.[95] The association between Alcaeus and the hyacinth is devoid of the sexualised element that occurs in other associations between individuals and the flower. For example, the sexual tones of Aphrodite's hyacinth field are not identifiable in regards to Alcaeus. This lack of sexualisation in the associations between Alcaeus, Melanippides and their attributed flowers reveals that the one cannot assume that meadow flowers automatically connote sexual imagery.

The last meadow flower that I address here from Meleager's poem is Damagetus and his ἴον μέλαν *dark violet*. There are multiple references to violets in στέφανοι as denoted through the word ἰοστέφανος *violet-crowned* in literary evidence from Archaic to Hellenistic Greece. These violet crowns decorate mortals, immortals and cities.[96] The flower's hues describe the sea and other water sources,[97] as well as hair and eyes,[98] and other sources note its sweet scent. The flower is used to denote dark or deep hues.[99] In myth, violets are flowers that Europa and Persephone pick from meadows.[100] Bucaeus, a character in one of Theocritus' *Idylls,* makes an intriguing remark about violets when he is talking of the beauty of a Syrian woman, Bombyca. He says that although they are μέλαν *dark,* violets are one of the first flowers to be selected in a στέφανος.[101] The implication is that, though Bombyca has ἁλιόκαυστος (=ἡλιοκαής) *sunburnt* skin and does not appear as beautiful as other women, Bucaeus finds her beautiful.[102] Meleager's representation of Damagetus and his poetry as a dark-coloured violet suggests that, though Damagetus' flower is not the most remarkable, it is still worth mentioning in his *Garland.* Scholars, such as Degani, call Damagetus a "mediocre epigrammatic poet",[103] which fits with Bucaeus' assessmen of violets and Meleager's use of the flower as representative of the poet.

Meleager associates himself with a garland of leadership and excellence. Through the symbolism of the στέφανος, he purports that he should be recognised for his knowledge of poetry and his own poetic skills for the ways in which he has incorporated the work of others into his own. Meleager's *Garland* is a reference to the images of flowery wreaths but also carries symbolism

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[95] Philostr.*Imag.*2.11.3.
[96] Ar.*Ach.*637; Ar.*Eq.*1323; Bacchyl.*Ep.*3.2; Bacchyl.*Ep.*5.3; h.Hom.6.18; Sapph.94.12; Simon.*Fr.*553; Sol.*Fr.*19.
[97] Hes.*Theog.*3, 844; Hom.*Il.*11.298; Hom.*Od.*5.56, 11.107.
[98] Hair: Alc.*Fr.*384, Bacchyl.*Dith.*17.37, Bacchyl.*Ep.*9.72, Pi.*Fr.*76, Pi.*Isthm.*7.23, Pi.*Ol.*6.30, Pi.*Pyth.*1.1, Simon.*Fr.*555; Eyes: Bacchyl.*Dith.*19.5, Bacchyl.*Fr.*8.1 (*TLG*), Bacchyl.*Ep.*9.3.
[99] Hom.*Od.*4.135, 9.426; Call.*Aet.*110.54*;* Theoc.10.28.
[100] Mosch.*Eur.*66 (Europa); h.Hom.2.6 (Persephone).
[101] Theoc.10.28-31.
[102] Theoc.10.27.
[103] "Damagetus" s.v. *BNP* online (Degani, 2006).

that relates to elements of Greek religious practice. According to other sources, the flowers that Meleager selected for his *Garland* are commonly used in garlands. These flowers were chosen for their fragrance and colours,[104] and it is believed that the gods love such things.[105]

Menophila's grave stele

A Hellenistic grave stele demonstrates that flowers, such as lilies, are representative of people. The grave stele of a young woman, Menophila, has four carved images of a wreath, book, an alpha and flower, which represent different aspects of her persona (Fig. 8). One of these images is a flower, which Connelly and Mylonopoulos identify as a lily,[106] and the stele's epigram explains its symbolism:

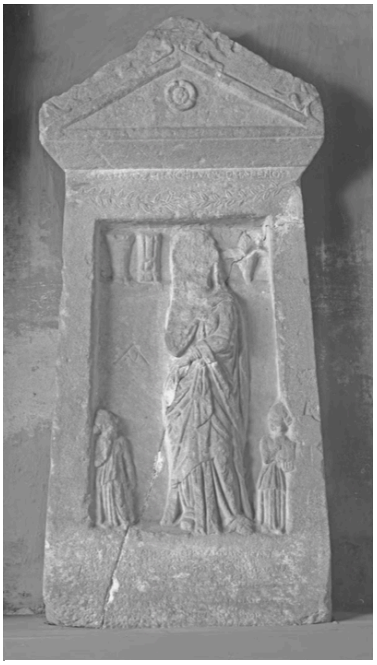

Figure 8: Grave stele of Menophila, Sardis. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum I 4033. Photograph copyright to Masséglia 2015, 128 Fig.3.4.

ὁ δῆμος Μηνοφίλαν Ἑρμαγένου.
κομψὰν καὶ χαρίεσσα πέτρος δείκνυσι· τίς ἐντι
μουσῶν μανύει γράμματα, Μηνοφίλαν.
τεῦ δ' ἕνεκ' ἐν στάλᾳ γλυπτὸν κρίνον ἠδὲ καὶ ἄλφα
βύβλος καὶ τάλαρος τοῖς δ' ἔ<π>ι καὶ στέφανος;——
ἡ σοφίᾳ μὲν βίβλος, ὁ δ' αὖ περὶ κρατὶ φορηθεὶς
ἀρχὰν μανύει, μουνογόναν δὲ τὸ ἕν,
εὐτάκτου δ' ἀρετᾶς τάλαρος μάνυμα, τὸ δ' ἄνθος
τὰν ἀκμὰν δαίμων ἄντιν, ἐληΐσατο. ——
κού [φ]α τοι κόνις εἰμί· πολλοὶ τοιῆδε θανούσῃ,
ᾇ γά[μ]οι οὐδὲ γονεῖς, τοῖς ἔλιπες δάκρυα.[107]

The people [honoured] Menophila, daughter of Hermagenes,
The very beauty of the stone shows her loveliness. Who she is, the inscription of the Muses reveal: Menophila.
Why are a carved lily and an alpha, a book and a basket and with these a wreath shown on her stele?
Her wisdom is the book, the wreath once-worn around the head shows a public office, the one an only child, the basket shows your well-behaved excellence, the flower for your spirit in full bloom that was ripped away. Light is the dust for the death of such a girl, one as you are without a husband and parents. Many are there to whom you have left tears.[108]

[104] Ath.15.30.
[105] Sapph.30.
[106] Connelly 2007, 252; Mylonopoulos 2010, 198.
[107] Greek text from Buckler and Robinson 1932, cited on epigraphy.packhum.org.
[108] Sardis 7,1 111 (PH263228).

The lily of Menophila represents her δαίμων that was picked too soon and shares a similar sentiment about a trampled hyacinth in a Sapphic fragment a few centuries' earlier.[109] Her life-force is represented by the flower, and though it is not tied to it, the image it creates is similar to the way in which trees are joined to the life-force of the dryad-nymphs. They represent the life of the tree as much as the tree represents them.[110] The meaning of the lily in the context of Menophila's stele is clarified, and its connection with notable female beauty and life is shared in the examples previously discussed.

The verb that describes the seizure of Menophila's δαίμων is ληΐζομαι, which denotes warlike violence, force and to be taken against one's will.[111] The implicit figure who forcefully takes Menophila's δαίμων is Death, a being represented elsewhere in Greek evidence as the winged warrior, Thanatos (Fig. 9).

Figure 9: Thanatos and Hypnos carrying a body to grave stele. BAPD 209255 (*ARV*[2] 750; *LIMC* 9772), Athenian red-figure lekythos, 500-450 B.C., provenance unknown, Athens National Museum, 17924.

In a paper investigating female figures of death, Vernant does not find Thanatos to be a terrifying or monstrous figure. He interprets Thanatos' role as one "who is not to kill but to welcome the dead", in comparison to Death's (apparent) terrifying female counterpart, Gorgo.[112] However, in conjunction with the verb ληΐζομαι and the lily as representative of her spirit, Death's role in the loss of Menophila seems akin to the male figures who pluck young flowers (girls) and steal away their innocence.[113] If interpreted in this way, Menophila's lily and stele demonstrate the prevalence and relevancy of poetic meadow scenes in the conceptualisation and representation of youthful female persona and experience.

The στέφανος and book provide other aspects of analysis of her persona. The wreath of Menophila represents that she once held a position of leadership in the *demos*, the public office

[109] Sappho refers to a hyacinth that is trampled in Sapph.105c.
[110] h.Hom.5.271-2:
"… πίπτουσι δ' ἄπ' ὄζοι,
τῶν δε θ' ὁμοῦ ψυχὴ λείπει φάος ἠελίοιο.
… and the twigs fall down, and both the spirit of the nymph and tree leave the light of the sun together."
[111] "ληΐζομαι" s.v. *LSJ* online 2018.
[112] Vernant 1986, 54.
[113] E.g. Persephone by Hades in h.Hom.2.19. The verb to denote Hades' snatching of Persephone is ἁρπάζω, and that the action is against her will is clarified by the adjective ἀέκων *involuntary, constrained, against one's will.* Foley 1994, 32 remarks on the difficulty of translating this word with an English equivalent that conveys the violence inherent in Persephone's experience.

of a *stephanophoros*. The carved book praises Menophlia for her intellectual excellence. As Connelly notes, this kind of praise for women is uncommon, and suggests it is in recognition of Menophila's literacy (Fig. 10).[114]

Figure 10: Woman with a writing tablet, another with a box and another holding a flower. BAPD 207083 (*ARV*[2] 611.36), Athenian red-figure hydria, 475-425 B.C., Rhodes, Kimissala, London, British Museum, 1885.12-13.18.

The works of various poets are attributed qualities of flowers and plants, and evidence reveals the personification of plants and flowers to emphasise female beauty. Meleager, writing of a στέφανος that is to be worn around the head of a woman called Heliodora, says,

> Πλέξω λευκόϊον, πλέξω δ' ἀπαλὴν ἅμα μύρτοις
> νάρκισσον, πλέξω καὶ τὰ γελῶντα κρίνα,
> πλέξω καὶ κρόκον ἡδύν· ἐπιπλέξω δ' ὑάκινθον
> πορφυρέην, πλέξω καὶ φιλέραστα ῥόδα,
> ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ κροτάφοις μυροβοστρύχου Ἡλιοδώρας
> εὐπλόκαμον χαίτην ἀνθοβολῇ στέφανος.
>
> I will plait in a white violet,[115] and I will plait in a soft narcissus with myrtle, and I will plait laughing lilies, and I will plait a sweet crocus; and I will plait in a purple hyacinth, and I will plait in roses, dear to lovers, so my chaplet, worn upon the temples of Heliodora with perfumed locks, will shower flowers on her flowing, fair hair.[116]

The poet personifies the plants with human expressions and actions. In the description of the lilies that are γελῶντα *laughing,* the poet utilises a physical response that other imaginary characters have at the sight and beauty of flowers.[117] The adjective *laughing* is used in reference to Desire and Aphrodite.[118] Through the use of this adjective, the poet conveys sexuality and female beauty.

The adjectives used to clarify the flowers, such as the softness of the narcissus, the pleasant crocus and the laughing lilies, compliment the beauty of Heliodora. The roses, described as φιλέραστα *dear to lovers,* add a romantic, yet sexual, characteristic to the chaplet, which likely speaks to the poet's view of the woman. It is interesting that the poet decides the hyacinth is

[114] Connelly 2007, 252.
[115] Literally translated λευκόϊον means *white violet.* This flower could also be called a snow-flake.
[116] Mel.5.147.
[117] h.Hom.2.14.
[118] Anacreont.57.26-30; Aphrodite is described as φιλομμειδὴς *laughter-loving.* See also h.Hom.5.17,55.

purple, because we know of another in a fragment of Sappho.[119] The purple hyacinth adds to the sexualised element of the garland, as hyacinths appear in scenes with sexual charge.[120] Like the flowers, which are beautiful gifts of the earth, the beauty and favour with which Meleager describes Heliodora is reflected in her name, which means *sun's gift.* The impact of the personification of plants with human qualities is that the plants themselves seem more life-like, and the poets reflect the close connection perceived between humans and the natural world.

Conclusion

Deacy purported that female desire and sexuality is evident even in scenes that involve abuse and abduction, wherein female desire is detectable alongside that of the male. Though her analysis noted that girls enjoy the "sensory delights" that meadows offer, the sense of touch was not adequately addressed. And yet, the analysis of ancient poetic evidence shows that touch is a significant feature of experiences in meadows and gardens, which complements Deacy's study of the idealised meadow landscape. Touch holds a place of prominence in an individual's experience, and manifests in the descriptive language of the landscape. Just as female sexuality is embedded in features and activities associated with the meadow, poets mirror the sensory and emotional processes of a character's body in the landscape's meteorological and vegetal features. Homer, Ibycus and Sappho use vegetation to convey the effects of desire through the sense of touch. In the *Iliad,* Homer reflects the touches and physical pleasure of Hera and Zeus in the dampness, softness and thickness of the vegetation,[121] and the glistening cloud that envelopes them. Ibycus uses lightning and wind to describe his heated, painful desire; and Sappho describes her feverish feelings and pallor as grass. These examples prove that poets consider desire and its effects through features and processes in landscape, wherein the landscape is also representative of the bodies within the space. More importantly, these examples justify a closer reading of the texts for touch and its role in meadow and garden experiences.

The importance of touch in Ibycus' poem is that it brings his unnamed παρθένοι into sharper focus. Through the details of the narrator's torturous experience, the maidens are not simply objects that are passive under his observation. Rather, their role as the unattainable drives the narrator to feel utterly powerless, which results in the girls' empowerment. The narrator feels entangled and trapped, while the παρθένοι thrive unrestricted. This dynamic in which the power of the παρθένοι is emphasised by Ibycus' powerlessness challenges the notion that the maiden

[119] Sapph.105c. Johnson interprets the flower to represent a young woman, the trampling as the result for one who does not guard or forfeits their virginity. See Johnson 2007, 115.
[120] Hom.*Il.*14.347-9; Heirman 2012, 3.
[121] Heirman 2012, 2.

"is a simple vehicle for the god's [or male's] pleasure",[122] because the maidens do not fulfil the narrator's desire. In comparison to young females and heterosexual relationships in other poems,[123] the significance of Ibycus' poem is that its main point is not male sexual gratification, but women's complete disregard for it.

The gendering of flowers reveals interesting implications for the representation of individuals and the connotations that a flower carries. In his Hellenistic poem *The Garland*, Meleager used the same meadow flowers from the *Hymn to Demeter* to communicate aspects of an individual's persona or poetry, which had different connotations for his male and female poets.[124] Meleager represented each poet with a flower: crocus (Erinna), lilies (Anyte and Moero), violets (Damagetus), roses (Sappho), an iris (Nossis), a narcissus (Melanippides) and a hyacinth (Alcaeus). For his female poets, the flowers connote the beautiful, sensual or erotic themes evident in their works and the meadows from which their flowers grow. However, if removed from the context of female sexuality or experience, Meleager's use of these meadow flowers in the representations of male poets are without the erotic, suggestive imagery. Such was the case for the hyacinth, narcissus and violets that represented Alcaeus, Melanippides and Damagetus, which were devoid of the sexual connotations that are evident in the representations of Sappho's rose and Nossis' iris. This apparent difference in whether the meadow flower connotes erotic sentiments reflects Meleager's differentiation between the genders of the poets and the poetry's literary themes. As Gilhuly argued, "the eroticisation of place always entails the gendering of that place."[125] Thus, Meleager's treatment of the flowers revealed that a meadow flower retained its erotic or sexualised connotation if it represented a female poet, because Meleager, and ancient poetry that preceded him, identified meadow flowers with the experiences and representations of females.

The poetic, mythic image of Persephone collecting flowers in and abduction from a meadow provided a way to approach a female at the start of her development into adulthood. Such usage of meadow imagery is evidenced in Menophila's funerary stele. Her stele states that she had made a start at finding her place in her Greek community. She held the public office of a *stephanophorus* and her stele was erected by a community who valued her. As Connelly and Mylonopoulous note, her δαίμων is represented by a lily, which they interpret is representative

[122] Larson 2001, 65, cited in Deacy 2013, 396.
[123] Such as Achilochus' fragment or Persphone in the *Hymn to Demeter*.
[124] h.Hom.2.6-8, 2.426-28 (Archaic); Mel.4.1-22, 5.147 and Sardis 7,1 111 (PH263228) (Hellenistic).
[125] Gilhuly 2018, 5.

of her youth and beauty.[126] However, if read with the metaphorical meadow and its themes of female abduction and loss of innocence in mind, her persona as represented by the carved flower is akin to the girls who collect flowers and play in meadows. Like Persephone, Menophila is a girl in a meadow and Death is the male character who forcibly snatches her away (λῃΐζομαι) at the cusp of her womanly sexual and social awakening. As Demeter is grief stricken at the loss of her daughter,[127] so, too, the people of Sardis are left with only tears at the loss of Menophila. This interpretation of Menophila's stele is significant because it highlights the prevalence of meadow connotations in the representations of females in Hellenistic evidence, and deepens current interpretations of the floral symbol carved on her stone.

[126] Connelly 2007, 252; Mylonopoulos 2010, 198.
[127] h.Hom.2.48.

Chapter Four

Calypso's Garden: Νύμφη, Θεά and the Ogygian Landscape

Introduction

Calypso is a divine character in the *Odyssey*. She is mentioned as the Ἄτλαντος θυγάτηρ *daughter of Atlas,*[1] which, as Larson notes, identifies Calypso as among the more ancient divinities.[2] Descriptions of her character note her lovely hair (εὐπλόκαμος and εὔκομος), her soft and persuasive words (μαλακοί καὶ αἱμύλιοι λόγοι) and beautiful voice (ὄψ κάλη), all of which contribute to her lovely appearance and powers of enchantment.[3] In addition to these qualities, Calypso can manipulate the winds, is a skilled weaver, and she has knowledge of carpentry and star navigation for sea travel.[4] Calypso's home is the νῆσος δενδρήεσσα *wooded island*,[5] Ogygia, surrounded by an unspecified faraway sea. Calypso's cave and garden are parts of an imaginary space that contains realistic elements. Though imaginary, its features are similar to the houses, gardens and sacred spaces that the poet introduces throughout the epic and elsewhere in Archaic poetry. Her faraway island seems real in its appeal to the senses, yet it exists as a place of fantasy and "promises the unwithering spring of Greek dreams."[6]

Homer calls Calypso a θεά and a νύμφη at different points in the epic.[7] Her complex identity as both a goddess and a nymph is reflected in her space, which has a profound impact upon the way that scholars can interpret her space. Nymph Calypso lives in a cave, surrounded by a forest and wild-growing meadows, with four nourishing springs. As a nymph, she shares a symbiotic connection to nature and her life-force is represented in the lush vegetation around her. As she is enchanting and alluring, so is her island, and both nymph and landscape invite the audience to experience the sensory delights on offer. Eustathios, in his Byzantine commentary on the

[1] Hom.*Od.*1.52, 7.245. In Hes.*Theog.*359 and h.Hom.2.422 (as cited in Garvie 1994, 215 n.245) Calypso is the daughter of Okeanos, which could also classify her as a Oceanid (sea nymph). Atlas is remembered as a Titan and one of those who revolted against Zeus in Eustathios' commentary on *Od.*1.52.
[2] Larson 2001, 28.
[3] Lovely hair: Hom.*Od.*5.58 (εὐπλόκαμος), Hom.*Od.*8.452 (εὔκομος); persuasive words: Hom.*Od.*1.56; voice: Hom.*Od.*5.61; prophetic speech: Hom.*Od.*5.205-7.
[4] Power over the winds: Hom.*Od.*5.268; skilled in weaving: Hom.*Od.*5.62, 5.258-59; knowledge in carpentry, specifically the appropriate timbers for raft and ship building: Hom.*Od.*5.237-40; knowledge in star navigation for sea travel: Hom.*Od.*5.276-77.
[5] Hom.*Od.*1.51. Eustathios argues that Homer inserted the adjective 'wooded' not simply "in passing" but as a deliberate way of preparing readers for Odysseus' raft building and to create an island that is fitting for a nymph. See Eust.*Od.*1.50-51.
[6] Crane 1988, 16.
[7] Nymph and goddess: Hom.*Od.*1.14. Nymph: Hom.*Od.*4.557, 5.14, 5.57, 5.230, 17.143, 23.333. Goddess: Hom.*Od.*5.78, 5.85, 5.116, 5.173, 5.178, 5.180, 5.192, 5.193, 5.202, 5.215, 5.242, 5.246, 5.276, 7.245, 7.255, 9.29, 12.449.

Odyssey, reflects her long-standing association with nature. He considers Calypso to be representative of the "natural powers instilled into the earth, plants and streams", and likens her to other kinds of nymphs including naiads (sea-nymphs), hamadryads and leimoniads (meadow-nymphs).[8] Her nymph side engages with other denotations of the word, specifically that of *bride, newlywed* or *marriageable woman.* Taking this denotation of νύμφη into consideration sheds light upon some of Calypso's behaviour. Her identity as a goddess transforms the way in which her home can be interpreted. Goddess Calypso is a powerful divinity. She lives in special dwelling fit for an immortal, situated within a sacred landscape. Approaching Calypso as a goddess provides legitimacy to her behaviour in the narrative.

Calypso and her island home appear infrequently in scholarship concerned with Greek literature and studies of ancient landscape. Scholars who have explored Calypso in detail, such as Giesecke, Bergren, Schein, Stehle, Betsky and Vernant, were more concerned about the relationship between the epic hero, Odysseus, and the goddess, and their analyses say more about the other characters than Calypso. For example, Giesecke and Bergren interpret Calypso, her cave and her protection as a pseudo-womb, from which the civilised Greek (male), represented in the character Odysseus, eventually and ideally leaves.[9] Calypso is viewed as both protective mother and possessive lover of Odysseus: mother for the chthonic womb and Odysseus' rebirth, and a lover with which Odysseus "fathers" himself.[10] Calypso and her island are interpreted as sinister and seductively dangerous, and her matriarchal ways are threatening to Odysseus and his patriarchal world order.[11] Vernant conceptualises Calypso as a female force who threatens to destroy Odysseus' identity as a Greek hero. He argues that her cave exists in a place that is in-between—it is a place that is neither living nor dead. If Odysseus were to accept Calypso's offer of immortality, Odysseus would never return to the world of living, and thus could not be immortalised through the "commemorative tradition" of Greek epic and poetry.[12] In a similar vien to Vernant, Schein interprets Calypso's name as reflective of her character; she is "the concealer", one who is deceptive and attempts to hide Odysseus away from the world.[13] These views offer a negative reading of Calypso and predominantly concern Odysseus, and provide a limited investigation of the island's landscape. They do not adequately represent all of

[8] Eust.*Od.*1.15. He notes also that νύμφη can denote a young woman, which Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, 73 state in reference to Hom.*Od.*10.543-45.
[9] Giesecke 2007 (a), 17 (goddess and cave); Bergren 1980, 119 (cave, protection and goddess).
[10] Bergren 1980, 116-18.
[11] Giesecke 2007 (a), 17. Stehle 1996, 195-96 interprets Calypso through a similar construction of male-dominance, female-subservience.
[12] See Vernant 1986, 62-63.
[13] Schein 1995, 19-20. See also Bergren 1980, 109-11 for a similar argument.

the important aspects of Calypso's character. There is much in the *Odyssey* which can support a more positive reading.

Calypso the Nymph: The Sensory Delights of the Cave and Garden in *Odyssey* 5.55-80

The poet provides a detailed account of Calypso's cave and surrounding landscape. It is an important setting in the epic, because the poet devotes twenty-six lines to the description:

ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἀφίκετο τηλόθ᾽ ἐοῦσαν,
ἔνθ᾽ ἐκ πόντου βὰς ἰοειδέος ἤπειρόνδε
ἤιεν, ὄφρα μέγα σπέος ἵκετο, τῷ ἔνι νύμφη
ναῖεν ἐυπλόκαμος· τὴν δ᾽ ἔνδοθι τέτμεν ἐοῦσαν.
πῦρ μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἐσχαρόφιν μέγα καίετο, τηλόσε δ᾽ ὀδμὴ
κέδρου τ᾽ εὐκεάτοιο θύου τ᾽ ἀνὰ νῆσον ὀδώδει
δαιομένων· ἡ δ᾽ ἔνδον ἀοιδιάουσ᾽ ὀπὶ καλῇ
ἰστὸν ἐποιχομένη χρυσείῃ κερκίδ᾽ ὕφαινεν.
ὕλη δὲ σπέος ἀμφὶ πεφύκει τηλεθόωσα,
κλήθρη τ᾽ αἴγειρός τε καὶ εὐώδης κυπάρισσος.
ἔνθα δέ τ᾽ ὄρνιθες τανυσίπτεροι εὐνάζοντο,
σκῶπές τ᾽ ἴρηκές τε τανύγλωσσοί τε κορῶναι
εἰνάλιαι, τῇσίν τε θαλάσσια ἔργα μέμηλεν.
ἡ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τετάνυστο περὶ σπείους γλαφυροῖο
ἡμερὶς ἠβώωσα, τεθήλει δὲ σταφυλῇσι.
κρῆναι δ᾽ ἑξείης πίσυρες ῥέον ὕδατι λευκῷ,
πλησίαι ἀλλήλων τετραμμέναι ἄλλυδις ἄλλη.
ἀμφὶ δὲ λειμῶνες μαλακοὶ ἴου ἠδὲ σελίνου
θήλεον. ἔνθα κ᾽ ἔπειτα καὶ ἀθάνατός περ ἐπελθὼν
θηήσαιτο ἰδὼν καὶ τερφθείη φρεσὶν ᾗσιν.
ἔνθα στὰς θηεῖτο διάκτορος Ἀργεϊφόντης.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα ἐῷ θηήσατο θυμῷ,
αὐτίκ᾽ ἄρ᾽ εἰς εὐρὺ σπέος ἤλυθεν. οὐδέ μιν ἄντην
ἠγνοίησεν ἰδοῦσα Καλυψώ, δῖα θεάων·
οὐ γάρ τ᾽ ἀγνῶτες θεοὶ ἀλλήλοισι πέλονται
ἀθάνατοι, οὐδ᾽ εἴ τις ἀπόπροθι δώματα ναίει.

But when he reached the island which lay at a distance, there he departed from the violet-coloured sea and went across the mainland, until he came to a great cave, in which a fair-haired nymph lives, and he found her within. A great fire was burning on the hearth, and the scent of burning split cedar and citron-wood spread far over the island; and, she, within was singing in a beautiful voice while plying a loom, weaving with a golden shuttle. Around the cave grew a flourishing forest, alder, black poplar and sweet-smelling cypress. And there long-winged birds slept, owls, hawks, and chattering sea-faring crows, whose labours are care of the sea. A thriving cultivated vine had spread around the hollow cave, it flourished with bunches of grapes. And four springs

> in a row sent out clear, flowing water, near to one other, turned this way and that way. And all around soft, grassy meadows were flourishing with violets and celery. There an immortal who just happened to come upon it would gaze and stare with wonder, delighted in their soul. There the messenger Argeïphontes[14] stood and gazed with wonder. Then after he had gazed with wonder in his heart at everything, immediately he went into the wide cave. Calypso, the noble goddess, did not fail to recognise him face to face, for not unknown are the immortal gods to one another, even she who lives in a house far away.[15]

The cave itself is located in-land away from Hermes' approach, as he travels across the island to reach Calypso. The cave's position is not far from the sea on another side of the island, as Odysseus' daily routine is to sit and cry on the shore, looking out to the sea.[16] The sea and springs are close to the cave's location. The cave's and immediate vicinity's overall appearance is of lush growth and a dense forest of trees. The only noted wildlife that live around the cave are the owls, hawks and "sea-faring crows" that nest in the trees. In the meadows, celery, violets and lush grass grow, all of which are found in other meadow scenes.[17]

Sensory delights

In the description of Ogygia from Book 5 of the *Odyssey*, the poet describes a plentiful, lush landscape that evokes and delights the senses. The poet describes the sensory experience through Hermes' focalisation. The four explicit senses in the extract are sight, smell, hearing and touch, as communicated through adjectives and other descriptive language. These imagined senses and sensations provide scholars with a new way of investigating Calypso's cave and landscape.

Sight

There is much to see on Calypso's island. Hermes approaches the nymph's home from a distance. When he arrives outside the cave, Hermes stands and looks, identifying the space's main features: the cave's interior and exterior, the grove-like ὕλη *forest* around the cave, and the λειμῶνες *meadows*. Once Hermes is near to the cave, Homer describes the interior of the cave first, then the surroundings. Without entering the cave, Hermes notices the flames and burning wood in the hearth. Next, utilising the participle ἐποιχομένη *plying*, he perceives Calypso's quick and steady movements at the loom, and notices the golden colour of her shuttle.

[14] The use of this epithet for Hermes is interesting, as it shows that he is known at this early stage as the "slayer of Argos" in reference to the myth of Io. Hes.*Cat.*74.
[15] Hom.*Od.*5.55-80.
[16] Hom.*Od.*5.81-84.
[17] See h.Hom.4.27; h.Hom.2.6-7; Hom.*Il.*18.346-51.

Standing in Hermes' position, Homer identifies three tree types prominent in the grove-like forest: alder, black poplar, and cypress. The trees shelter the cave and immediate area. The forest is home to three types of birds that are nesting when Hermes arrives: sea-crows, owls, and hawks. Looking around the cave, Homer draws Hermes' attention to the growth of a vine with bunches of grapes. Following the direction and movement of the four springs, the water draws his attention outwards to the meadows. In the meadows, grass, violets and celery grow; the space's appearance is described as flourishing.

The poet describes a range of colours on the island. The first colour that appears in the extract is the adjective ἰοειδής *violet-coloured* for the sea.[18] The word is derived from the violet flower ἴον, so it is imagined as a purple to plum-blue hue. The dark colour of the sea is contrasted with the next colour mentioned, the glinting χρύσεος *golden* shuttle in Calypso's hand.[19] In her article on the Archaic aesthetic in poetry, Fowler notes that χρύσεος (epic form of χρυσός) denotes both colour and "the play of light on surfaces."[20] It is plausible that this principle applies in regards to Calypso's shuttle considering that she is busily "ἐποχοένη *plying"* at her loom.[21] Golden colours are associated with goddesses Aphrodite and Artemis.[22] Its inclusion here is suggestive of Calypso as a divine being, and denotes luxury and beauty in her weaving. The springs are described with the adjective λευκός, which connotes the clear, bright, soft or pale hue and texture of the water. Though seemingly contradictory, the adjective captures the effect of the water's movement, which at times is bright (reflecting light) and pale (clear, muted hues).[23]

Scholars argue that ancient and modern discussions on the senses reveal a "pre-eminence of vision."[24] In such discussions, Weddle finds that the other senses function predominantly as support senses for vision, and scholarly interests in the senses betray a primacy to sight. Taking her words not as a challenge but as an invitation, consider how Homer uses sight in the extract. Its function is to list the aspects of the cave and nymph-garden that are important to the overall appearance and appeal of the space. In the description of Calypso's island, I argue that sight is not treated preferentially above the other senses, though vision is important.

[18] Hom.*Od.*5.56.
[19] Hom.*Od.*5.62.
[20] Fowler 1984, 133-34.
[21] Hom.*Od.*5.62.
[22] h.Hom.6.1; Hom.*Od.*4.122.
[23] Fowler 1984, 145.
[24] Wade 1998, 89; Weddle 2011, 272, 293.

To show the importance of the other senses in Hermes' experience, it is helpful to imagine the space without the language that describes the senses of smell and hearing. For example, if the poet had focused on sight alone, the text would identify only the surface textures, colours, and movement of the elements. As a result, Hermes would see the beauty of the natural landscape and types of fauna and flora. He would note aspects of the cave's interior and the movement within and without it. He would not, however, feel and experience the space in its entirety. In this extract, then, the sense of sight works in conjunction with the other senses.

Hearing

The description of Calypso's island evokes Hermes sense of hearing. Though, perhaps, not as prominent as the features relating to olfaction (below), there are two instances that refer to the island's aural elements.

As Hermes approaches the cave, the poet describes the sound of Calypso's voice. Her voice is the main aural aspect occurring in the cave. While she weaves with her golden shuttle, Calypso sings. The sentence that details her singing and weaving makes two mentions of her voice and its sound. First, the participle ἀοιδιάουσ' *singing* identifies Calypso's presence,[25] because Hermes hears her from within the cave. Next, the noun for voice is qualified by the adjective, καλός *beautiful*.[26] Her singing is significant, because it contributes to the paradisiac atmosphere of the island. However, hearing Calypso's song does not have the potential to cause serious harm, like the Siren's song.[27] It may cause a listener to become entranced, as it does to Hermes, but it is temporary.

There is another sound that adds to the audio-backdrop of the island. This sound is created by the sea-crows roosting in the ὕλη *forest* around the cave. Their call is described as τανύγλωσσοί *chattering,* which is imitated in performance through the alliteration with τανυσίπτεροι and τανύω.[28] Rather than interpreting the birds as intimidating and their sounds menacing as Giesecke does,[29] their calls simply signal that the forest has its own residents. Their presence in the forest is logical, because Calypso's home is not far from the sea.

[25] Hom.*Od.*5.61.
[26] Hom.*Od.*5.61.
[27] Hom.*Od.*12.41-46.
[28] In addition to "τανυσίπτεροι … τανύγλωσσοί…τετάνυστο" (Hom.*Od.*5.65,66,68), the description of the springs features alliterative device wilth -al sounds "πλησίαι ἀλλήλων τετραμμέναι ἄλλυδις ἄλλη"(line 71).
[29] Giesecke 2007 (a), 19.

Touch

The moistness of the meadows reveals the sense of touch. The springs pass through much of the garden and landscape, watering the vegetation where they flow. The lushness of the meadows is fostered by the constant supply of clear, fresh water and their close proximity to their nymph caretaker, Calypso. The inference that the meadows are moist and damp is implied using the adjective *soft* (μαλακός). μαλακός is commonly associated with damp, grassy meadows, appearing in other poetic examples.[30] Considering this use of the adjective elsewhere, Calypso's meadows also connote damp, soft ground.

Smell

The sense of smell, known as olfaction, is connected with other functions including memory and awareness. According to a scientific study by Willander and Larsson, memories associated with and evoked through the olfactory system tend to have a higher emotional arousal in the participants than memories evoked through verbal information alone.[31] The study also found that prior knowledge of odour, including name and personal associations with that smell, influenced a person's processing (experiencing and interpreting) of the odour-evoked memory.[32] From literary criticism research, Brant finds that the reception of and approach towards smell are influenced by a person's culture, society, preferences and environmental factors.[33] With these perspectives in mind, smells associated with Calypso's island are important features of the text, not only for the description of her space, but for the cultural meaning they carry. To use Brant's word, Calypso's island has its own rich "smellscape."[34] The cultural interpretation and meaning of smell on the island will be presented later, while the immediate discussion deals with the features of Calypso's smellscape.

The main aspects of Calypso's smellscape that Homer presents are of the wood varieties which permeate the air. As Hermes draws near to the cave, the first feature Homer introduces is the great fire burning on the hearth. The fire with its burning wood is a main feature of Calypso's home, and, thus, a main focus in Hermes' experience. The burning wood is cedar and citron-wood, and the smoke these woods produce is so fragrant that Homer says it spreads far over the island. Outside the cave, the grove-like forest also produces its own scent. There are three tree types in the forest: alder, black poplar and cypress. Homer uses the adjective εὐώδης *sweet-*

[30] Hom.*Il.*18.346-51; h.Hom.2.7; E.*Hipp.*73.
[31] Willander and Larsson 2007, 1662.
[32] Willander and Larsson 2007, 1663.
[33] Brant 2008, 545-49.
[34] Brant 2008, 549.

smelling in reference to the cypress trees, meaning that there is a delicate, yet detectable scent permeating from the forest.

Delighting Hermes' θυμός: the senses, internal delight and the verb θεάομαι

A quote attributed to the nineteenth-century naturalist, Burroughs, highlights the perception that nature has a pleasing, positive effect on a person. He reflects,

> I go to nature to be soothed and healed, and to have my senses put in tune once more.[35]

The idea that nature could be enjoyed in such a deep, fundamental way highlights Hermes' experience in Calypso's garden. Furthermore, it shows also that sensory stimulation and engagement with the physical space hint at internal processes such as those signalled through psychological organs like θυμός. In her dissertation, Privitera posits that,

> …the psychological functioning of Homer's characters is as complex as our own, primarily because it is based in physical, developmental, material, interactional and evolutionary aspects of experiences…[36]

She finds that psychological, internal experience is grounded in the relationship between "brain, body and, the world."[37] In terms of practical approaches to the evidence of psychological activity and experience, Sardi has useful advice. To ensure an accurate study of Homeric mental states, she suggests that there are two steps: firstly, consider how a text describes "a certain condition, sensation or function" and which "psychic entities" are affected; secondly, the study must consider the plurality of the affected entities and the possible types of interactions between them. Based on my interpretation of Privitera's findings concerning Homeric psychological entities, Hermes' experience of Calypso's space speaks to this tripartite relationship. The poet's reference to Hermes' θυμός invites the perception of an internal experience or feeling of his surroundings, which is revealed through outward, non-verbal behaviour,[38] specifically his senses, the verb θεάομαι and the other experience qualifiers εἶδον, τέρπω and ἵστημι.

Through the references to various senses, Homer describes a vivid picture of Calypso's island and Hermes' position within it. He creates a setting with which an audience can engage. The space is designed to be experienced or engaged with, and the audience are intended participants.

[35] Finch and Elder 1990, 274.
[36] Privitera 2016, 56.
[37] Privitera 2016, 19.
[38] Privitera 2016, 54.

The poet has included in the description markers that signal this intent and purpose, specifically the evocation of Hermes' θυμός. It is clear that this psychological entity participates in the experience of Calypso's island because of the explicit reference to it:

> ἔνθα στὰς θηεῖτο διάκτορος Ἀργεϊφόντης.
> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα ἐῷ θηήσατο θυμῷ,
> αὐτίκ᾽ ἄρ᾽ εἰς εὐρὺ σπέος ἤλυθεν.
>
> There the messenger Argeïphontes stood and gazed with wonder. Then after he had gazed with wonder in his soul at everything, immediately he went into the wide cave.[39]

The poet constructs Hermes' experience of the space in this way, because Homer tells us that Hermes' behaviour is what any immortal would do. The poet sings,

> ἔνθα κ᾽ ἔπειτα καὶ ἀθάνατός περ ἐπελθὼν
> θηήσαιτο ἰδὼν καὶ τερφθείη φρεσὶν ἦσιν.
>
> There an immortal who just happened to come upon it would gaze and stare with wonder, delighted in their heart.[40]

Hermes, as the focalisation for audience participation, is not intended to be a passive observer of the space. Rather, the poet describes a scene in which the god is called to participate in the paradise before him. To achieve this 'call to action', Homer uses the middle verb θεάομαι. It is one of the verbs which fall under Koziak's label "transitive verbs of feeling."[41] It calls the character to delight or gladden in something themselves. These transitive verbs describe moments in which the θυμός acts or is enacted. The verb in the Homeric scene above and the enactment of θυμός which qualify Hermes' experience function to reinforce the expected appeal and sensory stimulation of Calypso's island. The impact of the scene which is enacted with the verb θεάομαι is qualified with the participle ἰδών *stare* and verb τέρπω *delight.*

While Privitera shows that "psychological experiences are structured by interactions between [characters]",[42] it seems that there is an interaction or exchange occurring between Hermes, the island, his senses and θυμός. The island, rich with its sensory stimuli, momentarily takes the place of a character, which facilitates a response from Hermes. From another view in which θεάομαι is considered, the island surroundings could be viewed as a pseudo-object. This verb

[39] Hom.*Od.*5.75-77.
[40] Hom.*Od.*5.73-74.
[41] Koziak 1999, 1073.
[42] Privitera 2016, 7, 185.

suggests that there is a perceivable interaction between subject (Hermes and his θυμός) and object (island and sensory stimuli), which speaks to the experiential aspect of the verb and the engaging nature of the island.

To consider Sardi's second step concerning the plurality of entities, other passages in Books 5 and 7 of the *Odyssey* show that θυμός relates to processes of the physical body and the emotional life of characters. For example, it is θυμός that gauges Hermes' appetite and hunger.[43] Calypso reassures Hermes that her νόος is honest and "οὐδέ μοι αὐτῇ θυμός ἐνὶ στήθεσσι σιδήρεος, ἀλλ' ἐλεήμων, *the soul in my breast is not iron, but is compassionate*."[44] Calypso also refers to Demeter's θυμός, as the location of the goddess' desire for Iaision.[45] Nausicaä tells Odysseus to appeal to her mother, Arete, "ἐνὶ θυμῷ *in her soul*", for favour so that she will assist him with his onward journey to Ithaca.[46] These examples show that θυμός is involved in various expressions of the mind and body.

The impact of the sensual experience of the island upon and engagement with Hermes' θυμός is communicated through the verbs θεάομαι *to gaze with wonder* and τέρπω *to stare* and the participle ἰδών *stare* as noted above. From the sensory stimuli of the perceived landscape, the activity of θυμός in this example is related to perception and feeling. The response to the island including the reception of sensory information is not only delight, but θεάομαι demonstrates that Hermes and the audience are active participants in the imaginary landscape.[47]

The relationship between Hermes' experience and Calypso the nymph

Hermes' sensual experience relates to Calypso's nymph identity and space in three ways, which Larson identifies: the cave dwelling, the lush landscape, and Calypso's sexual and sensual nature.[48] Firstly, the cave and water source are the elements that reflect her nymph being. Caves are typical dwellings for nymphs in Homeric evidence including Hermes' mother, Maia, and the

[43] Hom.*Od.*5.95.
[44] Hom.*Od.*5.190-91.
[45] Hom.*Od.*5.125-27.
[46] Hom.*Od.*7.75-77.
[47] There is a wealth of scholarship concerning the θυμός, ancient psychology and the other psychological entities that constitute what Privitera 2016, 188 calls "a lexicon of the mind", which I have not engaged with or attempted to represent. Θυμός and the psychological entities of the Greek mind are difficult to represent with complete certainty, as Webster 1957, 149 indicates. Notable scholars in this area of research include Bremmer, Cairns, Darcus Sullivan, Scharples, Gaskin, Jahn, and many others. Though his findings have been criticised in recent years, Snell 1964 is one of the notable and influential forerunners in the study of ancient Greek psychological terms and organs. Koziak 1999, 1068-69 provides a succinct summary of scholarship concerning θυμός. See Privitera's bibliography for a list of relevant scholars, and her thesis for an assessment of the cross-disciplinary fields of ancient Greek psychology and cognitive science.
[48] Larson 2001, 28.

nymphs' cave in a harbour on Ithaca.[49] Caves are sacred to nymphs.[50] The Ithacan cave has an entrance that humans may use and another for divine beings. This separation ensures the sacredness of the cave, and honours and differentiates immortals from mortals through the distinct entryways.[51] As Larson argues, the caves of the nymphs and nymph worship hold importance in ancient Greek cult.[52] That both Calypso's and the Ithacan nymphs' caves are located close to water reinforces the spaces as nymph dwellings.[53] For Ustinova, caves reflect that nymphs are prophetic beings. Caves provide nymphs with a suitable prophetic environment, wherein the cave and the closest water source enhances or encourages their powers of prophecy.[54] In the case of the Ithacan cave, the bees are prophetic beings, as their honey is associated with prophecy-enhancing properties.[55] Calypso and her cave is an Archaic example of a prophetic nymph, which may have inspired later Greek cultic nymph worship.[56]

Secondly, the qualities of the landscape surrounding the cave reflect Calypso's nymph identity. The lush vegetation that grows without careful tending and cultivation reveals that the inhabitant is a nature deity. The idealised, paradisiac state of the vegetation is suggestive of a divine inhabitant because, as Larson argues, the garden exists as "a conjunction of natural elements which spontaneously arrange themselves to provide maximum aesthetic pleasure."[57] The aesthetically pleasing arrangement appeals to the senses, which creates a multilayered experience. The nature of the landscape appeals to "anthropomorphically divine, hence human, pleasure", which means the space is designed to appeal to mortals and immortals alike.[58]

The sensual effect of the garden upon a participant speaks to the third point, namely the sexual, alluring nature of the nymph. Calypso's μαλακοί καὶ αἰμύλιοι λόγοι *soft and persuasive words* are echoed in the texture of the λειμῶνες μαλακοί *soft meadows,* which are associated with the alluring sensuality of female beings in Archaic poetry.[59] Her beautiful singing voice (ὄψ κάλη) is complemented by the εὐώδης *sweet-smelling* fragrance produced by the cypress trees. The permeating sound of her voice that is heard outside the cave is echoed in the spread of the

[49] h.Hom.4.3-6; Hom.*Od.*13.102-12.
[50] Ustinova 2009, 55.
[51] Hom.*Od.*13.109-12.
[52] Larson 2001, 24-25, 27-8; Larson 2007, 59-60.
[53] Larson 2001, 24.
[54] Ustinova 2009, 61.
[55] Ustinova 2009, 59-60; Larson 2001, 9.
[56] Ustinova 2009, 58; Hom.*Od.*5.205-7; Larson 2007, 59.
[57] Larson 2007, 59.
[58] Larson 2007, 59.
[59] Hom.*Od.*1.56, 5.72; Deacy 2013, 398; h.Hom.2.177-78. See Chapter Three for an analysis of the touch and sensuality of λειμών.

burning wood scent over the island. Calypso's enticing nymph nature is reinforced in the features of her island home, which connote the tantalising possibilities of sexual enjoyment shared between meadow and garden visitors. Along with her cave and garden, Larson identifies "her "abduction" of Odysseus for sexual purposes" as among her most nymphlike characteristics.[60] This sexual relationship that Calypso shares with Odysseus reflects the allure of nymphs and other divine female beings, and their enticement of others for their sexual pleasure.[61]

Calypso the Goddess, Calypso the Bride: House and Sacred Dwelling in the *Odyssey*

The bride and her house

The description of Calypso's island above has several interesting features. In addition to the main description, there are other points in the epic that describe her home. The sense of smell above hints at the interpretation that is discussed in full here. Below, are the words used to describe her dwelling and the ways in which these words suggest that the nymph's cave is imagined as a variant of a Homeric Greek house. The words are σπέος, μυχός, μέγαρον, ἐσχάρα and δῶμα. The denotations of each word are provided (Table 1).

Word	Denotation	Evidence
σπέος (sing.) σπέσσι (plu. epic dative only). [62]	cave, cavern, grotto; caves.	Hom.*Od.*1.15; Hom.*Od.*5.57; Hom.*Od.*5.63; Hom.*Od.*5.68; Hom.*Od.*5.77; Hom.*Od.*5.194; Hom.*Od.*5.226; Hom.*Od.*9.30; Hom.*Od.*23.335; Hom.*Od.*13.102-12.
μυχός	inner-most chamber, nook, a protected area in landscape	Hom.*Od.*5.226-27; Hom.*Od.*3.402-3; Hom.*Od.*13.363; Hom.*Od.*16.283-86; Hom.*Od.*23.41; Hom.*Od.*3.263.
μέγαρον (sing.) μεγάρα (plu.)	singular: hall, large room. The plural form has the collective denotation of dwelling, house, household.	Hom.*Od.*1.432; Hom.*Od.*3.186; Hom.*Od.*4.37; Hom.*Od.*7.150; Hom.*Od.*2.94; Hom.*Od.*2.107-9; Hom.*Od.*4.384-85; Hom.*Od.*4.556-58.

[60] Larson 2001, 28.
[61] Larson 2001, 4 and 35. On p.35 Larson cites Ibyc.5-6.4 and labels it a "moist garden of the nymphs", which as is shown in Chapter Three, is tantalising for the poem's narrator.
[62] Heubeck, West and Hainsworth 1988, 74 in their commentary on the *Odyssey* remark on the linguistic and etymological difficulties of this word and note that no other plural declension of the word is given in the epic.

ἐσχάρα	hearth, fire-place.	Hom.*Il.*3.125-49; Hom.*Od.*6.304-9; Hom.*Od.*14.420-56; Hom.*Od.*7.163-85.
δῶμα (sing.) and δώματα (plu.)	house, chief room or hall, temple. The plural form has the collective denotation of dwelling, house, household.	Hom.*Od.*1.115-16; Hom.*Od.*3.353-55; Hom.*Od.*1.51; Hom.*Od.*5.6; Hom.*Od.*5.80; Hom.*Od.*5.208; Hom.*Od.*5.241; Hom.*Od.*5.206-9; Hom.*Od.*8.453.

Table 1: The words for Calypso's dwelling

σπέος, -ους, τό: cave and μυχός, -οῦ, ὁ: *innermost chamber or nook*

The word σπέος is used throughout the *Odyssey* to refer to Calypso's cave, though in several references it appears in the plural.[63] Its use in the plural form communicates the large size of the cave: that it is a series of smaller spaces, such as alcoves, within the larger structure. The poet refers to only one entryway. In Book 13 of the *Odyssey,* the Naiad nymphs also inhabit a σπέος. They are weavers of purple webs, and share the cave with bees, who store honey jars within it. This cave is large and has two doorways, one for mortals and the other for immortals.[64]

The interpretation and divine connotations of Calypso's σπέος in the *Odyssey* are connected to the way in which the space is used. Instead of a dark cave without (human) comfort,[65] Calypso's cave is a house and home with multiple areas and comforts.[66] One of these areas is denoted with μυχός and the poet provides one of the possible uses for an area that this word classifies. Μυχοί are areas found within dwellings of both immortals and mortals. The poet describes Calypso's and Odysseus' last night together:

> … ἐλθόντες δ' ἄρα τώ γε μυχῷ σπείους γλαφυροῖο
> τερπέσθην φιλότητι, παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες.
>
> **…** and they went straight into the inner-most chamber of the hollow cave and both had delight in sexual love, staying beside each other.[67]

Calypso and Odysseus move deeper into the cave for their last night together, into the "*inner-most chamber"* that is called a μυχός. The use of this word, alongside the previous usage of σπέος in the text, transforms the space into a house with a series of rooms and corners.

[63] Hom.*Od.*1.15 (plural), 5.57, 5.63, 5.68, 5.77, 5.155 (plural), 5.194, 5.226, 9.30 (plural) 23.335 (plural).
[64] Hom.*Od.*13.102-12.
[65] Polyphemus' cave is the antithesis of Calypso's cave in Hom.*Od.*9.118ff (the word for Polyphemus' cave is ἄντρον).
[66] The comforts fit for mortal tastes are best outlined in Hom.*Od.*5.194-200.
[67] Hom.*Od.*5.226-27.

In the *Odyssey*, μυχός appears in a formula that is used in the descriptions of the chambers in which mythical men and their wives sleep and take pleasure in one another. This usage supports the interpretation of μυχός and Calypso's and Odysseus' use of the space in this way. The first supporting example of this word's use and interpretation in the *Odyssey* is in the description of Nestor and his wife:

> αὐτὸς δ' αὖτε καθεῦδε μυχῷ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο·
> τῷ δ' ἄλοχος δέσποινα λέχος πόρσυνε καὶ εὐνήν.
>
> And he laid down to sleep in the inner-most chamber of the lofty house, where his wife, the woman of the house, prepared and shared their bed.[68]

The formula is used in the descriptions of other couples in the epic.[69] Though she is a character of fantasy, Calypso's characterisation becomes more realistic through the inclusion of known, human aspects in her living space. Through the function of μυχός in her cave, Calypso and Odysseus are comparable to the other couples within the epic through the adaption of the formula. The use of the formula reveals the strong connection between the two characters, and enables the poet to show more the disruptive and grievous impact of Odysseus leaving.

Μυχός is used in other examples which illustrate its multi-functional denotation. Other examples from the *Odyssey* include the harbour cave in Ithaca,[70] and in descriptions of the corners, nooks or small extensions of chambers. In some of these descriptions, the μυχοί denote areas that are within private or restricted areas of the house. Restricted access to the inner chamber that stores the weapons Odysseus and his men save is one such example.[71] During the slaughter of the unwelcome suitors, the female household slaves and members hide in the "μυχῷ θαλάμων εὐπήκτων, *in the inner-most area of our well-built chambers*."[72] The word is applied to protected or sheltered nooks or inlets of islands, such as the nook on Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο *horse-pasturing Argos*, in which Agamemnon hides.[73]

[68] Hom.*Od.*3.402-3.
[69] See also Menelaos and Helen in Hom.*Od.*4.304-5; and Alcinoös and Arete in Hom.*Od.*7.346-7.
[70] Hom.*Od.*13.363.
[71] Hom.*Od.*16.283-86.
[72] Hom.*Od.*23.41.
[73] Hom.*Od.*3.263.

μέγαρον, -ου, τό: *hall, large room*

Μέγαρον appears in the *Odyssey* as an area into which characters enter or in their discussions of dwellings and households. Characters, such as Alcinoös, Nestor, Odysseus, Laertes, Menelaos and Helen have μέγαρα, *large rooms*, for hosting, feasting and sleeping.[74] The size of Odysseus' house is implied through references to more than one hall. For example, the well-known slaughter of the suitors in Book 22 occurs in the μέγαρον of Odysseus' well-built house. Penelope set up her "μέγαν ἱστον, *great loom"* in the μεγάρα, *halls* that she and her female servants use,[75] which are situated away from the guest-receiving hall. Penelope's halls (which may only be smaller rooms) are separate to the hall in which the suitors stay, and there is an implicit note that none but the permanent household members should have access to Penelope's μεγάρα. The suitors do not know of her cunning weaving strategy until one of her own female slaves tells them, and they forcibly enter her halls.[76]

The poet denotes Calypso's dwelling with the word in its plural declension.[77] One example is Menelaos' retelling of his encounter with "the old man of the sea, Proteus",[78] in which he tells Telemachus that Proteus saw Odysseus alive:

> τὸν δ' ἴδον ἐν νήσῳ θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυ χέοντα,
> νύμφης ἐν μεγάροισι Καλυψοῦς, ἥ μιν ἀνάγκῃ
> ἴσχει·
>
> I [Proteus] saw him on an island shedding thick tears,
> in the halls of the nymph Calypso, who holds him by force…[79]

Calypso's dwelling has areas recognisable as μεγάρα, which suggests her house is large. Like Penelope, Calypso has a large loom set up in her halls. Unlike Penelope, the goddess' loom can be seen from the entrance: Hermes is mesmerised by her movements and singing while she weaves.[80] Circe's loom is similarly placed in her house to Calypso's, as Odysseus' comrades can hear her weaving and singing from their position in front of the πρόθυρα *front-doors*, though the doors to her μεγάρα block their view.[81] The large chambers in Calypso's cave are denoted as μεγάρα in the same way that other characters' houses have halls. Much like Odysseus' house,

[74] Hom.*Od.*1.432 (Laertes' halls), Hom.*Od.*3.186 (Nestor's halls), Hom.*Od.*4.37 (Menelaos and Helen's hall), Hom.*Od.*7.150 (Alcinoös' hall).
[75] Hom.*Od.*2.94.
[76] Hom.*Od.*2.107-9.
[77] Hom.*Od.*5.15; Hom.*Od.*17.143; Hom.*Od.*5.557.
[78] Hom.*Od.*4.384-85.
[79] Hom.*Od.*4.556-58.
[80] Hom.*Od.*5.61-62.
[81] Hom.*Od.*10.220-24.

Calypso's house has more than one μέγαρον, as suggested with the plural form. Calypso's house differs from mortal dwellings in the epic because the goddess keeps her loom in the main hall in front of the hearth. Loom placement may be indicative of spatial differentiation based on whether the inhabitant is mortal or immortal.

These examples illustrate the uses and functions that halls have in households, such as hosting guests. Halls may have notable wall decorations, as is the case of Alcinoös' residence, and a seated place for the heads of the households which can be seen as a person enters the space. A hearth or fireplace might be located inside or near the hall.[82] Calypso's μέγαρον has these same functions: a place to welcome and seat guests, wherein they also eat, drink and are entertained, and a hearth with a burning fire. Hermes does not sleep in the cave, but departs after the meal and discussion. However, as has been noted above, there is a μυχός that is used for sleep and sexual activities.

In the epic, the halls in the other houses are used in the important process of ξείνια, *guest-hospitality*. Guests are welcomed, which includes sacrifice to the gods, handwashing, and the provision of food and drink to the guest. Following this welcome, the host might offer a safe place to sleep, within the hall or in a sheltered position outside. The host may offer the guest gifts, which might assist with their onward journey. In return for the host's hospitality, the guest or traveller talks of their reasons for the visit or recounting stories from their travels. In Book 7, Arete, Alcinoös and Odysseus follow this process.[83] The meeting of Calypso and Hermes follows a similar welcome and reception pattern, though without the sacrifice to the gods and handwashing.[84] Calypso provides Hermes with ambrosia, which is appropriate for a god. As Buxton suggests, "entertaining the guest with culturally appropriate nourishment is the mark of good hosts like Alkinoos and Menelaos."[85] The use of her μέγαρον in this way and the guest-welcome Calypso offers Hermes shows that the poet portrays Calypso's dwelling as a kind of Homeric Greek house, and she a good host.

ἐσχάρα, -ας, ἡ: *hearth, fire-place*

Hearths, or fireplaces, are mentioned in the houses that feature in the *Odyssey*. Of the female characters the poet introduces throughout the epic, two are found weaving or spinning yarn in

[82] Hom.*Od.*7.86-102, 153-54.
[83] Hom.*Od.*7.136-347. Polyphemus disregards this custom in Hom.*Od.*9.272-306, a custom which Odysseus tries to enact, according to Fuqua 1991, 54. Buxton 1994, 199 regards Polyphemus as the opposite of a good host due, in part, to his man-eating behaviour.
[84] Hom.*Od.*5.85-150.
[85] Buxton 1994, 199.

front of hearths.[86] The hearth is an important marker in the household of Arete and Alcinoös, and has different uses. Nausicaä uses the hearth and house pillar, where her mother spins yarn and her father sits, as points of reference in her instructions to Odysseus so that he might locate her parents and their hospitality.[87] The placement of the hearth in the main hall demonstrates that the space is a main area of guest and host activities. The hearth is an important feature in the main hall that is used for the comfort of the users through its warm and light. It is a central feature of the space itself, because some of Arete's and her handmaids' activities occur in front of the hearth.

In Book 14, Odysseus is hosted by his herdsman, Eumaeus, the man who raises and tends the household's pigs. In Eumaeus' house, the hearth is used to cook meat for the meal, as well as burn offerings to the gods. Homer gives a detailed description for the preparation and burning of the animal portions, the accompanying libations and prayers, and the use of the fireplace for cooking the meat intended for human consumption.[88] While the fireplace in Alcinoös' house provides light and warmth to those in the hall, Eumaeus' hearth is used for warmth, light, cooking and making offerings to the gods. It is likely that Alcinoös' hearth is used similarly because there is reference to the pouring of libations to Zeus.[89]

The light of hearth fire is noted in the epic, for it enables the activities and aesthetics of the household to be seen. For example, Arete and her female handmaids use the light of the fire to create the soft woven robes that decorate the seats along the walls of the house,[90] which Odysseus notices in his movement through the halls. Odysseus looks at the bronze-decorated walls and with golden statues on pedestals that hold torches to help provide additional light.[91] The fire and torches provide such good lighting that Arete and Alcinoös might see a visitor's approach through the hall from where they are seated. To enable him quick passage until he reaches the knees of Arete, which adds to the mystery of their new house guest and combats the highly-lit space, Athena covers Odysseus in πολύς ἀήρ *thick mist*.[92]

The hearth, the fire and the smell of the burning wood are the first aspects mentioned in the description of the house's interior, revealing that the hearth is a central feature. The purpose of

[86] Hom.*Od.*5.59-62 (Calypso); Hom.*Od.*6.305-306 (Arete).
[87] Hom.*Od.*6.304-9.
[88] Hom.*Od.*14.420-56.
[89] Hom.*Od.*7.163-85.
[90] Hom.*Od.*7.96-7.
[91] Hom.*Od.*6.86-7, 100-2.
[92] Hom.*Od.*7.140.

Calypso's hearth fire is for the scent it produces. Calypso's house has a hearth fire that burns sweet-smelling wood of cedar and citron-wood. The smell of the burning wood spreads over the island, perfuming the nymph's home. From this central point, the rest of the interior is described, with the second focal point being Calypso and her large loom.

The inclusion of a hearth in the elements of her home speaks to an anthropomorphism of divine space, which typically include "everything needed to appeal to human tastes and comfort."[93] Its inclusion shows that Ogygia is designed according to human ideas and expectations of a house. Whilst the island has wild elements and the vegetation that reflects Calypso's nature as a nymph, the poet has included physical aspects that a Greek audience would understand and expect in a space designated as a house. The design elements of her home reflect this anthropomorphic tendency.

δῶμα, -ματος, το: *house*

δῶμα appears in the descriptions and references to the households and physical structures of many characters in the *Odyssey*. Other words, δόμος, οἶκος and οἰκία, are used in the epic, though these have not described Calypso's home. Δῶμα has been included here because it is the word that is used for Calypso's house.

The word appears in its plural form, δώματα, in the descriptions to a person's house and household.[94] For example, it appears in the scene at Odysseus' home in Ithaca during the first meeting of Telemachus and Athena, the goddess transforming herself into the likeness of Mentes. Sitting amongst the suitors in the hall and watching them squander the household's supplies, Telemachus wishes his father would,

> … εἴ ποθεν ἐλθὼν
> μνηστήρων τῶν μὲν σκέδασιν κατὰ δώματα θείη…
>
> … come now from somewhere and cause a scattering of the suitors in his own house…[95]

Though appearing in the plural, it is interpreted in English as the singular *house,* with the impression of a lord's halls. Another example of the use of δῶμα is found in Nestor's offer to

[93] Larson 2007, 58.
[94] 'δῶμα' s.v. *LSJ* online 2017.
[95] Hom.*Od.*1.115-16.

Telemachus to stay the night in Pylos. In this example, the poet differentiates between μεγάρα and δώματα:

> … ὄφρ᾽ ἂν ἐγώ γε
> ζώω, ἔπειτα δὲ παῖδες ἐνὶ μεγάροισι λίπωνται
> ξείνους ξεινίζειν, ὅς τίς κ᾽ ἐμὰ δώμαθ᾽ ἵκηται.
>
> … while I still live, and my children are left behind me to host guests in my halls, they who have come to my house.[96]

Nestor's house has halls for hosting, feasting and entertaining, which contribute to the overall structure of the house. The expectation of continued respect for custom by his children is important to Nestor's own legacy, as well as the reputation of his house. His house is the physical dwelling wherein his family meet and the household members who belong to it. Each of Nestor's children, who are married, have their own οἶκος to return to at the evening's close. His unmarried son, Peisistratus, sleeps near Telemachus on the house's αἴθυσα *portico* or *verandah*.[97] Nestor's δῶμα is the physical representation of his importance and wealth, and the dwelling in which he lives.

The first use of δῶμα in the *Odyssey* introduces the audience to Calypso's home in Book 1.[98] This first use is crucial in creating the image of a house in an audience's minds. In total, δῶμα is used five times in the *Odyssey* to refer to Calypso's dwelling: firstly, in the counsel of the gods; secondly, in the lengthy description of her home and surroundings; thirdly, in a conversation between Calypso and Odysseus; fourth, in the scene of Odysseus' raft building; and lastly, after Odysseus' arrival at Arete's house, the narrator indicates Odysseus' last bath was at Calypso's house.[99] The example that is most significant is the third, because Calypso herself calls her home a house:

> εἴ γε μὲν εἰδείης σῇσι φρεσὶν ὅσσα τοι αἶσα
> κήδε᾽ ἀναπλῆσαι, πρὶν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἱκέσθαι,
> ἐνθάδε κ᾽ αὖθι μένων σὺν ἐμοὶ τόδε δῶμα φυλάσσοις
> ἀθάνατός τ᾽ εἴης…
>
> If you knew in your heart exactly how much ill fate you are destined to be troubled with in your return journey, before you come to your

[96] Hom.*Od.*3.353-55.
[97] Hom.*Od.*3.399-401 (Telemachus and Peisistratus); Hom.*Od.*3.398 (the reference to the separate houses of Nestor's married children).
[98] Hom.*Od.*1.51.
[99] In listed order: Hom.*Od.*5.6; Hom.*Od.*5.80; Hom.*Od.*5.208; Hom.*Od.*5.241; Hom.*Od.*8.453.

> father's land, then here you would stay and keep this house with me and be immortal…[100]

Calypso offers Odysseus a life of immortality and comfort in her home as joint caretakers of the household. The phrase, σὺν ἐμοὶ τόδε δῶμα φυλάσσοις *to keep this house with me,* carries both practical and sentimental meaning. Calypso invites Odysseus to protect, maintain and care for their house and the surroundings, as others, such as Alcinoös and Arete, oversee and care for their estate and house. As the garden and orchard are Odysseus' familial wealth and inheritance, Calypso invites him to cherish, value and preserve the space that is symbolic of their relationship. As the connotations of "prepare and share their bed" are to sleep and to enjoy sexual activities,[101] Calypso's offer to Odysseus suggests the management of the household and a marital union. She is like a young woman (νύμφη) eager for her potential husband, Odysseus, to remain permanently and build a life with her.

Calypso's δῶμα in the *Odyssey* relates to her identity as θεά *goddess.* In Archaic evidence, δῶμα denotes a house or palace of a god, as well as the dwellings in which mythical mortals live. Such a house in which a god inhabits or visits shares the same grandeur and sacred space as a temple (ναός), though only immortals visit both dwellings. In the *Hymn to Demeter,* rather than re-join the gods on Olympus, Demeter spends a year seated in her ναός at Eleusis, grieving for Persephone.[102] The *Iliad,* the *Odyssey,* the *Hymns* and Hesiodic works use δῶμα for the special dwellings of gods: on Mount Olympus, the gods live in δώματα *houses* which are imagined as splendid and large in size;[103] Poseidon's great underwater dwelling in the *Iliad*;[104] Hades' house in the Underworld;[105] and, Zeus' own great δῶμα on Olympus.[106] As these examples show, δῶμα denotes a splendid, special space in which immortals live. The poet connotes the same splendid, sacred imagery when he denotes Calypso's house as a δῶμα, which shows that her dwelling is suitable for a god and reinforces that she is a goddess.

The interpretation of Calypso as a bride or wife is supported by the evidence, which shows that Homer intends for her cave and character to be interpreted as a bride in a house. The key pieces

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[100] Hom.*Od.*5.206-9.
[101] See above analysis of μυχός for examples of this expression.
[102] h.Hom.2.302-4.
[103] Hes.*Cat.*27; Hom.*Il.*2.13.
[104] Hom.18.369.
[105] Hes.*Cat.*25; Hom.*Od.*11.571 and 12.21. Though, Homer uses δόμος for Hades' house more than δῶμα in the *Odyssey* (δόμος: Hom.*Od.*4.834, 9.524, 10.175, 10.491, 10.512, 11.69, 11.150, 11.627, 14.208, 15.350, 20.208, 23.252, 24.204, 24.264, 24.322).
[106] Zeus' house: h.hom.3.2, 3.187.

of evidence that support this interpretation are the existence and location of the loom, her performance as host and the word ἄκοιτις. The existence of the loom sets Calypso up as the woman of the house. Her use of the traditional 'feminine' practice of weaving aligns her with other notable Homeric women including Penelope, Helen and the Phaeacian women,[107] and signals her authority and control of space. In her article, Bertolín presents an interesting case for the interpretation of the loom and its role as symbol of authority. She argues that the ἱστός exists in both the male and female spheres, as the word denotes a ship's mast and a loom for weaving. For Bertolín, the loom signifies female authority and spatial division of the female indoors.[108] For example, Penelope maintains control over her own quarters (θάλαμος), as indicated by her loom, even though the presence of the suitors in the main hall and Telemachus' own assertion of dominance discourage freedom of movement and authority.[109]

While the loom aligns Calypso with the other women of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey,* she is differentiated from them because she has complete κυρία *authority* over her household. Setting up her loom in the μέγαρον in front of the hearth demonstrates that she assumes completely the role of host and head. While Arete has partial κυρία in her house as represented in her positioning around the central pillar and hearth of the house,[110] and in Nausicaä's advice that Odysseus approach Arete (not Alcinoös) directly,[111] Calypso does not share her authority. There is no space that is designated as the ἀνδρωνῖτις or γυναικωνῖτις—indeed, Homer does not use these words at all in the *Odyssey*[112]—and Hermes must approach only Calypso to ensure Odysseus' onward journey. Bertolín suggests that the loom signals 'female space'. However, in the case of Calypso, all space is 'female space'. However, if Odysseus were to stay and 'keep house' with her, this statement suggests that Calypso would share authority (κυρία) with him.[113] Furthermore, her identity as a nature deity, νύμφη, means that the loom cannot represent a complete designation to the indoors because nymphs are ubiquitous with the outdoors. Thus, the interpretation of the loom as representative of female authority fits the denotation of nymph that speaks to Calypso's persona as bride or wife, but not her identity as nature deity.

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[107] Helen: Hom.*Il.*3.125; Penelope: Hom.*Od.*2.94; Phaeacian women: Hom.*Od.*7.109-111.
[108] Bertolín 2008, 92.
[109] Bertolín 2008, 98-9, citing Hom.*Od.*1.397-98.
[110] Bertolín 2008, 101 highlights their shared use of the main pillar and hearth as symbolic of their shared authority.
[111] Hom.*Od.*6.310-15.
[112] According to a textual search for the word γυναικωνῖτις on the *TLG,* the earliest identified occurrence of this word in textual evidence is in Ar.*Thesm.*414.
[113] My feminist analysis is contra to Stele's structuralist interpretation of their relationship in ancient Greek culture, which she argues is one that signals the requirement for the male to dominate, which would indicate, according to her reading, that Odysseus' masculinity would diminish or be neutralised if he remained with Calypso, and for the hierarchy of immortal/mortal to be observed, which would require an end to their intimate relationship. See Stehle 1996, 203-204.

Although her role and complete assumption of κυρία differentiates Calypso from other Homeric women, she is not too dissimilar from them because Homer uses the word ἀκοίτης to describe the relationship Calypso wishes to have with Odysseus. In her frustrated exchange with Hermes, Calypso points out the hypocrisy of the gods who object to goddesses who take mortal men as their ἀκοῖται *husbands, bed-mates* or *partners.*[114] Her use of ἀκοίτης shows that she views him like a husband, and she is his ἄκοιτις.[115] Calypso desires the primary and secondary functions of the house: the physical, functional house; and the conceptual, familial household.[116] Hesiod, in a separate epic tradition from Homer, attests to Odysseus' and Calypso's relationship and the subsequent children, Nausithoos and Nausinoos, of their union.[117]

The evidence above from Homer and Hesiod shows that their relationship is comparable to other intimate partnerships in the *Odyssey*, and that such a relationship signals a household and dwelling. Calypso's house shares these features in common with other Homeric dwellings that are conceived of as houses: she has μέγαρα *halls*, an ἐσχάρα *hearth,* and the poet describes her dwelling as a δῶμα. In some ways, her complete assumption of κυρία as a female and occupation of the main hall could be interpreted as a transgression over the established social barriers for females. However, her role and behaviour is not transgressive, especially if the full implication of her identity is considered.

The goddess and her sacred landscape

In addition to imagining Calypso's cave as a house and she a νύμφη *bride* and nature deity, her identity as a θεά influences the conceptualisation of her space. As a goddess, she inhabits a splendid dwelling in a sanctuary, which provides a basis for her complete κυρία over her space. There are two points that substantiate the interpretation of her space as a god's house on sacred land: firstly, the extraordinarily beautiful and uncultivated state of her garden, woods and surrounding meadows; and, secondly, the cultural impact of her space's smellscape.

The landscape in which her dwelling is situated speaks to her goddess identity. While Calypso's landscape shares the same four features (vines, trees, herbaceous plants and a water source) identifiable in other gardens in the epic, her space is not about productivity. Instead, the grove-

[114] Hom.*Od.*5.120.
[115] Bergren 1980, 116.
[116] Antonaccio 2000, 520 citing Sanders 1990, 43-72, highlights these two functions of Greek houses, which are evident in Calypso's space and wishes.
[117] Hes.*Theog.*1017-18.

like forest and the lush meadow that surround her house are similar to landscapes included within a god's sacred land. As Dillon notes, in some cases this land included within the sanctuary's boundaries was not to be cultivated because the act of cultivation transformed the land from immortal to mortal.[118] This uncultivated state applies to Calypso's space as her immediate landscape is an idealised representation of sacred land. The ornamental and uncultivated state of her garden, woods and meadow speak to her divine ownership or caretaking, and reflects its purposes for pleasure and enjoyment.

The features that appeal to aesthetic enjoyment and reflect divine ownership of landscape appear in the works of later poets. For example, Theocritus paints an image of a sacred (εὐίερος) grove that shares qualities with Calypso's garden. This space in Theocritus belongs to a nature deity (Priapus) and has the same landscape features including a flowing spring, a cypress tree, untouched bunches of grapes growing on a vine and birds in the trees.[119] This garden is idealised and its purpose is not productivity, but for aesthetic enjoyment and religious purposes.

Sacred land, in which Horster includes meadows, sanctuaries, groves, woods and "agricultural estates", can have marked boundaries as indicated through ὅροι *boundary stones* or αἰμασιαί *walls*.[120] However, similar to Scylax's description of the mythical Garden of Hesperides investigated in Chapter Two,[121] Calypso's δῶμα and sacred land are defined by other features of the landscape rather than human-made structures: the tall, fragrant trees encircle the space immediately in front of her house. However, unlike the trees or boundary markers in other Greek gardens and spaces, the land outside the tree-bounded area is not unowned or belonging to another, as she owns the entire island. Rather, the tree boundaries are indicative of different, divided areas that constitute the goddess' sacred space.

Dillon asserts that the trees which grow or are planted within a sanctuary are important features of sacred spaces, and that the trees are considered sacred because of their inclusion.[122] The trees that grow around Calypso's sacred δῶμα are demonstrative of Dillon's argument concerning the sanctity of trees, in which a particular tree in Calypso's forest signals sacred space. The poplar tree, as part of the landscape of Calypso's sacred land, features in other sacred spaces throughout the *Odyssey.* The grove belonging to Persephone by which Odysseus and his men navigate their

[118] Dillon 1997, 117-18 citing *IG* II^2 204 (PH2422).
[119] Theoc.*Ep.*4.1-12.
[120] Horster 2010, 440.
[121] Scy.*Fr.*108.27-45.
[122] Dillon 1997, 119-20.

ship to the Underworld grows black poplar trees. Similarly, the grove of Athena in which Odysseus waits for Nausicaä to return home ahead of him and prays to the goddess is of poplar trees. This tree's inclusion in Calypso's surrounding ὕλη connects it to these other sacred groves belonging to goddesses, which reflects the sacred atmosphere of her own dwelling and landscape.

The final feature of Calypso's island that reflects her identity as a goddess is the way that scents function in her smellscape.[123] The scents of the burning wood and sweet-smelling cypress tress connote specific cultural and religious imagery.

A cultural reading of Calypso's smellscape shows that Homer includes scents that connect to significant ritual spaces, found in references from other texts, such as the *Hymn to Aphrodite*. The adjective εὐώδης *sweet-smelling* applied to the cypress trees and in combination with the scent of the burning wood on Calypso's hearth,[124] share similarities to the θυώδεα νηός *fragrant temple* of Aphrodite on "εὐώδης Κύπρος *sweet-smelling Cyprus*",[125] or to her scented temple and grove at Crete.[126] Resulting from the powerful fragrance of Aphrodite's temple and altar, the entire island of Cyprus is known as sweet-smelling. The same result occurs from the burning wood in Calypso's hearth, from which the strong aroma of the burning wood spreads over the entire island. Considering the smells of Aphrodite's sanctuaries, Calypso's house and landscape is similiar to the atmosphere of a temple and its sanctuary, which is sacred and stimulating. The poet encourages a positive association with Calypso's home through the adjective *sweet-smelling*, and, like Aphrodite's temple, adds to the alluring nature of Calypso's space.

Conclusion

In the *Odyssey,* Calypso is a complex being with many positive attributes. Calypso's identity as a nymph and goddess influences her surroundings and functions of the space. Her home has features of a δῶμα *house*, and, as a result, one should imagine her cave as a house—both a mortal dwelling and the splendid house of a god. These findings expand scholarly understanding of Calypso, with the aim of countering the negative, and, in some cases, over-simplified views of the nymph-goddess.[127]

[123] Using Brant's word 'smellscape', from Brant 2008, 549.
[124] Hom.*Od.*5.59-61, 64.
[125] h.Hom.5.58, 66.
[126] Sapph.1.2.
[127] Such negative and over-simplified views include Giesecke 2007, 17; Bergren 1980, 109-19; Vernant 1986, 62-63; Schein 1995, 25.

In the epic Calypso is both nymph and goddess,[128] which has direct consequences for the ways in which the poet imagines and conceives of her identity and space. Through the identification and analysis of the words used to describe her dwelling, as well as her identity as νύμφη interpreted as *nymph* and *marriageable woman*, it is clear that Homer conceptualises her cave as a house. Her house has the comforts and structures designed for a person of import, with μεγάρα *halls* and a μυχός *inner-chamber*,[129] a ἐσχάρα *hearth* and an ἱστός *loom*.[130] All of these features are identifiable in other dwellings designated as houses for the families and heroes featured throughout the epic.[131] Rather than imagining Calypso's cave as dark and damp, it should be seen as a house, tucked away and protected by nature. Her wish to 'keep house' with Odysseus reveals that Calypso desires the primary and secondary functions of the house: the physical, functional house; and the conceptual, familial household.[132] The word νύμφη evidences her nymph-as-bride characterisation and speaks to the secondary house function. The word implies that as a female, Calypso is seen as a "sexually desirable wife", or has the potential to be so.[133] Calypso's use of ἀκοίτης reveals that she viewed Odysseus as her *husband* or *partner*.[134]

Larson purported that a Garden of the Nymphs has everything that satisfies human tastes and comforts;[135] so, too, Calypso's cave-house has the same capabilities. She has the mark of a good host, like Alcinoös and Menelaos, as she entertains her "guest with culturally appropriate nourishment."[136] Her mythical landscape has shared features with other mortal cultivated spaces, specifically the four areas of vines, herbaceous plants, trees and a water source. However, her landscape differs significantly from human-cultivated spaces because it does not require maintenance or cultivation in order for its vegetation to flourish. As a nature deity (νύμφη), her landscape reflects allure, pleasure and sensory enjoyment. Homer is explicit that her garden,

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[128] Nymph and goddess: Hom.*Od.*1.14. Nymph: Hom.*Od.*4.557*,* 5.14, 5.57, 5.230, 17.143, 23.333. Goddess: Hom.*Od.*5.78, 5.85, 5.116, 5.173, 5.178, 5.180, 5.192, 5.193, 5.202, 5.215, 5.242*,* 5.246*,* 5.276, 7.245, 7.255, 9.29, 12.449.
[129] Μυχός: Hom.*Od.*5.226-27; μεγάρα: Hom.*Od.*4.556-58.
[130] ἐσχάρα: Hom.*Od.*5.59; ἱστός: Hom.*Od.*5.62.
[131] Nestor's house: Hom.*Od.*3.186 (μέγαρον), Hom.*Od.*3.402-3 (μυχός), Hom.*Od.*3.353-55 (δῶμα); Odysseus' Ithacan house: Hom.*Od.*1.432 (μεγάρα), Hom.*Od.*2.94 (ἱστός set up in the μέγαρον), Hom.*Od.*16.283-86 (μυχός), Hom.*Od.*1.115-16 (δῶμα); Eumaeus' house: Hom.*Od.*14.420-56; Helen and Menelaos' house: Hom.*Od.*4.37 (μεγάρα), Hom.*Od.*4.304-5, 23.41 (μυχός); Arete and Alcinoös' house: Hom.*Od.*7.346-47 (μυχός), Hom.*Od.*7.86-102, 7.153-54 (μέγαρον), Hom.*Od.*6.304-9 (ἐσχάρα).
[132] The primary and secondary functions of the house, according to Sanders 1990, 43-72, as cited in Antonaccio 2000, 520.
[133] Larson 2001, 20-21.
[134] Hom.*Od.*5.120.
[135] Larson 2007, 58.
[136] Buxton 1994, 199. Calypso serves ambrosia to Hermes (Hom.*Od.*5.93) and "σῖτον καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ οἶον ἐρυθρὸν, *water, bread and red wine*" (Hom.*Od.*5.165), food which appeals to mortals.

forest and meadows are pleasing to the senses because he uses Hermes as a way through which one can imagine and experience her space. He denotes the pleasurable experience with the verb τέρπω, and calls both Hermes and audience to enjoy it through the middle verb θεάομαι *gaze and stare with wonder for oneself.*[137]

Calypso is an interesting female character because of the ways in which her characterisation and behaviour challenge scholarly notions of household authority and spatial use. She is normative (and idealised) in the sense that she engages with the traditional 'feminine' practice of weaving, like other notable Homeric women.[138] However, Calypso's space deviates from other Greek houses in the epic because there are no spaces designated for male use or female use.[139] Homer does not even use the words ἀνδρωνῖτις or γυναικωνῖτις. Instead, space that is for family and household members is denoted with other words, θάλαμος or μυχός. These two words are not explicitly gendered, as both male and female members have θάλαμοι of their own, husbands and wives share μυχοί, and particular female slaves are permitted access to private θάλαμοι belonging to male and female family members when required.[140] Consequently, household space is divided between areas that guests and family/household members all use, and areas that only family and household members are permitted to enter. Women have presence throughout the house at various times.[141] As in the other households, there is no such spatial designation according to gender in Calypso's interior space. The entire dwelling is hers, and she occupies the main μέγαρον with her ἱστός *loom*. She does, however, have areas denoted as μεγάρα and μυχός, which are differentiated based on use: the former has her loom, hearth and is the space into which she welcomes guests, and the latter is a space which Homer says only she and Odysseus use.

Calypso has complete authority over the entire space because she has no other with whom it would be appropriate to share her κυρία.[142] If Odysseus were to accept Calypso's offer of

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[137] Hom.*Od.*5.73-74.
[138] Helen: Hom.*Il.*3.125; Penelope: Hom.*Od.*2.94; Phaeacian women: Hom.*Od.*7.109-111.
[139] According to a textual search for the word γυναικωνῖτις on the *TLG,* the earliest identified occurrence of this word in textual evidence is Ar.*Thesm.*414.
[140] Telemachus' room: Hom.*Od.*1.425, into which Eurycleia enters; Penelope's chamber in Hom.*Od.*4.718 and 4.802;the storeroom, into which Eurycleia also enters: Hom.*Od.*2.337-41 and 380; Homer uses the word for other private rooms, such as in Nestor's house in Hom.*Od.*3.413, Helen's chamber in Hom.*Od.*4.121, and Menelaos' chamber in Hom.*Od.*4.310.
[141] Such spatial differentiation is supported by Nevett 1999, 68-74 (cited in Lewis 2002, 135-36) whose archaeological investigations of pottery remains and Greek dwellings suggest the presence of women throughout the house.
[142] The loom is indicative of female power and authority, as Bertolín 2008, 92 convincingly argued. Calypso has female servants (δῳμαί, Hom.*Od.*5.199), but it would inappropriate for her to share her authority with them.

immortality and remain with her, the implication is that she would also share her authority with him. The implication of shared authority is evidenced in the characterisation of the model wife and husband coupling, Arete and Alcinoös, in which Arete has partial κυρία of their household. Her partial authority manifests in her shared occupation of the central pillar of the house with Alcinoös, and in Nausicaä's urging that it is to Arete that an initial plea for help must be made.

Calypso's identity as a θεά *goddess* also has a profound impact upon the conceptualisation of her dwelling and surrounding landscape. The specific land areas that constitute Calypso's sacred landscape are the meadows, garden and the grove-like forest. As a goddess, Calypso lives in a house fit for a god because Homer uses the word δῶμα to denote her dwelling. Employing cultural descriptors of temples and sacred spaces belonging to other goddesses and gods in Archaic poetry, the poet conveys that Calypso's land is similarly special. Descriptors such as the adjective εὐώδης *sweet-smelling* and the poplar trees signal that her space is an idealised representation of sacred landscape.

As the Homeric evidence demonstrates, it is inadequate to consider Calypso only as the deceptive, seductively dangerous female of ill-intent that certain scholars claim she is.[143] Though she has 'concealed' Odysseus and kept him from returning home for several years, her greatest errors are those she commits against herself: she saved and loved a mortal whom the gods decided would return home.

[143] Vernant 1986, 54-64; Giesecke 2007, 17; Schein 1995, 25.

Chapter Five

A Walk on the Wooded Side: Goddesses and Emotional Evocation in Ἄλσος and Ὕλη in Archaic Greek Myth and Poetry

Introduction

The landscapes of ὕλη *wood* or *forest* and ἄλσος *grove* excite and frighten poets in ancient Greece. They are spaces in which goddesses and gods comfort and commune with worshippers, but, particularly for ὕλη, are places that necessitate caution for mortal visitors. In Archaic poetry, Artemis, Athena and Circe have close associations with wooded landscapes. Drawing largely from the Homeric corpus, I consider how these goddesses express their divine power and abilities in sacred ὕλη and ἄλσος, and the ways that Circe's and Athena's ownership of certain wooded spaces evokes emotional responses from others.[1] A visitor's perception of the landscape and its immortal inhabitant elicits an emotional response, which offers an interesting approach towards female associations with ὕλη and ἄλσος. I briefly analyse Artemis' traits and roles because she is closely connected to woods and forests. The analysis of Artemis serves to introduce an in-depth study of Circe's and Athena's associations with wooded space. Though these goddesses are not commonly associated with one another, the comparison of Artemis in the *Odyssey* with other female characters reveals much about the poet's perceptions of female beauty, power, roles and landscape. The analysis of Athena's association with groves is novel because it is an under-studied aspect of her role in the epic.

An examination of Circe is warranted because some previous scholarship about her is over-simplified, inadequate and male-orientated. According to Roessel and Kent, Circe is a "witch in the woods" and "an evil enchantress",[2] which say nothing of her other traits and abilities. Parry characterises her as representative of "a universal threat against which only the μουσικοί may prevail."[3] Schein makes the observation that the appearances of characters "are grounded in the effects they have on others or on themselves",[4] which is evident in Circe's extraordinary beauty and powers of persuasion. However, he labels Circe a 'man-eater' from an association with Scylla and Circe's ability to transform the bodies of men into animals.[5] In Western, English-speaking cultures, 'man-eater' also carries the derogatory connotation of a sexually powerful but

[1] Hom.*Od.*6.291-96 (Athena), 6.321-31 (Athena); 10.194ff (Circe).
[2] Roessel 1989, 34, who finds support from Page 1973, 56-65; Hill 1941, 119.
[3] Parry 1987, 7.
[4] Schein 1995, 17.
[5] Schein 1995, 17-19.

deviate woman whose apparent overt, aggressive sexuality is threatening to males. Schein implies this derogatory connotation towards Circe.[6] Murray and Dimock implicitly represent her as having a harmful nature in their translation of her epithet δεινή θεός as *dread goddess*.[7] Interpreting δεινή as *dread* carries with it the English word's denotation and connotations. In English, *dread* is defined as "greatly feared; frightful; terrible; held in awe; revered."[8] Though reverence and awe are included as aspects of the definition, overwhelmingly the understood connotation of the word is negative. Negative views of her abilities and characterisation result from approaching the text with an andro-centric focus, specifically that of Odysseus and his men. Certainly, their first meetings with the goddess are fear-inducing. However, scholarly views that rely on these male characters' perspectives restrict her character to a single aspect of her divine identity. They do not adequately represent the multi-faceted character of Homer's creation.

Approaching the goddess from another perspective, I will demonstrate that her character and abilities are similar to those of other goddesses.[9] My interpretation builds upon Brilliant's argument. He suggests that the intrusion of Odysseus' companions into Circe's space is comparable to the intrusion against Penelope by the suitors.[10] To use his expression, both female characters use their "feminine arts"[11] as a method of self-preservation and protection of their households. Yarnall argues that Homer "never questions Circe's authenticity as a goddess or her right to live like one, though he gives her character some shades."[12] I go further in arguing that Circe is not intended to be a unidimensional character. It is inadequate to conceptualise her character based on only one situational response. As a reflection of her divine nature, my interpretation of her epithet is *powerful goddess* because it is neutral in its connotations, yet still communicates her divinely powerful identity and abilities that can be used for positive and negative purposes.[13]

In the investigation of the emotional experiences and relationships between Odysseus, the companions and Circe, and Odysseus and Athena, I adopt Chaniotis' methodology. Chaniotis studied the linguistic formulations from two groups of female dedications to goddesses at Leucopetra and Cnidos, and found that certain aspects of formulaic language reveal a dedicant's

[6] Schein 1995, 19.
[7] Hom.*Od.*10.136 (Dimock 1995, revision of Murray 1919).
[8] dread" s.v. *M.D.* online 2017.
[9] Athena: Call.*Hymn.*5.75-80; Demeter: Call.*Hymn.*6.24-67; Artemis: Hom.*Il.*9.533-42, Hes.*Cat.*161.a.
[10] Brilliant 1995, 170-71.
[11] Brilliant 1995, 171.
[12] Yarnall 1994, 11.
[13] Fagles' translation of Circe's epithet is similar to my own. See Hom.*Od.*10.149 (Fagles 1996).

emotions and the expected, though imagined, response from the goddess.[14] To investigate Circe's influence, I consider the descriptions of Circe's characterisation and home, as well as the viewpoints of Odysseus and his men. Building on this, I examine Athena's influence over her grove, with an analysis focusing on Nausicaä and new understandings which can be read into her encounter with Odysseus.

The Goddess of Wild Nature

Artemis, daughter of Leto and Zeus,[15] is a goddess with a close association with wild nature, which some studies argue is inherent in her character and in the etymology of her name.[16] Scholars approach Artemis from a variety of perspectives. Hughes views Artemis as a conservation goddess, protecting animals from extinction and over-hunting.[17] Petrovic refers to Artemis in conjunction with her brother, Apollo,[18] and finds that she is never his equal in battle.[19] Artemis is associated with many places, religious sanctuaries and unknown locations. In the longer *Homeric Hymn to Artemis,* brother and sister share Apollo's temple at Delphi,[20] while in another *Hymn*, Apollo waits for his sister at Claros.[21] Artemis is known, perhaps only from the fifth century B.C. and onwards, as a protector and guide of young women and children, and presides over the transitional phases from childhood to adulthood.[22] For the current purposes, I consider two of her spheres of influence: a) her association with the wild, specifically the areas not designated as safe or known spaces and her use of these areas; b) the view of Artemis as a beautiful and powerful goddess, which is linked to her protector, huntress and πότνια θηρῶν *mistress of animals* roles.

The huntress persona is prominent in the earliest Greek texts, namely in the *Homeric Hymns* and *Iliad*. The poets who write about her note that Artemis enjoys the hunt and mountainous, tree-covered landscapes.[23] Ancient writers caution about Artemis' capacity for vengeance,[24] as a "lion among women".[25] The goddess' weapons of choice are the bow and arrow, as indicated by

[14] Chaniotis 2009, 51-68.
[15] h.Hom.3.14-18, h.Hom.27.21-22, Hes.*Theog.*918-20.
[16] Hughes 1990, 193.
[17] Hughes 1990, 191-197.
[18] h.Hom.2.199, h.Hom.27.3.
[19] Petrovic 2010, 210-11 citing Hom.*Il.*21.481-88.
[20] h.Hom.27.14.
[21] h.Hom.9.5-6.
[22] Ingalls 2000, 7-9; Cole 2005, 24, 30; Sallis 2016, 8.
[23] h.Hom.27.7-8, Hom.*Il.*5.48-52, Hom.*Od.*6.102-4.
[24] Hom.*Il.*9.533-42.
[25] Hom.*Il.*21.483; Sallis 2016, 5-6.

her epithet ἰοχέαιρα *arrow-shooter.*[26] These weapons are suitable for hunting and long-range combat, activities in which Artemis participates.[27] Another enactment of her vengeance is her ability to inflict disease upon mortals who offend the goddess.[28]

Artemis protects certain areas and locations. Cole identifies Artemis as a protector of spaces of interaction and danger, such as roads, intersections, narrow passages or straits and natural spaces that are close to regional or city borders.[29] Utilising later evidence, Cole notes that Artemis is sometimes called Προσκόπα *Look-Out*,[30] which refers to her role as protector and scout.[31] Artemis' protection of women is poignant because her sanctuaries, in which women used to carry out rituals and festivals to Artemis, are located in disputed border territories.[32] Diogenes provides an example, wherein the women of Lydia and Mount Tmolus worship Artemis in a grove located near the river Halys.[33]

Archaic texts refer to specified and unspecified mountains, fields and forests that the goddess frequents.[34] In the *Iliad,* Artemis is ἀγροτέρη *huntress*, and has the epithet πότνια θηρῶν *mistress of wild animals*.[35] Sallis interprets this epithet as a declaration of her "reign in the sense both of her sovereignty, her rule, and of the domain over which she rules, her kingdom or realm".[36] Other spaces she frequents are not associated with her huntress persona. In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* Artemis gathers flowers in a meadow on the mountainous Nysa, as a friend and companion of Persephone.[37] Later authors name Sicily as a location sacred to Persephone for the same activity and include Artemis among the flower gatherers.[38] Other activities Artemis undertakes include dancing, shouting and singing, which could speak to a cultic presence in

[26] h.Hom.2.159, Hes.*Theog.*918.
[27] Petrovic 2010, 211 highlights how Artemis' gifts of arrow and bow skill in the *Iliad* are "obviously worthless in open battle."
[28] Call.*Hymn.*3.128; Cole 2005, 26-27.
[29] Cole 2000, 473-75.
[30] *SEG* 36 559 line 8.
[31] Cole 2000, 475.
[32] Cole 2000, 472.
[33] Diog.Apoll.*Frag.*1.6-11.
[34] Known location: Hom.*Od.*6.102-6; unknown locations: h.Hom.5.18-20; h.Hom.27.4-6.
[35] Hom.*Il.*21.470-71.
[36] Sallis 2016, 3-4.
[37] h.Hom.2.424. The precise location of Nysa is contentious, according to "Nysa" s.v. *BNP* (Käppel, Sigel and Kaletsch, 2006).
[38] Str.6.1.5; Diod.Sic.5.3.2-3; Cic.*Verr.*2.4.48.

Archaic literature.[39] The *Homeric Hymn to Artemis,* as Petrovic recognises, is the fullest description of Artemis in Archaic text.[40]

Artemis' associations with other female characters in the *Odyssey*

In the *Odyssey,* Artemis is used as a simile, adjective and a point of comparison for other female characters, especially in remarks on appearance and movement.[41] However, she is not an active character in the epic's main narrative of Odysseus' νόστος. Rather, her identity and characteristics are so well-known to the audiences that they can be used to describe other female characters.

In the epic, there are references to Artemis' power to facilitate death for a person.[42] In her mourning for her long-lost husband, Penelope calls out to Artemis, imploring the goddess to shoot an arrow through her heart to end her suffering.[43] One of Penelope's longer prayers to Artemis highlights the goddess' most notable physical features. Penelope recalls to the mind of Artemis (and, conveniently, the audience) the story of the rescue of the daughters of Pandareos, wherein the goddesses Athena, Aphrodite, Hera and Artemis give the daughters different gifts:

> … μῆκος δ' ἔπορ' Ἄρτεμις ἁγνή…
>
> … and chaste Artemis gave stature…[44]

In the story, the Furies, assisted by Oceanus' storm, quickly steal the girls away into servitude before Aphrodite can arrange their marriages. The abduction of the daughters is comparable to the gift Penelope desires of the goddess: A quick, swift death, thereby thwarting the plans of the suitors and Penelope's marriage to "χείροων ἀνήρ, *a baser man*."[45]

The story within Penelope's prayer highlights an aspect of Artemis' physical appearance. Stature is a fitting gift to receive from a goddess whose own stature is noteworthy. Artemis is remarked on for her appearance, including her movement and physical build and it is to her stature that the

[39] h.Hom.27.18-20.
[40] Petrovic 2010, 213-14.
[41] Cyrino 2013, 372-393 undertakes a similar study of comparison between Aphrodite and Artemis in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite,* through which Cyrino finds that several layers of the hymn reveal the persona and enactment of the hunter in Aphrodite's characterisation, which rest on imagery associated with Artemis. Cyrino's reading also considers the hymn's commentary on the erotic intersections of immortal/mortal hunter/hunted.
[42] Hom.*Od.*5.123-24, 11.172-73, 15.410-11, 15.478-79. Hom.*Od.*11.324-25 and 20.80 imply that Artemis would use the same method, and 18.202-3 mentions the soft (painless?) and quick experience.
[43] Hom.*Od.*20.61-65.
[44] Hom.*Od.*20.71.
[45] Hom.*Od.*20.77-82.

comparisons with other female characters in the *Odyssey* are made. The first comparison between Artemis and another character is found in Book 4 in the description of Helen entering the halls from her chamber:

> … ἐκ δ’ Ἑλένη θαλάμοιο θυώδεος ὑψορόφοιο
> ἤλυθεν Ἀρτέμιδι χρυσηλακάτῳ ἐϊκυῖα.
>
> … from her lofty chambers Helen came, resembling Artemis with the golden distaff.[46]

Like a goddess departing from her fragrant and lofty temple, Helen leaves her chambers, resembling Artemis. It is Artemis’ beauty and stature to which the poet likens Helen, with the fragrant chamber strengthening the association between woman and goddess. Helen’s resemblance to a goddess is not far-fetched, considering Homer claims she is a daughter of Zeus.[47] The comment highlights Helen’s physical appearance. Functioning as an anticipator of her actions and counsel of Telemachus, Helen descends into the hall with her own golden distaff (χρύσέη ἠλακάτη).[48] Helen’s ownership of a golden distaff strengthens further the linking with Αρτέμιδι χρυσηλάκατος, *Artemis of the golden distaff*,[49] and reinforces Helen’s semi-divine identity.

The second and third comparative references between a female character and Artemis are the descriptions of Nausicaä in Book 6. The poet describes Nausicaä as Artemis hunting in the woods and mountains of Taügetos and Erymanthus with the nymphs:

> … πασάων δ’ ὑπὲρ ἥ γε κάρη ἔχει ἠδὲ μέτωπα,
> ῥεῖά τ’ ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι·
> ὣς ἥ γ’ ἀμφιπόλοισι μετέπρεπε παρθένος ἀδμής.
>
> … above all she holds her head and brows, and easily is she recognised, though all are beautiful. So, the maiden stood out among her handmaids.[50]

Upon first meeting Nausicaä and in an attempt to appeal to her, Odysseus says,

> γουνοῦμαί σε, ἄνασσα· θεός νύ τις ἦ βροτός ἐσσι;
> εἰ μέν τις θεός ἐσσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν,

[46] Hom.*Od.*4.121-24.
[47] Hom.*Il.*3.418, which would mean that Artemis and Helen are half-sisters, both being daughters of Zeus.
[48] Hom.*Od.*4.131.
[49] Hom.*Od.*4.122.
[50] Hom.*Od.*6.107-109.

> Ἀρτέμιδί σε ἐγώ γε, Διὸς κούρῃ μεγάλοιο,
> εἶδός τε μέγεθός τε φυήν τ᾽ ἄγχιστα ἐΐσκω· …
>
> I implore you, my queen. Are you a goddess or a mortal? If you are a goddess, one which keeps broad heaven, then to Artemis, the daughter of great Zeus, I liken you most, in your beauty, stature and height...[51]

From these two examples, it is clear that Artemis is beautiful in appearance and physical form, which includes how she carries herself and her height. It is deliberate that Odysseus likens Nausicaä to Artemis, as the poet has already made this association in the description of the game of ball throwing and singing.[52] The double reference to the Nausicaä-Artemis comparison emphasises the girl's divine features. It substantiates that Artemis was conceptualised as beautiful and physically attractive in Archaic evidence, though this aspect of her character is not given as much notice as her huntress aspect.

These descriptions of Artemis link with Circe and Athena, two goddesses known for their power and striking appearances. The expression of a goddess' divine identity and power is often conveyed through her physical appearance, revealing that poets conceptualised the two as linked.[53] The *Homeric Hymns* have examples of the power-beauty expression. Upon first meeting Aphrodite and finding himself overwhelmed by the woman in front of him, Anchises exclaims,

> Χαῖρε ἄνασσ᾽, ἥ τις μακάρων τάδε δώμαθ᾽ ἱκάνεις,
> Ἄρτεμις ἢ Λητὼ ἠὲ χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη
> ἢ Θέμις ἠϋγενὴς ἠὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη…
>
> Welcome, lady, one of the blessed who has come to this house, Artemis or Leto, or golden Aphrodite, or Themis, or bright-eyed Athena…[54]

He recognises that along with her physical beauty and build ("εἶδος, μέγεθός τε καὶ εἵματα, *beauty, height/stature and clothing*"),[55] Aphrodite is powerful and can exercise that power how she chooses. He proclaims that he will build the goddess an altar and give offerings in the hope that she will grant him fame and long life.[56] Her astounding beauty signals her divine power.[57] In

[51] Hom.*Od.*6.149-52.
[52] Hom.*Od.*6.102-9.
[53] Cohen 2007, 261 speaks of connection between sexual maturity and the manifestation of a goddess' persona in her discussion of Greek art.
[54] h.Hom.5.92-94.
[55] h.Hom.5.85, with the full description of her beauty and dress contained in lines 86-88. Cf Cypr.6.3-6.
[56] h.Hom.5.100-6.

this example, the poet points out Athena and infers that her beauty is remarkable. In particular, he notes the goddess' eyes as her striking physical feature, which is associated with her power, battle prowess and unrivalled craft skills.[58] Athena's eyes are so famous that Homeric and Hesiodic poetry use her epithet γλαυκῶπις *bright-eyed* frequently.[59] In one example, Homer sings, "…δεινὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε φάανθεν, *and powerfully did her eyes shine*."[60] Deacy and Villing note the shining, oscillating quality of Athena's eyes, which they argue pertains to her power and persona. These scholars find that γλαυκῶπις rarely concerns the goddess' beauty or attractiveness, but rather signals a dangerous, "unattractive" quality for females and pertains to the goddess' more masculine character.[61] However, Athena is clearly considered an attractive, alluring goddess in addition to her striking power, as Deacy and Villing concede in relation to Athena's *charis* and attractiveness.[62] Her eyes, which contribute substantially to her divine appearance, should be included as part of her remarkable beauty. Athena is beautiful, considering she is among the goddesses vying for Paris' judgement.[63]

The Sorceress-Goddess of Aiaia: Circe and Ὕλη

In Book 10 of the *Odyssey,* Odysseus and his men moor their ship on Aiaia, a νῆσος ὑλήεις *wooded island*,[64] "ἔνθα δ' ἔναιε Κίρκη ἐυπλόκαμος, δεινὴ θεὸς αὐδήεσσα, *where lovely-haired Circe lives, a powerful goddess who speaks with human voice*."[65] As in the descriptions of Calypso,[66] Circe is beautiful and powerful, and enchants her surroundings with her voice while she weaves:

> … Κίρκης δ' ἔνδον ἄκουον ἀειδούσης ὀπὶ καλῇ
> ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένης μέγαν ἄμβροτον, οἷα θεάων
> λεπτά τε καὶ χαρίεντα καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργα πέλονται.

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[57] Cyrino 2013, 387-88 notes it is Aphrodite's astounding beauty that signals her divinity, despite the efforts the goddess undertakes to disguise her divine nature.
[58] h.Hom.5.8-13; h.Hom.24.9-10; Hes.*Op.*63-65.
[59] Hes.*Theog.*13; Hom.*Od.*1.44, 1.80, 1.178, 1.221, 3.25; h.Hom.28.2.
[60] Hom.*Il.*1.200.
[61] Deacy and Villing 2009, 115-17, 121-22.
[62] Deacy and Villing, 2009, 125.
[63] Isoc.*Ep.*10.41-42. Though this is a fourth century B.C. text, the Trojan war and the love affair between Paris/Alexandros and Helen was well-known prior to Isocrates. Considering Homer's epic, it is possible that an earlier retelling of the Goddesses' Contest and Paris' Judgement may have been known. Also note in Herodotus' passage concerning Athena and Pisistratus, in which a woman is selected to imitate the goddess Athena. She is selected based on her beauty and stature so as to best reflect the appearance of the goddess. See Hdt.1.60.4.
[64] Hom.*Od.*10.308.
[65] Hom.*Od.*10.135-36. Eustathios expands on Circe's (and Calypso's) ability to use "human voice" as "one [language/speech] that belongs to the lower realm and to us". Eust.*Od.*1.15.
[66] Hom.*Od.*1.56, 5.58, 5.61. See Chapter Four.

> … and from within they heard Circe singing with a beautiful voice as
> she busily worked at her great, divine loom, like the work of goddesses,
> delicate, finely woven and splendid.[67]

Although Circe is skilled at weaving, the extract focuses on the pleasing sound of her voice. Circe is powerful, as shown in the adjective δεινή, and her beautiful voice reflects her divine power and ownership of the space. The poet creates an image of Circe that is similar to the scene of Calypso weaving and singing in Book 5,[68] which has common aspects to the descriptions of the other female characters who assist Odysseus in his return home.[69] Yarnall finds that the adjective λίγα, which qualifies Circe's voice, "connotes an emotionally piecing quality."[70] Circe's singing and her ability to speak with human voice (meaning expertise in the spoken Greek language) are attributes which reflect her divinity and form part of her emotionally influential characterisation. In addition to her skill at weaving, enchanting voice and transformative powers,[71] Circe also possesses the powers of prophecy, can control the winds and is knowledgeable in sea navigation.[72]

Chancing upon a woman of extraordinary beauty in a wooded area conjures images of goddesses and nymphs who frequent such places, and before Odysseus' men know that it is Circe, they refer to her as "some goddess or some woman."[73] This expression is used in instances in the narrative towards a woman or female being who is divinely beautiful, enchanting and unknown at the time of meeting. Odysseus uses this expression when he first meets Nausicaä in Book 6, and he decides that Nausicaä is most like Artemis.[74] Although Odysseus' men do not make the same comparison between Artemis and Circe, the use of the expression confirms Circe's beauty and power, and the belief that she is either an extraordinary mortal or a goddess. Circe and Artemis have two themes in common: a) the lone, beautiful and powerful female in a landscape unknown to the main protagonist; and b) female uses and associations with the woods through aspects of their identities.

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[67] Hom.*Od.*10.221-23.
[68] Hom.*Od.*5.61-62.
[69] Calypso, Circe, Nausicaä and Arete are all, at one point, described with divine qualities, whether they be in wisdom, beauty and appearance or character. Calypso and Circe are beautiful, fair-haired goddesses (Hom.*Od.*5.57-58, 10.135-36), Nausicaä is like Artemis in her beauty, stature and form (Hom.*Od.*6.152), and Arete is wise and much loved by Alcinoös and the people (Hom.*Od.*7.69-74).
[70] Yarnall 1994, 11.
[71] Transformative powers: Hom.*Od.*10.235-40, 10.395-96.
[72] Prophecy: Hom.*Od.*10.538-40; controls the winds: Hom.*Od.*11.6-8; sea navigation: Hom.*Od.*10.508-15.
[73] Hom.*Od.*10.228. The poet denotes Circe as νύμφη in Hom.*Od.*10.543, though Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, 73 surmise that the meaning here is "simply 'young woman'". As it is a rare usage for Circe, Heubeck and Hoekstra are likely correct in their interpretation here.
[74] Hom.*Od.*6.149-52.

The way in which Odysseus retells the story of his stay on Aiaia suggests that he knew it was Circe from the onset. Applying Buxton's view, his retelling reveals Odysseus as "a skilful manipulator of stories" who uses these stories in his survival.[75] In his retelling of his adventures to Alcinoös and Arete, Odysseus already knows it is Circe who lives in the house, but he finds a way to signal that he would not have been overcome by the goddess. Circe is powerful in her skills of persuasion and φάρμακα, and knows well the power of her femininity and sexuality,[76] a particularly potent force against men who embody the traits of traditional Greek masculinity. Her strong, feminine, goddess presence is recognised, as Odysseus forces Circe to swear an oath, knowing full well that she could rob him of his manhood (ἀνήνωρ) without it.[77] In this scene, Odysseus' manhood and masculinity are represented by his sword, which, apart from the potential phallic connotations, reflects his battle prowess and physical strength. The threat of losing his manhood has as much to do with the potential for being overpowered by a female as it does to become "naked and defenceless" in a practical sense.[78] The poet later reveals that defence of his 'manhood' in the abstract and practical senses is necessary because Circe's divine influence is strong, and she enchants Odysseus for an entire year before his companions remind him that they should be returning home.[79]

Odysseus cannot face Circe without divine assistance.[80] The way that Odysseus tells the story of his encounter with Circe is built upon his need for self-preservation and survival. To ensure his survival and the freedom of his men, Hermes shows Odysseus that he cannot best the goddess with seduction or persuasive words because Circe is more powerful and more skilled in persuasion than he.[81] That her powers of persuasion and cunning speech are more powerful than Odysseus' is significant because the hero is known as the most cunning and persuasive mortal.[82] According to Holmberg, his μῆτις *cunning intelligence,* of which his speech forms a part, shares similarities with the female μῆτις which relates to sexuality, deception, persuasion and

[75] Buxton 1994, 9.
[76] Circe certainly attempts to use her seductive powers when she feels Odysseus threatens her life. Hom.*Od.*10.333-35.
[77] Graziosi and Haubold 2003, 62.
[78] My reading of Dyck 1981, 196-198, particularly 198, made clearer the association between Odysseus, his sword and the abstract and practical representation of the defence of his manhood.
[79] Hom.*Od.*10.467-78, 10.483-86. Crane 1988, 42.
[80] Crane 1988, 38.
[81] A reference from the *Iliad,* as cited in Koziak, illustrates the point about the dangers of the tongue and can be applied to the powers of persuasion and persuasive language: "The tongue of a man is a twisty thing, there are plenty of words there of every kind, the range of words is wide, and their variance. The sort of thing you say is the thing that will be said to you." Hom.*Il.*20.248-50 cited in Koziak 1999, 1068.
[82] Holmberg 1997, 13-14 argues that Odysseus is "the most prominent representative of acceptable male κῆτις", in the Homeric epics.

concealment.[83] Holmberg classifies Odysseus' μῆτις as such that "depends upon the interplay between outer and inner, appearance and reality…." However, these same features of Odysseus' μῆτις are identifiable in Circe's divine powers and the way in which she conceals the companions in bestial forms, manipulating their outer appearances, though their human minds remain the same within. The most accomplished mortal (male) in μῆτις is no match against a divine female who is more powerful, though they embody similar expressions of cunning intelligence. This dynamic is suggestive of the poet's belief that the power of persuasive and cunning words is an attribute of powerful females (and their μῆτις). Homer's male characters must use methods he deems more appropriate such as "masculine" aggression, which Parry purports.[84] It is important to note that it is not gendered aggression, but simply aggression that Odysseus uses, because females also use this kind of aggression.[85]

In his retelling, Odysseus must recognise that it was Hermes who advised him and provided the herb which ultimately resulted in his success with Circe. Failing to acknowledge Hermes might result in the offense of another Olympian,[86] the one who protects and assists travellers.[87] Similar to his recognition of Circe, Odysseus recognises Hermes despite the god's disguise as a young man.[88]

The epic provides specific details about the size, structural elements and location of Circe's home. The first aspect known about her home is its location in a dense wood:

> ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ τρίτον ἦμαρ ἐυπλόκαμος τέλεσ᾽ Ἠώς,
> καὶ τότ᾽ ἐγὼν ἐμὸν ἔγχος ἑλὼν καὶ φάσγανον ὀξὺ
> καρπαλίμως παρὰ νηὸς ἀνήιον ἐς περιωπήν,
> εἴ πως ἔργα ἴδοιμι βροτῶν ἐνοπήν τε πυθοίμην.
> ἔστην δὲ σκοπιὴν ἐς παιπαλόεσσαν ἀνελθών,
> καί μοι ἐείσατο καπνὸς ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης,
> Κίρκης ἐν μεγάροισι, διὰ δρυμὰ πυκνὰ καὶ ὕλην.

[83] Holmberg 1997, 2.
[84] Parry 1987, 14 argues that Odysseus succeeds against Circe because he uses "Odyssean qualities of foresight, preparation, resolve, and masculine aggression (his drawn sword representing, not for the only time in ancient art and literature, both martial phallic energy)."
[85] It should be noted that if one disregards the phallic element and the masculinised reading, Odysseus uses *controlled* aggression, a tactic that is also used by females, such as the aggressive tactics of goddesses including Artemis, or the Danaïds who kill an offending male in Hdt.2.171.3. Later evidence from Pausanias, describes the Danaïds' killing of the male as: "the women were inspired by the goddess to defend themselves. Paus.4.17.1
[86] Poseidon is already displeased with Odysseus for blinding his son, Polyphemus, hence the over-long return. Hom.*Od.*1.68-71.
[87] Hom.*Il.*24.334-38.
[88] Hom.*Od.*10.277-79.

> When fair-haired Dawn delivered the third day, then I, grasping my spear and sharp sword, swiftly went away from the ship to a place with a wide view, hoping to see signs of the labours of people, or to hear their voices. I went further up and stood on a rugged point, and from my position I saw smoke wafting from the broad- pathed earth, in Circe's halls, through the dense thicket and wood.[89]

Odysseus cannot see the house, but knows there is one because the smoke wafting through the woods gives its position away and he assumes it originates from a fireplace. After resting for three days, he commands his men to venture out and determine the identity of the forest dweller. As his men approach the house, they describe the structure before them as "τετυγμένα… ξεστοῖσιν λάεσσι, περισκέπτω ἐνὶ χώρῳ… *made… of polished stone, in a wide clearing….*"[90] The house sits in a clearing and the men approach the πρόθυρα, *main doors*.[91] The doors are described as φαεινά *shining,*[92] which suits well the overall appearance of the house's polished stone. Upon opening the doors, Circe ushers the men into a room with chairs and seats arranged for visitors, which later includes a polished table (ξέστη…τράπεζα).[93] In this area, the men eat and drink the φάρμακα-laced food offered to them. Circe transforms them into pigs and leads them to the pigsty located near the house.[94] The house is large and has separate areas, including Circe's private chambers furnished with "περικαλλής εὐνή *a very beautiful bed*."[95]

Circe lives in a tree-covered landscape that is home to a variety of animals and vegetation. The terrain is sloped and mountainous, as is communicated through the noun ἄκρις *hill-* or *mountain-top*,[96] and Odysseus' need to climb higher up the mountain-side to see the smoke rising from Circe's house.[97] Aiaia is encircled by sea (στεφανόω) with caves near the shore, and from his vantage point Odysseus can see far over the wooded island.[98] During his descent after surveying the surroundings, Odysseus comes across a stag and kills it for food. The poet recites,

> ὁ μὲν ποταμόνδε κατήιεν ἐκ νομοῦ ὕλης
> πιόμενος· δὴ γάρ μιν ἔχεν μένος ἠελίοιο

[89] Hom.*Od.*10.144-50.
[90] Hom.*Od.*10.210-11.
[91] Hom.*Od.*10.220.
[92] Hom.*Od.*10.230.
[93] Hom.*Od.*10.370.
[94] Hom.*Od.*10.230-38.
[95] Hom.*Od.*10.480.
[96] Hom.*Od.*10.281.
[97] Hom.*Od.*10.148.
[98] Hom.*Od.*10.194-95, 10.404.

> He [the stag] was coming to the river from a woodland pasture to drink,
> for the strength of the sun drove him down.[99]

The extract reinforces the sloped nature of the landscape, refers to a hidden clearing that animals inhabit and is the first mention of wildlife on the island. Naturally, the men are pleased with the hunt, but the description says that a god must have driven out the animal.[100] The implication is that the stag is well hidden due to the thickness of the forest and would have otherwise remained unnoticed.

There are other animals that live in the woods around Circe's home. Upon approaching her house, the men are frightened by lions and mountain wolves.[101] The animals behave like dogs "…οὐρῇσιν μακρῇσι περισσαίνοντες ἀνέσταν *wagging their long tails and standing on their hind legs*" because Circe has drugged them.[102] Eurylochus, one of Odysseus' companions, believes all the animals that stay close to Circe's house, namely the wolves, lions and pigs, were once men but were transformed by the goddess' power.[103] Despite Eurylochus' suspicions, none of the men have issue with the sheep, "… ἀρνειὸν… ὅιν θῆλύν τε μέλαιναν *a ram and black ewe",* that Circe gives them for their onward journey.[104]

Circe's island has a few different plant species. The most notable feature of the landscape, mentioned above, is the dense woods.[105] Specific types include cornel trees, oak trees and oak relative species, the seeds of which Circe feeds to Odysseus' swine-shaped companions.[106] The wood around the house is likely used as firewood because one of Circe's nymph-maids kindles (ἀνακαίω) the fire to heat the water for Odysseus' bath,[107] while Odysseus and Circe are in bed together.[108]

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[99] Hom.*Od.*10.159-60.
[100] Hom.*Od.*10.157. In Hom.*Od.*9.154-60, the poet is explicit that nymphs who dwell on a wooded island (which sounds idyllic for human cultivation and habitation, according to lines 116-35) roused mountains goats from sleep so that the men might hunt them for food.
[101] Hom.*Od.*10.212-13.
[102] Hom.*Od.*10.215.
[103] Hom.*Od.*10.432-34; Roessel 1989, 32-33 suggests one could view the stag similarly. (Hom.*Od.*10.157). Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, 53 do not suspect the stag as being a man transformed into an animal.
[104] Hom.*Od.*10.571-73. If Eurylochus' suspicions are considered, the sheep might well be men transformed into animals.
[105] Hom.*Od.*10.150, 159, 197, 210, 252, 275, 308.
[106] Hom.*Od.*10.241.
[107] Hom.*Od.*10.358-59.
[108] Hom.*Od.*10.346-47.

The plant, growing on Circe's island, that is most significant to Odysseus' narrative is the moly (μῶλυ).[109] It is the plant that Hermes picks and explains its nature to Odysseus, which changes the course of Odysseus' potential future:

> … πόρε φάρμακον Ἀργεϊφόντης
> ἐκ γαίης ἐρύσας καί μοι φύσιν αὐτοῦ ἔδειξε.
> ῥίζῃ μὲν μέλαν ἔσκε, γάλακτι δὲ εἴκελον ἄνθος·
> μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοί, χαλεπὸν δέ τ' ὀρύσσειν (305)
> ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι· θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα δύνανται.
>
> … Argeïphontes gave me the antidote, he plucked it from the ground
> and explained its nature to me. It had black roots, and its flower was like
> milk. The gods call it moly, and it is difficult for mortal people to dig;
> but the gods can do all.[110]

Though the poet does not give precise details about its nature, such as the growing season, the name of the plant known by humans or its propagation and cultivation, Odysseus carefully describes the appearance of the plant.[111] Without the moly, interpreted as the *antidote* (φάρμακον),[112] Odysseus would be unable to succeed against Circe and would likely have suffered the same fate as his companions.[113]

τό δῶμα Κίρκης: emotional experiences in a goddess' house and her sacred woods

The wooded island of Aiaia has supernatural elements to its atmosphere. It is an unknown landscape owned by a goddess who keeps her intentions hidden, which means that the men have no firm understanding of the space or the female. The men feel uneasy crossing through the woods,[114] and are alarmed at the approach of the wolves and lions that keep guard at the goddess' gate.[115] In fact, the men weep, κλαίοντες,[116] as they walk through the forest. This participle contradicts Hill's bizarre glorification of the men's journey through the forest to Circe's house, wherein she describes their movement as "advance stealthily through woodland

[109] There is much twentieth-century discussion about the classification of the moly plant that Odysseus uses. See Stannard 1962, 254-307, Otten 1970, 361-72, and their bibliographies.
[110] Hom.*Od.*10.302-306.
[111] Hom.*Od.*10.304.
[112] Hom.*Od.*10.302. Note also that the Greek noun for the drug Circe mixes into the food is φάρμακον. See Hom.*Od.*10.236, 290, 317.
[113] Hom.*Od.*10.284-85. Circe's φάρμακον can only be matched by φάρμακον of the gods, because she is immortal. Without Hermes' divine assistance and provision of the plant (for only gods may pull it from the earth), Odysseus would not have succeeded. As Heubeck and Hoekstra suggest, the human name for the moly is not given because the plant is only ever of the immortal, not mortal, realm. See the commentary concerning Hom.*Od.*10.302-306 in Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, 60.
[114] Hom.*Od.*10.208-209.
[115] Hom.*Od.*10.219-20.
[116] Hom.*Od.*10.209.

thickly populated with wolves and lions…"[117] The men feel there is something unnatural about the way in which the animals behave contrary to their assumed natures—they do not behave as wild beasts, but domesticated dogs. Aside from the unexpected guard animals, Circe has nymphs as her housekeepers and maids, who undertake the tasks and chores expected of servants in other households.[118] Perhaps the most alarming aspect of their encounter with the goddess is her exercised ability to transform humans into animals.[119]

Circe is a goddess who has the right to exercise her powers as she chooses,[120] which instils a greater sense of respect for the landscape that surrounds her home. From her point of view, the men who enter her space are doing so without permission or invitation. Her ability to transform men into animals is exercised without obvious cause or reason, whereas other goddesses who harm or transform mortals into animals or plants might do so for vengeance.[121] However, gods can exercise this same power for no benefit except their own. One example is Zeus' transformation of Io into a heifer, which he does for self-preservation when Hera discovers him.[122] Though the Zeus example reflects self-interest, Hesiod does not question the god's reasoning for Io's transformation. Hence, it seems hypocritical to judge Circe's overall character negatively for exercising her own powers in a similar way to other gods. It is true that the transformative φαρμάκα that she uses are called "evil drugs" at one point in the epic, which scholars note.[123] The φαρμάκα which are classified as λυγρά, Crane attributes "sinister forgetfulness", whereas φαρμάκα, like the drugs Helen uses in Book 4 of the *Odyssey,* which are qualified as ἐσθλά cause "beneficial forgetfulness."[124] However, Circe's drugs do not cause any kind of forgetfulness. Rather, the companions who are transformed into pigs mourn because they remember their homes so clearly but are unable to facilitate change to their current circumstances.

The difficulty with which Circe's drugs can be classified, even with λυγρά as an initial qualifier, highlights the complexity of Circe's potent powers. This difficulty demonstrates that a strict classification of her drugs, powers and identity according to a binary (good-evil, positive-

[117] Hill 1941, 119.
[118] Hom.*Od.*10.348-372. These tasks include setting the dining area (lines 352-55), tending the fire and boiling water for the bathing of guests (lines 358-67), serving water for washing hands (lines 368-70), mixing and serving wine (lines 356-57) and serving food (lines 371-72).
[119] Hom.*Od.*10.237-38.
[120] An argument which Yarnall 1994, 11 supports.
[121] Athena: Call.*Hymn.*5.75-80; Demeter: Call.*Hymn.*6.24-67; Artemis: Hom.*Il.*9.533-42, Hes.*Cat.*161.a.
[122] Hes.*Cat.*72.
[123] Hom.*Od.*10.236; Roessel 1989, 33. Stannard 1962, 254.
[124] Crane 1988, 43-44.

negative) is not only difficult, but is not productive or conclusive. Circe uses transformative φαρμάκα to return Odysseus' companions into their human forms. Following the drugs' applications, the men are younger and more attractive than they were prior to their bestial transformations.[125] The φαρμάκα, like the goddess who uses them, are not inherently evil, but become so when used with apparent malicious intent. However, most scholars do not comment on the positive use for the drugs, but instead focus only on negative usage.[126]

The noun δῶμα, which denotes a person's house is also used for a house of a god.[127] Like Calypso's, δῶμα describes Circe's home and is imagined as a sacred dwelling of a deity.[128] When Odysseus tells his men that it is safe to enter Circe's house, he describes her halls (δώματα) as ἱερὰ *sacred.*[129] The forest (ὕλη), which belongs to the goddess, is ἱερά *sacred.*[130] Although the trees around Circe's home are called ὕλη (*wood, forest*) and βῆσσα (*glen*),[131] the use of ἱερά invites similarities between Circe's woods and a sacred grove. To Circe, the woods provide a secure, protective surrounding. She weaves and sings without obvious care,[132] and she has nymphs who assist her with the household:

> γίγνονται δ᾽ ἄρα ταί γ᾽ ἔκ κρηνέων ἀπό τ᾽ ἀλσέων
> ἔκ θ᾽ ἱερῶν ποταμῶν…
>
> They are born of springs and groves, and from sacred rivers…[133]

Nymphs are not common helpers, except as assistants to gods.[134] One of the four nymphs who assists Circe is born of the groves. The *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* describes that at a dryad-nymph's birth, trees such as pines and oaks sprout to life simultaneously, and the life of the nymph is tied to that of the tree.[135] Considering one of the nymphs is born of a grove, it could be

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[125] Hom.*Od.*10.391-96.
[126] Dillon 2004, 170 is one scholar who makes note of the use of other drugs to transform the men back into their human selves, thus highlighting the positive attributes of the drugs.
[127] Hom.*Il.*1.533; Hom.*Od.*8.303; Hom.*Od.*10.10.
[128] Hom.*Od.*10.210, 10.252, 10.276, 10.278, 10.287, 10.308
[129] Hom.*Od.*10.445, and earlier at Hom.*Od.*10.426, wherein the poet refers to "… ἱεροῖς ἐν δώμασι Κίρκης…."
[130] Hom.*Od.*10.275.
[131] Hom.*Od.*10.275.
[132] I disagree with Pantelia's reading of Circe's singing, wherein she argues that her singing is a way of "promising their "hero" immortality", and weaving a way to "escape temporarily from their domestic instability" and incomplete life "without a presence of a man in [her] world." Pantelia 1993, 498. This is certainly not the case for Circe, who does not try to convince Odysseus to stay but willingly advises him for his leaving, and there is no insinuation that she wishes him to stay to be her husband.
[133] Hom.*Od.*10.350-51.
[134] h.Hom.5.256-58, the nymphs will raise Aphrodite and Anchises' son, as per Aphrodite's instructions. Cf. Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, 62 on Hom.*Od.*10.350-51.
[135] h.Hom.5.264-72.

implied that this connection should be made and that her tree grows nearby. Unknown to Odysseus or his men, the grove-nymph's tree adds to the sacred nature of Circe's woods.

Initially, the emotional experiences of the men on the island are described as sorrowful and fearful. While the men sit on the shore the morning after their meal of hunted stag, Odysseus tells them that they will explore the island to try and find out who the inhabitants are. Immediately following his speech, the men cry λιγέως (*loudly* or *shrilly*), recalling in their minds their experiences with the Laistrygonian, Antiphates, and the cyclops, Polyphemus.[136] Bringing their sadness with them as they reluctantly venture through the forest in accordance with Odysseus' instructions, the men begin to feel another emotion in response to their surroundings—fear. The verb communicating the men's fear is δείδω, and is first used when the lions and wolves greet the men the closer they unknowingly approach Circe's house.[137] The sight of it causes the men to feel cautious and unsure of their safety. The house, built of polished stone, is an impressive and φαεινά *shining* structure. At first, the guest-hall into which Circe leads the men has only seats, chairs and a polished table, without any comfortable or luxurious furnishings.

The descriptions of Circe's home signal the emotional change and function of the space, from one of fear and imprisonment to comfort and luxury. Once Circe swears the oath to Odysseus, she has her handmaids transform the house into a place of comfort through the addition of furnishings. Purple rugs on the chairs, a linen cloth beneath, golden baskets, honey-sweet wine and the kindling of a great fire for heating bath water communicate the physical and emotional transformation of the house and the perceptions of Circe's guests.[138] Her home is now a place of comfort, luxury and safety. The poet utilises positive language such as the description of Circe's bathing and anointing of Odysseus' companions as ἐνδυκέως *kindly,*[139] and the hospitable arrangement of a year-long feast.[140]

Ultimately, the poet portrays Circe's main purpose in the epic as an assistant to Odysseus' return journey, which she fulfils. However, her identity exists outside of this role.[141] Her assistance is in

[136] Hom.*Od.*10.189-202.
[137] Hom.*Od.*10.219.
[138] Hom.*Od.*10.348-59.
[139] Hom.*Od.*10.450.
[140] Hom*Od.*10.466-68.
[141] She is not simply a goddess nor Odysseus' helper, though the poet's main point regarding her involvement in this narrative episode is to assist Odysseus. Rather, her identity as a powerful goddess involves many roles, including helper to Odysseus.

the form of hospitality in physical resources including food, wine, clothing, bathing and a warm place to sleep, emotional support and good counsel. She allows the men to stay with her for an entire year, providing them with all the comforts they require.[142] Odysseus wants for nothing, and he shares the bed of the goddess. Circe's house functions as a place of safety and rest for the men, which is not an unusual role for certain religious or spiritual spaces,[143] while she plays the role of wife to Odysseus.[144] Circe's positive influence over the men, during their year of feasting, is so strong that they only realise their longing for home when she leaves them unattended. Odysseus does not notice her influence because he is comfortable and well-looked after. His companions must remind him of Ithaca and continuing their journey.[145]

Odysseus' request to leave shares features of a prayerful request, wherein he reminds the goddess of her promise to help him on his journey home. The persuasively worded request is reflected in his physical display; Odysseus throws himself at her knees.[146] As Chaniotis argues in his analysis of sanctuary dedications, people use supplication and the deliberate humbling of oneself as a persuasion strategy, intended to appeal to the "asymmetrical relationship" between mortal and powerful goddess.[147] Chaniotis' view fits well in regards to Odysseus' display, as Circe consents immediately and provides Odysseus with navigational advice for his journey and resources for the ship's stores.

Further evidence of emotional experience in the Circe episode is provided in references to certain characters' θυμοί. The emotions that these characters experience are the direct results of the goddess' actions and her semi-divine companions. In communicating Eurylochus' deep sorrow at the fate of his comrades, the poet describes that "…γόον δ'ὠίετο θυμός ... *his* θυμός *(soul) was intent on weeping and mourning*."[148] In another example, the poet combines sensory experience with the changing of emotion. Circe's maid bathes Odysseus with water that she has

[142] Hom.*Od.*10.348-468.
[143] Asclepius and his sanctuary at Epidaurus is used for rest and recovery, according to Sacks 2005, 51; and Dillon 2004, 25-28.
[144] Although it is unusual that the goddess plays this role herself, it is not unheard of that temples are used in this way either. See Hdt.1.199.
[145] Hom.*Od.*10.469-474. Note that he is willing, and not coerced, to sleep with Circe. Musial 1968, 106.
[146] Hom.*Od.*10.483-86.
[147] Chaniotis 2009, 66. Note also that Circe attempts to use this same strategy against Odysseus in Hom.*Od.*10.323-35. Stehle 1996, 204 interprets this episode as the patriarchal hierarchy remaining intact, wherein the "male predominance" neturalises Circe's powers because the "male/female hierarchy" must dominate. I disagree with Stehle's reading, as it is clear that the hierarchy of immortal/mortal must remain in tact—in which incidentally male must supplicate to the female—and that Circe's divine powers must not be neutralised, in order for Odysseus to be successful in winning the goddess' support and continuing his homeward journey. In this instance, Stehle's model does not operate.
[148] Hom.*Od.*10.363.

warmed in a τρίπους *three-footed cauldron.* While she bathes Odysseus in water that is to his liking (θυμῆρες),[149] the warm water and the care given to him lift the "ὄφρα μοι ἐκ κάματον θυμοφθόρον εἵλετο γυίων *soul-destroying weariness*" from his limbs.[150] It is a thoroughly enjoyable physical experience that is regenerative to the body and mind, as the adjectives θυμοφθόρον and θυμῆρες indicate. It demonstrates that Odysseus' perception of Circe has changed from fearful and potentially threatening to hospitable and accommodating. The bathing shows that Odysseus and his companions are welcome visitors in Circe's halls.

The apparent transformation of Circe from fear-inducing goddess to accommodating host is evidenced in her words of encouragement to the group:

> ἀλλ᾽ ἄγετ᾽ ἐσθίετε βρώμην καὶ πίνετε οἶνον,
> εἰς ὅ κεν αὖτις θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι λάβητε,
> οἷον ὅτε πρώτιστον ἐλείπετε πατρίδα γαῖαν
> τρηχείης Ἰθάκης.
>
> Come on, eat food and drink wine, so that your θυμοί might take heart once again, as they were when you first left your fatherland of rugged Ithaca.[151]

When Odysseus brings all his men into her home, Circe notes that they are "ἀσκελέες καὶ ἄθυμοι *worn out and soulless*",[152] meaning physically exhausted, and emotionally and mentally drained.[153] Worn down by their experiences, they have no strength left within them.[154] Through proper care and hospitality, Circe intends to restore their emotional, psychological and physical health. Her house and wooded island provide a safe place to rest and recuperate.

Ἄλσος and Athena

The second goddess of interest from the *Odyssey* is Athena. Throughout the epic, Athena features most prominently among all the Olympian gods included in the epic.[155] She assists Odysseus in his return and preparing his family for his homecoming. She mentors and travels with Telemachus in disguise,[156] visits Penelope in her dreams and soothes her to sleep,[157] and is

[149] Hom.*Od.*10.362. "θυμῆρες, well-suited to the θυμός" in Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, 63 comment on this description.
[150] Hom.*Od.*10.363.
[151] Hom.*Od.*10.460-63.
[152] Hom.*Od.*10.464.
[153] A similar interpretation of ἄθυμος is given in Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, 67 as "weak, lacking strength".
[154] Soulless in this use does not equate to the English concept of heartless (without compassion or care, to be cruel).
[155] Scully 1981, 1.
[156] Athena guides Telemachus' leaving Ithaca in Hom.*Od.*2.399-404, Telemachus' visit with Nestor 3.13ff.
[157] Hom.*Od.*1.363-64, 4.795-841.

the main advocate for Odysseus in the discussions held among the gods.[158] Athena is an "intermediary between the human and divine realms… a great reconciler, between men and gods".[159] Her role in the epic oscillates between careful mediator and cunning guide, which reflects her intermediary role. First, I discuss briefly her powers and how she uses many of these abilities to assist Odysseus and his family during his return journey. Next, I investigate her association with groves, which is an understudied aspect of her identity and role in the *Odyssey*. As I argue, her association with groves is significant because it relates so closely to her role as protector and guide.

In the first book of the epic, the narrative begins in the gods' council, in which the Olympians are debating Odysseus' return. The first to speak is Zeus, talking of Aegisthus and his unfortunate end.[160] In reply to Zeus' musings, Athena the θεά γλαυκῶπις *bright-eyed goddess*[161] uses the opportunity to turn the discussion towards Odysseus, who is not yet dead but suffers unfairly. Clever as she is, Athena reminds her father that Odysseus was one of his favoured mortals in the Trojan war because Odysseus made sacrifices to him. In consideration of Odysseus' piety, Athena challenges her father saying,

> …τί νύ οἱ τόσον ὠδύσαο, Ζεῦ;
>
> Why have you had so much hate against him, Zeus?[162]

Zeus answers her, somewhat defensively, claiming that it is not he who hates Odysseus and wills his suffering, but Poseidon.[163] Zeus, in agreement with Athena, decides that Odysseus should return home and that the gods must help him.[164]

In this opening scene, the poet introduces key aspects of Athena's character. She is among the Olympians and is a member of their council. Athena may speak her mind and there is no inference that she cannot speak honestly, even towards Zeus. Importantly, Athena is skilled in μῆτις and in vocalising her wishes. In her dialogue with Zeus, Athena's words are carefully chosen and excite a response from her listener. Athena manipulates the situation in the direction

[158] Hom.*Od.*1.44ff, 1.80ff, 5.1-27.
[159] Neils 2001, 219-20.
[160] Hom.*Od.*1.32-43.
[161] Hom.*Od.*1.44.
[162] Hom.*Od.*1.62.
[163] The deflection of complete blame to Poseidon is interesting and not entirely factual, considering Hom.*Od.*12.385-88 details Zeus' promise to Helios to strike their ship with his thunderbolt (which he does, see lines 12.415-17) because the men feasted on Helios' sacred cattle.
[164] Hom.*Od.*1.66-79.

she wishes, the evidence being that the gods, led by Zeus, agree with her and decide Odysseus should return home with their assistance.[165] Neils identifies a close relationship between Zeus and Athena, in which "Athena [is] as an instrument of Zeus' will, knowing as she does his innermost thoughts".[166] Considering this closeness, it comes as no surprise that the decision to assist Odysseus is at the consensus of the council, led by father and cunning daughter. In the same scene, the poet identifies a key feature of Athena's appearance, through her epithet γλαυκῶπις *bright-eyed.* It is an epithet used in Archaic Greek poetry about Athena.[167]

Without hesitation and once agreement is reached, Athena quickly departs from Olympus to Ithaca to find Odysseus' son, Telemachus. In the description of her leaving, the poet describes her beautiful sandals, spear and her speed,[168] which is a similar description to Hermes' leaving to visit Calypso and communicate Zeus's demands for Odysseus' release.[169]

The departure from Olympus and arrival at Odysseus' house evidences the goddess' shape-shifting abilities. Athena shape-shifts frequently throughout the epic and selects guises most relevant and appropriate depending on her companion at the time. For instance, she recognises that Telemachus needs a trusted, male advisor, thus she shifts into the appearance and voice of Mentes.[170] Despite her unflawed transformation, the poet is explicit that it is Athena and uses her epithet to this end. In Book 2, before his journey to visit Nestor and Menelaos, Telemachus needs to rouse his supporters and to prepare them for their forthcoming voyage. To assist him, Athena takes the form of Telemachus and recruits and encourages all the men with whom Telemachus intends to sail.[171]

Athena adopts different appearances for Odysseus, depending on his needs. In Book 7, Athena takes the appearance of a young woman when Odysseus requires directions to Alcinoös' house. In this disguise, the goddess guides Odysseus without raising his suspicions and shrouds him in a dense mist to hide him from the eyes of the city's people.[172] In adopting this appearance, she can

[165] Hom.*Od.*1.76-77.
[166] Neils 2001, 219.
[167] Hes.*Theog.*13; Hom.*Od.*1.44, 80, 178, 221, 3.25; h.Hom.28.2.
[168] Hom.*Od.*1.96-101.
[169] Hom.*Od.*1.96-98, 5.44-46. The poet uses similar phrasing to describe Athena's and Hermes's sandals and departures from Olympus, changing few aspects including the gender of the character. The phrase is not a formula because the phrasing is not identical in every aspect.
[170] Murrin 2007, 501 interprets Athena's mentoring of Telemachus as fulfilling partially her promise made in the assembly of the gods in Hom.*Od.*1.88-95.
[171] Hom.*Od.*2.383-87.
[172] Hom.*Od.*7.18-45.

remain undetected, and addresses him respectfully as one who seems her elder.[173] She gives him a brief history of the lord's family and how best to approach them for aid.[174] In Book 13, Athena assists Odysseus again upon his return to Ithaca. Initially she appears as a young herdsman, incredulous that Odysseus does not realise he has returned to Ithaca.[175] Mid-way through comforting Odysseus she changes her appearance to a woman, "… καλῇ τε μεγάλῃ τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργα ἰδυίη, *beautiful and tall, and skillful in splendid woven works*."[176] In this instance, her appearance resembles closely that of her goddess form, which she confirms when speaking with Odysseus.[177] Athena makes herself known because she is able to meet with Odysseus face-to-face, to help him plan the removal of the suitors from his house at last.[178]

In the meeting of Telemachus and Nestor at a sacrifice to Poseidon, her epithet γλαυκῶπις *bright-eyed* signals that Athena is Telemachus' true guide. In line with expected proper behaviour, Nestor, Telemachus and Athena as Mentes offer prayers to Poseidon. The poet notes that she fulfils the prayer herself "ὣς ἄρ' ἔπειτ' ἠρᾶτο καὶ αὐτὴ πάντα τελεύτα."[179] Nestor, Telemachus and Athena talk about the fates of many notable Achaean men, such as Agamemnon and Odysseus, after the Trojan War.[180] In her departure, Athena reveals her identity as a goddess through her transformation into a sea eagle.[181] She demonstrates that her powers of shapeshifting are not limited to human shapes, but can also adopt the forms of animals.

Athena, like other immortals,[182] can send and manipulate the sleep and dreams of mortals. As part of her role as protector of Odysseus' family, Athena uses her powers to aid his wife, Penelope. As the mortal woman struggles with mourning someone whose whereabouts are unknown and his death unconfirmed, Athena brings peace and rest to Penelope. In one example, Athena conjures a phantom of Iphthime, a woman that Penelope recognises, and uses the image to sooth and comfort the woman from within her dreams.[183] Similar to the potent power of Helen's draught that she puts in the wine of the men,[184] Athena provides temporary relief to the

[173] She refers to him as ξεῖνε πάτερ, meaning *father stranger.* Hom.*Od.*7.48.
[174] Hom.*Od.*7.48-77.
[175] Hom.*Od.*13.222, 13.237-49.
[176] Hom.*Od.*13.289.
[177] Hom.*Od.*13.299-301.
[178] Hom.*Od.*13.305-10.
[179] Hom.*Od.*3.55-62.
[180] Hom.*Od.*3.103ff.
[181] Hom.*Od.*3.371-85.
[182] The episode in the *Iliad* of Hera tricking Zeus atop Mount Ida, with Hypnos' help, and taking his attention away from the Trojan war, is an example of another's power (Hypnos) of sleep over others. See Hom.*Il.*14.231ff, 352-53.
[183] Hom.*Od.*4.796-841.
[184] Hom.*Od.*4.220-21.

Penelope's troubled mind.[185] Athena has the power to temporarily control the powers of other goddesses. To enable Odysseus and Penelope more time to reconnect after he has returned and revealed his true identity to his wife, Athena delays the coming of the dawn in the morning, represented as the goddess Ἠώς *Eos* (Dawn).[186]

In other texts, poets mention Athena and the possibility of her visitations with mortals. In an example noted above, Anchises wonders if a goddess, such as Athena, Aphrodite, Artemis or Themis, is standing before him.[187] This example implies Athena's beauty, and implies that it is not unknown for goddesses, like Athena, to visit mortals living in many places including the mountains, as well as towns and cities, such as Ithaca. Unlike Circe or Artemis, Athena's associations with such spaces are connected through a person or people, rather than the physical space. In another Homeric example, Persephone lists Athena as one of her companions in their game of gathering flowers. Persephone's account speaks to Athena's beauty and the friendship between the two maiden goddesses. This example reflects Athena's youthfulness through the description of their activity. They are gathering flowers and the verb παίζω, *to play,* adds to the image of youth.

τὸ ἄλσος Ἀθήνης: Odysseus' quiet contemplation and hope in Athena's grove

Athena is seldom associated with natural spaces such as groves or forests, especially in comparison to other characters in myth such as Artemis, the nymphs, or Calypso. However, her association with the poplar grove in Book 6 of the *Odyssey* is significant because it relates closely to her role throughout the epic. Nausicaä introduces the audience to the grove of Athena in her description of the routes that lead to her father's house in the legendary land of Scheria.[188] From the analysis of the Nausicaä's dialogue, Haller argues that there are two possible routes that Odysseus could take to reach Alcinoös' house: the more direct route through the city and sanctuary of Poseidon, or via the longer route through the country and sea-side and Athena's grove. Haller sees these two possible routes as correspondents to a societal and economic differentiation or division between the inhabitants of the city versus those of sea. This division is, according to Haller, further revealed through Nausicaä, who believes that to have Odysseus

[185] The hiding place Odysseus uses at the end of Book 5 (Hom.*Od.*5.477) is the spot underneath two bushes—one of thorn and the other of olive—under which Athena soothes him to sleep. Athena subtly guides him to a spot to sleep where he is protected from the elements, as well as animals and human sight. See also Hom.*Od.*20.52-55.
[186] Hom.*Od.*23.241-46, 344-48.
[187] h.Hom.5.92-94.
[188] Haller 2007, 143-44 notes the perceived parallel roles of Nausicaä and Athena as guides to Odysseus, though Athena is the overarching guide throughout his return.

travelling through the city behind her wagon would incite rumours that she had found a potential suitor, something that she currently wishes to avoid.[189]

However, I distinguish the route between two sacred spaces, set apart from one another: Poseidon's sanctuary, and Athena's grove. There is another reason for the recommended route to Alcinoös' house, which includes a wait in Athena's grove. Most of Odysseus' misfortunes and suffering that he endures are the results of his offences against Poseidon and his cyclops son, Polyphemus.[190] Odysseus' avoidance of the side of the city wherein Poseidon's sanctuary lies is in his best interests and is in favour of Nausicaä's wishes. As the gods are believed to visit their temples and sanctuaries,[191] avoiding Poseidon's sanctuary is wise, in case Odysseus' presence near the sanctuary alerts the god to the hero's arrival on the island.[192] Waiting in Athena's grove is preferred because the goddess favours Odysseus, and his use of her grove is unlikely to incite negative treatment from her provided he treats the space appropriately.

The grove's dedication to Athena is a deliberate signal to her divine assistance of Odysseus in the narrative. Though known for her expert technical skill and knowledge of war, strategy, weaving and sailing, Athena is not frequently associated with the environment in Archaic texts. Yet, her grove is important to Odysseus' return:

> δήομεν ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος Ἀθήνης ἄγχι κελεύθου
> αἰγείρων, ἐν δὲ κρήνη νάει, ἀμφὶ δὲ λειμών·
> ἔνθα δὲ πατρὸς ἐμοῦ τέμενος τεθαλυῖά τ' ἀλωή,
> τόσσον ἀπὸ πτόλιος, ὅσσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας.
>
> You will find a beautiful poplar grove of Athena near the road; in it flows a spring, and around it is a meadow; and there is my father's estate and thriving vineyard, far from the city, as far as a person's shouts can be heard.[193]

One of the interesting points about this extract is that Athena is not tenuously linked to the grove; it is a grove belonging *to* her.[194] The poet makes special note of the tree type that

[189] Haller 2007, 146-47. According to Haller, this allows Odysseus to approach Alcinoös without assuming the role of prospective suitor. Haller 2007, 149. However, contrary to Haller 2007, 149-50 there is no indication in the text that Athena's grove is under the cultivational rights of Alcinoös, despite its close proximity to his estate. In other textual evidence, the vegetation of some sacred spaces, such as sanctuaries and groves, were permitted to be used by certain individuals or councils. See Dillon 1997, 117-18 for the legislative control and use of sanctuary vegetation.
[190] As Zeus explains to the audience in Hom.*Od.*1.68-75.
[191] h.Hom.3.347-48.
[192] Haller 2007, 151.
[193] Hom.*Od.*6.291-94.
[194] The grove is so called "κλυτὸν ἄλσος… ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης *glorious grove… sacred to Athena*." Hom.*Od.*10.321-22.

constitutes the grove. It consists of poplars (αἴγειρός), and Odysseus has had contact previously with this tree type in Calypso's garden.[195] As Calypso ultimately assists him with his onward journey, it seems that Athena's grove and the poplars are another sign intended to reassure both the audience and protagonist that the grove is another pin-point on Odysseus' journey homewards. The surroundings of the grove, which are a flowing spring and meadow, contribute to its sacred nature. As in the examples of Circe and Calypso, the appearance of the surroundings are notable because there are elements that invite a goddess or god to visit. Though the landscape is pleasing, the grove is so pleasant that it is qualified with the adjective ἀγλαός *beautiful.*[196]

In his study 'Proper Behavior in the Odyssey', Fuqua argues that a 'cluster' of words add an emphatic note, wherein a cluster is "three or more words [that] are concentrated in a few lines."[197] Though he studies different kinds of clusters that denote and describe social order and behaviour, Fuqua's analysis of clusters is useful in the study of Athena's grove because it exists in its own 'cluster' of landscape words. The cluster draws attention to the nature of the space: ἄλσος for her grove, a κρήνη *spring,* a λειμών *meadow,* Alcinoös' τέμενος interpreted as *estate* and his ἀλωή *vineyard.* The emphatic meaning behind this cluster of words is to emphasise the especially lovely and idealised landscape, as well as the grove's importance in Odysseus' journey.

There is another grove that acts as a marker point on Odysseus' travels, which shares similarities with Athena's. This grove, too, is connected to a goddess. Before departing for his journey to the Underworld to hear a prophecy from Teiresias' ghost, Circe tells Odysseus that he will have found the correct spot to leave his ship when he reaches a grove of poplars and willows that belongs to the Queen of the Underworld, Persephone.[198] Persephone's grove is also one of poplars, with the addition of willow trees. The poet has purposefully designed that the two groves used to navigate Odysseus' travels are of trees the traveller recognises. Within the epic thus far, these two tree types signal assistance. Previously, the willow trees have assisted Odysseus to construct the raft he used to sail from Calypso's island. The willow branches were added as an outer layer to protect the raft from erosion.[199] As reflected in the grove to Athena,

[195] Hom.*Od.*5.64.
[196] Hom.*Od.*7.291.
[197] Fuqua 1991, 55-56.
[198] Hom.*Od.*10.509-12. In Hom.*Od.*11.226-27 Persephone aids Odysseus when she sends the ghosts of women, the wives and daughters of great men so that Odysseus may question them.
[199] Hom.*Od.*5.256-57.

the poplars of Persephone's grove are also markers that confirm Odysseus is following the correct route.[200]

Odysseus' use of Athena's grove is simultaneously a logical progression of the epic's storyline and is instructional in the proper treatment of a sacred space. The poet, using Odysseus, provides an example of the appropriate treatment of a grove and how a visitor or worshipper might use the space. Firstly, a visitor may rest and find shelter. Groves are known to be used by travellers or visitors as places to rest and enjoy, as Bowe notes.[201] Secondly, the Odysseus episode in the Athena's grove signals that respect must be shown to the sacred area and the divine owner. Odysseus shows proper respect to the Athena and uses the opportunity to pray to her. He acknowledges her and asks for assistance, perhaps without realising that she has been his main source of guidance all along. Odysseus displays proper behaviour as is expected in a sacred space: he prays to the goddess, uses the grove for rest, and does not make any negative alterations to the space or its vegetation.[202] Not only could such alterations incite anger from whomever cares for, owns or benefits from the space,[203] but negative changes might incite anger from the goddess.[204]

Odysseus' behaviour in Athena's grove also reflects the influence the goddess has over her space and her favoured mortals. In return for his careful treatment of the grove, Athena allows Odysseus to temporarily find rest and shelter on his journey. Athena's guidance of Odysseus has led him to this sacred space, and he may wait there until he leaves to find Alcinoös' house. The poet makes no mention of emotional turmoil, only that Odysseus seats himself down in the grove and quietly prays to the goddess for assistance. Implicit in his prayer is hope. Odysseus thinks that, although Athena has not heard him before, she might hear him now, and he is hopeful that

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[200] There is another poplar grove near an altar to the Nymphs on Ithaca that is used to mark a point during Odysseus' travelling with Eumaeus where Dolius' son, Melantheus, meets them. Hom.*Od.*17.208. Another place, though not a grove, that poplar trees grow is found on Polyphemus' island. These poplars mark a point that Odysseus and his companions pass as they sail into a safe harbour, though the island and the inhabitants are not safe or welcoming. See Hom.*Od.*9.141.

[201] Bowe 2015, 275.

[202] Hom.*Od.*6.3-321-27.

[203] See Dillon 1997, 113-27, particularly 116 in which he cites inscriptional evidence (*LSCG* 37 and *IG* II^2 2494) refers to the punishment enforced upon those who removed any items (including wood from trees) from a sanctuary, without the permission from its caretakers or regulators. Considering Athena's grove is considered as sacred landscape according to Hilditch 2015, 31, it is likely that there were rules in place for the proper treatment of the space, though Homer does not mention them.

[204] Callimachus has an entire poem dedicated to Athena and her use of natural springs. The poet describes the beautiful location of her sanctuary, complete with grove (trees) and sweet-smelling altar. His poem has a warning within: beware of transgressions against the goddess, even those who are among the goddess' companions. Callimachus writes of the Teiresias' blindness, with which he was cursed after witnessing Athena bathing with her nymph companions. See Call.*Hymn.*5.82.

she will help him.[205] The goddess neither answers him immediately, nor approaches him in the grove;[206] rather, Athena meets Odysseus, disguised as a young woman, on the outskirts of the city at its outer wall.[207]

Athena's association with groves and her role as protector surfaces in other Archaic poetry. In Pindar's poem, her association is connected to her role as protector of the townspeople in Carmarina, Sicily:

> ἵκων δ' Οἰνομάου καὶ Πέλοπος παρ' εὐηράτων
> σταθμῶν, ὦ πολιάοχε Παλλάς, ἀείδει μὲν ἄλσος ἀγ'νόν
> _τὸ τεὸν ποταμόν τε Ὤανον ἐγχωρίαν τε λίμναν
> καὶ σεμνοὺς ὀχετούς, Ἵππαρις οἷσιν ἄρδει στρατόν,
> κολλᾷ τε σταδίων θαλάμων ταχέως ὑψίγυιον ἄλσος,
> _ὑπ' ἀμαχανίας ἄγων ἐς φάος τόνδε δᾶμον ἀστῶν·
>
> Coming from the lovely steadings of Oinomaos and Pelops, city-guarding Pallas, he sings about your sacred grove, near the Oanos river and the country lake and sacred water channels, the Hipparis which waters the people, quickly building a high-stemmed grove of sturdy houses, leading the town's people from helplessness into light...[208]

Playing with the imagery of a grove, Pindar describes the high-roofed houses as tall trees, contrasting the visual impact of a tree-covered sanctuary with houses filling the spaces in between the tree tops.[209] It is inferred that Athena has guided the townspeople in their transition from living in helplessness to light under her divine patronage, and the ἄλσος is a thanks-offering.[210] It is interesting that in Pindar's example, Athena's grove is positioned near a town and that the grove represents Athena's assistance to the people of Camarina. These aspects, including the grove's location and purpose, are similar to Athena's Homeric grove. It is tenuous to suggest a direct continuity of the themes between the Homeric and Pindaric groves. Rather, these two examples show that, through the association of Athena, groves of the goddess signal the protection or assistance of her people.

Conclusion

The wooded landscapes of ἄλσος and ὕλη have special associations with the goddesses Artemis, Circe and Athena in Archaic evidence. The divine personas of Circe and Athena signal that the

[205] Hom.*Od.*6.324-27.
[206] Hom.*Od.*6.328-31.
[207] Hom.*Od.*7.18-21. Nausicaä refers to the city's high outer wall (πύργος ὑψηλός) in Hom.*Od.*6.262-63.
[208] Pi.*Ol.*5.9-14.
[209] Pi.*Ol.*5.13.
[210] Pi.*Ol.*5.14.

landscapes which they own or inhabit as sacred. This sacredness is communicated through adjectives such as ἱερά, or the denotation of space as an ἄλσος. Other characters' perceptions of the goddesses and their sacred areas changed when the relationship between goddess and visitor develops. I demonstrated that the expression of divine female power manifests in the surroundings that belong to that deity, and this has a significant effect on the emotions and experiences of visitors. Through my focus on wooded landscapes, I drew important distinctions between different types of wooded space, as well as the revelation of a goddess and her identity. For example, in the analysis of the word ὕλη, there were key similarities between the goddesses who preference the woods. Artemis and Circe were similar in their appearances and abilities, such as the command over wild animals and their beauty. Athena's association with ἄλσος reflected her protective role.

In contrast to much previous scholarship,[211] I argued that Circe's characterisation and influence are complex and multidimensional. As part of a more balanced view and approach, I interpreted her epithet δεινή θεός as *powerful goddess,* [212] because it was more neutral in its connotations but still communicated the powerful aspects of her divine identity. To use Yarnall's expression, Homer created a Circe who has different "shades",[213] which exist in addition to her transformative powers that she uses to both positive and negative effect. The negative interpretation of Circe that scholars Roessel, Kent and Schein offer does not acknowledge that, ultimately, the goddess uses her powers to assist Odysseus on his νόστος. Once sworn to present no further challenges to Odysseus, the goddess creates an atmosphere of comfort, safety and hospitality, which transforms the companions' perceptions of the goddess, her home and landscape. The changes in Circe's house, and the way the men view her, evidences the emotional and perceptual change that the men experience and demonstrate that Circe is a sophisticated character. She is a goddess who lives within a sacred space and has "the right to live like one",[214] as well as use her divine "feminine arts" when and how she chooses.[215]

In his portrayal of the Circe and Athena episodes, Homer reveals that he perceives a goddess' connections to her sacred space and her awareness of a mortal's visit. Accordingly, a person must recognise inferiority in their relationships with the divine and the use of a goddess' space. Displaying this inferiority to the divine is crucial to receive help or positive treatment. It was

[211] Hill 1942, 119; Parry 1987, 7; Roessel 1989, 34, citing Page 1973, 56-65; Schein 1995, 16-19.
[212] Hom.*Od.*10.136.
[213] Yarnall 1994, 11.
[214] Yarnall 1994, 11.
[215] Brilliant 1995, 171.

necessary that the mortal showed appropriate respect to the goddess and her space, as was shown in Odysseus' emotional plea to Circe and his proper use of Athena's grove. In her grove, Odysseus revealed his inferiority in a more subdued way by seating himself on the ground in quiet prayer. There was no change in the relationship between Odysseus and Athena, so there were no indications of change in the atmosphere of her grove. However, as Odysseus' and Circe's relationship towards one another underwent changes, Circe added furnishings to her house's interior.[216]

Archaic evidence asserts that a person might recognise a goddess simply by looking at her.[217] The analysis of Artemis and Circe reveals that the expressions of goddesses' powers and identities are reflected in various ways, including their physical appearance and voices. Circe and Artemis are similar in their use of speech and sound, though the adjectives describing their voices are different. For example, Circe was depicted with a beautiful singing voice,[218] and Artemis cried out loudly during her hunt in the woods.[219] The expression of their voices influenced the atmosphere of the surroundings; the cries of Artemis in dance[220] tied in with the ringing out in the woods of her hunt which incited fear and caution.[221] Though Circe's singing was beautiful, the adjective λίγα qualified the impact of her singing as "emotionally piercing",[222] thus encouraging visitors to approach with caution. While Circe's and Artemis' use of sound related to their divine identities, a defining quality of Athena's divine characterisation that identified her were her striking eyes as the θεά γλαυκῶπις, *bright-eyed goddess*.[223]

The perceived transformations in the relationships with, and the perceptions of, goddesses and their spaces supported my contention that goddesses have complex identities. Circe was the same character throughout the episode, but the poet chose to reveal her complexity.

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[216] Hom.*Od.*10.348-72.
[217] Cf. Anchises' recognition that a goddess was standing before him despite her disguise, h.Hom.5.92-106.
[218] Hom.*Od.*10.221.
[219] Hom.*Il.*16.183.
[220] Hom.Il.16.183.
[221] h.Hom.27.8.
[222] As Yarnall 1994, 11 highlights in reference to the adjective λίγα.
[223] Hes.*Theog.*13; Hom.*Od.*1.44, 80, 178, 221, 3.25.

Chapter Six

Female Associations with Ἀγροί, Ἄρουραι and Νομοί

Introduction

Fields (ἀγροί), fertile land (ἄρουραι) and pastures (νομοί) are words associated with females in ancient texts. These spaces depict females tending livestock and harvesting crops, which reveal their practical involvement with the land. Poets represent and explore female beauty, sexuality and experience through field landscapes. Similar to meadows and gardens, poets use imagery of fields as metaphors for female bodies that are cultivated or have the potential for cultivation. In this poetic, metaphorical use of landscape, cultivational activities in metaphorical fields represent sexual acts in which women engage. In addition to the land as a metaphorical body, poets also represent and explore female beauty, sexuality and experience through field landscapes. To improve the understanding of female associations with landscape, I examine the Greek evidence for both women's practical involvement and the metaphoric, poetic representations of females in fields.

The scholarly investigation of field landscapes and females is not new. Scholars present different emphases including the practical and metaphorical associations of females and fields. Of particular note is the research of Scheidel who presents a wide-ranging survey of women in ancient rural Greece and Rome.[1] Scheidel's method of analysis identifies texts that describe rural women, and aims to interpret "the comments and silences of the ancient sources" about the women who live outside the urban centre.[2] Scheidel finds that women's practical work falls under field labour and livestock shepherding.[3] Though he asserts that there is "little information" about real women's lives,[4] he acknowledges that important comparisons can be drawn between literary depictions of female fruit-pickers and papyrological evidence that pertains to paid female olive collectors.[5] Although Scheidel's evidence corpus is wide-ranging, a re-examination of ancient Greek sources shows that there is still much to explore within the scattered evidence of women's associations with field landscapes in text, particularly from a poetic perspective.

[1] Scheidel investigates literary evidence predominantly but has a section on Literature and Art. See Scheidel 1996, 5-8.
[2] Scheidel 1995, 203.
[3] Scheidel 1995, 202-217, Scheidel 1996, 1-10. The two papers, published a year apart, are a two-part investigation of the rural women of Greece and Rome.
[4] Scheidel 1995, 202.
[5] Scheidel 1996, 2-3 comparing Homeric women of the *Iliad* on Achilles' shield carrying grapes in baskets with a papyrus from Egypt "that contains a contract of women who had been hired as porters during the gathering of olives."

du Bois investigates the long-standing connection between the earth and the female. Much of her work on this topic is centred on the chthonic and procreative aspects of the earth. Of relevancy here is her identification of the "female primacy" of Gaia in Hesiod's *Theogony*. Gaia is mother, sister and wife of Ouranos, the mother of a race of immortals, as well as the earth from which vegetation grows.[6] du Bois asserts that Gaia, along with Pandora, is representative of the earth from which ceramic vases are formed.[7] According to du Bois, the earth and the female body are vessels in which the male seed is hidden, germinates and is stored once harvested.[8] She finds that the evidence betrays the subjugation of the earth and female under the male. However, the evidence also shows female agency and positive associations as represented through metaphorical field landscapes.

My analysis builds upon the research of Scheidel and du Bois, as it investigates both practical female involvement (cultivation and livestock shepherding) and the metaphoric, poetic consideration of females—bodies, experiences, beauty, transitions between maidenhood and womanhood—in field landscapes. I also contest the idealised representations of secluded women from prominent ancient males, such as Xenophon in *Oeconomicus*.[9] Xenophon's views are intriguing, as he asserts for the necesscity of female seclusion indoors, but regards women as trainable enough to develop a "masculine intelligence".[10] As Pomeroy highlights, Xenophon is favourable of a wife, once trained and her "mental capacities cultivated", to assume the authority of managing the household. Rather than a strict hierarchy of male dominance and female subservience, Pomeroy's reading of Xenophon indicates that the ancient author might have considered husband and wife's roles as complementary.[11] Certain scholarship champions the ancient ideal of female seclusion and views female ritual performance as socially and culturally transgressive, such as Detienne and Burkert.[12] Goff also views female ritual performance as transgressive and outside the everyday boundaries for women. She argues that the "[s]ources are unanimous in their approbation of this ideal of female seclusion."[13] To argue that female involvement in landscape and 'public space' is contra-normative or exceptional is to accept the views of Xenophon at face-value, without consideration of other available evidence. It results in

[6] du Bois 1988, 42-43, 49.
[7] du Bois 1988, 46-47.
[8] du Bois 1988, 45-49.
[9] Xen.*Oec.*7.22.
[10] Xen.*Oec.*10.1 (ἀνδρική, feminine form of ἀνδρικός); Pomeroy 1994, 34.
[11] Pomeroy 1994, 36.
[12] Detienne and Vernant 1989, 129, 144-45; Burkert 1985, 244.
[13] Goff 2004, 1-2.

the alienation of females who regularly participate in activities that exist outside male-presented ideals.[14]

Females in Ἀγροί: Cultivation and Physical Labour

Greek texts use ἀγρός to describe defined areas of land in which crops are grown, as well as areas of grass and other plants. Ἀγροί fall under the ownership of people. These areas are bounded and are often maintained,[15] though maintenance varies according to the intended use. The status of females in fields is explicit in certain evidence from the Archaic period. Hesiod is clear about the type of woman a person should have for physical labour and cultivation:

> ἀλλά σ᾽ ἄνωγα
> φράζεσθαι χρειῶν τε λύσιν λιμοῦ τ᾽ ἀλεωρήν.
> οἶκον μὲν πρώτιστα γυναῖκά τε βοῦν τ᾽ ἀροτῆρα, 405
> κτητήν, οὐ γαμετήν, ἥτις καὶ βουσὶν ἕποιτο.
>
> My advice will show you what you need to be free of and avoid famine.
> Firstly, a house, a woman, an ox for ploughing, the woman being a
> female slave – not a wife – and she would follow the oxen.[16]

Hesiod clearly distinguishes between a wife (γαμετή) and a slave (γυνή, κτητή), and it is interesting that he argues for the need of a female slave. Exact details about the slave's role in ploughing are not provided at this point in the text.[17] However in lines 469-71, Hesiod directs that a slave should follow behind with a mattock to hide the freshly sown seeds from the birds.[18] It is likely that this slave performs the role that Hesiod introduces in lines 403-6; the female slave who follows the plough with a mattock. Hesiod and the person he instructs are to assume the role of directing the oxen and plough.[19] Clearly, the female slave is important in the ploughing process, because she is responsible for covering the sown seeds, which, if performed well, results in the household remaining free of famine.[20] Hesiod's γυνή is a slave and he might also intend for her to undertake the labouring activities, such as harvesting crops, storing the produce and shepherding the oxen.[21]

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[14] Scheidel 1995, 202-217 and 1996, 1-10 for the recognition that women were involved in outdoor activities in everyday life and an analysis of their tasks.
[15] Thphr.*Chr.*10.8: the control of access to the owner's fields and the maintenance of boundary markers. See Chapter Two for the text and candidate's own translation.
[16] Hes.*Op.*403-6.
[17] Scheidel 1996, 1 points out that the text does not state explicitly the role of the slave woman. However, Hesiod is clear that she was involved in the physical labour of ploughing.
[18] Hes.*Op.*469-71.
[19] Hes.*Op.*467-69.
[20] Hes.*Op.*473-78.
[21] Such examples do appear in Hesiod, see Hes.*Op.*597-603. h.Hom.5.119-20. Scheidel 1996, 1.

Hesiod argues that a female slave is well-suited to undertake field labour. However, Classical evidence describes that women of different social levels participate in field labour. In one example, Demosthenes is explicit that women of wealthier families and higher socio-economic status must also find work in the fields. Lamenting about the state of affairs during periods of hardship in the fourth century B.C., he notes that women must take up more work in order to survive:

> πολλὰ δουλικὰ πράγματα τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἡ πενία βιάζεται ποιεῖν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐλεοῖντ᾽ ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δικαιότερον, ἢ προσαπολλύοιντο. ὡς γὰρ ἔγωγ᾽ ἀκούω, πολλαὶ καὶ τιτθαὶ καὶ ἔριθοι καὶ τρυγήτριαι γεγόνασ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς πόλεως κατ᾽ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους συμφορῶν ἀσταὶ γυναῖκες, πολλαὶ δ᾽ ἐκ πενήτων πλούσιαι νῦν.
>
> There are many servile acts that the free people are forced by poverty to do, for which they should be pitied, o Athenian men, observers of custom, these customs which they are destroying! Of these, I can tell of many women who are wet-nurses, day-labourers and fruit-pickers, as gradually more of the city's people are caught in that period of misfortune, the citizen women too; but many women who were poor are now wealthy.[22]

Demosthenes appears to be most distressed that his views of social levels and the appropriate work for each is being put into disorder. Many *more* women are undertaking tasks and activities that he associates with the lower classes, such as wet-nursing (τιτθαί), labouring in the fields (ἔριθοι) and fruit-picking (τρυγήτριαι). He seems upset also by the fact that the poor are not remaining poor but are growing their finances, perhaps because their usual areas of work are in higher demand or are still required during times of hardship. Despite Demosthenes' judgement, his account reveals that many women, which now includes the elite, participate in cultivation as ἔριθοι and τρυγήτριαι.

Other evidence reveals that women are involved in both childcare and field labour. Plato considers the impact of a law that could be introduced that compels nurses to carry the children under their care until a certain age. If this law is introduced, it would mean that these women would legally have to carry children with them everywhere, including "… ἢ πρὸς ἀγροὺς ἢ πρὸς ἱερὰ ἢ πρὸς οἰκείους *to the fields, the temples and to their families*…."[23] Plato shows that women are involved in multiple roles, which take them to three socially and culturally important places—the fields, religious buildings and familial homes.

[22] Dem.57.45.
[23] Pl.*Leg.*789e.

There are different tasks required of women who work in fields, and these activities fall into different groups such as harvesters, produce collectors or pickers.[24] These women, regardless of social or economic backgrounds, are viewed as labourers for the tasks they undertake. Demosthenes is not pleased by the fact that many women are undertaking tasks that he would delegate to the lower classes. Though he speaks generally of the tasks they undertake, women are day-labourers, meaning they work in the fields. Their tasks in the fields vary depending on the season, but it is plausible that women are involved in sowing, harvesting, winnowing and storing produce. Demosthenes notes that women are fruit-pickers (τρυγήτρια *a female harvester* or *collector of fruit*), which is a word used for workers in vineyards[25] but could also apply to collectors of other produce.[26] The masculine form, τρυγητήρ, appears in the *TLG's* textual records 9 times; the feminised form τρυγήτρια appears 5 times. Considering that Demosthenes uses the feminised form of τρυγητήρ, women as harvesters or fruit-pickers are common enough in Athens during the fourth century B.C to warrant a feminine form of the noun.

Female workers collect produce from and tend to fields, which are important activities that contribute to cultivation. Magnes has a lost play Ποάστρια, for which only the title remains.[27] A ποάστρια might be a *weeder* or *herb-cutter*,[28] work that is suggestive of field caretakers or labourers. Archippus differentiates between κηπωρός[29] "…καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ προσέτι ταῖς ποαστρί αις *and for the women who are weeders*."[30] The word appears in the *TLG* corpus a total of 26 times, with no masculine form for a male worker. A related field labourer is a παραβάτις,[31] a gleaner who follows the workers known as reapers. The noun, παραβάτις, appears 12 times in the *TLG* corpus, though only twice in the period relevant to this study (once in the fourth century B.C. and in the third century B.C.). Παραβάτης appears more frequently with a total of 26 times, though this higher usage is understandable considering its denotation.[32] In Theocritus' *Idyll,* the

[24] Heracleid.Lemb.*Fr.*53.
[25] "τρυγητήρ" s.v. *LSJ* online 2017. The masculine form occurs 9 times in the *TLG* corpus, while the feminised form only 5 times.
[26] Ath.*Dei.*13.567e.
[27] Magn.*fr.*5.
[28] "ποάστρια" s.v. *LSJ* online 2017.
[29] (Aeolic form of κηπουρός *gardener*).
[30] Archipp.*fr.*44.
[31] "παραβάτις" s.v. *LSJ* online 2017. This word appears 12 times in the *TLG* corpus, though only twice in the period relevant to this study (once in the fourth century B.C. and in the third century B.C.).
[32] The feminised form of παραβάτης seems to have substantially different denotation from the masculine. The masculine form is translated in the *LSJ* as "… *one who stands beside… the warrior* or *combatant who stands beside the charioteer*" ("παραβάτης s.v. *LSJ* online 2017). Παραβάτης appears in no way related to παραβάτις *gleaner,* except that both refer to people who are on foot and accompany others involved in an activity.

main speaker recounts his short conversation with Agroeo about a woman, a κοσκινόμαντις *sieve-diviner* and παραβάτις:[33]

> εἶπε καὶ Ἀγροιὼ τἀλαθέα κοσκινόμαντις,
> ἁ πρᾶν ποιολογεῦσα παραιβάτις, οὕνεκ᾽ ἐγὼ μέν τὶν ὅλος ἔγκειμαι, τὺ
> δέ μευ λόγον οὐδένα ποιῇ.
>
> And Agroeo, a sieve diviner, earlier when she was a gleaner gathering wheat into sheaves, said to me that I am completely wrapped up in you, but you are without any kind of regard for me.[34]

Agroeo collects the crop—probaby wheat or grain—behind the reapers. There is no indication of her age or economic background, but it is clear that she regularly participates in the harvest because she is called παραιβάτις *gleaner*.[35] Even her name points towards a rustic setting.[36]

Other texts note women who, like Agroeo, participate in the harvest. Timocles writes of a man who bewails the fact that a worker woman does not want him:

> διόπερ καὶ θρηνῶν τις αὐτὸν παράγεται ὑπὸ Τιμοκλέους ἐν Νεαίρᾳ·
> ἀλλ᾽ ἔγωγ᾽ ὁ δυστυχὴς
> Φρύνης ἐρασθείς, ἡνίκ᾽ ἔτι τὴν κάππαριν
> συνέλεγεν οὔπω τ᾽ εἶχεν ὅσαπερ νῦν ἔχει,
> πάμπολλ᾽ ἀναλίσκων ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ τῆς θύρας
> ἀπεκλειόμην.
>
> On this account, Timocles in Neaera introduces someone before him who is bewailing his own situation:
> The man says, "I am the unlucky one. I desired Phryne passionately, when she was gathering capers and did not have as much as she does now. I spent so much time locked out at her door."[37]

In Timocles' poem as in Theocritus' *Idyll*, the woman is a labourer. Like the poor in Demosthenes,[38] Phryne has managed to better herself financially and circumstantially, which the man notes perhaps as a way of indicating that he liked her regardless of her circumstances.[39] Considering Timocles' fragment forms part of Athenaeus' collection of "courtesans'

[33] The exact details of ancient coscinomancy is unknown, though Arnott 1978, 27-32 offers an interesting exploration of the practice through an analysis of and comparison to the modern Greek practice of a κοσκινόμαντις.
[34] Theoc.3.30-32.
[35] Theoc.3.31.
[36] See the entry "ἄγροικος" s.v. *LSJ* online 2017. However, this might also be a jibe at Agroeo, as the word ἄγροικος is used to mock a character in one of Theocritus' other *Idylls.* See McClure 2003, 268.
[37] Ath.*Dei.*13.567e.
[38] Dem.57.45.
[39] Ath.*Dei.*13.567e.

witticisms",[40] there is an erotic, sexualised element identifiable in Phryne's caper collecting. The field as a place of sexual innuendo and experience exists elsewhere in the ancient evidence,[41] and it is possible that Phryne's caper gathering has sexual overtones. Henderson identifies the verb τρυγάω *gather in* (fruit, produce, crops) as connoting sexual intercourse through "agricultural terminology" in Attic Comedy.[42] The verb denoting Phryne's caper collection is συλλέγω *bring together, collect, gather*, not τρυγάω. However, there is the implication that she is a prostitute,[43] and given the amorous attention the man pays her and the cultivational setting of Phryne's activity, it is possible that her caper collection may connote erotic practice. Viewed in this erotic way, Phryne's activity shares similarities to Persephone's and her friends' sexualised collection of flowers,[44] though Phryne's version is about an adult woman.

After the crop has been harvested and gleaned, women are involved in the treading and winnowing of the collected cereals. Though both female and male labourers also participate in these processes, Hesiod advises about the use of a female slave for a particular purpose:

> _Δμωσὶ δ' ἐποτρύνειν Δημήτερος ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν
> δινέμεν, εὖτ' ἂν πρῶτα φανῇ σθένος Ὠρίωνος,
> χώρῳ ἐν εὐαεῖ καὶ ἐυτροχάλῳ ἐν ἀλωῇ.
> μέτρῳ δ' εὖ κομίσασθαι ἐν ἄγγεσιν· αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ (600)
> πάντα βίον κατάθηαι ἐπάρμενον ἔνδοθι οἴκου,
> θῆτά τ' ἄοικον ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἄτεκνον ἔριθον
> δίζησθαι κέλομαι· χαλεπὴ δ' ὑπόπορτις ἔριθος·
>
> Order your slaves to thresh out Demeter's sacred cereal, when Orion's strength is first seen, in a well-ventilated place with well-rounded ground. Gather it well, measured in storage vessels; once you have properly laid out all of your livelihood inside your house, dismiss your hired labourer and look for a childless servant to direct, as a nursing mother who is a servant is difficult.[45]

According to Hesiod, a person should have slaves to winnow and guard the grain. Whilst the hired labourer might be male,[46] the other examples above show that women are hired labourers

[40] The label that McClure 2003, 259 gives to Ath.*Dei.*13ff.
[41] Demeter and Iasion in the "νειῷ ἔνι τριπόλῳ *thrice-ploughed field*", from which Demeter conceives and gives birth to Ploutos. Hes.*Theog.*971, Hom.*Od.*5.127.
[42] Henderson 1975, 167 n.287.
[43] That she is a prostitute is implied because Athenaeus includes Timocles' Phryne alongside a discussion of prostitutes. But she may also have been the 'Phryne of Thespiae' who offered to finance wall constructions in Thebes and for whom a golden statue was erected. See Ath.*Dei.*13.567a-e.
[44] h.Hom.2.5-18; Deacy 2013, 399, 408-9.
[45] Hes.*Op.*597-603.
[46] Hes.*Op.*602.

and perform such cultivational tasks.[47] Along with a childless servant, Hesiod advises to acquire a guard dog, so that the servant and dog can keep watch over the stored grain together.[48] Preferring a servant over a hired labourer for the task of guarding the store means that the owner does not spend additional money for the continued hire of the worker.

All of these sources—Demosthenes, Timocles, Theocritus and Hesiod—describe mortal females and their various activities in real and metaphorical fields. There is other evidence that demonstrates goddesses associate with fields, which provides interesting insights into Greek concepts of females and fields. Goddesses, including Demeter and Gaia, have their own, unique connection to fields, and the growing and harvesting of crops. Hesiod refers to the collected harvest as "Δημήτερος ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν *Demeter's sacred cereal*," though ἀκτήν could also refer to the seeds or heads of standing crops.[49] It is inferred that the grain ultimately belongs to Demeter because she allowed it to grow and permitted its harvest.[50] Poets share similar themes in their concepts about field produce ("ἀρούρης καρπός *fruit of the field"*)[51] and the involvement of goddesses. Herodotus, like Hesiod, prescribes ownership and attribution of the crops to Demeter, labelling them as, "Δήμητρος καρπός *Demeter's fruit*."[52] To Hesiod, the fruit (καρπός, ἀκτήν) of the earth, given to people from Demeter, is Βίος *life,* interpreted above as *livelihood*. Conceiving of the physical crop as a person's livelihood reveals the cereal's importance, as nourishment for the body, and the means of life and a living.[53]

In other examples, goddesses *are* the fields, and the plants are manifestations of the goddesses' bodies. In the *Homeric Hymn to Earth Mother of All*, the poet sings of the beautiful gifts that the goddess gives to those she favours:

> ὁ δ' ὄλβιος ὅν κε σὺ θυμῷ
> πρόφρων τιμήσῃς· τῷ τ' ἄφθονα πάντα πάρεστι.
> βρίθει μέν σφιν ἄρουρα φερέσβιος, ἠδὲ κατ' ἀγροὺς
> κτήνεσιν εὐθηνεῖ, οἶκος δ' ἐμπίπλαται ἐσθλῶν· (10)
> αὐτοὶ δ' εὐνομίῃσι πόλιν κάτα καλλιγύναικα
> κοιρανέουσ', ὄλβος δὲ πολὺς καὶ πλοῦτος ὀπηδεῖ·
> παῖδες δ' εὐφροσύνῃ νεοθηλέϊ κυδιόωσι,
> παρθενικαί τε χοροῖς φερεσανθέσιν εὔφρονι θυμῷ

[47] Athenaeus, citing a fragment of Aristophanes, remembers that there was a particular song "… τῶν πτισσουσῶν ἄλλη τις… *sung by the women who winnow grain*." Ath.14.10.29.
[48] Hes.*Op.*604-5.
[49] "ἀκτήν" s.v. *LSJ* online 2017, 58.
[50] h.Hom.2.305-10, 350-55, 470-3 support this hypothesis.
[51] Hom.*Il.*6.142.
[52] Hdt.1.193.
[53] Hes.*Op.*601.

παίζουσαι σκαίρουσι κατ᾽ ἄνθεα μαλθακὰ ποίης, (15)
οὕς κε σὺ τιμήσῃς σεμνὴ θεὰ ἄφθονε δαῖμον.

Happy is he whom your heart earnestly honours, and all he has is plentiful. His tilled, life-giving fields are heavily laden with fruit, and he abounds in flocks and herds, and his house is full of good things. These men rule in well-ordered cities with beautiful women, and much happiness and riches attends them. Their sons are cheerful in their youthful elation, and their maiden daughters, in flower-carrying dances, are cheerful in spirit as they playfully skip over flowers in soft grass fields; and so, it is for those people that you honour, revered goddess, plentiful divine being.[54]

The *Hymn* is useful for two reasons. Firstly, the poet attributes to Gaia the powers of a fruitful land that grows food and wildflowers, and feeds animals. For the current study, the poet provides an association between the goddess and grassy field. Secondly, it reveals that the town's daughters enjoy and use the grassy fields. They enjoy χοροί φερανθής *flower-carrying dances*.[55] Considering that the land is grassy (πόα), the fields that Gaia blesses might be pastures for animals, as well as a place to play and dance.[56]

Hesiod's Demeter performs a similar role to the Homeric Gaia in her giving of "πάντα βίον *all of [your] livelihood*",[57] the cereal being the staple food of life, and the field as part of that livelihood.[58] These texts suggest that a goddess shows her love or favour for humans in the giving of crops and the land intended to foster human livelihood. For example, Gaia in the *Hymn* bestows on those she honours good harvests and lush landscape for livestock.[59] Hesiod, prior to his instructions regarding winnowing the grain, emphasises the importance of Demeter's favour:

ἀλλὰ σύ γ᾽ ἡμετέρης μεμνημένος αἰὲν ἐφετμῆς
ἐργάζευ, Πέρση, δῖον γένος, ὄφρα σε Λιμὸς
ἐχθαίρῃ, φιλέῃ δέ σ᾽ ἐυστέφανος Δημήτηρ (300)
αἰδοίη, βιότου δὲ τεὴν πιμπλῇσι καλιήν·

So, always keep in mind our command and continue labouring, Perses, you of noble family, so that famine detests you, and revered,

[54] h.Hom.30.7-16.
[55] h.Hom.30.14.
[56] h.Hom.2.417, 425, h.Hom.30.14.
[57] Hes.*Op.*601.
[58] In *Hymn to Demeter,* Demeter's refusal to allow the seed to germinate and grow into crops almost brings about the destruction of humankind, cited in h.Hom.2.352-53, 450-55. A similar sentiment of the produce and the field as a household's livelihood is expressed in Aesop.42, as well as evidenced in Odysseus' connection to and knowledge of his father's garden in Hom.*Od.*24.335-44.
[59] Odysseus kisses the earth, which the poet calls ζείδωρος ἄρουρα, *fruitful land*. Hom.*Od.*13.354.

beautifully-garlanded Demeter loves you, so that she will fill your granary with the substance of life.[60]

It is to Demeter that Hesiod directs humans to keep labouring and to remember that it is the gods who give health and success to a person's life. In Hesiod's view of fields and the production of crops, Demeter is the goddess whose favour a person needs. The way Hesiod expresses himself in this extract, it is though Demeter herself will assist with the work that fills the granary, such as harvest, winnowing and threshing.[61] Her role as life-giver is shared with Gaia because both goddesses represent the earth, plant life and provider of livelihood.[62]

In his fifth or fourth century text *Airs, Waters, Places,* Hippocrates discusses the region of Asia, its climate and land. He presents the concept of earth as a living being, and personifies her through the attribution of allowing wild plants to grow under her care:

…τά τε ὡραῖα αὐτόθι
πολλὰ ἐοικὸς γίγνεσθαι, ὁκόσα τε ἀπὸ σπερμάτων, καὶ ὁκόσα αὐτὴ ἡ γῆ ἀναδιδοῖ φυτά· ὧν τοῖσι καρποῖσι χρέονται ἄνθρωποι, ἡμεροῦντες ἐξ ἀγρίων, καὶ ἐς ἐπιτήδειον μεταφυτέοντες·

…Here the season's fruits will be plentiful, many from seeds, and just as many from plants that the earth gives out herself; these fruits which people receive, from the wild they will cultivate, and transplant them to somewhere suitable.[63]

Hippocrates talks of the people who sow seeds and transplant wild plants to cultivated plots, which reveals a close relationship between people and their surrounding landscape. Most interesting for the analysis of women and landscape is the personification of earth. Earth, the land from which the wild plants grow, is personified using the verb ἀναδίδωμι.[64] The goddess *is* the earth, consists *of* earth and gives out crops from her earthen body.

[60] Hes.*Op.*298-301. Verdenius 1985, 154 interprets βίοτον as a "means of living", the 'substance' on which humankind lives. See also his notes on βίοτον in Hes.*Op.*167.
[61] Later evidence from poets the *Greek Anthology* reads in a similar way, as though Demeter and the Seasons will tread in the furrows where the seeds are sown so that the crops grow. See Zon.6.98.
[62] du Bois 1988, 43, 49-52, 55, 57; Lefkowitz 2007, 14, 18, 22-23.
[63] Hippoc.*Aër.*12.20-23 (*TLG*).
[64] Willi 2007, 169-70; Hippoc.*Aër.*12.20-23 (*TLG*).

Females of the Ἄρουραι: Fertile, Tillable Land

The connections between women and ἄρουραι share similarities to ἀγροί, as these spaces have similar denotations and connotative imagery.[65] The word ἄρουρα signifies an area of *fertile, tillable land* with rich soil and lush growth of wild plants and cultivated crops. Depending on the context in which it is used, ἄρουρα is interpreted as *field* or *plot*.[66] The word is associated with concepts surrounding processes of life including growth and birth, through references such as "ἄρουρα φερέσβιος *life-giving tilled land*."[67]

Ἄρουραι grow vegetation such as flowers. For example, Sappho includes in a fragment "πολυανθέμοις ἀρούραις *richly flowering fields*",[68] conveying a scene similar to a meadow or grassy field covered in wildflowers. In a fragment attributed to Anacreon, the extract refers to a field of hyacinth flowers:

> τὰς ὑακιν[θίνας ἀρ]ούρας
> ἵ]να Κύπρις ἐκ λεπάδνων
> ___....]΄[.]α[ς κ]ατέδησεν ἵππους·
>
> … the fields of hyacinths, where Cypris confined her horses unyoked…[69]

In the extract above, the ἄρουραι are pastures or paddocks for Aphrodite's horses, and the hyacinths are presumably spread far over the fields. The land is untilled, though ἄρουρα suggests that the land is tillable and fertile,[70] meaning that it would be suitable for growing crops. The fields are bounded, as the verb καταδέω indicates that the horses are confined to the area. Their confinement is necessary, as they are "ἐκ λεπάδνων" *unyoked*.[71] The λέπαδνα are leather-made equipment. The fields' feature fertility, lushness and beauty, which connect ἄρουραι with goddesses.[72] Anacreon's imagery of fields bursting with hyacinth flowers shares the same abundance of flowery, blooming growth as Sappho's poetic landscape.[73] Anacreon associates the hyacinth fields with Aphrodite and imagines her horses roaming free in their fields, which adds

[65] E.g. Theognis uses the adjective εὐανθής to describe his ἀγρός (Thgn.1199).
[66] For a more complete discussion of the denotation of the word, see Chapter Two "ἄρουρα" section.
[67] h.Hom.30.9.
[68] Sapph.96.11.
[69] Anacr.1,1.7-9 (P.Oxy.2321).
[70] Cf. Theoc.18.28.
[71] Anacr.1,1.7 (P.Oxy.2321).
[72] In another of Anacreon's poems, a girl assumes the persona of a filly and the poet a potential experienced 'rider'. See Rosenmeyer 2004, 170-71 for the text in translation and an analysis of the playful girl/horse imagery.
[73] Sapph.96.11.

sensual and playful tones to the extract.[74] Through this association with Aphrodite, the ἄρουραι adopt the connotative aspects of λειμῶνες *meadows* and sexuality.[75]

Poets connect goddesses with ἄρουραι in metaphorical ways, using the cultivational life as a frame through which to look. A poem or song becomes a field or cultivated plot, and the performance or composition of the poem is represented as the labour that cultivates the area. In this kind of metaphorical field, the owner, under whom the poet labours, is a goddess or goddesses. Pindar draws an image of a fertile field in his opening of his sixth *Pythian Ode,* wherein he and whoever he imagines as his companions are,

> … ἦ… ἑλικώπιδος Ἀφ᾽ροδίτας
> ἄρουραν ἢ Χαρίτων
> ἀναπολίζομεν…
>
> … ploughing the field of quick-glancing Aphrodite and the Muses…[76]

Pindar's *Ode* is the tool with which he ploughs, labouring in the field of Aphrodite and the Muses, to whom he is a servant or labourer. Through this analogy, he recognises and honours his divine patrons and inspirations, dedicating his song and success to them.[77]

In a Homeric example, the poet engages with the fertile connotations of ἄρουρα. Like Hippocrates' Earth that gives out seedlings,[78] Homer sings of the birth of Erechtheus:

> Οἳ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ Ἀθήνας εἶχον ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον
> > δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὅν ποτ᾽ Ἀθήνη
> θρέψε Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα,
> κὰδ δ᾽ ἐν Ἀθήνῃς εἷσεν ἑῷ ἐν πίονι νηῷ·
>
> And they who held Athens, the well-built city, the country under great-hearted Erechtheus, who Athena, daughter of Zeus, once raised, though

[74] The image is similar to the analogy of Callicice, Cleisidice, Demo and Callithoe, the four beautiful daughters of Celeos in Eleusis, portrayed as deer and calves leaping in meadows, in h.Hom.2.174-78. The inclusion of the hyacinth flower links with the sexual, sensual atmosphere of the fields, much like the sexual connotations of Sappho's hyacinth flower which are not playful but sorrowful (Sapph.105c).
[75] Deacy 2013, 398. As the ἄρουραι, which share similarities to λειμῶνες, are used by a goddess, the pure, untouched aspect of a meadow does not apply in this example, not because the area is not strictly a λειμών, but due to the fact that divine use of such spaces does not infringe on the pure or untouched quality of meadows. Cf. Hermes pasturing the stolen cattle of Apollo in a meadow, in h.Hom.4.103-107.
[76] Pi.*Pyth.*6.1-3.
[77] It is a similar method of dedication that the poet of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* uses in h.Hom.3.20-21 (above).
[78] Hippoc.*Aër.*12.20-23 (*TLG*).

the life-giving earth birthed him, and Athena placed him in Athens, in her own wealthy temple…[79]

Instead of γαῖα or γῆ, Homer uses ἄρουρα for the earth from which Erechtheus is born. Despite using a different noun, the implication is similar. The fertile ἄρουρα *earth*, described as ζείδωρος *life-giving,* produces a living being, Erechtheus, in the same fashion that seeds and plants grow out of the soil,[80] or Gaia's birthing of the Erinyes, Giants and Meliai-Nymphs.[81] In this example, similar to the earth in Hesiod and Hippocrates, Homer personifies ἄρουρα through the adjective ζείδωρος and verb τίκτω, the latter which has the literal meaning of *bring into the world*. Following Homer's personification of ἄρουρα, I have interpreted τίκτω as *to birth.*[82]

Aside from the fertile aspect of ἄρουρα, poets use the word adjectivally to describe women and their connections to land and the country, though these associations are not necessarily positive.[83] This use of ἀρουραίη connects with the earthen, rural setting of a field or land expanse, but does so in a derogatory sense.[84]

Females of the Νομοί: Pastures and Life with Animals

The noun νομός denotes a place, such as a grass field, for pasturing and nurturing livestock. Νομοί might be enclosed or open.[85] Poems provide instances of females and their connections to pastures and associated activities. Pastures, both the physical and metaphorical, are places in which poets explore ideas surrounding female beauty, value and identity. The *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* portrays the goddess as she approaches Anchises and he asks about her origins and parentage. Aphrodite tells Anchises that her father is Orteus, lord of Phrygia.[86] Adapting aspects of Persephone's abduction in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and Zeus' abduction of Europa's in Hesiod,[87] Aphrodite describes,

πολλαὶ δὲ νύμφαι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι
παίζομεν, ἀμφὶ δ' ὅμιλος ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωτο·
ἔνθεν μ' ἥρπαξε χρυσόρραπις Ἀργειφόντης,
πολλὰ δ' ἔπ' ἤγαγεν ἔργα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,

[79] Hom.*Il.*2.546-549.
[80] Hippoc.*Aër.*12.20-23 (*TLG*).
[81] Hes.*Theog.*183-186.
[82] Hom.*Il.*2.548.
[83] Ar.*Ra.*840 and the joke about Euripides' mother.
[84] McClure 2003, 268; Roselli 2005, 7-8. Though Roselli 2005, 10 suggests that the woman may not be Euripides' biological mother, but his step-mother, i.e. the woman that his father is seeing.
[85] For example h.Hom.5.78; h.Hom.3.20-21. In Pindar's *Olympian Ode 7*, the poet speaks of an entire island as a νομός. From the use of *pasture,* the image of the island is one of lush, green, grassy landscape. See Pi.*Ol.*7.33.
[86] h.Hom.5.111-12.
[87] h.Hom.2.417-33 (Persephone); Hes.*Cat.*19 (Europa).

πολλὴν δ’ ἄκληρόν τε καὶ ἄκτιτον, ἣν διὰ θῆρες
ὠμοφάγοι φοιτῶσι κατὰ σκιόεντας ἐναύλους,
οὐδὲ ποσὶ ψαύσειν ἐδόκουν φυσιζόου αἴης· 125

Many of us nymphs and maidens were playing, who bring in oxen, and
an immense throng of people were circling around us; then he, the
slayer of Argos with a wand of gold, snatched me up,
and he carried me over many mortal people's inhabited lands,
and over many unowned and untilled lands, through which there were
beasts of prey, carnivorous, roaming about shadowy dens, I imagined
my feet would not touch life-giving earth again.[88]

This time, the abductor is Hermes and he carries Aphrodite over many lands, including fields tended by people and those unowned and uncared for. [89] Like Nausicaä,[90] Aphrodite presents herself as the daughter of a lord, and as a member of an important and socially significant family. Though Aphrodite is not the mortal woman she pretends to be, her adoption of this identity conveys some interesting aspects, namely the metaphorical activity to "bring in oxen." The text uses an image associated with shepherding oxen to comment on the girls' value in marriage. Aphrodite pretends to be the daughter of a wealthy lord and is among a group of beautiful girls, νύμφαι καὶ παρθένοι, all of whom are worth many oxen. She communicates her value and the fact that she has many suitors to Anchises through the adjective ἀλφεσίβοιαι. To add to their desirability, Aphrodite says they are playing (παίζω), which may speak to their sexual maturity.[91] This example adapts a motif extant in poetry dated to the eighth to sixth centuries B.C., that of the young maiden who is abducted by a male whilst she enjoys the landscape with (or without) her companions.

Κόραι *girls* are portrayed in the roles of animal caretakers. In one of Theocritus' *Idylls,* a young female goatherd, Acrotime, has a short love affair with a young male cowherd, Daphnis. She is εὐγενής *well-born,* the adjective with which she describes Daphnis and applies to herself, though Daphnis already knows the name of her father.[92] The *Idyll* opens with Acrotime and Daphnis mid conversation (the text is fragmented), with the former rebuking the latter and his advances.

[88] h.Hom.5.119-25.
[89] h.Hom.5.121-25.
[90] Hom.*Od.*6.17.
[91] h.Hom.2.416-28; Hes.*Cat.*19. Referenced in later evidence, e.g. Str.6.1.5, the ritual imitation of Persephone and gathering flowers, see Burnett 1988, 144. See Deacy 2013, 395-413 for an exploration of the various encounters of women, female desire and sexuality in connection to the meadow landscape; Longenecker 1997, 3 summarising Griffin 1978 argues such scenes pertain to "[a] pornographic" aspect, a "place in male imagination." Rosenmeyer 2004, 169 views also their playfulness as representative of a girl's life-stage which precedes sexual maturity.
[92] Theoc.27.43-44.

The way in which they speak indicates that they have seen each other before. The extract below is the last nine lines of the poem, after much discussion between the pair:

> ΔΑ. ἀλλὰ γυνὴ μήτηρ τεκέων τροφός, οὐκέτι κώρα.
>
> Ὣς οἳ μὲν χλοεροῖσιν ἰαινόμενοι μελέεσσιν (66)
> ἀλλήλοις ψιθύριζον. ἀνίστατο φώριος εὐνή.
> χἢ μὲν ἀνεγρομένη πάλιν ἔστιχε μᾶλα νομεύειν
> ὄμμασιν αἰδομένοις, κραδίη δέ οἱ ἔνδον ἰάνθη·
> ὃς δ' ἐπὶ ταυρείας ἀγέλας κεχαρημένος εὐνᾶς (70)
> ἤιεν. (71b)
>
> Δέχνυσο τὰν σύριγγα τεὰν πάλιν, ὄλβιε ποιμάν· (72)
> τῶν δ' αὖ ποιμναγῶν ἑτέρην σκεψώμεθα μολπάν.
>
> Daphnis: Wife, mother and nurse of the young, no more a maiden.
>
> Like this, they whispered to one another, taking delight in their blossoming bodies. Their secret bed was made. So, she rose and walked back to pasture her sheep with an ashamed expression, but she was delighted in her heart. And he, delighted about their secret bed, went to his herds of oxen.
>
> Take back your pipe, fortunate shepherd, and we will think of another shepherds' song to sing of.[93]

In this extract, Acrotime is pasturing (νομεύω) a herd of αἶγες *goats* nearby Daphnis' herd of ταῦροι *bulls*. Though her exact age is not given, it is plausible that she is a young woman because the poet uses the noun κώρα (Doric form of κούρη and the Attic κόρη)[94] meaning *girl* or *maiden* to describe her.[95] This same noun denotes Persephone in the beginning of the *Hymn to Demeter*,[96] thus the girls are conceived of as similar ages or life-stages. Theocritus uses the setting of shepherding to mark Acrotime's transition from maiden to woman, portraying her as a young woman at an assumed age for marriage and sexual activities.

There is another area that is related to work with animals, provided in an extract from the *Odyssey,* though it is not directly associated with pastures. Nausicaä, the daughter of Arete and Alcinoös, drives a wagon pulled by mules and is masterful in her handling:

> ἡ δ' ἔλαβεν μάστιγα καὶ ἡνία σιγαλόεντα,

[93] Theoc.27.65-73.
[94] "κώρα" s.v. *LSJ* online 2017.
[95] Theoc.27.65.
[96] To her friends in h.Hom.2.5, Persephone in h.Hom.2.8.

μάστιξεν δ’ ἐλάαν· καναχὴ δ’ ἦν ἡμιόνοιϊν·
αἱ δ’ ἅμοτον τανύοντο, φέρον δ’ ἐσθῆτα καὶ αὐτήν,
οὐκ οἶην· ἅμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι κίον ἄλλαι.
αἱ δ’ ὅτε δὴ ποταμοῖο ῥόον περικαλλέ’ ἵκοντο, (85)
ἔνθ’ ἦ τοι πλυνοὶ ἦσαν ἐπηετανοί, πολὺ δ’ ὕδωρ
καλὸν ὑπεκπρόρεεν μάλα περ ῥυπόωντα καθῆραι,
ἔνθ’ αἵ γ’ ἡμιόνους μὲν ὑπεκπροέλυσαν ἀπήνης.
καὶ τὰς μὲν σεῦαν ποταμὸν πάρα δινήεντα
τρώγειν ἄγρωστιν μελιηδέα· (90)

So she seized the whip and glittering reins, and whipped the mules to drive them forward; there was the sound of the mules as they galloped swiftly, carrying the clothes and the girl, who was not alone. For she went out together with her handmaids. When they arrived at the very beautiful streams of the river, there were troughs with abundant supply, where much clean water flowed in and over to clean all dirtied clothing; there they unyoked the mules from the four-wheeled wagon so they could graze. And so they drove them down beside the churning river to munch on honey-sweet grass…[97]

Nausicaä’s handling of the wagon and team is confident, which suggests that she has been trained. In this mythical city, even a daughter of a ruling family is trained to handle livestock and undertake other household tasks.[98] Nausicaä, with her handmaids, drives the wagon-pulling mules (ἡμίονος),[99] unyokes them (ὑπεκπρολύω),[100] and directs them (σεύω) to the grass to graze (τρώγω).[101] Homer uses the word κούρη for Nausicaä,[102] but calls her accompanying maids ἀμφίπολοι γυναῖκες *handmaids* (literally *attending women*).[103] However, it is suggested that they are all of similar ages because of the way in which girl and her maids play together (παίζω), as well as the element of friendly competition in their laundry task,“θυῶς ἔριδα προφέρουσαι *quickly competing with each other*”.[104] The use of γυνή in this example reveals that age is not necessarily determined, nor can it be assumed, through the use of a noun alone. Rather, context and qualifying adjectives suggest age and status.

Goddesses associate with shepherding and animal handling in metaphorical ways. Callimachus’ *Aetia* sings about a poetic pasture:

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[97] Hom.*Od.*6.81-90.
[98] Nausicaä is not the first Homeric example of women and girls’ involvement in washing. See Hom.*Il.*22.153-56.
[99] Hom.*Od.*6.82.
[100] Hom.*Od.*6.88.
[101] Hom.*Od.*6.90.
[102] Hom.*Od.*6.78.
[103] Hom.*Od.*6.80.
[104] Hom.*Od.*6.92, 100. Rosenmeyer 2004, 169 also interprets Nausicaä and her handmaidens to be of similar ages, calling the latter “young girls.”

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Μουσέων πεζὸν [ἕ]πειμι νομόν.

I come now to the prose pasture of the Muses.[105]

Callimachus associates the Muses, who are represented as nurturing, protective and inspiring, with the role of shepherds. The Muses tend the flocks or herds, but it is the pasture land in particular that belongs to them.[106] As one who is inspired and blessed by the Muses,[107] Callimachus likens himself to cattle or animals that feed on the pastures, under the care of the Muses.

Female Bodies as Fields

The word that poets use most about women's bodies is ἄρουρα. Similar to Pindar's metaphorical association of the Muses, Aphrodite and ἄρουρα,[108] or in Hippocrates' concept of Gaia and her earthen body giving out plants,[109] there is evidence to show that Greek poets use concepts and contexts of field landscapes to describe women and their bodies.

Greek poets use the word ἄρουρα in their representations of female fertility and beauty. For example, Sappho uses landscape and vegetation in her poetry to explore concepts of female beauty, desirability and the body. A woman is compared with the moon, its light and the thriving landscape on which it shines:

νῦν δὲ Λύδαισιν ἐμπρέπεται γυναί-
κεσσιν ὥς ποτ᾽ ἀελίω
_δύντος ἀ βροδοδάκτυλος μήνα
πάντα περ<ρ>έχοισ᾽ ἄστρα· φάος δ᾽ ἐπί-
σχει θάλασσαν ἐπ᾽ ἀλμύραν (10)
_ἴσως καὶ πολυανθέμοις ἀρούραις·
ἀ δ᾽ <ἐ>έρσα κάλα κέχυται τεθά-
λαισι δὲ βρόδα κἄπαλ᾽ ἄν-
_θρυσκα καὶ μελίλωτος ἀνθεμώδης·

[105] Call.*Aet.*112.9. Apollo has "…νομὸς…ᾠδῆς *pasture of songs*" laid out for him in h.Hom.3.20.
[106] A similar image is created in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (h.Hom.3.20-21):
"πάντῃ γάρ τοι, Φοῖβε, νομὸς βεβλήαται ᾠδῆς,
ἠμὲν ἀν᾽ ἤπειρον πορτιτρόφον ἠδ᾽ ἀνὰ νήσους.
Everywhere for you, Phoebos, they laid out a pasture of songs,
both throughout the land nourishing calves and over the islands."
[107] Callimachus in Call.*Aet.*75.76-77 refers elsewhere that the Muse gave him a song to sing:
"…ἔνθεν ὁ πα[ι]δός
μῦθος ἐς ἡμετέρην ἔδραμε Καλλιόπην."
From there the girl's [Kydippe] story travelled to my Kalliope [Muse]."
[108] Pi.*Pyth.*6.1-3.
[109] Hippoc.*Aër.*12.20-23 (*TLG*).

> And now she is conspicuous among Lydian women, as each time the sun sets, the rosy-fingered crescent moon outshines all the stars; and light spreads over the salty sea and the richly flowering fields alike; and the dew flows over beautifully, roses bloom, tender chervil and flowery honey-sweet clover.[110]

Sappho draws comparisons between the woman and the moon, a feature in nature typically identified with the goddess, Selene.[111] Like the moon that outshines the stars, the woman is the more beautiful than all of the women around her. With a flowing, spreading movement, the light of the moon touches different features of the earth and sea. These features are described as different images or glimpses of landscape, which Sappho uses to emphasise the woman's beauty. In this example, these glimpses might also stand for features of a woman and her body. If Sappho's use of ἄρουρα in this poem is similar to Aeschylus', then it is plausible that Sappho is commenting on the young woman's fertile body, or the assumption that she is fertile and able to bear children. In keeping with the metaphor of a woman's fertile body as a field, Sappho draws in other images associated with a young woman's budding physical and sexual maturity such as flowers and dew. If compared with the deflowering metaphor employed elsewhere in poetry,[112] the woman in Sappho's poem has "πολυανθέμοι ἄρουραι *richly flowering fields*", which could infer that the woman is in the flower of youth, virginal and is sexually and physically mature.

The metaphor of women as features of landscape or vegetation is evident elsewhere in Sappho. Related to the woman and flower imagery, Sappho laments that shepherds in the mountains trample a hyacinth flower, with possible sexual connotations and the loss of innocence of the hyacinth-as-girl.[113] In another fragment, Sappho casts herself as a person who appears to be suffering under the curse of Eros or Aphrodite, comparing her own complexion to the colour of grass, "χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας ἔμμι *I am paler than grass.*"[114] Her entire body suffers because she is infatuated with a woman,[115] and uses the comparison between herself and grass to communicate that her complexion betrays a fraction of her suffering. The comparison between the poet as grass, as opposed to a flower, suggests that Sappho positions herself as inferior to the

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[110] Sapph.96.6-13.
[111] Selene, goddess of the moon: Hes.*Theog.*371-74. According to Hesiod, Selene has two siblings, Helios, god of the sun and Eos (Dawn), all of whom are children to the Titans, Theia and Hyperion.
[112] E.g. Persephone's "pluckability" in h.Hom.2.5-16, the word from Deacy 2013, 399.
[113] Sapph.105c. Johnson 2007, 114, du Bois 1995, 44-45, and Wilson 1996, 97-98 also offer this interpretation of the hyacinth as representative of a girl and her loss of innocence, which identifies a sexualisation of the flower and its connotative imagery. Such an association between the hyacinth and the female is identified also in Anacreon's fragment, in which he associates hyacinth flowers with Aphrodite. See Anacr.1,1.7-9 (P.Oxy.2321) above.
[114] Sapph.31.14-15.
[115] Sweats, pounding head, difficulty speaking, trembling, hot flushes or fever. Sapph.31.10-14.

woman of her infatuation. Though Sappho judges herself equal to the man that is in conversation with the woman, Sappho appears inferior in action to him because she is unable to do what he does and speak with the woman.[116] In this dynamic, the beautiful woman is comparable to a flower and Sappho, who is inferior, the grass. As Johnson expresses, Sappho is a fighter in the battle of *eros* but "appears defeated before the siege has begun."[117]

Poets use phenomena and processes in nature and landscape to explore the female body. The word ἄρουρα is used in some instances as a metaphor for a woman's womb, such as in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* concerning the incestual relationship between Oedipus and Jocasta. In this play, Jocasta's body is described as an ἄρουρα and sexual intercourse as the act of sowing seeds:

> …ματρὸς ἁγνὰν
> σπείρας ἄρουραν…
>
> … he sowed his mother's pure field…[118]

The woman's body is ἁγνά *pure*, meaning that she was ready once more for marriage.[119] The use of ἄρουρα signals the expectation that she will be able to conceive and carry more children because the word describes land that is tillable and, thus, suitable for crops. The metaphor of her body as a field is strengthened using the verb σπείρω *to sow*, referring to sowing of seeds, which in this context has sexual connotations.[120] Aeschylus' use of ἄρουρα represents female desirability through landscape, similar to Sappho's use of the word above.

Other Classical authors use ἄρουρα in euphemisms that connote female bodies. In Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus,* Oedipus discovers that he has married and had children with his mother:

> … μητρῴαν δ' ὅπου
> κίχοι διπλῆν ἄρουραν οὗ τε καὶ τέκνων.
>
> … but he found the maternal field that had produced two harvests,
> himself and his children.[121]

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[116] Sapph.31.1-8.
[117] Johnson 2007, 81-82.
[118] A.*Th.*754.
[119] She is part of a νυμφίοι *bridal pair,* in A.*Th.*757.
[120] The word that Greek texts use for both seed and semen is σπέρμα. Just as humans sow seeds in fields (Ar.*Or.*709-10), Aeschylus uses the action of sowing seeds as a euphemism for male ejaculation into a woman's womb.
[121] Soph.*OT.*1256-57.

This Sophoclean extract speaks to the anthropomorphism of spaces and features of landscape as female. The extract employs euphemism to describe the distasteful and shocking revelation of Oedipus' incestual relationship with his mother-wife. A euphemism in Plato's *Laws* uses ἄρουρα with similar effect, wherein the characters discuss that it is better to,

> ἀπεχομένους δὲ ἀρούρας
> θηλείας πάσης, ἐν ᾗ μὴ βούλοιο ἄν σοι φύεσθαι
> τὸ σπαρέν.
>
> Keep away from all female fields, in which one does not wish to have a sprout grow.[122]

These examples reveal a Classical representation of the female through landscape imagery, perhaps continuing the poetic use of landscapes from Archaic poets, Sappho and Pindar, who sing of fertile fields and erotic imagery.[123] However, both Plato and Sophocles use the reproductive, life-giving quality of the earth in their conceptions of female bodies as fields with subtle, suggestive language.

Landscape and its distinguishing features are used poetically to talk of female beauty. In an *Idyll* of Theocritus, the eye-catching beauty of dawn, a Thessalian horse and a cypress tree express the unique beauty of a famous Spartan demi-goddess:[124]

> Ἀὼς ἀντέλλοισα καλὸν διέφανε πρόσωπον,
> πότνια Νύξ, τό τε λευκὸν ἔαρ χειμῶνος ἀνέντος·
> ὣδε καὶ ἁ χρυσέα Ἑλένα διεφαίνετ' ἐν ἀμῖν.
> πιείρᾳ μεγάλα ἅτ' ἀνέδραμε κόσμος ἀρούρᾳ
> ἢ κάπῳ κυπάρισσος, ἢ ἅρματι Θεσσαλὸς ἵππος,
> ὣδε καὶ ἁ ῥοδόχρως Ἑλένα Λακεδαίμονι κόσμος·
>
> As Dawn's face is beautiful when she reveals it during her rising, Queen Night, or as bright spring waking up from winter, so did golden Helen shine out among us. Just as a tall cypress tree shoots up decorating a fertile plot or garden, or as a Thessalian horse decorates its chariot, so is rosy Helen the ornament of Sparta.[125]

[122] Pl.*Leg.*839a.
[123] Pi.*Pyth.*4.255; Sapph.96.11.
[124] Hague 1983, 135 notes that in Helen's comparison to a tall cypress, this compliment is reminiscent of Sappho comparing a bride-groom to a sapling.
[125] Theoc.18.25-30.

Helen is the κόσμος *ornament* of Sparta, the most prized and beautiful woman. Comparable to notable processes in nature, such as dawn's rising and spring's coming after winter,[126] or to a cypress tree in a rich, fertile ἄρουρα *field* or κῆπος *garden*,[127] Helen is renowned for her extraordinary beauty. The connection between Ἀώς (Dawn)[128] and Helen is further emphasised through the adjective ῥοδόχρως *rosy,* with the application of similar adjectives, such as ῥοδοδάκτυλος *rosy-fingered,* in other texts to the dawn goddess.[129]

Interwoven in the example above is the romantic and much-enjoyed season of spring, to which roses, other flowers and goddesses are connected. The beauty of spring is found in her waking up from winter,[130] when the earth gives up plants and flowers once more.[131] Described in the *Cypria,* the Graces and Hours dress Aphrodite in clothes dyed with spring flowers including ῥόδον *rose*, ὑάκινθος *hyacinth* and κρόκος *crocus.*[132] The source provides a clear association between Aphrodite, the Graces (Χάριτες) and Hours (Ὧραι) with springtime.[133] In another springtime text, the *Anacreontea* attributes to the Graces the ability to cause roses to bloom:

> Ἴδε πῶς ἔαρος φανέντος
> Χάριτες ῥόδα βρύουσιν·
>
> Behold how the Graces swell the roses at spring's appearance.[134]

The personification of nature and seasonal changes as goddesses such as Demeter, Gaia and the Graces transforms the blooming of flowers into expressions of divine power and ability. In the extract from the *Anacreontea,* the Graces have similar abilities to Gaia and Demeter, whose powers influence the changing of the seasons.[135] Using the verb βρύω, the poet creates the image of roses bursting into bloom at the hands of the Graces.

Female Experiences in Ἀγροί, Ἄρουραι and Νομοί

Thus far, the texts have introduced many different types of females that are associated with fields. These females are identified through the nouns κόρη, παρθένος, γυνή, νύμφη, θεά and θεός. Poets have used landscape to explore concepts relating to fertility, human nature, female

[126] Dawn: Theoc.18.25; Spring: Theoc.18.26.
[127] Cypress tree: Theoc.18.28-29.
[128] Doric form for Ἠώς, Ἕως, (Attic form) the goddess of dawn. "ἠώς" s.v. *LSJ* online 2017.
[129] E.g. Hom.*Od.*2.1, 3.491, 4.306, ῥοδοδάκτυλος *rosy-fingered.*
[130] Theoc.18.26.
[131] h.Hom.2.401-2.
[132] Cypr.6.1-4.
[133] Cypr.6.1-7.
[134] Anancreont.46.1-2.
[135] E.g. h.Hom.2.401-2; Hom.*Il.*2.546-549; Hes.*Op.*298-301; h.Hom.30.7-16; Hippoc.*Aër.*12.20-23 (*TLG*).

bodies and beauty, processes in nature and the changing of seasons. The sources are rich in their references to human activities. Women participate in the harvests, the treatment and storage of produce, and in the enjoyment of field spaces. Evident in this textual corpus is the representation of female experiences through field landscapes. The emotions evident in these experiences highlight different aspects of womanhood and the earth.

Gaia and the earth are mentioned or referenced in a variety of different ways, but she appears in almost every text included in the study of field landscapes. The extract of the *Homeric Hymn to Earth Mother of All,*[136] cited above, presents an idealised view of the earth. The poet focuses on the landscape, as all that grows is a gift from Gaia: the ἄρουρα which feed the people, the ἀγροί which feed the animals, the πόα which fills the girls with cheer. The text is explicit about ἀγρός and ἄρουρα, but implies νομός in the mention of feeding flocks. In the *Hymn,* the flowers and grassy fields are the cause of girls' happiness. The grass is the location of their dances, decorated with flowers. The girls enjoy their activities and their cheerfulness felt in their θυμοί *souls*. The enactment of the girls' θυμοί highlights the loveliness of the goddess' gifts of grass and flowers, and the potent power of the σεμνή θεά *revered goddess*.

Gaia is mentioned in the *Hymn to Demeter* as the giver of flowers to young goddesses and nymphs who play (παίζω) in a flowery meadow.[137] The most beautiful flower, which Gaia causes φύω *to grow* or *put forth*, becomes a toy (ἄθυρμα) to lure a young goddess into a trap.[138] Though the *Hymn to the Earth Mother of All* lacks the sinister theme of a flower as a lure*,* the participle παίζουσαι *playfully* indicates that the flowers are props in the dances with the girls playfully carrying them.

The *Hymn* is interesting in its use of ἀγρός and ἄρουρα. Crop-growing occurs in ἄρουρα, and the livestock feeds upon ἀγροί. The poet uses ἀγρός rather than νομός to denote the areas in which the animals are pastured, which reveals that the words are versatile, at least in this poem. In comparison to the other texts,[139] the *Hymn* is unusual in its use of ἀγρός, though the *Anacreontea* describes that Aphrodite paddocks her unyoked horses in an ἄρουρα.[140] In another *Hymn,* the

[136] h.Hom.30.7-16.
[137] h.Hom.2.424.
[138] h.Hom.2.16.
[139] Fields (ἄρουραι or ἀγροί) for growing crops or plants: Pi.*Pyth*.6.1-3; Sapph.96.6-13; Thgn.1.1198-1201; A.*Th*.754; Theoc.18.25-30 (includes a κῆπος). Νομός as a place to pasture animals: Call.*Aet*.112.9; Theoc.27.66-73. (the verb νομεύω); Theoc.25.13-17; h.Hom.3.20-21. Texts that are assumed to denote ἀγροί or ἄρουρα: Hippoc.*Aër*.12.20-23; Theoc.3.30-32; Ath.13.22; Hes.Op.403-9.
[140] Anacr.1,1.7-9 (P.Oxy.2321).

poet uses νομός to denote an area for nurturing and pasturing calves, wherein the beauty of the pasture land is likened to a song for the god.[141]

The study of landscapes reveals complex explorations about emotion and experience. Νομοί *pastures* are places of sexual encounters and explore the transition from girlhood to womanhood. In the extract from Theocritus which describes the affair between Acrotime and Daphnis,[142] the young woman's experience has a range of emotional responses that signal the episode is concerned with her transition from κώρα (κόρη) *girl* to γυνή *woman* or *wife* and μήτηρ *mother*. Acrotime negotiates with Daphnis that his intentions are long-term, and questions him:

> καὶ τί μοι ἔδνον ἄγεις γάμου ἄξιον, ἢν ἐπινεύσω;
>
> And what is the gift that you bring to me that is deserving of marriage, if I agree?[143]

Acrotime is direct, and speaks in her own negotiations, and does not agree to sleeping with Daphnis without a long-term, beneficial arrangement. Following their sexual union, which marks her change from maiden to woman, Daphnis must marry her,[144] and he promises "πᾶσαν τὴν ἀγέλαν, πάντ' ἄλσεα καὶ νομὸν ἐξεῖς *you will have all of my herd, all of my groves and pastures*",[145] as well as building her a δῶμα *house* and αὐλαί *stables*.[146] Acrotime remains doubtful, as is indicated in the reference to her trembling (τρέμω) and Daphnis' wish that he could include his ψυχή *life* in his gifts to her.[147] Once Daphnis convinces her, Acrotime fears the anger (νεμεσάω) of Artemis because she will no longer be virginal like the goddess. To placate Acrotime's nerves, Daphnis says he will sacrifice a βοῦς to Aphrodite and a πόρτις to Eros.[148]

The sexual union that the couple have debated about occurs and Acrotime's speech signals the change to how she identifies as a result: "παρθένος ἔνθα βέβηκα, γυνὴ δ' εἰς οἶκον ἀφέρπω, *I walked here a maiden, and I retreat home a woman."*[149] That she marks her own transition is most interesting because it is reveals that she has control over her actions. Daphnis' reply mirrors her comment, and expands her new identity to include μήτηρ *mother* and τεκέων τροφός *nurse of*

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[141] h.Hom.3.20-21.
[142] Daphnis is well-known from Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, a novel composed in Greek from the Roman period.
[143] Theoc.27.33.
[144] Theoc.27.36.
[145] Theoc.27.34.
[146] Theoc.27.37. To which Daphnis agrees, but offers to care for her flocks himself in Theoc.27.38.
[147] Theoc.27.52 (τρέμω), 27.62 (ψυχή).
[148] Theoc.27.63-64.
[149] Theoc.27.65.

young.[150] Though bashful (αἰδέομαι), the *Idyll* shows that Acrotime feels positively towards their sexual relationship because she returns to her goats "κραδίη δε ἔνδον ἰανθη *delighted in her heart*."[151]

Acrotime's sexual experience in Theocritus reveals interesting features about girls and womanhood. Firstly, the poet explores the concept of a noble girl and her financial value, as evidenced in Acrotime's direct and unwavering recognition of her worth. As a daughter of a well-known man,[152] Theocritus communicates that such a girl's family must be given a suitable gift in exchange for a daughter in marriage. Daphnis offers her a comfortable and sizeable bride-gift in the form of a house (δῶμα) and estate (ἄλσεα *groves* and νομός *pasture*), which Theocritus clearly considers a reasonable gift.[153]

Secondly, the poem captures the anxiety surrounding the transition from girlhood to womanhood, as conveyed through Acrotime's concerns for Artemis' anger and Daphnis' promise of sacrifice to Aphrodite and Eros. Acrotime's anxiety is possibly exacerbated, because the poem does not indicate that she has performed any customary rites to Artemis before her transition.[154] The line reads, "Ἄρτεμι, μὴ νεμέσα σέο ῥήμασιν οὐκέτι πιστῆ. *Artemis, do not be angry with me for no longer am I obedient to your word."*[155] Scholars identify Artemis and other goddesses in the rites and dedications of girls and young women in transitional life-stages.[156] In the poem, Daphnis removes Acrotime's girdle, claiming it as "τᾷ Παφίᾳ πράτιστον ἐγὼ τόδε δῶρον ὀπάζω *I give this as a first gift of honour to the Paphian [goddess]*."[157] Dillon notes that maidens would dedicate their girdles to Artemis prior to their wedding night, and that it was physically and symbolically removed on the night of the wedding.[158] The removal of a girl's girdle signals her transition from girl to woman, which is precisely how Theocritus intends it in his poem. However, Acrotime's girdle is offered to Aphrodite, not Artemis, which could also justify Acrotime's fear of the virgin goddess' wrath. Theocritus' poem explores such a

[150] Theoc.27.66.
[151] Theoc.27.69.
[152] Daphnis knows the name of Acrotime's father without her revealing it. Theoc.27.44.
[153] Acrotime's worth is identified through the giving of an estate belonging to Daphnis' family, and the building of house in which both will live. Her value is conveyed in a similar way to Aphrodite in the *Hymn,* whose worth is signified with oxen (ἀλφεσίβοιαι). h.Hom.5.119.
[154] Dillon 2004, 217 refers to the story of Admetus, who upon entering his bridal chamber, found snakes waiting within because "when making sacrifices for his marriage… had forgotten to make a sacrifice to Artemis." Similar anxieties are played out in the myths surrounding Callisto. E.g. Apollod.3.100-101, who cites earlier poets including Hesiod and Eumelus for his Callisto account.
[155] Theoc.27.63.
[156] See, for example, Dillon 2004, 215, and Bevan 1987, 17-21.
[157] Theoc.27.56.
[158] Dillon 2004, 216.

transitional phase, and he assumes that anxiety, excitement, enjoyment and pleasure are emotions associated with a girl's transformation into a woman.[159] Theocritus uses Acrotime's plea to Artemis to signal her transition from the goddess whom φιλομμειδὴς *laughter-loving* Aphrodite "οὐδε… δἀμναται ἐν φιλότητι *cannot seduce in love",*[160] and Daphnis' promise of sacrifice to Aphrodite and Eros to mark the introduction of a new goddess and her associated ἔργα *works*[161] in Acrotime's life.

Thirdly, Theocritus experiments with the characterisation of νύμφη. In her initial rebukes of Daphnis, Acrotime calls him σάτυρος *satyr*, and swears "ναὶ τὸν Πᾶνα *by Pan.*"[162] In so doing, Theocritus gives her the persona of a nymph. She is comparable to the semi-divine νύμφη, like those who inhabit "πίσεα ποιήεντα *grassy meadows*.[163] Cairns notes that the lovers are compared to the mythical couple Helen and Paris, as the latter, too, was a cowherd.[164] According to Cairns, the similarity between these couples is evidenced in the model of an *oaristys,* which is "an erotic negotiation culminating in a description or implication, albeit sometimes remote, of sexual fulfillment."[165] There is precedence set out in the poem in which comparisons between the lovers and other mythical couplings can be made. Thus, Acrotime's labelling of Daphnis as a satyr draws a connection between the young man and a mythical character who inhabits the woods. Her implied persona as a nymph fits well with a mythical coupling between satyr and nymph, and her potential rejection of Daphnis positions him as a satyr who could expect rejection and sexual unfulfillment,[166] though his desires are met in the end.

Daphnis presents himself to Acrotime as a suitor, after the young woman indicates that she has had many suitors and offers of marriage. Acrotime has refused them all, which implies that she intends to reject Daphnis too. As one who is considering marriage, though no suitor has she accepted so far, she also embodies the meaning of νύμφη, a *marriageable maiden* and *bride.*[167]

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[159] Similar to Persephone's emotions experienced in the Homeric *Hymn*, though her story involves abduction and possible sexual assault.
[160] h.Hom.5.17.
[161] h.Hom.5.9 refers to the ἔργα *works* of Aphrodite.
[162] Theoc.27.1-7.
[163] h.Hom.5.99.
[164] Cairns 2010, 111-12.
[165] Cairns 2010, 102.
[166] Hedreen 2006, 279 identifies the satyr-nymph relations in black-figure vase paintings, which portray successful and unsuccessful unions between satyrs and nymphs. Ceramic vase examples that evidence these unions: *ABV* 319, 2, Attic black-figure neck amphora, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 01.17, cited in Hedreen 2006, Figs. 5a and 5b; *Para* 144, 1, Attic black-figure neck amphora, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 76.40, cited in Hedreen 2006, Fig. 7.
[167] Acrotime is like the mortal girl of Aphrodite's false tale in h.Hom.5.119.

Theocritus carries her identity as a bride through the entire poem, which has its expected conclusion in their sexual union near the *Idyll's* end.[168]

Conclusion

Women's practical contributions to the cultivation of fields (ἀγροί), fertile land (ἄρουραι) and work in pastures (νομοί) have a profound impact upon the way the scholars can interpret societal value and roles of females. The work of τροφοί *nurses* or *child rearers* took them to three socially and culturally important places: the fields (ἀγροί), the temples (ιερά) and different familial homes (οἴκοι).[169] Hardly a minor figure in terms of labour output and contribution to the *polis*, a woman, either hired by or kept in servitude to a family, could be expected to raise and tend to the family's children and simultaneously assist with cultivation. It is significant that Plato attests to the movement of women in the city, because a τροφός had to care for children wherever her work took her. Such findings build upon Scheidel's research, as it expands the view of women whose work falls under field labour and livestock shepherding.[170]

Viewing female involvement in landscape as transgressive or exceptional is to accept the views of Xenophon and Demosthenes without consideration of other available evidence. Ancient Greek language confirms that women were involved in field labour. Certain nouns—such as τρυγήτρια for τρυγητήρ *fruit-picker* in Demosthenes,[171] ποάστρια *weeder* or *grass-cutter* in Magnes and Archippus,[172] and παραβάτις *gleaner* for παραβάτης in Theocritus[173]—indicate that female workers were known well enough that their occupations warranted feminised nouns. Inscriptional evidence confirms women's occupations as wet-nurses, animal tenders and shepherds.[174] Kennedy asserts that funerary inscriptions that attest to these occupations display an individual's pride,[175] which challenges the notion that women's value is evident only in their

[168] Theoc.27.67. Cairns 2010, 112 also identifies marriage and Daphnis' declaration that he presents himself as one of Acrotime's suitors, also citing h.Hom.5.119 as a comparative text.
[169] Pl.*Leg.*789e.
[170] Scheidel 1995, 202-217, Scheidel 1996, 1-10. The two papers, published a year apart, are a two-part investigation of the rural women of Greece and Rome.
[171] Dem.57.45. The masculine form, τρυγητήρ and its various declensions, appear in the *TLG's* textual records nine times; the feminised form τρυγήτρια appears 5 times.
[172] Magn.*fr.*5; Archipp.*fr.*44. Ποάστρια appears 26 times; there is no masculine form for a male worker.
[173] Theoc.3.31. The noun, παραβάτις, appears 12 times in the *TLG* corpus, though only twice in the period relevant to this study (once in the fourth century B.C. and in the third century B.C.). Παραβάτης appears more frequently with a total of 26 times, though this higher usage is understandable considering its denotation.
[174] Shepherd: *BGU* VI 129.11, *PMich.*iv.23.G, translation cited in Lefkowitz and Fant 2016, 292; wet-nurse: *IG* II^2 1559 (face A, column III lines 59-60 and 63), translation cited in Lefkowitz and Fant 2016, 292; Animal tender, specifically for horses: *IG* II^2 1559 (face B column I line 90), translation cited in Lefkowitz and Fant 2016, 292. This reference from *IG* II^2 1559 is particularly interesting because it refers to a mother (Lampis) and her daughter (Eupeithe) as wet-nurses.
[175] Kennedy 2014, 126-27.

ability to abide by or represent the secluded ideal. Taking the evidence from Hesiod, Plato and Demosthenes together with epigraphy,[176] ancient Greek evidence shows that women were involved in cultivational tasks as well as other roles including wet-nursers (τιτθαί) and child carers.

Landscape and its features such as vegetation and the rich, fertile, uncultivated earth represented feminine beauty, bodies, and the experiences of desire in subtle, less explicit ways.[177] Plato warned men against careless sexual intercourse through the analogy of seed germination and the female body as a field,[178] a euphemism that sounds far less crass and more socially acceptable than a direct reference to sexual intercourse. Likewise, Sophocles commented on the horrifying, incestuous relationship between Oedipus and his mother in a way that seemed less obscene for the purposes of tragedy.[179] Sophocles' and Plato's use of the field for female bodies and sexual intercourse highlights precisely Henderson's assessment of Attic Comedy euphemisms (though the Platonic work is a different textual genre), wherein they may "…distract our attention from the realities that obscenities insist on by appealing to socially acceptable concepts instead."[180] Both Classical authors cleverly use the field euphemism to make their point clear because their euphemistic expressions avoid the potential for obscenity and offence that a more direct reference could have had.

The result of these metaphorical, poetic field landscapes is that the spaces and their associated activities are gendered when associated with females. For example, important cultivational processes like healthy seed germination, harvest and cereal treatment and storage fall under the realm of goddesses, like Gaia and Demeter. These goddesses have dominion over the earth.[181] Supporting the work of goddesses, females including slaves and worker-women assist in the same areas (sowing seeds, harvest, gleaning and storage). The land itself (or herself) is feminised because poets use the earth to represent the beauty and loveliness of female bodies and forms.[182] In the theme of sexual reproduction, men are positioned as the plough and sowers of seeds in cultivation-as-sexual intercourse. du Bois would argue that all these activities are evidence of the

[176] Hes.*Op.*403-6; Dem.57.45; Pl.*Leg.*789e; *BGU* VI 129.11, *PMich.*iv.23.G; *IG* II^2 1559 (face A, column III lines 59-60 and 63); : *IG* II^2 1559 (face B column I line 90); Heracleid.Lemb.*Fr.*53.
[177] E.g. Pi.*Pyth.*6.1-3; Hippoc.*Aër.*12.20-23 (*TLG*); A.*Th.*754; Ar.*Or.*709-10; Sapph.96.6-13; h.Hom.2.5-16; Sapph.105c; Sapph.31.14-15; Theoc.18.25-30.
[178] Pl.*Leg.*839a.
[179] Soph.*OT.*1256-57.
[180] Henderson 1975, 55.
[181] h.Hom.2.401-2; Hom.*Il.*2.546-549; Hes.*Op.*298-301; h.Hom.30.7-16; Hippoc.*Aër.*12.20-23 (*TLG*).
[182] Sapph.96.6-13; Anancreont.46.1-2; Theoc.18.25-30.

gendered dynamic of females as receivers and storage vessels (passive) for male seed (active).[183] However, such metaphors do not equate to complete female passivity. If males are the cultivators and fillers of these metaphorical fields and storage vessels, then women are akin to Demeter and Gaia who control the yield of crops from their earthen bodies.[184]

Poets use fictional characters to comment on standards of behaviour in marriage arrangements. The representation of female and male 'transgressive' behaviour highlights the antithesis of expected behaviour in cultural processes. In *Idyll 27,* Acrotime and Daphnis are equated to a nymph and satyr. Though Acrotime's behaviour is transgressive because she has a sexual relationship with a potential suitor prior to marriage, her labelling of Daphnis as a satyr suggests that his behaviour is contra-normative. According to Hedreen, behaviour that typifies a satyr "differs significantly from the ideals embraced by Greek men of culture." Daphnis' lack of self-control is likened to a satyr, whose "lack of self-control is a lack of *enkrateia* or *sophrosyne,* the balance of mind and action, the restraint" that epitomised "…nothing in excess."[185] The *Idyll* provides evidence that it is not only the female who is expected to act in a certain way, but that males also had expected standards of behaviour.

Using this coupling, Theocritus provides insight into the betrothal process with the expectation that females have knowledge of these pre-nuptial arrangements.[186] This finding is important because it shows that females are not uninformed and might be actively part of the pre-nuptial process. For example, Daphnis' dialogue highlighted that marriage negotiations include financial promises and exchanges, including a house (δῶμα) and estate (ἄλσεα and νομός *groves* and *pasture*). He notes which goddesses are involved in wedding rites.[187] Acrotime's dialogue revealed that young women could be selective about their potential suitors and that women knew of the requirements for financial and familial gain through marriage.[188]

Theocritean poetry attempts to convey how young women might feel in transitional stages and first sexual experiences. For example, Theocritus commented on Acrotime's feelings about her

[183] du Bois 1988, 45-49.
[184] E.g. Jocasta (Oedipus' mother) 'produced two harvests' in Soph.*OT*.1256-57; Demeter's withholding of crops in h.Hom.2.351-54; Gaia in h.Hom.30.7-16. See also Guzman 2014, 37-57 for an analysis of the Demetrian festival, the Thesmophoria, and how this festival evidences female control over their bodies and reproduction as represented through Demeter's control of the earth and the yield of crops.
[185] Hedreen 2006, 281.
[186] Theoc.27.56 and 65; Dillon 2004, 216.
[187] Theoc.27.56, 27.63-64; Dillon 2004, 215-16; Bevan 1987, 17-21.
[188] Theoc.27.33-37.

first sexual encounter with Daphnis, using a pastoral setting. Theocritus says that after their union, Acrotime "κραδίη δέ οἱ ἔνδον ἰάνθη *is happy in her heart*."[189] These details are important to note when approaching the text from the girl's perspective, even if the experience represented is fictional. Though her feelings about her first sexual encounter could be interpreted as reflective of a male-centred perspective—as though a woman should consider herself 'fortunate' for a first encounter such as this—it is interesting that Theocritus comments on her perspective. The explicit mention of her mood post-coitus is unusual in scenes that represent sexual intercourse between heterosexual couples. The commentary often only describes the male's thoughts and feelings about the encounter, for instance Apollo's seduction of Cyrene in Pindar,[190] or the moment of male climax, such as the experience portrayed in Archilochus' fragment.[191] The inclusion of Acrotime's thoughts certainly differentiates Theocritus from these other poets in this instance, and is an interesting representation of a female's first sexual experience.

[189] Theoc.27.69.

[190] Pi.*Pyth*.9.36-41: Apollo and Chiron discuss Apollo's desire to seduce Cyrene, which the god does. Apollo asks Chiron for confirmation that he should fulfil his desire: "ὁσία κλυτὰν χέρα οἱ προσενεγκεῖν ἦρα καὶ ἐκ λεχέων κεῖραι μελιαδέα ποίαν; *is it right to lay my famous hand upon her and ravage the honey-sweet grass of the wedded bed?*", to which Chiron "ἀγανᾷ χλοαρὸν γελάσσαις ὀφ᾽ρύϊ *laughed with a gentle nod*" and counselled him to do it. There is no indication of Cyrene's feelings, only that she has a son by Apollo and the god makes her a ruler over a city (lines 54-61). Cf. Hom.*Il*.14.313-28 for Zeus' list of women with whom he enjoyed sleeping and seducing, in which he does not mention how they feel about their encounters with him.

[191] The Archilochus' fragment (Archil.196a.1-53) ends with the man's sexual fulfilment, with little indication of the girl's experience. We can infer that she was afraid because the author refers to her trembling.

Chapter Seven
Females of the Ἀλωή and Ὄρχατος

Introduction

Ἀλωαί *orchards* or *vineyards* and ὄρχατοι *orchards* are spaces that represent female beings and their experiences in ancient literary and artistic evidence. Certainly, the associations between females and ἀλωή and ὄρχατος are far less prolific and explicit than the connections between females and κῆποι, ἀγροί and λειμῶνες, which are so clearly associated with female sexuality, appearance, development and experience.[1] However, my study of ἀλωή reveals ancient attempts to understand what it means to be a παρθένος on the verge of marriage, how it feels to be a mother and the societal evaluation of one's value and character, as represented through vineyards and orchards. An investigation of ἀλωή highlights poetic and artistic exploration of key themes surrounding maidenhood such as skill and productivity and the anxiety about one's transition from κόρη to παρθένος as expressed in ritual, and the value and admiration of motherhood. The poetic imagery and descriptive language of ἀλωή spaces construct female characterisations that challenge the assignment of females to passivity and interior spaces.

The scholarship concerning the associations and representations of females and ἀλωή is limited, especially in comparison to the study of κῆποι, ἀγροί and λειμῶνες and females.[2] Despite this scarcity, scholarship has discovered insight about the practical items used in the ἀλωή, female involvement in orchard/vineyard cultivation and the metaphoric representation of females as fruit and produce from the ἀλωή. Lewis' *The Athenian Woman* has been especially useful for interpreting the representations of female fruit-pickers in ceramic evidence, drawing from the metaphoric images of females and fruit in Sapphic poetry. The studies of Balmer, du Bois, Fowler and Johnson are important for the analysis of the μῆλον *apple* (and other tree fruits including pomegranates) as a product of the ἀλωή and its role in female representations. These scholars identify the μῆλον as a connotative device for female sexuality and fertility.[3] Fowler, for example, identifies Sappho's apple-girl[4] as representative of "the universal experience" of a girl's loss of virginity and experience of sexuality.[5] However, I do not agree completely with the

[1] Meadows and gardens: Sapph.132; Archil.196a.23-24; Ibyc.5-6.4; h.Hom.2.424. Fields: Anacr.1,1.7-9; Sapph.31.14-15; Sapph.96.6-13; Theoc.27.65-73; A.*Th.*754; Hippoc.*Aër.*12.20-23 (*TLG*).
[2] Bremer 1975, 268-69, citing Motte 1973, 147-153; Deacy 2013, 395-413; du Bois 1988, 39-166; Scheidel 1995, 202-217 and 1996, 1-10.
[3] Balmer, 1996, 50-52; Johnson 2007, 53; Fowler 1984, 142; du Bois 1995, 43-51.
[4] Sapph.105a.
[5] Fowler 1984, 142.

idea of universal experience, because experiences differ and responses to experiences differ. Instead, the main point I take from Fowler's perspective is that many poets, as representatives for, and creators of, their various societies, have considered the transitional stage from virginal to newly sexually experienced young woman as significant in female identities and experienes. Wilson, too, draws the connection between apple and girl in Sappho's poem. However, she argues that the apple represents the girl and is, therefore, passive.[6] The danger of Wilson's argument is that it supports the continued assignment of the female to passivity.

Though du Bois, Balmer, Johnson, Fowler, Wilson and Lewis make valuable contributions to the study of iconographic and poetic representations of fruit as females and experience, none deal with the interplay between female as fruit and fruit-picker. My analysis of this interplay is a contribution to the study of ἀλωή and the interpretations such a study offers to female associations with landscape. The investigation of artistic portrayals of women as fruit-pickers challenges Wilson's argument concerning female passivity as represented in the apple. The study of motherhood and aspects of maidenhood and transition through the lenses of ἀλωή and ὄρχατος are undervalued and underexamined, and warrant further investigation.

Ἀλωή: Females and vineyards

Girls, women and baskets

One of the most well-known and detailed descriptions found in the *Iliad* of an estate is that on Achilles' shield in Book 18.[7] The shield is a well-investigated area for topics including ecphrasis, city and estate structure, and conceptual studies of landscape and simile.[8] The section of the shield that is relevant for the current purposes depicts scenes of "human life in country and town",[9] specifically the scene of harvest. It demonstrates that young women are involved in the harvest and has symbols that qualify maidenhood. In this example, the qualifying nouns σταφυλαί *bunches of grapes* and κάμακες *vine-poles,* denote the space as a *vineyard*.[10] Below are the eight lines that describe the thriving ἀλωή and the girls within it:

> Ἐν δὲ τίθει σταφυλῇσι μέγα βρίθουσαν ἀλωὴν
> καλὴν χρυσείην· μέλανες δ᾽ ἀνὰ βότρυες ἦσαν,

[6] Wilson 1996, 96.
[7] The entire shield is described in Hom.*Il.*18.478ff; the estate is mentioned in lines 550-72.
[8] E.g. Taplin 1980; Brann 2002, 41-42; Francis 2009, 1-26; Hardie 1985, 11-31) See also the analyses of Hubbard 1992, 16-41; Scully 2003, 29-47; Gutzwiller 1977, 32-36; Kurman 1974, 1-13.
[9] Hardie 1985, 11. Hardie categorises the shield into two groups, the harvest scene as part of the second group. Meanwhile, Taplin 1980, 7-9 divides the shield into four sections, the grape harvest belonging to section three ("the third circle: rural life") part c ("autumn"). Hubbard 1992, 18 tells us that other archaeological finds "scattered throughout Greece and Italy" have concentric circles depicting similar scenes, including harvest scenes.
[10] Hom.*Il.*18.561 (bunches of grapes) and 18.563 (vine poles).

ἑστήκει δὲ κάμαξι διαμπερὲς ἀργυρέῃσιν.
ἀμφὶ δὲ κυνέην κάπετον, περὶ δ᾽ ἕρκος ἔλασσε
κασσιτέρου· μία δ᾽ οἴη ἀταρπιτὸς ἦεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν, (565)
τῇ νίσοντο φορῆες, ὅτε τρυγόῳεν ἀλωήν.
παρθενικαὶ δὲ καὶ ἠίθεοι ἀταλὰ φρονέοντες
πλεκτοῖς ἐν ταλάροισι φέρον μελιηδέα καρπόν.

He planted a fine, golden vineyard heavy with great bunches of grapes. There were dark bunches of grapes that he set up throughout on silver vine poles. Around it he drove a cyanic-coloured trench, and around that a fence of tin. A single path led towards it, which carriers used when they gathered in grapes. Maidens and unmarried youths gleefully carried honey-sweet fruit in plaited baskets.[11]

The παρθενικαί assist during the harvest with the collection of the καρπός *fruit.* The maidens carry the collected fruit in τάλαρος πλεκτός *plaited baskets.*[12] At first glance, the poet portrays an idealised landscape. The fruit appear in their ripened stage, and the entire ἀλωή is heavy with ripe produce. The human activity is idealised, as communicated through ἀταλὰ φρονέοντες *gleefully.* Limited effort is required of the human occupants and the entire space is thriving and productive.[13] However, approaching the harvest activity through the imagery and connotations of the τάλαρος πλεκτός, it communicates poetic views of girlhood and associated identity markers.

Baskets are an interesting tool when used in the poetic exploration of maidenhood. There are four basket types associated with females: φορμός, κάλαθος, κάνεον and τάλαρος. In the analysis of a large collection of ceramic wares that depict women and orchards or vineyards, Fracchia identifies two types of baskets that she argues are evident in these scenes: φορμός and κάλαθος. Fracchia interprets the former as a "large burden basket", a utilitarian, worker basket that holds and transports collected fruit.[14] The *LSJ* identifies that, in a cultivational setting, a φορμός is also a measurement of cereal or grain and is used for its transportation.[15] The latter, κάλαθος (Fig. 1), Fracchia views as a ceremonial basket, Trinkl and the *LSJ* noting its ritual function in processions for Demeter.[16]

[11] Hom.*Il.*18.561-68. Παρθενική is the poetic form of παρθένος. See "παρθενική" s.v. *LSJ* online 2017.
[12] Hom.*Il.*18.568.
[13] Taplin 1980, 12 views the city and landscape depicted on the shield as representative of Troy pre- and current-wartime. Scully 2003, 29-31, notes the irony that the shield and the city of Troy share, both of which are creations by divine hands but are unable to shield and protect their mortal bearers/holders from death and destruction.
[14] Fracchia 1972, 105, 107.
[15] "φορμός" s.v. *LSJ* online 2018.
[16] "κάλαθος" s.v. *LSJ* online 2018; Trinkl 2014, 199.

Figure 1: Seated woman with wreath, bird, κάλαθος, footstool, alabastron and mirror suspended and man leaning on staff. BAPD 202736 (*ARV*[2] 263.54, 1603, 1641; *LIMC* 34265), Athenian red-figure white ground lekythos, 500-450 B.C., Athens, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2252.

In visual evidence, the basket types become less definitive, which makes it difficult to draw irrefutable conclusions about basket type and activity. A representation found on a red-figure hydria, dated to 475-425 B.C., depicts a scene with three women. There is a seated woman in the centre of the image holding a round object, with two women either side. The woman to her right carries a κάλαθος with her right hand and holds another object in her left hand. The woman to the left of the seated woman stands close and holds a κάλαθος outstretched in her left hand.[17] The BAPD entry interprets the women and objects present as a domestic scene, wherein the woman on the right holds a spindle and suggests that the central woman holds "fruit (wool?)." If one were able to identify the round object held by the central woman as wool, or that the woman on the right holds a spindle, then it is most likely a spinning scene. Such an interpretation would be useful because the scene would be evidence for the use of a κάλαθος basket in spinning, which differs from the textual references below that refer to the τάλαρος basket. However, it is clear that a κάλαθος basket is depicted because of its shape. The κάλαθος type is known for its a wide rim and narrow base.[18] According to Lewis, this basket can serve as "a symbol of female

[17] BAPD 214481, Athenian red-figure hydria, provenance unknown, Budapest, Hungarian Museum of Fine Arts, 50.154.

[18] Visual representations of the κάλαθος: BAPD 532, Athenian red-figure hydria, provenance unknown, Padua, Museo, 1702; BAPD 7704, Athenian red-figure hydria, provenance unkown, Houston (TX), Museum of Fine Arts, 80.95; BAPD 23909, Athenian red-figure lekythos (squat), provenance unknown, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum,

work, but not necessarily that the woman is indoors" or that it guarantees a 'domestic' scene.[19] This basket type is used for holding fruit, flowers and wool, and appears in ritual and ceremonial settings.[20] In a depiction of a man, woman and basket on an alabastron, Trinkl, citing Bundrick, interprets the κάλαθος as representative of the "metaphor for the woven fabric of marriage and the oikos."[21]

However, interpreting this scene on the red-figure hydria as a spinning scene rests on the identification of two items that are not depicted clearly enough to provide any certainty, namely the round object and the 'spindle' object. The 'spindle' could be identified also as a mirror, as its general shape is similar to other scenes in which women hold items which are interpreted as mirrors.[22] If the woman on the right holds a mirror, instead of spindle, one could identify the round object not as wool, but as a round fruit such as a μῆλον.[23] The scene, then, with the round fruit, the mirror and the κάλαθος baskets could be indicative of a ceremonial or ritualised scene,[24] or the representation of a woman's desirability. Considering the woman in the centre is seated, her position in the scene distinguishes her from the other two standing women. Her position as the focal point is shown through the focus of the two women towards her. One woman is walking away, but looks back at the central figure. The other woman on the left, stands directly in front of the seated woman, looking down towards her. Though the other items are difficult to distinguish, the κάλαθος is possible to identify.

1938.737; BAPD 23931, Athenian red-figure lekythos (squat), provenance unknown, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1937.673; BAPD 13970, Athenian red-figure skyphos, provenance unknown, Capua, Museo Campano, 220; BAPD 9139, Athenian red-figure pyxis, provenance unknown, Dallas (TX), Museum of Fine Arts, 1968.28.

[19] Lewis 2002, 137.

[20] Cf. A κάλαθος is used in Ar.*Or.*1325 to arrange 'wings' of various types. *SEG* 21:527 (line 46) refers to a καλαθηφόρος *basket-bearer* for the Kourotrophos, which could be a few different gods (see Kourotrophos s.v. Graf 2006, *BNP* Online).

[21] Bundrick 2007, 320-27, cited in Trinkl 2014, 202. The alabastron in question is BAPD 21648, Athenian red-figure alabastron, 500-450 B.C., provenance unknown, Paris, Cabinet of Médailles, 508, with the inscription "Τιμοδήμος καλός, ἡ νύμφη καλή." Trinkl interprets the scene, indicated by the inscription, as Timodemos and his new wife.

[22] Cf. BAPD 14764, Athenian red-figure lekythos, provenance unknown, Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum, 2603; BAPD 14510, Athenian red-figure lekythos, provenance unknown, Bucharest, MIRSR, 0467; BAPD 11923, Athenian red-figure skyphos, Rhodes, Camiros provenance, London, British Museum, E147. All of these scenes also show women with a mirror and κάλαθος basket, or have a κάλαθος basket and another woman in the same scene.

[23] See below for the analysis of μῆλον and its associations with women and ἀλωή.

[24] Another example that suggests a bride as the seated figure, also has a mirror and κάλαθος present in the scene: BAPD 205768, red-figure lebes, Delos, Rheneia provenance, Mykonos, Archaeological Museum. However, Eros is not present in BAPD 205768 or BAPD 214481, and the god often is present in wedding or other ceremonial scenes, along with other ceremonial items such as loutrophoros, wreaths, and/or sash(es). As shown in, for example, BAPD 215006 (*LIMC* 18593), Athenian red-figure pyxis, Attica provenance, Wurzburg, Universitat, Martin von Wagner Mus., L541; BAPD 20338 (*LIMC* 202988), Athenian red-figure lebes, provenance unknown, Athens, Benaki Museum, 3117. Eros does not automatically assume that the scene depicts a wedding. See Stafford 1997, 200-202.

Alongside the φορμός and κάλαθος, there is a third type, κάνεον, that serves ceremonial purposes.[25] This basket features in important public festivals that involve female participants as κανηφόροι *basket-bearers*.[26] For example, Aristophanes mentions them in the Panathenaia,[27] and inscriptional evidence attests to ceremonial basket-bearers in the Dionysia and the Skira.[28] The κάνεον basket serves other practical tasks including holding bread, and for simpler ritual purposes such as Penelope and her prayer to Athena in the *Odyssey.*[29]

A fourth type of basket is identified with women in harvest scenes in literary evidence.[30] The third type is a τάλαρος, which the παρθενικαί in the *Iliad* carry. Similar to the κάλαθος basket's pertinence in ritual use, the τάλαροι reflect the denotations and connotations of the spaces in which they are used. In the example of the Iliadic ἀλωή above, the main feature of the space is productivity. Thus, the baskets and their use share the space's productive characteristic.

The basket is a signifier of productivity through its inclusion in such harvest scenes. Thus, this productive characteristic extends to the users or bearers. The conceptualisation of girls' and young women's work as productive is not a common association in ancient or modern investigations. Whilst historians comment on the enjoyment of women or girls in vineyards,[31] the connotation of the basket reveals that the girls and their activities should be understood as reflecting the ideals and concepts of productivity and excellence. The characteristics associated with maidenhood excellence are expanded to include productivity, because young women and girls use τάλαροι for productive, practical work.

Baskets as representative of maidenhood excellence are evident in sources from the Hellenistic period, such as the grave stele of Menophila. The inscription on the stele is explicit about the basket's meaning in regards to the young woman's identity: it signifies Menophila's εὔτακτος ἀρετή *well-ordered excellence.*[32] Aristotle identifies the following qualities that are desired of

[25] Ar.*Or.*43, 850, 863, Aeschin.*In Cetes.*3.120, Eur.*El.*1142 and *IG* II^3 1 445 (Law 2, line 15).
[26] "κανῆφόρος" s.v. *LSJ* online 2017.
[27] Ar.*Or.*1551; Ar.*Ach.*242, 260; Ar.*Lys.*645.
[28] *IG* II^3 1 1284, *IG* II^3 1 920 (Dionysia); *I Eleus.*175 (Skira rite for Demeter and Persephone). For scholarship on these various festivals, see, for example: Walbank 1981, 276-81; Bevan 1987, 17-21; Dillon 2004, 37-42, 242; Parker 2005, 223-26.
[29] Hom.*Od.*4.761.
[30] The τάλαρος is also used for cheese production. E.g. Ar.*Fr.*559-60; Hom.*Od.*9.245-47.
[31] Bowe 2010, 211, citing Plato who states that orchards and their fruit are grown "for the sake of amusement and pleasure." However, Plato's argument should not be taken to mean that orchards, nor the workers and their labours, lost their productive or practical aspects.
[32] PH263228.8.

girls, "beauty, stature, self-control and industriousness without meanness."[33] Menophila's well-ordered excellence is what Aristotle calls industriousness, and is represented in the carving of the basket. The type is a τάλαρος, which means it is this type specifically that the text associates with excellence. Menophila is recognised for her role as a leader shown through the wreath. Her role is that of the stephanephorate, a prestigious magistracy for the city. Menophila is remembered for her well-ordered excellence and leadership, which both have an important civic relevance and practice.[34]

The imagery and connotations of female excellence on Menophila's stele shares similarities with baskets and women in other texts. In an entry from the *Greek Anthology,* attributed to Philippus of Thessalonica, a τάλαρος is an item associated with weaving. In the entry, an elderly woman, Aisione, is the epitome of a productive, skilled, hard-working weaver and an aspiration for others. Perhaps past her physically capable years for weaving, Aisione dedicates her κερκίς *weaving shuttle*, ἄτρακτος δακτυλότριπτον *spindle worn by the fingers* and σχοῖνος ὑφασμένον τάλαρος *rush woven basket* to φιλέριθε κόρη Παλλαντιάς *Pallantian Maid, lover of wool-spinning*.[35] The weaving shuttle sings "ὀρθρολάλοισι χελιδόσιν εἰκελοφώνους *like the voice of the early-twittering swallow*", which creates a pleasant sound.[36] Through the references to Aisione's old age, her worn spindle and her τάλαρος, the implication is that her weaving items are well-used over a lifetime. Along with the other items, the basket carries the hard-working, productive character of its owner.

An anonymous entry in the *Greek Anthology* presents a counter view to the productive basket of Menophila's stele and Aisione above. In the entry, a grey woollen shawl is made, though a woman's τάλαρος, wool and spindles lie idle. The entry distinguishes the weaving of Athena from that of Aphrodite, though the goddesses both connote images of weaving.[37] The woman, Philaeneon, enjoying the intimate company of a man, Agamedes, does not work her loom, has no need for wool or basket, and does not produce woven items. Rather, Cypris is the weaver of the

[33] Arist.*Rh.*1.5.6, as cited in Buxton 1994, 26.
[34] PH263228.5-7; Bielman 2012, 243, citing herself Bielman 2002, n. 44. See Chapter Three for a discussion of Menophila's stele including her wreath.
[35] Phil.6.247.
[36] Heath 2011, 76-77 interprets the singing reference not to the shuttle but to the woman who weaves. This is an interesting interpretation because it highlights that sound is an important aspect of the weaving experience, and that the sound the women and/or their shuttles create are judged as pleasing according to the poets.
[37] Anon.6.284. Cf. 6.283 and 6.285 in the *Greek Anthology* also for women making choices between the work of Athena and Aphrodite. Athena's weaving is associated with the virtuous and industrious female weaver (see Kutbay 2002, 19-27, Paus.7.5.9, Hom.*Od.*2.115, Phil.6.247), and Aphrodite's weaving concerns the intertwining of lovers in relationships, as shown in Anon.6.284 (above).

grey woollen shawl mentioned, and the weaving connotes other meanings. Though Philaeneon's weaving items are idle, clearly Aphrodite's weaving is productive. While engaged in the other works of Aphrodite, the anonymous writer believes that many young women are too distracted to attend to their weaving and work. A Sapphic fragment attests to the distraction that 'Aphrodite', meaning attraction and desire, poses to a girl's attention at the ἱστός *loom*.[38] Hence, these young women lose the association with Athena, who represents ideal female excellence and productivity.

Though Adelon remarks that women during the life-stages involving Aphrodite leave their weaving items idle, this is clearly not the case for all.[39] Given the prolonged energy required to stand and weave at a loom, Pantelia suggests that weaving was an activity more suitable to younger women,[40] though there is no explicit proof for such a suggestion. In the *Odyssey,* Helen seats herself at the table with her golden distaff, silver τάλαρος and wool. Her activity is more likely to be spinning yarn or thread in preparation for weaving because she does not have a loom accompanying her and she takes a seated position.[41] Helen's τάλαρος is not idle but full with νῆμα *yarn* or *thread,* which implies previous activity and use.[42] As Helen weaves in the *Iliad,*[43] one should not assume that Helen weaves no longer in the *Odyssey*.

Piecing together the two entries from the *Greek Anthology,* Helen's basket and Menophila's stele, it is clear that ancient poets and writers associate women's use of the τάλαρος with work, skill and productivity. Whether in use like Helen's, well-used like Aisione's or the potential but unfulfilled use of Philaeneon's, τάλαροι speak to potential or actual productive and skillful female users. In the case of Menophila, the τάλαρος represents her excellence that is cleverly linked to an area of activity in which many women are depicted as productive and skilled. The basket as a signifier of industriousness and female productivity is evident in the extract from the

[38] Sapph.102.
[39] Cf. Entries 6.286-89 in the *Greek Anthology* are dedications from women of woven items to Athena and Artemis. Also, in the midst of the Trojan war, and during Helen's affair with Paris, Helen is weaving a great tapestry, despite that her life is marked by the ἔργα of Aphrodite. Hom.*Il.*3.125-28. In the *Odyssey,* Homer remarks on all of the delicate furnishings that the women of the house have made for Alcinoös' halls. These furnishings and the skill required to create them give the women of the household a well-known reputation. See Hom.*Od.*7.108-10.
[40] Pantelia 1993, 494.
[41] Hom.*Od.*4.130-35; Pantelia 1993, 496. Clarke 1983, 91-96 notes the visual representations of small-sized textile frames in red-figure vases of the that may suggest the use of weaving frames (for weaving and embroidery) that could rest on a person's lap. Helen, in the Homeric extract, has no such item with her. In Hom.*Od.*7.105-6, household women "ἠλάκατα στρωφῶσιν ἥμεναι… *sit twisting wool on the distaff*." A scholiast on Hom.*Od.*7.104 (Hes.*Fr.*285 [337 MW]) remarks that women wind wool on their thighs, meaning that they are seated. The word μύλη denotes both the hand-mill and end of the thigh. See Hes.*Fr.*285.
[42] Hom.*Od.*4.134. Theocritus adapts the image of Helen as a skilled and industrious weaver, singing that no other spins their yarn as she does from her τάλαρος. See Theoc.18.32.
[43] Hom.*Il.*3.125.

Iliad. Scenes from the epic poem are well-known for the image of the skilled weaver, such as Helen and her depiction of the war in a tapestry that Iris finds her creating.[44] The link between harvest and weaving is evidenced through the poet's choice of basket: the Homeric παρθενικαί use τάλαροι to carry harvested grapes from the ἀλωή. Therefore, the τάλαρος basket reflects productivity and skill in areas and tasks in which poets and artists portray women.[45]

Erigone and the αἰώρα: girls and ἀλωή in myth and ritual

Approaching the ἀλωή from another perspective, there are ancient references to myth and ritual that have a basis in vineyards and viticulture, such as the Aiora ritual and the myth of Erigone. In these ancient references, Greek cultural markers, including wine, the gods and religious practice, have an association with ἀλωή that involves girls and children. The visual evidence for the Aiora ritual is chronologically earlier than the textual evidence that explains or describes the attributive myth,[46] and there is select textual evidence from the Classical (Athenian) period that refers to the ritual.[47]

Scholarship reiterates the same information concerning Erigone and the main features of the ritual. Most scholars place the ritual swinging, the Aiora, as a rite that is either part of or associated with the Anthesteria festival.[48] Whilst the overall festival involves three days and various rites, the ritual of the Aiora, connected to one of the three days,[49] bears more obvious

[44] Hom.*Il.*3.125-28; Pantelia 1993, 495-97.

[45] The present discussion addresses only women and girls, though Aeschines refers to a man who is skilled in embroidery. Aeschines also mentions a woman who produces items (ἀμόργινος *flax-working*) out of ἀμοργίς *flax.* See Aeschin.97.7-10. Clothes made from flax, or silk, are attested also in A.*Lys.*150 and Antiph.153 (χιτών ἀμοργινος). Flax or silk would also need to be spun and woven, which one assumes the woman in Aeschines is proficient at. A similar relationship between object and user is evidenced in Hardie 1985, 12-15 between shield and bearer, and the inherent power of the bearer as reflected in the shields they carry.

[46] There is a fragment attributed to Sophocles with the title Erigone and a few fragmented lines. S.*Fr.*235-236. If it is an authentic Sophoclean fragment and Erigone is the same girl of the known ritual and myth, then Sophocles provides us with one of the earliest textual references to Erigone, from the fifth century B.C. Other textual references include Call.*Aet.*178, who refers to Erigone as Ἀτθίσιν οἰκτίστη *most lamentable by Attic women*, which shows the poet's knowledge of the Athenian (Attic) practice; Ath.14.618e-f, who mentions the song that is sung at the "Eôrai" festival for Erigone; Ael.*NA.*7.28 tells that Pythian oracle told the people of Attica to sacrifice to Erigone, as daughter of Icarius, and her dog.

[47] Cf. Paus.3.14.7; Apollod.2.192, Ael.*NA.*7.28, Hyg.*Fab.*130, Hyg.*Poet.astr.*2.2; Dillon 2004, 70 Fig. 2.15 "red-figure Athenian oenochoe; *c.* 420-410 BC; attributed to the Meidias Painter; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 75.2.11" BAPD 220503 (*ARV*^{2} 1313/11; *LIMC* 50608). Other ceramic evidence includes: BAPD 301521 (*LIMC* 50841), Athenian black-figure amphora, *c.*550-500 B.C., attributed to Swing Painter, Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 98.918 (*ARV* 306.41); BAPD 2169, Athenian red-figure chous, *c.*450-400 B.C., Attica, Koropi, attributed to the Eretria Painter, Athens, National Museum, VS319 (*ARV* 1249.14) (also cited in Dillon 2004, 315 n.154); BAPD 9134 (*LIMC* 203005), Athenian black-figure amphora, *c.*550-500 B.C., attributed to Princeton Painter, Stuttgart, Wuttembergisches Landesmuseum, 65.1.

[48] Goff 2004, 38-39; Dillon 2004, 69; Robertson 1993, 238-41; Dietrich 1961, 37; Parker 2005, 301-2.

[49] Cf. Dietrich 1961, 36 associates the Aiora with the day of the Choes (the second day); Robertson 1993, 214, 238 claims the "roaming and hanging are avowedly commemorated on the third day" and not the day of the Choes. Dillon 2004, 69 does not give a specific day, but notes that the Aiora is part of the Anthesteria. Like Robertson, Deubner 1932, 118 (as cited in Dietrich 1961, 41-42), Blundell and Williamson 2005, 125 and Parker 2005, 301-2

similarities to the myth of Erigone than to the Anthesteria.[50] In the ritual of the Aiora, the name derived from the main feature of the ritual,[51] young girls swing on αἰώραι *swings.* The scholarly interpretation of the swinging is that it mimics the method of Erigone's suicide, by hanging, after either finding her father's dead and buried body, or learning of his death.[52] Scholars mostly agree that the ritual swinging has dual-purpose: a) purification and atonement of the city Athens, (as the city from which much of the evidence comes and the location of the 'action' of the myth)[53] for the death of Icarius and the suicide of Erigone;[54] b) to assist young girls in their transition from girlhood to puberty and womanhood, a transition that Greek society believes is marked by anxiety, and even suicidal tendencies.[55]

Robertson notes that scholarship focusses on the sombre, "gloomy" atmosphere of the Anthesteria festival, with an emphasis on the themes of death, the stirring of the dead, and the expression of respect and fear of the dead souls whom Hermes guides.[56] Even in the ritual swinging for Erigone, the themes of death and the appeasement of her ghost or spirit is emphasised. However, the Anthesteria also involves positive expressions of festive behaviour, including drinking, singing, dancing, eating and wearing masks.[57] Likewise, in the Aiora more positive themes are detectable.

If one considers that part of the ritual is to ease the anxiety and challenging aspects of girls' transitions,[58] the rite, then, is about bringing the participants to a state of peace. Alongside this peacefulness, the swinging could have an element of enjoyment,[59] and shared experience among the participants. The Aiora is, thus, about transition and girls' transformation of mind and body, as well as the supplication of Erigone.

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associate the Aiora with the third day of the festival, the Chytroi. Regardless of which day the rite was held, it is clear that the Aiora is connected in some way with the Anthesteria.

[50] Parker 2005, 302 argues that none of the evidence is "decisive" for connecting the Aiora to a day of the Anthesteria.

[51] Dietrich 1961, 38 supports this assessment.

[52] Dietrich 1961, 37 notes that in another myth (citing Apollod.Epit. 6, 25 and Tzetzes on Lycophron 1474), Erigone is the daughter of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra, and hangs herself because the accused, Orestes, is acquitted.

[53] Dillon 2004, 69-70. See Dillon 2004, 315 nn.152, 154 for his list of evidence, including relevant scholarship. Dietrich 1961, 37-38 for the location of the "action" as Athens.

[54] Goff 2004, 39; Dillon 2004, 69-70, Dietrich 1961, 37. Other versions of the myth associate Orestes, which Dietrich 1961, 44 claims is another aspect that speaks to the need for purification.

[55] Cf. Hippoc.*Virg.*8.466-468.13-14; Dillon 2004, 20, 69-70; Demand 1994, 11, 55, 103; Robertson 1993, 238.

[56] Robertson 1993, 197-98.

[57] Robertson 1993, 198; Burton 1998, 150 mentions the inclusion of men and women in the sacrificial rites of the Anthesteria; Dillon 2004, 103, 152.

[58] Dillon 2004, 69-70.

[59] Parker 2005, 184 offers 'fun' as an explanation or meaning for the rite, since Parker claims there is no firm enough evidence to understand the particularities of the ritual and its place in the festival.

The Aiora is interesting for other reasons. Firstly, it reveals a distinct connection, through myth and ritual, between girls and ἀλωή as a *vineyard.* The Aiora remembers through ritual the suicide of a girl, who kills herself because of her father's death. Through the myth that deals with Erigone's suicide, the rite is connected to wine and vineyards because the myth (as perpetuated through the rite) tells that her father, Icarius, brought the first wine with the blessing of Dionysus and was killed by men who did not understand wine and its effects. Though there is discussion (as noted above) regarding the placement of the Aiora during the Anthesteria, there is a connection between the rite (Aiora) and the festival (Anthesteria), and thus, between girls, the rite and the festival.[60] Erigone and the ritual swinging form a religiously and socially significant part of the festival, both for the city and for the girls.

Secondly, it points to the double denotation of ἀλωή as *vineyard* and *orchard* through association in this rite. In its ritual performance, the Aiora involves girls on swings, presumably suspended from trees, that mimics the hanging body of Erigone. While the myth creates a connection between the rite, viticulture and vineyards, the practical performance evidences a connection to ἀλωή as orchard because the girls swing from trees. This difference between denotation of space reveals that, while myth commemorates one denotation of ἀλωή, practical performance of ritual commemorates the other. The Aiora, then, brings together wine and trees, both markers for areas denoted as ἀλωή.

The Ἀλωή and Ὄρχατος: Mothers, Goddesses, Families and Orchards

Ἀλωαί as physical expressions of familial connections and bonds are apparent in poetic works. In a Homeric example, the relationship expressed is between father and son. Odysseus recounts the activity of walking through his father's κῆπος and recalls the various types of plants and trees that grow within it to prove his identity to his father.[61] Laertes' garden has many fruit trees growing in sections designated as an ὄρχατος and ἀλωή, both words denoting *orchard*.[62] Upon his return to Ithaca, Odysseus finds his father carefully tending to a young plant in his ἀλωή.[63] Recounting the structure and variety of plants in the κῆπος proves his identity, and reflects the importance of the landscape to his family's livelihood and father-son bond.[64] The use of ἀλωή in

[60] Parker 2005, 302.
[61] Hom.*Od.*24.335-44. Heubeck, Fernandez-Galiano and Russo 1992, 398 on this reference remark that Odysseus points out the trees his father gave him as a boy as a σῆμα that is more meaningful and secure than the revelation of the scar, the ownership of the trees being something that only he and his father would know.
[62] For ὄρχατος: Hom.*Od.*24.222, 257; ἀλωή: Hom.*Od.*24.336.
[63] Hom.*Od.*24.221.
[64] Hom.*Od.*24.244-7.

metaphor also attests to the relationship between mother and child, and uses this cultivational space to communicate the values of motherhood.

Thetis and Achilles: motherhood as gardening in simile

Scholars have observed that the "care of the young is prominent in the comparison drawn from the realm of nature."[65] This observation is evidenced in the notable relationship between Thetis and Achilles in the *Iliad*. Thetis rears her son as one who raises an ἔρνος in an ἀλωή. Scholars offer various interpretations of the Homeric simile. Forster finds that the employment of the simile in reference to Thetis and Achilles "is Homer's idea of a well-regulated infancy", and shows the poet's love and appreciation for nature.[66] Drawing from other examples of Greek ritual and thought, Tsagalis finds that the "vegetal imagery allows the poet to consider the short-lived life" as evidenced through Achilles and reveals "an Iliadic preoccupation with the theme of premature death."[67] Similar to the interpretations of the quick growing lettuce of the Adonia gardens as representative of the short-lived youth, Adonis,[68] the same image of a pre-mature death is detectable in the imagery of Achilles as sapling. However, for Achilles it is the ephemeral life of a warrior,[69] which is an identity that Adonis does not share. More broadly, the Iliadic example is typical of Homeric simile, capturing a "world of material objects and practices outside the world of war", set into the "conflictual arena of the battlefield."[70]

One of the interesting and significant features of this simile is the placement and role of Thetis. Unlike the women and goddesses of the previous chapters, Thetis is not equated in the simile with the fertile earth that feeds, nurtures and grows the sapling-Achilles. Rather, she is the gardener, the divine hands that foster, tend and raise the ἔρνος in an ἀλωή to its adulthood. But, what does such a simile communicate about a mother's effort and role in child-raising? Focusing more closely on Thetis' place in the simile, it is evident that the poet uses the image of a gardener to praise Thetis for her role as a mother.

Thetis is a sea-goddess and has close ties to powerful Olympians, including Poseidon and Hephaestus. Thetis' role in the *Iliad,* and elsewhere in mythology, reveals her powers of

[65] Interestingly, Lynn-George 1996, 2 makes this observation but does not include the Thetis-Achilles simile, rather others, i.e. Hom.*Il.*14.427-8, 17.4-5.
[66] Forster 1936, 103-4.
[67] Tsagalis 2004, 20.
[68] See Parker 2003, 286; Detienne 1977, 68; Winkler 1990, 204-5; Pilitsis 1985, 145-66. However, I interpret the role of lettuce in the Adonia differently. See Guzman 2014, 19-36, especially 32-36.
[69] Kitts 2000, 110.
[70] du Bois 1995, 46.

protection and strength.[71] She is remembered in epic poetry for the rescue and protection of the king of the gods, which brings an end to a revolt and an attempted usurpation of Zeus.[72] In the *Iliad,* her powers are focused on the protection of her son, though her full power to save and protect him is limited by Achilles' mortality—she is unable to save him from death. Thus, Thetis' actions and advice throughout the epic speak of protective role.[73] Despite Achilles' patrilineal references and the love he has for his father,[74] Thetis holds the main role in her son's life throughout the epic. It should be noted that though motherhood and her protective role for her son is a focus in the *Iliad*, motherhood is not her only role or purpose in mythology.

Turning now to the simile, the poet describes Thetis as a gardener and her son, Achilles, as an ἔρνος *young shoot* in an ἀλωή. Thetis' care and the expression of her parental care is evident. It is a powerful simile because it uses Thetis' focalisation, thus providing a personal perspective:[75]

> ὃ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἶσος·
> τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ θρέψασα φυτὸν ὡς γουνῷ ἀλωῆς…
>
> And he shot up like a young shoot. And I reared him, like a sapling in the high, sloped ground of an orchard…[76]

Thetis' care of Achilles is a central feature of the simile. In Thetis' words, the goddess uses the verb τρέφω, appearing in its participle form, to communicate her care of Achilles. The denotations of this verb, interpreted above as *reared,* also include *thicken, curdle, grow, grow up, educate, nourish, maintain* and *support.* The emotionally charged aspects that are attributed to the participle and verb include *cherish* and *foster.* The imagery associated with these aspects of meaning are children, animals, as well as armies.[77] Similar to Lynn-George's findings about the verb πέλω,[78] τρέφω communicates the action and expression of care. This reading of the verb τρέφω reveals a strong emotional attachment between Thetis and her son.

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[71] Slatkin 1986, 10-11.
[72] Hom.*Il.*1.396-406, cited in Slatkin 1986, 11.
[73] Slatkin 1986, 9.
[74] E.g. Hom.*Il.*1.1, 1.188, 1.197, 2.674. Achilles' love for Peleus: Hom.*Il.*24.508-9, 24.511-12.
[75] McNelis and Sens 2016, 37 identify a similar effect from Cassandra's focalistion. They note that few similes in the Homeric poems are from an individual's focalisation. Thus, the simile analysed above is significant for its rare personal focalisation.
[76] Hom.*Il.*18.56-57. The simile is repeated in lines 437-38. Note that γουνός denotes an area that is high and sloped, such as a hill. See Chapter Two, "ἀλωή" section.
[77] 'τρέφω' s.v. *LSJ* online 2018. See Chapter Six for the use of metaphor and simile in the poetic explorations of females and animals.
[78] Lynn-George 1996, 18.

The most significant feature of the simile for the current purposes is that Thetis assumes the role of a gardener in an ἀλωή. A κηπουρός, as noted in Chapter Two, is a person who cares for and tends cultivated spaces. Gardeners, and those who undertake the tasks and have the knowledge without the title,[79] are experts in proper care, watering and cultivation methods. Such people have a close relationship to the plants they tend, as shown in examples such as Laertes and his familial garden (a κῆπος which contains both an ὄρχατος and ἀλωή) in Ithaca.[80] Though described in a narrative that is chronologically after the *Iliad,* Laertes illustrates clearly the self-sacrificing nature of a gardener that relates closely to that of a dedicated parent. The poet remarks on Laertes' worn, soiled clothing,[81] perhaps indicative of little to no self-care. His emotional distress and grief manifests in his appearance, worn down by grief for his missing son. Yet, his ἀλωή is πολυκάρπος, *fruitful*.[82] Its fruitfulness is the result of careful, tender attention. The areas denoted as ἀλωή are of high value to landowners and families of this period.[83] Seemingly as a choice between self-care and care for his garden, Laertes' appearance indicates the latter.[84]

For Thetis, her dedication and tender care for Achilles is not manifest so much in her appearance, as it is for Laertes, but in her behaviour. Pained with the knowledge of his upcoming death, Thetis displays her grief in typical, funerary behaviour,[85] in the mournful beating of her breasts.[86] Following this display, Thetis returns to the task at hand, the protection of her son through the gift of new armour. The armour and shield, crafted by Hephaestus, serves this purpose of protection. The gift of the armour is the result of her love and care for Achilles. The armour also represents Hephaestus' care for Thetis because he consents to make it and consoles her in her grief.[87] The armour distinguishes Achilles from the rest of the Achaeans.[88] Scholarship has conflicting views on the interpretation of Thetis' gift. Hubbard interprets Thetis' gift of the

[79] E.g. Dolius, one of the faithful and much-loved slaves of Odysseus' household in Hom.*Od.*4.735-37, "…μοι κῆπον ἔχει πολυδένδρεον, *keeps my garden of many trees.*"
[80] Hom.*Od.*24.222, 336, 244-7, 257, as noted above.
[81] Hom.*Od.*11.191.
[82] Hom.*Od.*24.221.
[83] Bowe 2010, 209. Note that Alcinoös' and Laertes' ὄρχατοι are located closest to the house, Hom.*Od.*7.112 and *Od.*24.358. *Il.*14.124 illustrates that, among a person's estate, a thriving, tree-filled orchard is important and is a sign of a person's wealth: "… πολλοὶ δὲ φυτῶν ἔσαν ὄρχατοι ἀμφίς *and around were many orchards of trees*."
[84] Although, at Hom.*Od.*16.144-45*,* Telemachus remarks that his grandfather is doing nothing, only wasting away from grief. However, when Odysseus returns home, his father is working in his ἀλωή, tending to a small plant, in Hom.*Od.*24.226-27.
[85] Dillon 2004, 269; Sapph.140a; Ar.*Lys.*396, as cited in Goff 2004,139.
[86] Hom.*Il.*18.50-51.
[87] Hom.*Il.*18.463-67.
[88] None but Achilles, among the Achaians, can look upon the shield, as Hephaestus indicates at Hom.*Il.*18.466-67; Scully 2003, 34.

new, divinely made armour as "allowing him to re-enter battle and the social world of war."[89] In opposition to a 'social reintegration' reading, Scully purports that Thetis is advising her son to "put on his war strength."[90] Irrespective of either interpretation, the outcome of the gift is the same. The armour enables Achilles once more to re-enter battle, seek vengeance and leads to his eventual immortalisation in epic.[91] The shield and armour allow for multiple interpretations, each of which has its merits. For the present purposes, the shield and armour as gifts speak of the long-term and influential relationship between mother and child.

Thetis' care of Achilles not only reflects the expert knowledge and specialised care of a gardener, but her place in the simile as a gardener has precedent in the *Iliad*. Another example is found in Book 17,[92] which uses a "vegetal" simile to describe the life of a young hero.[93] On this occasion, Euphorbus is a ἔρνος…ἐλαίης *young shoot of an olive tree,* whilst Achilles is not equated to a specific type. Like Achilles, Euphorbus' development from childhood to adulthood is conceptualised as a sapling, though under the care of an ἀνήρ *man*. The descriptors of Euphorbus indicate that the man's effort is well-spent, because the sapling is of good character (καλόν τηλεθάον *good* and *flourishing*).[94] As in the Thetis simile, the Euphorbus simile uses the same verb, τρέφω, to describe the efforts of the man.[95]

The simile has an interesting impact upon the way in which the Homeric epic views motherhood, through the comparisons and similarities drawn from the role and identity of gardener, garden and plant. The poet uses everyday imagery that is more commonly pictured as "men's" work (though women frequently perform such tasks too),[96] and applies it to a Greek woman's realm of activity. In one way, the simile reveals the poet's praises for motherhood's efforts and care, comparing the task of mothering to the physically demanding labour of gardening. The child, as the product of the care and attention, is worthy of note. The representation of a child as a sapling

[89] Hubbard 1992, 22.
[90] Scully 2003, 37.
[91] Hom.*Il.*9.410-416.
[92] Hom.*Il.*17.53-55.
[93] Euphorbus' death is represented through nature imagery. See Hom.*Il.*17.55-60, as winds that rip the tree from the ground.
[94] Hom.*Il.*17.55.
[95] 'τηλεθάω' s.v. *LSJ* online 2018.
[96] It is more commonly viewed as men's work according to Xen.*Oec.*7.21-24, as cited in Hackworth Petersen and Salzman-Mitchell 2012, 4; Menander would agree with Xenophon, see Men.*Fr.*815 *PCG.G* as cited in Lefkowitz and Fant 2016, 38, item 66. In the *Odyssey,* the poet refers to male slaves and household men who work in the garden and with the livestock (e.g. Hom.*Od.*14.3 [Euumaeus the pig farmer], Hom.*Od.*24.222-225 [Dolius, the other slaves and his sons who gather stones for the αἰμασιά *wall* of the ἀλωή], Hom.*Od.*24.244-47 [Laertes and his care of figs, vines, olives, pears and other κῆπος *garden* areas and plants]) However, women are portrayed in livestock shepherding roles and undertake harvest tasks, such as in Heracleid.Lemb.*Fr.*53 in which women undertake the cultivation and the men shepherd livestock. See Chapter Six.

occurs elsewhere in poetry. To represent a child and/or youthful person (usually a male) as a sapling (ὄρπηξ, ἔρνος or φυτός) is positive and is intended as complimentary. Other young men who are called saplings include the bride-groom in Sappho (ὄρπηξ), an anonymous young male in Meleager (ἔρνος), Telemachus in the *Odyssey* (ἔρνος) and Herakles in Theocritus (φυτός). In these instances, eroticism and sensual, sexuality is connoted.[97]

In another way, the poet uses the value inherent in the space of the ἀλωή and applies it to the mother-child relationship. As the child is valuable and the mother's care expert, so, too, is the careful tending of the gardener in their ἀλωή and the fruits it produces. The simile shows that the role of the mother is of high importance in a child's up-bringing in the same way that the ἀλωή is important to a family's livelihood.[98]

The simile also serves to idealise the role of the mother in this kind of relationship, transforming Thetis in this Homeric text into an ideal. Her characterisation in the *Iliad* speaks to her idealisation, and communicates the expectations of women within a patriarchal world-order. Thetis' characterisation is used to enforce the expected role of the female in a patriarchal system, as shown through the reference to her protection and rescue of Zeus.[99] Clearly, she is powerful, but Thetis does not use her power to further disrupt the system in place, rather she ensures its continuity.[100] Even her marriage to Peleus, a mortal, instead of one of the other gods serves this purpose because it was prophesied that she would give birth to a son who would be greater than Zeus.[101] Thus, Achilles is the son of Thetis and Peleus,[102] and therefore mortal himself, which demonstrates that the prophecy is unfulfilled. In the mentions of Thetis throughout the *Iliad,* her efforts do not disrupt the system, but aid its enforcement. Thetis exemplifies a woman's expected role within a patriarchal system, which includes the institution of marriage and family.[103] For an

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[97] Sapph.115; Mel.12.126.5; Hom.*Od.*14.175; Theoc.24.103. Hague 1983, 133 notes that it is Himerius in *Orationes* 9.16 (Sapph.105.b in Plant 2004, 21[Plant 41b]) who informs us that Sappho compared the bride-groom to Achilles. Given that he is the sapling in the Homeric simile and that Sappho says the bride-groom is like a sapling, which Himerius indicates she means Achilles, perhaps this reference reveals also a knowledge or shared use of the sapling and its association with Achilles in archaic Greek poetry. Wilson 1996, 146 suggests that rendering the groom as a slender sapling is comment both on his physical attributes, and may "contain some phallic symbolism." See also Fowler 1984, 121-22.

[98] Bowe 2010, 209.

[99] Hom.*Il.*396-406, cited in Slatkin 1986, 11.

[100] Slatkin 1986, 10-11.

[101] Slatkin 1986, 12.

[102] Thetis proves her "trustworthiness" to Zeus' order in her rescue and support of his rule, and in the birthing of a mortal son to her mortal husband. Through these actions, Thetis is properly "integrated" into the (Olympian) family and her husband's family, a similar kind of integration that ancient Greek women undergo, according to Taraskiewicz 2012, 45.

[103] As Tsagalis 2004, 19 n.37 mentions, the *Iliad* makes no note of Thetis' leaving of her husband's house to return to her father's, which would clearly impact negatively upon her idealisation in the epic. Such a return to the natal

ἀλωή and its produce to thrive, adequate care must be provided. Likewise, for a family and its offspring to thrive, a woman's role is instrumental, so the simile portrays. [104]

Clearly, mothers are important in the lives of children, as another simile shows. Through the simile, which belongs to the vegetal category, Aesop discusses the differences between the mother and step-mother.[105] In this example, the primary interpretation is that the mother who tends to the plants is Earth, and she grows plants that are healthier and stronger than those under the care of humans, who are the step-mothers. However, if one approaches this simile from another perspective, the implication is that the mother is equated to divine care and that motherhood is clearly a fundamental and creative role in the life of a child. The support and care of others, such as handmaids and other women of the household, are still valuable but should be viewed as secondary, supportive roles to the mothers themselves.[106] These other women, such as friends, neighbours, slaves, midwives and other siblings are especially crucial to the support of the mother.[107] The evidence shows that women as mothers and members of the household had influence and importance in the lives of children, for which poets praise women and their efforts and value in rearing children.[108]

Thetis, ὄρχατος and ritual lament: a curious reference in Lycophron

Lycophron's third or second century B.C. poem *Alexandra* has intrigued and puzzled scholars for centuries.[109] Filled with unusual epithets for gods, goddesses, heroes and heroines,

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family might usually occur if no children were produced from the marriage, according to Taraskiewicz 2012, 44. However, Thetis conceives Achilles by Peleus, which would have strengthened her ties to her husband and his family.

[104] The value of mothers in epic are at odds with Lincoln 1979, 226 who argues that Greek kinship ideology treats a woman as a "biological parent only", while the father is a "social parent." In the case of Thetis, Peleus and Achilles, the ideology Lincoln presents is not evident.

[105] Aesop.32. For the Greek text and the candidate's translation of this example, see Chapter Two, "κηπουρός" section.

[106] Pratt 2007, 28 n.14. In reference to Hector's farewell scene (Hom.*Il.*6.466-86) Pratt interprets the nurse's role, "The nurse does not take the child away from his parents but stands beside them, lending support."

[107] Demand 1994, 22.

[108] Demand 1994, 2-4, 7-8, explains that child-rearing was an important aspect of women's lives and was seen as a major contribution to the household, its livelihood and continuity of the patrilineal line. Despite the high probability of facing of a life of malnourishment (p.8, p.18), a woman's role in the birthing of children who were legitimate heirs to property was expected. Demand argues that girls and women of households were useful to their families, e.g. a daughter could be 'valuable' to a sonless father in ensuring the inheritance of property through the father's line (p.3). Through their expected usefulness, girls learnt skills of child-rearing through helping care for siblings (p.10), which aided them later when they became mothers themselves (p.22).

[109] Hornblower 2015, 100-108 details the manuscript tradition and the various scholia on the text (the earliest extant scholion from the Augustan period), as well as Byzantine interest. Recent scholarly interest is notable in the 19th century, though various, shorter modern editions and commentaries exist from the twentieth and early 21st centuries (eight of the 16 modern editions appeared since 1990, noted by Hornblower 2015, 113). See Hornblower 2015, 108-113. For a second century B.C. date, see Hornblower 2015, 114; and, McNelis and Sens 2016, 10-11. Hollis 2010, 277-79 notes that there are scholars who hold onto the traditional dating of the third century B.C. Whereas, Hollis'

Lycophron is an undervalued resource for the study of localised cult and myth. The gift of an ὄρχατος from one goddess to another and women's ritual lament for Thetis' "nine-cubit" son, Achilles, is the source of intrigue here. It provides an opportunity to study an adaptation and reinvention of Thetis and Achilles,[110] described through the focalisation of Cassandra (Alexandra). The extract is of interest here for its reference to an ὄρχατος *orchard* and contributes to the study of women and their associations with this area of landscape. It is useful also because it provides a ritual context for concepts surrounding Thetis in the *Iliad*, and an historical point of reference for the conceptual and imaginative aspects of Thetis, Achilles, ἀλωή and ὄρχατος in ritual.

The Thetis presented in the Homeric epic commemorates the love between a mother and son, specifically the emotional and protective mother role. Thetis' grief for Achilles' death is noteworthy in the epic. In the extract from Lycophron's *Alexandra* below, the poet mentions once more Thetis' grief, though it now has a ritualised function:

> ἥξει δὲ Σῖριν καὶ Λακινίου μυχούς,
> ἐν οἷσι πόρτις ὄρχατον τεύξει θεᾷ
> Ὁπλοσμίᾳ φυτοῖσιν ἐξησκημένον.
> γυναιξὶ δ' ἔσται τεθμὸς ἐγχώροις ἀεὶ
> πενθεῖν τὸν εἰνάπηχυν Αἰακοῦ τρίτον (860)
> καὶ Δωρίδος, πρηστῆρα δαΐου μάχης,
> καὶ μήτε χρυσῷ φαιδρὰ καλλύνειν ῥέθη
> μήθ' ἁβροπήνους ἀμφιβάλλεσθαι πέπλους
> κάλχῃ φορυκτούς, οὕνεκεν θεᾷ θεὸς
> χέρσου μέγαν στόρθυγγα δωρεῖται κτίσαι. (865)
>
> And he [Menelaos] will come to Siris and the nooks of Lacinius, where a heifer will present an orchard to the goddess Hoplosmia, adorned in plants. And always, there will be a rite for women in the land to lament the nine-cubits descendant, the third generation of Aiachus and Doris, the hurricane of battle quarrels, and [they will] not dress their shining bodies with gold, or put on their delicately made purple-stained robes, because a goddess gave to a goddess a great point of land for her to establish.[111]

In the *Alexandra,* the poet refers to a πόρτις *heifer* and a goddess known as Ὁπλοσμία *Hoplosmia.* From later textual evidence, Thetis is identified as the heifer and Hera as Hoplosmia,

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main aim is to show the links between Lycophron and other Hellenistic poets, regardless of the dating of the text to the second or third century B.C.

[110] McNelis and Sens 2016, 9-10 argue that Lycophron is an artist, "reshaping the mythological and literary traditions for his own ends" and not merely derivative of "more pure and noble works of earlier generations."

[111] Lyc.856-65.

one of her epithets.[112] Lycophron mentions that it is Thetis' gift of an orchard that will become part of Hera's Lacinian sanctuary.[113] Though the sanctuary belongs to Hera, the main rite that the poet references is in honour of Thetis and the mourning of Achilles.

Before turning to the ritual, first a consideration of the connections and similarities between the Homeric Thetis and the Thetis of Lycophron. In the two texts, one main point of similarity between Homer and Lycophron is Thetis' association with areas in which cultivated trees grow. In the *Iliad*, as noted above, Thesis describes her experience of motherhood as a gardener in an ἀλωή and the φυτός *plant* she cares for is Achilles. Whereas, in the *Alexandra,* Thetis is associated with the orchard φυτοῖσιν ἐξησκημένον *adorned with plants*, through her gift to Hera. Though each poet's reasoning for using different words is unknown, both the *Iliad* and the *Alexandra* describe an area that is denoted as *orchard* through the words ἀλωή and ὄρχατος.[114] Also, both texts use φυτόν for the vegetation that grows in the space.

The second point of similarity between Lycophron's and Homer's Thetis is the emotional expression of grief that is connected to the *orchard.* In the *Iliad,* Thetis' grief is expressive and she adopts the behaviour that is characteristic of women in funerary contexts: beating her breasts and bewailing Achilles' fate as the leader of the grieving group of females (in this case, other nereids).[115] Her grief is a prominent feature in the *Iliad's* depiction of her because Thetis is already aware of her son's approaching death. She communicates her grief through the simile.[116] Thetis expresses extreme pain and sorrow and conceptualises her experience of motherhood in a relatable way. In Lycophron's poem, Thetis' grief is a feature of the ritual's aetiology and performance, alongside her gift of the ὄρχατος to Hera. The *orchard* is the location wherein the women perform their ritual lament; whereas, the *orchard* in the *Iliad* is a tool with which Thetis conveys her intense feelings.

In the *Alexandra,* the poet mentions her grief in a ritual context, though its function differs. By the second century B.C., the grief of the goddess-nereid appears as integrated and conceptualised

[112] The identification of Thetis as the heifer (Lyc.857) and Hera as her epithet *Hoplosmia* (Lyc.858) are due to Serv.ad.Aen.3.552, as cited in Mair and Mair 1921, 391 nn. p. and q., and in Chauvin and Cusset 2008, 139. The identification of these goddesses through epithets and "obscure" local titles is characteristic of Lycophron, as argued in McNelis and Sens 2016, 38-46.
[113] Lyc.857.
[114] The denotation of ὄρχατος as *orchard* is found in Homer. See, for example, Hom.*Od.*7.122, 24.222, 24.245; *Il.*14.124.
[115] Hom.*Il.*18.50-51.
[116] Hom.*Il.*18.56-57.

into the ritual practices of women in Croton, Southern Italy. Prominent in both the Homeric and Hellenistic texts is the influence of actual Greek funerary practice intertwined with myth, specifically women's funerary behaviour and expression.[117]

However, there is a change in the funerary behaviour. Whilst Thetis beats her breasts, as other women in Archaic and early Classical evidence do,[118] the women in Lycophron express their ritualised grief differently. Rather than a display with bodily movements, which Hornblower categorises as "aggressive",[119] the women use their dress and adornment to reflect lamentation. Lycophron says that they do not wear shining jewellery or delicate, purple robes. Such items are appropriate for other occasions. For instance, a fragment of Sappho describes the wedding of Andromache and Hector, in which the bride brought with her or was adorned in "πόλλα δ' [ἐλί]γματα χρύσια… πορφύρ[α] *many golden bracelets, purple robes*."[120] There is a stark contrast between the golden jewellery and purple robes that are associated with joyful occasions, such as a wedding, and the kinds of dress and adornments that are appropriate for funerary or sombre contexts.[121] It is clear that this ritual pertained to a funerary context, as shown through the restrictions on clothing and jewellery. However, whether the same regulations for funerals are upheld in this ritual is not certain, though it is suggested.[122] If regulations were not enforced, the poem shows that a funerary approach towards clothing and dress was adopted, for the purposes of appropriate lament for Achilles and respect for Thetis. There is much still unknown about the ritual and whether it belongs to a festival. The poem indicates that the rite is recurrent and that it must be held at some point, though the frequency is unknown.[123] Cole characterises these kinds of dress and bodily ornamentation restrictions as 'temporary', meaning flexible attributes of ritual involvement.[124] The inclusion of such restrictions in this ritual demonstrates that Lycophron embeds known Greek religious practice within his poem, and it is plausible that he references an actual practiced ritual.

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[117] Typical female funerary behaviour, as noted in Hornblower 2015, 95.
[118] For example, the women who lament the death of Adonis with Aphrodite beat their breasts and tear their dresses. Sapph.140a. See Dillon 2004, 268-69; Warrior 2009, 51 explanatory notes and cites Hom.*Il.*24.719-24 (Hector's funeral). In terms of ceramic evidence, a bride is shown tearing at her hair on a red-figure Athenian loutrophoros, mid-fifth century B.C., attributed to the Bologna Painter, Athens, Acropolis Museum 1170, Figure 5.3 cited in Mikalson 2010, 134.
[119] Hornblower 2015, 330-31.
[120] Sapph.44.
[121] Hornblower 2015, 330-31, nn.859 and 862.
[122] Hornblower notes that funerary laws could regulate the behaviour of women, including their dress. See Hornblower 2015, 330-31 citing sacred law (Gambreion in the Aiolid, third century B.C.) no.16 in Sokolowski 1955.
[123] Hornblower 2015, 95, 331.
[124] Cole 2004, 94.

Though precise details of the ritual are not provided, a consideration of other festivals and their similarities helps shed light.[125] One point of similarity is that the ritual in Lycophron has at its focal point the relationship between a goddess and a mortal male, for the purposes of expressing grief for the loss of the male. This relationship and purpose recall other festivals that involve a goddess and a young mortal, who is often a lover. One such festival is the Adonia, which has at its centre the relationship of Aphrodite (goddess) and Adonis (mortal male).[126] The festival involves female participants congregating in pre-arranged places,[127] who honour Aphrodite through the joint lament of Adonis' death, alongside a ritual that involved vegetation. The seasonal occurrence of the festival varies, with sources mentioning the festival during summer or spring.[128] The Adonia and the relationship between Aphrodite and Adonis are noted in ancient evidence that spans the Late Archaic to Byzantine periods,[129] in which the earliest extant reference of this ritual lament is Sappho. In Sappho's fragment, Aphrodite models the expected behaviour of the women—the beating of breasts and tearing of clothes—similar to Thetis' behaviour in the *Iliad.* As the goddess mourns for her lost lover, so, too, the women mourn. Whether the women in the Adonia lamented for other, personal reasons is debated;[130] the main point is that they do so because the goddess does. The ritual is a "natural expansion of their traditional funerary role."[131] The ritual that Lycophron describes can be seen also as another instance of the expansion of women's traditional funerary roles and behaviour, which may have

[125] Hornblower 2015, 95, 330-31 nn.859-60, gives another mourning ritual for Achilles at Elis. However, I have identified another festival example for the discussion.
[126] Aphrodite is honoured as part of a coupling with gods too, such as Hephaestus (Ap.Rhod.*Argon.*1.850ff) and Hermes, according to Larson 2007, 114-16. Young 2005, 28 interprets that in her cult worship at Paphos, the relationship between Aphrodite and Adonis represents life and regeneration (Aphrodite) and death (Adonis). Other goddess/mortal male couplings: Selene/Endymion (Ap.Rhod.*Argon.*4.54-58; Theoc.20.37-39); Harmonia and Cadmus (Hes.*Theog.*975); Eos and Tithonus (Hes.*Theog.*984); Eos and Orion (Hom.*Od.*5.121); Eos and Cephalus (Hes.*Theog.*986); Demeter and Iasion (Hom.*Od.*5.125-26; Hes.*Theog.*969-74).
[127] Before the Alexandrian Adonia in Theocritus (held at the palace, according to Theoc.15.22-24), the women would meet in each other's homes, so the following scholars state: Detienne 1977, 66; Parker 2005, 284; O'Bryhim 2007, 305; Dillon 2004, 163. A red-figure squat lekythos depicts women climbing a ladder, presumably onto the roof of one of the women's houses, and one holds a potted Adonis garden. BPAD 361 (*LIMC* 44952), red-figure squat lekythos, c. 425-375 B.C., provenance unknown, Karlsruhe, 278.
[128] Pl.*Phdr.*276b; Thphr.6.7.3; Plu.*Alc.*18.1-2; Ar.*Lys.*387-98; Hsch.1200.30; Plaut.38-39; Theoc.15.68-69.
[129]Examples (not an exhaustive list) textual/literary evidence: Sapph.140a; Paus.2.20.6; Ar.*Pax.*418-20; Str.6.2, 8.6, 12.3; Diosk.5.193; Pl.*Phdr.*27.b; Thphr.6.7.3; Plu.*Alc.*18.1-2; Ar.*Lys.*387-98; Plaut.38-39; Phot.*s.v.*400; Theoc.15.1ff (the entire *Idyll* concerns the Alexandrian festival); Hsch.1200.30. Ceramic/artistic evidence: BPAD 278, red-figure lekythos, 425-375 B.C., provenance: Italy, Ruvo, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, B39; BPAD 361(*LIMC* 44952), red-figure squat lekythos, c. 425-375 B.C., provenance unknown, Karlsruhe, 278; BAPD 230493 (*ARV*[2] 1482.1, 1695; *LIMC* 44959), Athenian red-figure hydria, 400-300 B.C., Libya, Cyrenaica, London, British Museum, E241. Modern scholarship that investigates the Adonia: Oakley and Reitzammer 2005, 142-44; Simms 1997/1998, 121-41; Detienne 1977, esp. 66; Parker 2005, 283-88; O'Bryhim 2007, 304-307; Dillon 2004, 162-69; Winkler 1990, 189-93; Segal 1991, 64-85; Reed 1995, 317-47; Burns 1995, 20-36; Pilitsis 1985, 145-66 (a fascinating study, as Pilitsis finds traces of the Adonia festival in modern Greek practices).
[130] Dillon 2004, 166-67 argues against the expression of personal laments and provides a summary of the arguments he refutes (incl. Winkler 1990 and Simms 1997/1998); Goff 2004, 144 purports that the festival enabled women express frustrations and desires without causing harm to society.
[131] Simms 1997/1998, 130.

a divine model. Although Achilles does not hold the role of lover to Thetis, this variation on the relationship dynamic does not negate the identified similarities.

Motherhood and orchards: Homeric influence in Theocritus

In *Idyll 24,* Theocritus presents the female character of Alkmene, the mother of Herakles by Zeus,[132] and his twin brother, Iphicles, by her mortal husband, Amphitryon. Theocritus provides an adaptation of well-known Greek Heraklean myths, such as the attempted attack by the snakes, the hatred of Hera for Herakles and his marriage to the goddess and daughter of Zeus and Hera, Hebe.[133]

Through her characterisation, Theocritus explores the image of a well-respected and leading woman who makes important decisions for her sons' lives, such as the selection of divine tutelage for Herakles.[134] In this poem there is a Homeric echo of the relationship between Thetis and Achilles, as expressed in the gardener-sapling simile.[135] Theocritus adapts the same simile concerning Alkmene and Herakles. The extract relates two significant effects of the simile: the identification of Alkmene as like Thetis, equating the mortal woman to a divine being; and equating her son to the great Achilles, though Herakles' life (in Theocritus) has a substantially different outcome to Achilles'. The Theocritean simile reads,

> Ἡρακλέης δ' ὑπὸ ματρὶ νέον φυτὸν ὣς ἐν ἀλωᾷ
> ἐτρέφετ'…
>
> Herakles was reared by his mother like a young plant in an orchard…[136]

Note the change in person from the Homeric inspiration—it is not Alkmene who describes her efforts, but the poet who talks of her. Considering the use of the simile in the *Iliad* and Theocritus' familiarity and adaptation of Homeric heroes and epic, it is likely that the poet is commenting on the mother's influence and efforts, for which Alkmene is praised. Theocritus' simile places the mother as an important figure in the child's life. However, he does not permit

[132] In a rather bizarre response to his feelings of desire for Hera while she wears Aphrodite's girdle or belt, Zeus recounts many of the notable mortal women with whom he has slept and the children they conceived as a way of stating that his desire for his wife far surpasses that of all of these women. He includes Alkmene and Herakles, which provides us with one of the earliest extant references to Alkmene as mother of Herakles by Zeus. See Hom.*Il.*14.323-324.
[133] Snakes: Theoc.24.13-64; daughter Zeus and Hera: Hes.*Theog.*922; Marriage to Hebe: Hes.*Theog.*950-955, Hom.*Od.*11.601-604; Hera's wrath/hatred: Hom.*Il.*18.119.
[134] Various tutors include Linos (Theoc.24.105-107), Eurutus (24.107-108), Eumolpus (24.109-110), Harplychus (24.111-116) and Castor (24.125-133), as well as his father (24.119-122).
[135] Hom.*Il.*18.56.
[136] Theoc.24.103-4.

the same personal insight or impact that Thetis' speech provides because of the use of third person.[137]

Like Thetis' careful hand in Achilles' upbringing in the *Iliad,* Theocritus refers to Alkmene's close involvement in the education of her son.[138] He indicates her importance multiple times: it is her persuasion (the verb used is πείθω)[139] that encourages Amphitryon to gather his sword and call to the household slaves to come to their sons' aid when the snakes attack; it is to Alkmene that Teiresias provides ritual instructions to deal with the deceased snakes, thus assuming her comprehension of the significance of ritual, and reassures her of Herakles' future greatness.[140] In his prophecy, Teiresias notes that through her own ancestry she is important because she is a descendant of Perseus.[141] While spinning, the women of Greece to come will sing of her greatness, meaning that Alkmene will be remembered in future generations.[142] It is also interesting to note that Alkmene sings a lullaby, a "prayerful request",[143] over her sons. Alkmene is, thus, feeding into the same narrative tradition in which she will be remembered.[144] Though she does little in terms of providing the formal education herself but involves other heroes to train her son instead,[145] the simile implies that her role is central because she raises him and selects his tutors.[146]

Though Amphitryon trains Herakles and contributes to his formal education,[147] Alkmene has the closer, more attentive and constant hand in his upbringing. Her closeness and constant involvement are reflected through the simile of a gardener because it is through a gardener's careful tending that a seedling reaches maturity. The image of the marriage that Theocritus creates between Alkmene and Amphitryon is one that involves respect and, that in the brief

[137] In the extract above, ἀλωή is interpreted as *orchard*, because the simile that appears in the *Iliad* is interpreted in this way. However, as with the Thetis example, the context of the simile does not provide other definitive clues, and as a result, ἀλωή could also mean *vineyard*. See the "ἀλωή" section of Chapter Two.
[138] Stern 1974, 359 notes that Alkmene selects Herakles' tutors, not her husband.
[139] Theoc.24.41.
[140] Theoc.24.73-100.
[141] Theoc.24.73. In Pindar, it is Amphitryon who summons the seer and to whom Herakles' future is told. See Pi.*Nem.*1.60ff.
[142] Theoc.24.76-78. The reference to spinning and singing is more important than first appearance. Heath 2011, 72, 78-79 and 82, notes that it is through these acts that women create and contribute to the narrative tradition.
[143] Stern 1974, 359.
[144] Heath 2011, 73 classifies lullaby songs ("nursery songs") alongside the other forms of female narrative transmission, including "mill songs, reaping songs… rowing songs, and herding songs… spinning songs." See Klinck 2008, 19-20, citing Ath.14.618.
[145] As noted above, the selection of tutors includes Linus (Theoc.24.105-107), Eurytus (24.107-108), Eumolpus (24.109-110), Harpalycus (24.111-116) and Castor (24.125-133), as well as his father (24.119-122).
[146] Theoc.24.134 refers to Alkmene as the organiser of Herakles' education.
[147] Theoc.24.104-5, 119-122, 134.

moments included in the poem, husband and wife appear to have parallel positions and unity in the household and lives of their children.[148] Their roles as parents are separate but complementary, each important and working together for the wellbeing and development of the children, especially Herakles.[149] However, Theocritus emphasises the role of Alkmene in the poem, wherein she appears to have the more recognised role than that of her husband.[150]

Picking Fruit and Choice Pickings: Παρθένοι as Produce of the Ἀλωή in Text and Art

Maidens and μῆλα in Greek texts

Simile and metaphor reveal associations between women and the space designated as ἀλωή, particularly through the fruits grown in this area. As the word μῆλον denotes the fruit, the space in which they grow (ἀλωή) is interpreted as *orchard.* Μῆλα are an interesting study because they are products of the ἀλωή which women collect, and to which poets draw comparisons and likenesses between females and the fruit. There is a fascinating interplay between females as collectors of fruit and females as fruit. The study of the orchard in text and visual evidence also reveals women's enjoyment of the space with other women.

Approaching the space through the investigation of female bodies and sexuality, the ἀλωή can be a place of similar connotations and experiences to the meadow. Like the orchard, the meadow is a place of potential: the eventual sexual maturity of the girl who plays in the meadow and is later carried off by a male. During her time in the meadow, the girl might not yet be ready for marriage and sexual experience, but is reaching the point of transition.[151] The meadow is also a place in which girls first experience and express their sexuality.[152] The beauty and flourishing nature of the meadow reflects that of the girls or young women who play in the space. Similarly, the ἀλωαί in textual evidence carry similar images of thriving, flourishing growth, enjoyed and used by women. An analysis of the produce grown in an ἀλωή reveals commentary about female sexuality and ripening maidens.

[148] E.g. Alkmene oversees Herakles' education, Amphitryon is one of his educators. Cox 2012, 281-83.
[149] Cox 2012, 282 finds similarities in the roles and relationships between husband and wife in the Hellenistic plays of Menander, such as Men.*Sam.*200, 410ff, 421; Men.*Fr.*592 (Sandbach).
[150] Stern 1974, 359. Stern finds that Alkmene's initiative is stressed.
[151] Rosenmeyer 2004, 176, citing Calame 1999, 156.
[152] Deacy 2013, find reference. See Chapters Three and Six regarding girlhood sexuality.

The word, μῆλον, denotes different fruit varieties, including apricot, quince, citron, peach and apple,[153] all of which sit within the category of "Baumfrüchte."[154] Here, μῆλον will be interpreted as apple generally, though the word could refer to the other fruit varieties depending on the other qualifiers in the extract.[155] The poetic uses and societal views of μῆλον in reference to females reveal four consistent features: the fruit can represent the body (as a whole or specific parts), life-stages, development and experience. In the evidence and discussion below, it is generally the female who is equated to the fruit by a male (though Sappho's apple-girl poem is not discounted) as the object of his desire, for his picking. The association becomes more interesting and less clear in visual evidence when there is the possibility of interplay between the women and fruit: women as fruit and the fruit as something that girls or women themselves pick.

In the analyses of ancient poetry and visual evidence, apples (and other fruit, including pomegranates) are signals or symbols of sexual maturity, and/or the offer of marriage or sex. For example, the appearance of the fruit in a vase scene can infer the holder or the intended receiver is portrayed from an eroticised or desired perspective,[156] which a reference from Aristophanes' *Clouds* supports,[157] though there are other ways to interpret such scenes.

Figure 2: Man with staff, seated woman holding fruit (pomegranate, or apple?), suspended sash (girdle?). BAPD 210229 (*ARV*[2] 825.12), Athenian red-figure cup (kylix), 475-425 BC, Wurzburg, Universität, Wagner Museum, L490.

In one example, the presentation of a μῆλον is viewed as a statement of intent. The giver reveals his or her desires and presents the receiver with a proposition; the receiver, through the acceptance of the fruit, acknowledges the intent and accepts the giver's offer. The proposition or offer in such a scenario can be interpreted as

[153] Littlewood 1968, 147-49 lists the following: "the apricot (Ἀρμενιακόν), quince (Κυδώνιον) citron (Μηδικόν), peach (Περσικόν), and most other fruits, except nuts, in addition to the genuine apple." Littlewood's "genuine apple" is the fruit produced by the *malus* genus, from the *malus pumila* tree, which is the common apple available in modern times.

[154] Döpp 1995, 341. McCartney 1925, 75-77 provides a brief survey of some the fruit that the Greek word μῆλον denotes, which includes the apple, fig and pomegranate.

[155] Döpp 1995, 342 argues that an adjective denotes if a specific type of μῆλον is meant.

[156] As Faraone 1999, 69-71 suggests of the role of apples in "marriage rites and seduction scenes" and myth. Examples of apples as gifts that connote desire in artistic evidence include: BAPD 207840, Athenian red-figure lekythos, 475-425 BC, provenance unknown, Fayetteville (AR), University of Arkansas Museum, 57.27.42 *ARV*[2] 669.45); BAPD 206453, Athenian red-figure krater, 500-450 BC, provenance unknown, New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, 41.162.86 (*ARV*[2] 564.24); BAPD 215563(*LIMC* 10544), Athenian red-figure lekythos, 450-400 BC, Athens, Paris, Musee du Louvre, MNB2109 (*ARV*[2] 1174.7); Fig. 1.

[157] Ar.*Nub*.996-97, in which the character, Better Argument, warns another character not to enter into the house of a ὀρχηστρίς *dancing-girl,* unless, while gaping at her, he wants to be struck by her μῆλον and have his name ruined.

marriage or an agreed upon relationship, though the fulfilment of the giver's sexual desires is implied.[158] In such a scene, the fruit represents both the giver's desires, and their perception of the receiver. The giver is communicating that they view the receiver as desirable or approaching readiness for an intimate relationship (Figs. 2 and 3). Thus, the apple or fruit might not represent current sexual maturity and fecundity, but could represent the hopeful future of intimate or sexual interaction. Lewis rightly asserts that such scenes do not have to reflect the "expected power dynamic" of male (giver) and female (receiver), nor that they are necessarily sexual or erotic in theme.[159] Women are depicted as initiating contact or offering objects to men (Fig. 2),[160] or that both figures are the same sex (Fig. 3). Both scenes could represent hopeful future sexual relations, or they could not; though the apple and its symbolism are suggestive of the former.

Figure 3: One youth presents an apple to another, who holds a flower. BPAD 202986 (*ARV* 262.32), Athenian red-figure pelike fragment, 500-450BC, provenance unknown, Cracow, Czartoryski Museum, 1320.

There are some interesting conflicts and inconsistencies in the interpretations of μῆλα and their uses in intimate relationships. Some scholars, such as Faraone, argue that apples, or μῆλα more generally, might be used to encourage a positive response from the receiver. In the context of marriage and intimate relationships, μῆλα might be given or consumed to "strengthen marital affections."[161] In other words, the fruits are said to have an aphrodisiac effect upon the receiver.[162] Lincoln and McCartney argue that the seeds or flesh from μῆλα fruits assist with fertility, usually for the woman.[163] However, if one approaches the evidence from yet another perspective, seeded fruits like apples and ῥοαί (pomegranates) also are believed to have a contraceptive effect on the user.[164] The example that these three interpretations use consistently is the Persephone episode in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, which will be treated briefly here. Whilst the pomegranate seed that Hades gives Persephone

[158] Cf. The myth of Atalanta and the golden apple that was a gift (or wedding present) from Hippomenes as an expression of his desire for her in an entry attributed to Arabius Scholasticus in the *Greek Anthology* 16.144.
[159] Lewis 2002, 188.
[160] The fifth-sixth century A.D. chronicler John Malalas wrote of an apple that was a token of the Emperor Theodosius' love for Augusta. The latter gave the apple away to another, Paulinus (Master of Offices), who then gave it to the emperor as a token of his appreciation, without realising that the apple was originally a gift from the emperor to Augusta. See John Malalas 14.p356.
[161] Plut.*Sol.*20.4 and h.Hom.2. Faraone 1990, 219-20.
[162] As, for example, Faraone 1990, 230 and Sutton 1997/1998, 32-33 purport.
[163] Lincoln 1979, 228; McCartney 1925, 75-76.
[164] Hippoc.*Nat.mul.*356 (a cleaning drink for the uterus/female body), 418 (a douche/gynaecological cleanser), 342 (a wine drink containing five pomegranate seeds for loosening the uterus after childbirth), 324 (a drink containing pomegranate seeds to improve menstrual blood flow). All of these Hippocratic treatments encourage the loosening or cleansing of the uterus or with increasing menstrual flow. So Nixon 1995, 86 argues.

strengthens their marital ties, it does not encourage fertility, improve their emotional connection, or act as an aphrodisiac.

The myth of Persephone's relationship with Hades begins with his abduction of her, which is commonly interpreted as an actual, violent abduction.[165] Her abduction can also be interpreted as a communication tool for Persephone's feelings of loss and anxiety in her transition from κόρη *girl* to ἄκοιτις *wife*.[166] The pomegranate seed is introduced when Zeus, via Hermes, orders Hades to return Persephone to her mother, Demeter, so that the latter ends her threat of wide-spread destruction of humankind.[167] The poet contrasts Hades' actions: on the one hand, he secretly (λανθάνω, or *escaping notice,* connoting *unseen*) gives Persephone a seed to eat; on the other, he openly (προπάροιθε, or *in front of,* connoting *in view of*) prepares the chariot and horses for her return.[168] The secretive nature of the first action hints at deception, and is cleverly emphasised by the openness of the second action. The outcome of Persephone's ingestion of the seed is that she must remain with Hades for one third of the year.[169] There is no indication of Persephone's sudden fondness for Hades as would be expected following Faraone's argument, nor are there other signs of fecundity for Persephone or her surroundings accompanying the ingestion as would be expected following Lincoln's argument.[170] Far from increasing her fertility or sexual desire for her husband, Persephone remains the 'maiden' and never becomes a mother,[171] as there is no suggestion in the *Hymn* that tells of any children from Persephone's and Hades'

[165] Such an interpretation is offered in Lincoln 1979, 225; Deacy 2013, 404.
[166] However, Lincoln 1979, 228 considers the scenario as representative of a girl's anxiety about her transition and interprets the myth as an initiation rite. I find Lincoln's argument concerning the perceived anxiety and fear of transition convincing. Similar feelings of anxiety are felt at other transitional stages in a girl's life, as noted in Dillon 2004, 69-70; Demand 1994, 11, 55, 103; Robertson 1993, 238, and the discussion of the Aiora festival above. Suter 2002, 72ff, whilst noting that certain aspects of the *Hymn* fit the initiation model, presents a counter-argument for viewing the myth as an initiation rite, but rather finds the myth as evidence for a *"hieros gamos."*
[167] h.Hom.2.305-13.
[168] h.Hom.2.371-76.
[169] h.Hom.2445-48.
[170] In other poetic scenes in which the power of an individual's fertility or a couple's sexual attraction, the power/desire manifests itself in the natural environment, such as the lush vegetal growth around Hera and Zeus (Hom.*Il.*14.347-49) and the animals that copulate resulting from Aphrodite's presence (h.Hom.5.69-74). Lincoln 1979, 234 approaching the Persephone elements of the *Hymn* as evidence for an initiation rite, argues that, through the incorporation of the seed into her body, Persephone "becomes a new person: whole, mature, fertile, and infinitely more complex than before." However, there is nothing to suggest Persephone's fertility is improved or increased at all.
[171] Nixon 1995, 86 interprets the pomegranate seeds as contraceptives, as described in the Hippocratic corpus, none of which are recommended in treatments to promote fertility, but are recommended for contraceptives. Suter 2002, 98 views the pomegranate differently, arguing that it is the "symbol of sex and fertility, and it is the narrative agent that causes Persephone's coming and going." Suter bases her claim on the relationship between Persephone's return to the earth and the blooming of vegetation, and not on the ancient medical uses of pomegranates. However, the return of the earth's vegetation (or "fertility") is due to Demeter, not Persephone, and there is no indication that the pomegranate has beneficial effects for fertility or as an aphrodisiac.

union.[172] However, the seed does ensure that the pair remain married, which strengthens their marital ties (though without an indication of Faraone's "strengthening [of] marital affections"),[173] and Persephone must remain in her husband's house for part of the year. During the other two-thirds of the year she may return to her familial house, though the emphasis is on her relationship with her mother.[174] The pomegranate is similar to the apple as a tree fruit because it shares the same associations with sexual relationships, though it does not have the apparent benefits to fertility that are assumed of the apple.

Alongside μῆλα as seeded fruits, nut varieties need a brief note because of the similar connotations drawn between nuts, μῆλα, flowers and women. An example is found in an extract from a play by Aristophanes. In *Acharnians,* a man is praying to Phales (a personification of Phallus) about his desire to catch a ὡρική *blooming* girl by surprise and "καταγιγαρτίσαι *take out her kernel*."[175] The connotations of the verb in this scene are of sexual intercourse (or rape, given the surprise approach) and a maiden's loss of virginity.[176] Here, a nut carries the same connotations as flowers, as to de-kernel a girl has the same meaning as deflower in English.[177] The poet also uses floral imagery (ὡρική) to describe the girl, who is of adolescent age (perhaps a παρθένος). Thus, a kernel can be considered alongside μῆλα in the analyses of women, fruit and simile,[178] because of its seed-like characteristic and its clear sexual connotation in this text.[179] Considering the nut's symbolic connotations with sexuality and sexual maturity, these connotations could also explain the inclusion of nuts in the καταχύσματα when a new bride is presented to her new family's hearth.[180]

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[172] Nixon 1995, 89.
[173] Lincoln 1979, 233-34 notes that Persephone's ingestion of pomegranate seeds is Hades' manipulative way of ensuring that his bride must remain with him in some way. However, Lincoln stretches, perhaps too far, the interpretation of the seeds' effects, wherein he says: "Death, life, male, female, and above all, the irrepressible power of reproduction, are all found in the image of the pomegranate seed. It is this seed which Persephone literally incorporates into her body, and with that seed, she becomes a new person: whole, mature, fertile, and infinitely more complex than before."
[174] Scholars note the central theme of the mother-daughter relationship in the *Hymn.* E.g. Nixon 1995, 89-91; Foxhall 1995, 107 (the ties between a daughter and her "natal family"); Foley 1994, 118-137 (the psychology of the mother-daughter relationship).
[175] Ar.*Ach.*271-75.
[176] 'καταγιγαρτίζω' s.v. *LSJ* online 2018.
[177] Henderson 1975, 166 n.285 supports this reading of καταγιγαρτίσαι and that it is a fantasy about rape.
[178] Interestingly, the Loeb edition (1998, 91) uses the colloquial English expression, "take her cherry", in their translation. It shows that even today, there is an association between women/girls and fruit, which connotes first sexual encounters.
[179] Plin.*N.H.*24.166, Paus.7.17.11 and Arnob.5.6, cited in McCartney 1925, 77 notes that nuts, such as the walnut, were used in Roman weddings, and that the protection of the foetus "(i.e. kernel=seed)" is represented in the structure of the nut and shell. He draws from myth the belief in the highly fertile nature of the nuts and/or seeds, as shown in the story of Attis' impregnation by either an almond (Pausanias) or pomegranate (Arnobius).
[180] Taraskiewicz 2012, 57; "Hearth" s.v. *BNJ* online 2018; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 34.

The connotation of a kernel as a girl's virginity introduces fruit as representative of female anatomy. Likely due, in part, to the similarity of rounded shapes, poets use fruit to connote women's body parts, specifically the breasts.[181] Three examples, two from Aristophanes and the other from Theocritus, illustrate the association of women's breasts as fruit.

Aristophanes' comedy *Lysistrata* depicts a boycott and rebellion of the wives of Athens. The women decide that they will isolate themselves and withhold sexual pleasures from their husbands in the hopes that the men's (perceived) sexual appetites will over-rule their desire for war and bloodshed, thus bringing an end to the war. Aristophanes uses vegetal imagery to connote, with humour, women's bodies. In one example, a character's pubic hair and genitalia is compared with a pennyroyal shrub and fertile land.[182] In this example, the woman's body is the butt of the joke, which is intended to highlight that she is scantily dressed.

Figure 4: (in order) Peithō, Menelaos, Eros, Aphrodite and Helen. Menelaos is depicted dropping or throwing away his sword. BPAD 215554 (*ARV*[2] 1173; *LIMC* 6028), Athenian red-figure oinochoe, 450-400 BC, Italy, Etruria, Vulci, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, H525.

In another example, the women mention Helen's allure. While discussing that their tactic to withhold sexual pleasure and their bodies is something that their menfolk cannot handle, the women laugh that even Menelaos, during the battle inside Troy, threw down his 'sword' at the sight of Helen's μῆλα (Fig. 4):

> ὁ γῶν Μενέλαος τᾶς Ἑλένας τὰ μᾶλά πᾳ,
> γυμνᾶς παραυιδὼν ἐξέβαλ', οἰῶ, τὸ ξίφος.
>
> Just like Menelaos when he caught sight of Helen's naked apples, threw down his sword.[183]

Aristophanes is clearly mocking men. For as much as they claim battle prowess and superiority, not even a Greek hero, such as Menelaos, can withstand a sexually alluring (and, thus, sexually

[181] Henderson 1975, 149 n.200 notes that μῆλα as representative of the breasts was a "standard image throughout Greek literature."
[182] Ar.*Lys.*86-89. My interpretation builds upon Henderson 1975, 135 n.129 and 136 n.136.
[183] Ar.*Lys.*155-56.

powerful) woman.[184] Dosuna identifies the 'double entendre' evident in Menelaos' behaviour, when he rightly asserts: "At the sight of Helen's appetising 'apples', Menelaus was mollified to the point of throwing away (i.e. laying down) his sword, but, at the same time, sexual excitement made him draw out (i.e. unsheathe) his 'sword', i.e. he suffered an erection."[185] Though women's sexual appetites are mocked elsewhere in the play,[186] the women of *Lysistrata* in this particular scene acknowledge that whilst women might be viewed as sexually insatiable and reveal their sexuality in public,[187] their menfolk are worse and can be manipulated through sex towards the women's common goal: peace.[188] Though this is clearly an exaggerated representation of both men and women,[189] Aristophanes' comedic commentary on civic issues, such as gender roles, expectations and the negative, "destabilising" impact of war on a city-state, through the guises of relationship and sexuality, is interesting for poetic representations of women and their bodies.[190]

In Theocritus' *Idyll 27*, the reference to Acrotime's body through vegetal metaphor carries a different purpose and sense to that of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata.* Evident in both texts is the use of vegetation to allude to sexual organs. Following Daphnis' and Acrotime's flirtation prior to their sexual encounter, Daphnis says he will show Acrotime his ἄλσεα *groves,* which connote his genitals. Using the analogy of male genitalia as erect trees,[191] and groves as places of delight, Theocritus continues the arboristic theme towards Acrotime's body, stating that "μᾶλα τεὰ πράτιστα τάδε χνοάοντα διδάξω *I will give instructions first to these downy apples of yours*."[192] The inference is that Daphnis is more sexually experienced, or that he would like to appear as

[184] Hamma 1983, 123-28 argues that, though Helen is beautiful the scene described in Aristophanes and material/visual evidence, reveals divine assistance from Aphrodite and Eros.
[185] Dosuna 2016, 168. Henderson 1975, 122 n.58 also identifies the sword (ξίφος) as Menelaos' penis and the apples for Helen's breasts, though he does not refer the double entendre that Dosuna purports.
[186] E.g. Ar.*Lys.*490-95: women's consumption of garlic to conceal their sexual "wantonness" from their husbands.
[187] A point which Stroup 2004, 40 finds "incompatible with the social category of 'wife' in Attic drama."
[188] See Euripides' harsh words, delivered through Peleus, which, unlike Aristophanes, is critical of both the man and woman. Euripides is damning of Menelaos and Helen, one who is a "προδότιν… κύνα *traitorous bitch",* the other a "ἥσσων πεφυκὼς Κύπριδος, ὦ κάκιστε σύ *slave to Cypris, you worthless man*." E.*Andr.*630-31.
[189] Clement 1958, 47-52 notes that, as far as textual evidence is concerned, it is only in Euripides and Aristophanes that provide Helen's sexual persuasion (assisted or otherwise) as the method through which Helen and Menelaos reconcile. However, Clement 1958, 53-54 and Hamma 1983, 123-25 refer to ceramic evidence that portrays the dropping or throwing away of the sword and the presence of Eros (representative of Aphrodite) in Menelaos' pursuit/meeting with Helen.
[190] Stroup 2004, 38-39 points out that the women's frustrations with the war result from their feelings of abandonment and sexual neglect, viewing the war as an "unfair attack on the civic and sexual rights of the women of Hellas." Stroup finds that the war, as portrayed through the play, has inverted and destabilised the structures and expected "rules of behaviour" of the *polis*.
[191] As noted above, Wilson 1996, 146 suggests that rendering the groom as a slender sapling in Sappho is comment both on his physical attributes, but could "contain some phallic symbolism." Such symbolism is at play here, too.
[192] Theoc.27.50. Referring to the "downy" i.e. blooming skin of the girl's μῆλα. It is clear that the μῆλα are Acrotime's breasts because she tells Daphnis to remove his hands from her breasts under her clothing (line 49), to which he replies he will teach his first lesson to her "downy apples" (line 50).

such, whereas Acrotime is inexperienced. The two levels of sexual experience, wherein one is experienced and the other is not, is contrasted through the verb διδάσκω and adjective χνοάω. The verb, here interpreted as *to give instructions*, shows that Daphnis assumes the role of the (more) experienced lover and reveals his attempt to take control of their encounter. The inference of Daphnis' experience and assumption of control is contrasted with the positioning of Acrotime as young, a maiden in bloom, ripening. Her μῆλά, *apples,* are "χνοάοντα" (the participle form of χνοάω *new, fresh, with youth's bloom*).[193] The poet positions her as the receiver of Daphnis' advances, as she is the participant without knowledge, experience and initiation in the realm of sexual relationships. Their downy newness, according to du Bois, emphasises their "vulnerability to… the violence of masculine desire."[194] Certainly, Daphnis' aggressive, sexual behaviour reflects his desire for sexual fulfillment, and Theocritus positions Acrotime as the girl who might fulfil Daphnis' desire.

However, much pre-nuptial negotiation takes place, during which Acrotime negotiates the arrangements, expectations and gifts with which Daphnis must provide her. Particular verbs represent in part an attempted portrayal of male and female dichotomy in sexual experiences. Daphnis is the giver (διδάσκω) and Acrotime the receiver and inexperienced (χνοάω). Certainly, Theocritus presents a παρθένος, Acrotime, who is inexperienced in sexual activity, alongside a young man, Daphnis, who wishes to appear as the more experienced and, thus, leading or dominant partner.[195] However, Acrotime's inexperience in sexual acts is contrasted with her clear knowledge of the process and contractual nature of marriage arrangements. She is at once an inexperienced lover, yet is fully aware of her worth and value and communicates herself well in their negotiations.[196] Her knowledge is power. Thus, she also presents a challenge to the patriarchal male-female sexual dichotomy because she is not passive in their exchange, and sexual fulfillment is only reached after Acrotime makes her expectations and conditions explicit, to which the young Daphnis agrees.

Archaic poetry provides evidence of ancient contemplation of girls and women in various life-stages through fruit. The fruit is used as the tool through which poets explore concepts such as a girl's readiness for marriage, and her perceived sexual maturity. In the poetry of Sappho, there is

[193] Henderson 1975, 136 n.139 identifies the word as connotative of pubic hair growth on prepubescents, or as a hint towards a young person's sexual and bodily development. In Theocritus' example it does not have the pubic hair connotation, though the word is suggestive of Acrotime's development towards womanhood.
[194] du Bois 1995, 49.
[195] Daphnis' characterisation evidences the masculine/male viewpoint that Wilson 1996, 98 describes, though Wilson's focus is on male characterisation/viewpoints in Sappho and Archilochus.
[196] Theoc.27.35-38, 61-62.

a well-known (and well-studied) extract about a girl as an apple. Referencing a type of μῆλον, Sappho describes a girl (most likely a παρθένος) as a γλυκύμαλον *sweet-apple* on a tree's high branch. In the analogy of the young woman as a sweet-apple, Sappho implies the ripening (ἐρεύθω *to redden*) of an apple as metaphor for a girl's developing sexual and physical maturity:[197]

> οἷον τὸ γλυκύμαλον ἐρεύθεται ἄκρωι ἐπ' ὔσδωι, ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀκροτάτωι, λελάθοντο δὲ μαλοδρόπηες, οὐ μὰν ἐκλελάθοντ', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδύναντ' ἐπίκεσθαι.
>
> As the sweet-apple reddens on the high branch, where the apple-gatherers forgot it—no, they did not forget it, but were not able to reach it.[198]

Stigers and Gomme interpreted the girl's unreachable position as an apple at risk of becoming over-ripe. In line with their negative reading, if she remains out of reach, or unattainable, the woman will miss out on her window of opportunity for marriage.[199] However, there is the offer of a positive interpretation because Sappho specifies that the apple-gatherers have not forgotten the apple. She is a most desirable bride and recognises her worth, so she waits for the man who presents her with the most beneficial arrangement.[200] Though the apple-gatherers, who are to be interpreted as suitors, try to reach her, none but the most suitable will be able to grasp her. Rather than portrayed as unattainable, and thus reflecting negatively on the girl, her 'hard-to-reach' position is praised as waiting because the maiden knows her value.[201] The fragment reveals choice, specifically that the apple-girl exercises a degree of autonomy and agency because her position suggests that she chooses to wait for a worthy suitor.[202] In du Bois' reading,

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[197] Balmer 1996, 50-52; the apple as "a symbol of fecundity" of the bride in Johnson 2007, 53; Fowler 1984, 142. The image of a woman's blush is linked to womanhood, as women might use a coloured substance to enhance or create a rosiness for the cheeks. Xenophon, though he is critical of it, evidences this cosmetic practice. Xen.*Oec.*10.5-8. He prefers the nature blush that occurs during physical exercise, though the exercise he deems appropriate for his wife is mixing flour, kneading dough and folding linen and clothing (Xen.*Oec.*10.11), which suit his idealised image of a wife who is industrious indoors (Xen.*Oec.*7.22-23). Though men are also known to use rouge and cosmetics (Xen.*Cyr.*3.2, 8.20). Pomeroy 1994, 306, in her comments about Xenophon's dislike of cosmetics, argues that μίτος probably had a more brownish-red colour that was "approximated to sun-tanned skin appropriate for men". If μίτος is understood in this way, it may explain on more ideological terms Xenophon's dislike of such cosmetics in reference to a woman's appearance and his clear preference for non-tanned or cosmetically enhanced skin for women, which he associates with a woman living mostly indoors.
[198] Sapph.105a.
[199] Stigers 1977, 91; Gomme 1957, 260, though Gomme reminds us that only a "perverse wit" would remind anyone at the wedding that the bride kept her virginity and virtue because she was forgotten by any previous suitors.
[200] She waits for someone deserving of her "hierarchical valuation", so argues Wilson 1996, 96. du Bois 1995, 42 refers to the double meaning of highest branch in the context of "qualitative [value] and spatial situation."
[201] According to Griffith 1989, 55-61; and Johnson and Ryan 2006, 69.
[202] Wilson 1996, 99.

the apple has "gone unnoticed *until now*",[203] which refutes the claim of the girl's apparent risk of over-ripening. In Sappho's song and the context of a wedding, the gatherers pick the girl from her high position. However, the apple-girl in Sappho is more reserved than Acrotime in Theocritus' *Idyll*.[204]

Sappho cleverly uses images of apples and vegetation to imply sensual pleasures and evokes associated sounds. In the fragment pertaining to Aphrodite's apple-tree grove (ἄλσος) in Crete, the language Sappho uses is layered with sensual overtones. Unlike the apple-girl in the fragment above, Aphrodite's apple-tree grove is vocal, employing, among the other senses, the sense of sound:

δευρύ μ' ἐκ Κρήτας ἐπ[ὶ τονδ]ε ναῦον
ἄγνον ὄππ[αι τοι] χάριεν μὲν ἄλσος
μαλί[αν], βῶμοι δὲ τεθυμιάμε-
νοι [λι]βανώτωι·
ἐν δ' ὕδωρ ψῦχρον κελάδει δι' ὔσδων
μαλίνων, βρόδοισι δὲ παῖς ὀ χῶρος
ἐσκίαστ', αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων
κῶμα καταγριον·
ἐν δὲ λείμων ἱππόβοτος τέθαλε
ἠρίνοισιν ἄνθεσιν, αἰ δ' ἄηται
μέλλιχα πνέοισιν [
[ ]
ἔνθα δὴ σὺ στέμ<ματ'> ἔλοισα Κύπρι
χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν ἄβρως
ὀμ<με>μείχμενον θαλίαισι νέκταρ
οἰνοχόαισον.[205]

Come to me from Crete, to this sacred temple, where your delightful grove of apple-trees is, and your altars burning with frankincense. Here, cold water trickles through the apple-tree branches, and the whole space is shaded with roses, and with quivering leaves, deep sleep takes over. Here, a horse-grazed meadow blooms with spring flowers, and winds breathe gently…
Here, Cypris, take these wreaths, and into golden drinking cups gracefully pour out nectar mixed together for our festivities.[206]

[203] du Bois 1995, 43 (emphasis added).
[204] du Bois 1995, 51 assesses the apple-girl as "patient, waiting, silent." I prefer to assess the girl as reserved, because silence implies passivity. Although the apple does not speak for herself, her 'hard-to-reach' position which I interpret as deliberately waiting for an appropriate suitor, is suggestive of some degree of autonomy and agency.
[205] Greek text cited in Wilson 1996, 34, with the exclusion of στέμ<ματ>, which the *TLG* includes in line 13; see the text restoration provided in McEvilley 1972, 323.
[206] Sapph.2.

Aphrodite's grove is described with sensual detail, or "dripping in sensuality",[207] and is an experience for the senses. There is the scent of burning frankincense, the sensation and sound of a gentle breeze wafting through the space, the trickle of water, and the sounds of women enjoying their festivities to Aphrodite.

Sappho experiments with the contrasts between light and dark, hot and cold, peaceful quiet and an animated women's festival:[208] the cold water, presumably from a spring, contrasts with the hot, burning incense; the brightness of the golden cups with soft, blooming spring flowers; inherent sunlight contrast with the darker hues of the shade produced by the roses; the quivering leaves and the darkness from sleep; and quiet sleep with festive enjoyment and musical water.[209] From the symbols of the roses, wreaths, golden kylixes and the apple-tree grove (Fig. 5), the space is bursting with sensual and festive enjoyment.[210]

Figure 5: Eros collecting fruit. BAPD 16868, Athenian red-figure lekythos, 450-400 BC, Attica, Tubingen, Eberdhard-Karls-Universität, Archaologie Institut, S704.

The Sapphic fragment supports the findings above about the sensuality and sexuality associated with the apple-trees. The apples are imbued with sexual overtones, partially because Sappho places them alongside roses and the evocative atmosphere of Aphrodite's sanctuary.[211] Though the apples are not presented as a direct metaphor for a female, still they carry the sexual and sensual qualities associated with women because the space provides subtle references to bodies, such as soft breathing and quivering. Though such bodily functions cannot be considered feminine when removed from context, they are feminised when contextualised within the poem. In conjunction with the other features of the poem, Aphrodite's connection to the apple-trees and the space emphasise female (ritual and/or festive) behaviour and enjoyment. Conceptualised, for

[207] Deacy 2013, 398.
[208] McEvilley 1972, 333, cited in du Bois 1995, 52 identifies other aspects, specifically the "relationship of desire and withholding, of emptiness and fullness, of art and life…", which du Bois names as the "dynamic of presence and absence."
[209] See Fowler 1984, 119-48, esp. 138, 140 and 144-48, is convincing in her argument that colours, hues and textures in Greek could communicate other qualities, including movement and sound. Fowler's discussion in pp.144-48 assisted with my interpretation of the movement of the leaves and p.140 for the musical quality detectable in the sound of the water in Sappho's fragment above.
[210] McEvilley 1972, 333 finds that the grove is a symbol, reminiscent of the "external world", but, more likely, in and of "the imagination of the poet."
[211] Wilson 1996, 35, noting the "almost mesmeric" quality of the poem; Johnson 2007, 51, also citing Winkler 1990, 186. Nossis attributes roses to Aphrodite and the sweetness of love (eros). Noss.*Fr.*1 (Plant 2004).

example, as "spiritual geography"[212] or a simile that "enacts the drama of desire and withholding, presence and absence",[213] the setting and the experience "befits the goddess."[214]

Maidens and μῆλα on Greek vases

Though the fruit are associated with a goddess who can hardly be viewed as passive, Wilson states that "apples can hardly be anything but passive, while women have some choice about where they position themselves" in her consideration of Sappho's apple-girl.[215] An apple's ripening, like a girl's physical development, occurs on its own, without the influence of others. How, then, does Wilson's perception of the apple-girl's passivity function when the girl or woman becomes the picker? The following discussion investigates the representations of women as fruit pickers in ceramic evidence, and whether a girl or woman's role as an apple *and* picker converge and converse. Are the girls simultaneously the pickers and the fruit they pick?

Figure 6: BAPD 305485, Athenian black-figure lekythos, 525-475 B.C., (Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, 6.1908.

The earliest extant ceramic evidence that depicts women harvesting fruit is dated to approximately the late sixth or early fifth century B.C., though women are depicted with other produce, such as flowers, earlier.[216] There are Greek vases that depict harvest scenes (Fig. 6), referred to as the "women and fruit picking" group. The vases in this grouping are predominantly red-figure, with comparatively fewer black-figure, and the most common vase types are kraters, lekythoi, "cup-skyphoi or mastoid cups." Most are dated to the fifth century B.C.[217]

There are various interpretations of the scenes, including the argument that the scenes are pictorial references to everyday life, as supported by textual evidence. For example, Demosthenes laments citizen women working as fruit collectors/pickers due to economic instability and crisis. His lament reveals that women work in such capacities. Demosthenes

[212] McEvilley 1972, 328.
[213] du Bois 1995, 52.
[214] Johnson 2007, 51. In Theoc.10.33-34, Theocritus identifies the rose and apple as tokens of Aphrodite, which evidence the connection between the goddess and these items in Hellenistic poetry.
[215] Wilson 1996, 96.
[216] Though not fruit, the well-known Thera wall paintings depict women offering a goddess flowers, dated to the Bronze Age. See Ferrence and Bendersky 2004, 199-226, esp. Fig.2 on 202 a line drawing reconstruction of the building with the wall painting.
[217] As Lewis 2002, 84-85 summarises.

complains that many women are wet-nurses, which he finds unacceptable for citizen women. There are inscriptions and records of women who are wet-nurses, from Athens during fourth century B.C.[218] Considering that wet-nursing is documented in inscriptional evidence, I suggest that his complaint about female fruit-pickers is also factual, and there are artistic representations dated to the same period of the fourth century B.C. Scholars, such as Bowe, Fracchia and Hilditch, accept the depictions as representational of everyday, real life, whereby the scenes support textual claims that women assisted in the harvest, and that the orchard existed as a place of enjoyment.[219] However, questions arise: if the sources are critical of citizen women turning to tasks, such as fruit picking and harvest, that they deem are better suited to other women, why is the harvest scene so popular? And, are these depictions a reflection of historical life? An appropriate answer lies in the convergence of text, art, myth and the idealisation of reality.[220]

Consider the visual depictions alongside the Archaic poetic descriptions of maidens, flowers and fruit in Sappho's poetry. Her poetry is well-known and influential throughout ancient Greece and beyond.[221] In consideration of the depictions of women in orchards, there is the likelihood that Sappho's influence extends to artistic representations, too. As evident in Sappho's poems as textual evidence, the vase depictions act as similar opportunities, imagined, idealised or real, to consider ideas around women (παρθένοι and νύμφα), including: female attractiveness; idealised traits including productivity and sexual maturity; and, the value and worth of marriageable women. The similarities between Sappho's apple-girl and the vase depictions reveal contextual commonality of the apple as a symbol,[222] and speak to the wider commentary on identity, maidenhood and the expectation that all young women are considered for their marriageability (Figs. 7 and 8).

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[218] *IG* II^2 1559 (face A, column III lines 59-60 and 63), translation cited in Lefkowitz and Fant 2016, 292-93.
[219] Bowe 2010, 211, including Fig.2. (Athenian red-figure column krater, 500-450 BC, Metropolitan Museum, New York); Fracchia 1972, 107-9 (Fracchia analyses the same hydria, pictured on p.106); Bowe 2010, 211, Fig.2; Hilditch 2015, 163.
[220] Lewis 2002, 89 argues that the vessels were not intended to appeal to Athenian tastes, but to Etruscan, as many have Etruria as provenance, and suggests the likelihood that the scenes appealed to Etruscan women because harvest scenes reflected a "wider range" of experience. Lewis also suggests that the purpose of the vessels and their depictions are intended for use after death, similar to Egyptian ushabti. Though I do not consider this use in my argument, and I am unfamiliar with Etruscan burial practice, I agree with Lewis' argument on p.90 that harvest scenes exist in "a wider iconographical scheme" and do not necessarily represent pictorial representations of women's work, though such an argument cannot be entirely ruled out. See Osborne 2001, 277-95 concerning Etruscan appreciation and appeal of Athenian pottery.
[221] In Campbell's collection of *Testamonia* on Sappho and Alcaeus, Sapph.*Test.*6=Euseb.*Chron.*Ol.45.1 and Sapph.*Test.*7=Strab.13.2.3 remark on her fame and note Alcaeus as one of her contemporaries. Sapph.*Test.*17=Porphyr.in Hor.*Epist.*1.19.28 says Sappho is famous for her poetry, on which men are usually remarked.
[222] Lewis 2002, 86 draws a similar interpretation that I do, especially that there is a connection between harvest scenes and imagery in Sapphic poetry.

Other relevant Greek texts, alongside the women in harvest scenes and Sappho's apple-girl, include the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and *Hymn to Aphrodite.*[223] Utilising symbols and imagery, such as flowers and livestock, these poems reveal similar poetic and artistic considerations of maidenhood and womanhood, specifically their value, youthful beauty and marriageability (Fig. 7). Persephone (as a κόρη) and her mythical νύμφα-friends collect flowers in a meadow. This episode, using the imagery and associated qualities of flowers, comments on her beauty, desirability and her approaching sexual maturity and thus, also marriageability.[224] Aphrodite's fictional tale in the *Hymn* uses a metaphorical scene of the goddess and her friends who "ἀλφεσίβοιαι *bring in oxen*."[225] Rather than a literal meaning pertaining to a cultivational activity, it is a statement concerning her marital value and readiness. Surrounded by other beautiful νύμφα and παρθένοι, Aphrodite is persuading Anchises that she is available to him, and that he is worthy of her. The goddess uses one form of currency, livestock, to show that she is a suitable, valuable match. Her worth and availability, as represented in livestock, expresses a similar sentiment to the apple-girl's positioning on a tree's high branch in Sappho's poem.

Figure 7: Woman holding apple, staff and cup and another with a flower and vine. BAPD 207289 (*ARV*[2] 629.8, 1662), Athenian red-figure stamos, 475-425 B.C., Italy, Capua, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8083.

In consideration of these mythical, poetic examples alongside the artistic depictions, the scenes of women harvesting fruit evidence artistic considerations of παρθένοι and their value. The scenes may portray women in an "idealised pastoral" activity, rather than real life.[226] However, the artist's depiction is clever because the depiction adapts and/or reinvents a task of the everyday life in landscape, much like the poet of the *Hymns* and Sappho, who explore aspects of female identity, or expected and assumed features of maidenhood through cultivation and landscape. Female beauty is represented in the depictions through aspects including the painted

[223] Lewis 2002, 86 does not identify Aphrodite as an example, but finds another aspect of Persephone, specifically the ritualistic use of pomegranates at Persephone's worship in Lokri, which makes a case for the funerary use of lekythoi.
[224] h.Hom.2.416-28. See Chapters Three and Six for further commentary on this example.
[225] h.Hom.5.119-20. See Chapter Six for a translation and further commentary on this example.
[226] Lewis 2002, 85-86.

pale skin (Fig. 8). In previous scholarship,[227] the light skin has been interpreted as evidence pertaining to women's practical and ideological seclusion. Approaching the depictions from another perspective, the light skin is commentary on female beauty. Light colours in texts and visual evidence can refer to colour or hue. However, this apparent lightness of colour also communicates other qualities including delicacy, softness, suppleness and beauty.[228] Instead of interpreting light skin representations on vases as evidence for a life of seclusion, the skin tone is indicative of the artist's attempt to represent other features of female beauty, like delicacy and sexuality,[229] that are associated with constructions of femininity. It is also a way of differentiating between male and female figures.

Figure 8: BAPD 3065, Athenian black-figure lekythos, 525-475 B.C., (Palermo), Mormino Collection, 684.

Lewis counters the view of the harvest scenes only as displays of sexual overtones and "domestic work and its attractiveness", stating that such an argument "relies on the concept of a male Athenian viewer."[230] She finds that this view of idealising or appreciating women's hard work via the male viewer only is contra to the context in which these cups or vases are used. Though an ancient male viewer is a certainty, her argument to consider other perspectives and intended viewers is valuable to the study of this ceramic evidence.

I argue that the scenes display the simultaneous existence of women as harvesters *and* as the harvested fruit. Whilst identifying the view of appreciating "women's hard work" as apparently male, there is the opportunity to see an existence of woman as apple and woman as apple collector, as well as the adaptation of the appreciation for productivity. This simultaneous viewpoint provides another aspect identifiable in these scenes in addition to a sexualised or 'male' view, and challenges Wilson's view that the apple is only ever a passive object.[231] My

[227] Rabinowitz 2002, 108 notes this "ideological construction of gender" using "… colour (dark for men, light for women)" as representative of outside versus inside space and activity assignment. Eaverly 2013, 125 posits "ideological seclusion" that is represented in women's light skin of the dichotomy public (male) versus private (female).
[228] Fowler 1984, 119-48, esp. 121-22 and 127-33.
[229] Xen.*Oec.*10.5-8, who criticises women for using cosmetics, such as rouge/blush, to attract a partner.
[230] Lewis 2002, 87-88.
[231] Wilson 1996, 96.

interpretation does not claim that one must choose an either/or view; rather the depictions reflect more than one possible viewpoint.

Artists and poets identify the women with the same vegetation that females collect (Fig. 7 above). In other textual examples (Persephone and Aphrodite), the same simultaneous existence is at play. In the *Hymns,* the goddesses gather flowers (Persephone) or caretake animals (Aphrodite) that the poet uses to evaluate them. For example, the adjective, "ox-eyed", "cow-eyed", and the reference to women as heifers associates women with livestock,[232] and contemplates their monetary worth and beauty via the association. Likewise, girls and maidens are described through floral imagery and language, simultaneously describing them *as* flowers or *with* floral characteristics, and picking the same flowers to which they are compared.[233]

Figure 9: A seated woman juggling two round objects, possibly fruit or balls, with Eros behind her. BAPD 14644, Athenian red-figure cup, 425-375 B.C., provenance unknown, Chicago (IL), University of Chicago, D.&A. Smart Gallery.

The depictions, like the texts, provide a playful moment between woman and apple, wherein the image (or text) has the female represented as both figure and fruit (Fig. 9).[234] In one example, a standing woman is juggling round objects and looks up with a raised chin at a bearded man, in which her forward-facing body positioning and eye contact are direct.[235] Her direct gaze is, perhaps, an instance of what Cazzato refers to as ἐμβλέπω, which connotes a woman's seductive, beautiful, yet confronting look.[236] Toscano considers such eye-to-eye contact as evidence of "women as desiring subject as well as desired object."[237] Thus,

[232] Beauty, "ox-eyed": Hom.*Il.*1.551, Hom.*Il.*3.144, B.11.99, B.*Dith.*3.110, Pi.*Pyth.*3.91; a young woman as a heifer: Lyc.102; value (monetary): h.Hom.5.119.
[233] Flower qualities describing a woman's/goddess' beauty and girls collecting flowers: B.*Dith.*17.95, Hom.*Il.*13.830, Hes.*Theog.*41, Sapph.30.6, Sapph.96.8, Sapph.122, Mel.5.144, h.Hom.2.416-48. Fowler 1984, 141; Powell 2010, 233. Foley 1994, 34 notes that Persephone's "flowerlike face" (h.Hom.2.8) links the goddess with the same flowers she picks. Persephone's sexual maturation, which as Foely points out is described by the poet as "blooming" (Foley 1994, *ibid.*), is manifest in the physical surroundings of the lush, abundant growth of flowers.
[234] Other vases that depict women juggling apples or balls include: BAPD 29939, Athenian red-figure lekythos, squat fragment, 450-400 B.C., Athens, Agora, Athens, Agora Museum, P16884; BAPD 50011, Athenian red-figure alabastron, 475-425 B.C., provenance unknown, Utrecht, University, 12; BAPD 207263 (*ARV*^{2} 626.107), Athenian red-figure cup, 475-425 B.C., provenance unknown, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, B1535; BAPD 208376 (*ARV*^{2} 698.46), Athenian red-figure lekythos, 475-425 B.C., Italy, Nola, London, British Museum, E606; BAPD 275416 (*ARV*^{2} 1675.94BIS; *LIMC* 203019), Athenian red-figure, white ground pyxis, 475-425 B.C., provenance unknown, Toledo (OH), Museum of Art, 63.29.
[235] BAPD 211760 (*ARV*^{2} 892.9), Athenian red-figure cup, 475-425 B.C., provenance unknown, Paris, Musee de Louvre, G453.
[236] Cazzato 2016, 185.
[237] Toscano 2013, 3.

the woman is neither passive nor active, subject nor object, but exists in that moment as both. Lewis argues that the pottery depicting harvest scenes was intended for Etruscan women's graves.[238] If one accepts Lewis' argument, this evidence, then, creates an opportunity to glimpse female desire in a homosocial and erotic setting,[239] inclusive of female tastes, preferences, female viewers and creators alongside the conceptualisations of womanhood and maidenhood created by male poets, artists and viewers (Fig. 10).

Figure 10: Four potters painting and crafting vessels, including a female potter (far right). BAPD 206564 (*ARV*[2] 571.73, 1659; *LIMC* 16911), Athenian red-figure hydria, 500-450 B.C., Italy, Ruvo, Vicenza, Banca Intesa, 2.

Conclusion

The ἀλωή *orchard* and *vineyard* and ὄρχατος *orchard* reveal a space in which feminine virtues, such as productivity and skill, female experiences of maidenhood and motherhood and the transition between roles are considered, praised and celebrated. Such findings are surprising, considering scholars interpret the evidence to show that society limits the roles and value of women; that, as Lincoln claims, Greek kinship ideology treats a woman as a "biological parent only", while the father is a "social parent."[240] Not only does the evidence examined above contest this view, but it reveals explicit praise and emphasises the importance of women as mothers and caretakers of children, members of community and individuals of value.

[238] Lewis 2002, 88-89.
[239] Rabinowitz 2002, 2-3; Deacy 2013, 397.
[240] Lincoln 1979, 226. Contrary to Lincoln's reading of patriarchal favour of the father only, Xen.*Oec.*7.11-12 asserts that a mother may participate in the decisions regarding the education of her children and the marriage of her daughter; Pomeroy 1994, 39.

Poets communicate the value of females through 'vegetal' imagery, which, as McNelis and Sens noted in reference to Homeric poetic evidence, utilise imagery from "heroic events" of the Iliadic narrative that are "familiar to the contemporary audience."[241] The subject matter is the point of contact and interaction between person and natural world.[242] Both Homer and Theocritus use vegetal imagery to connect personal experience with the natural world, and, significantly, do so in order to praise mothers. The simile of mother and child as gardener and plant, both in the *Iliad* for Thetis and Achilles and in Theocritus' *Idyll* of Alkmene and Herakles, evidences clearly this kind of vegetal simile that incorporates features of the ἀλωή and myth with aspects of constructed, re-invented, but also likely real women's lived experiences as mothers and child rearers.

The significance of the mother-gardener and child-plant simile is that it clearly praises women for their efforts in motherhood, but uses a masculinised image of a gardener to do so.[243] While Achilles is reflective of what du Bois terms the "crop of children" produced by the union of his mother and father,[244] Thetis' role in the simile subtly subverts the ideology of a woman's body as a ploughed or cultivated field, and contests du Bois' assignment of the female to passivity because she is likened to the gardener, not the ἀλωή. The simile reflects an audience which values the cultivated areas that the word ἀλωή denotes, but also it shows that poets attempt to represent the experiences of motherhood in a way that is understandable and relatable. Like the gardener, the work a mother undertakes is important, requires consistent attention and effort, and is worthwhile. The effort involved to cultivate the produce (the plant and the child) contributes to both the mother-gardener's value as well as that of her produce-child. Bowe purports that the produce from orchards and vineyards is valuable, in terms of supporting a household and/or community.[245] With Bowe's argument in mind, the impact of the simile is that ancient Greek poets consider that the child and the mother are valuable and important to the family as well as the community.[246] The simile provides recognition for the involvement of females in ἀλωή

[241] McNelis and Sens 2016, 27.
[242] McNelis and Sens 2016, 27.
[243] Masculinised in the sense that the notable gardeners in the Homeric epics are males such as Laertes and his household slaves (Hom.*Od.*4.735-37, 24.335-44). It is not intended as an inference that supports the exclusion of women from cultivational tasks and spaces.
[244] du Bois 1988, 28.
[245] Bowe 2010, 209. His argument is supported in the evidence: Hom.*Od.*7.112, 24.358; Hom.*Il.*14.124; Aesop.42.
[246] Similes: Hom.*Il.*18.56-57. The Homeric simile is repeated in lines 437-38; Theoc.24.103-4.

cultivation, an interpretation that is supported by references to women as fruit-pickers in Classical Athenian society.[247]

Lycophron's *Alexandra,* Erigone and the Aiora ritual substantiate the intertwined nature of myth and ritual pertaining to the ἀλωή, in which females are central. With similarities to and the re-shaping of elements of the Homeric simile, Lycophron reveals a relevancy of Thetis' mythology in the historical setting of Greek ritual in the Hellenistic period.[248] In the ritual that Lycophron describes, women re-enact socially sanctioned mourning behaviour and dress, which legitimises Thetis' behaviour in the *Iliad,* and validates the ritual's place amongst similar religious rites for goddesses and women. In the enactment of the Aiora, girls are not simply participants in the rite. Rather, the rite is instituted *for* them as a means of easing the transitional anxiety and emotional instability that Greek society perceives at this stage of their development.[249] The Aiora enables the community to show support and nurture the wellbeing of its young female members.[250] Community support legitimises and validates these female experiences and reveals the importance of societal support for young women's development. The myth and ritual of Erigone reflect the denotation of ἀλωή as *vineyard* and *orchard,* wherein the myth draws on the Greek connection to vineyards and viticulture and the ritual uses the orchard in its practical performance. Thus, ἀλωή and ὄρχατος are places of import in myth and Greek religious practice.

Like a child's place in the ἀλωή simile, the value and worth of young women was communicated through their association and construction as fruit grown in the orchard.[251] Sappho conceptualised the transitional life-stage of a young woman (παρθένος) approaching her re-becoming as a νύμφη *bride* in the reddening sweet-apple.[252] Scholars have judged her position as too far out-of-reach, with the implication that her decision to remain unpicked until the right

[247] Dem.57.45; Pl.*Leg.*789e.
[248] Lyc.856-65; Hornblower 2015, 95, 330-31; Mair and Mair 1921, 39 nn. p. and q; Chauvin and Cusset 2008, 139; Lynn-George 1996, 18; Forster 1936, 103-4.
[249] Dillon 2004, 70 Fig. 2.15 "red-figure Athenian oenochoe; *c.* 420-410 BC; attributed to the Meidias Painter; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 75.2.11", BAPD 220503 (*ARV*[2] 1313/11; *LIMC* 50608). Other ceramic evidence includes: BAPD 301521 (*LIMC* 50841), Athenian black-figure amphora, *c.*550-500 B.C., attributed to Swing Painter, Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 98.918 (*ARV* 306.41); BAPD 2169, Athenian red-figure chous, *c.*450-400 B.C., Attica, Koropi, attributed to the Eretria Painter, Athens, National Museum, VS319 (*ARV* 1249.14) (also cited in Dillon 2004, 315 n.154); BAPD 9134 (*LIMC* 203005), Athenian black-figure amphora, *c.*550-500 B.C., attributed to Princeton Painter, Stuttgart, Wuttembergisches Landesmuseum, 65.1.
[250] Dillon 2004, 69-70, 269; Sapph.140a; Ar.*Lys.*396, cited in Goff 2004, 139; Hornblower 2015, 95, 330-31; Warrior 2009, 51.
[251] This fruit imagery as representative of females is cleverly embedded and recreated in Attic comedy and Hellenistic bucolic poetry (Fruit as women's breasts: Theoc.27.50; Ar.*Lys.*155-56; du Bois 1995, 49; Wilson 1996, 98).
[252] Sapph.105a; Balmer 1996, 50-52; Wilson 1996, 99; Johnson 2007, 53; du Bois 1995, 43.

suitor, puts hers at risk of being forgotten or overlooked.[253] Rather than something subject to crticisism, Sappho's apple-girl as a concept evidences female value and self-awareness of one's own worth,[254] as Sappho says that the girl has not been forgotten. The apple's positioning on the high branch suggests that the girl could exercise choice, as she deliberately waits for the most desirable suitor. This choice on behalf of the girl places more onus on the male suitor to present himself as a desirable option.

Baskets associated with the cultivation of orchards, vineyards and traditionally 'feminine' activities in textual and iconographic evidence demonstrated positive constructions of female character and virtue. As a symbol, baskets represented praise-worthy and idealised attributes and behaviour, such as female productivity, industriousness and beauty in traditional pursuits such as weaving, and in cultivational tasks.[255]

The interconnectedness of textual and artistic evidence converge in the depictions of women as both fruit and as the harvesters in scenes on pottery. Deacy argued that in some depictions of females on vases, there exists a"… model of viewership that allows each viewer a role in creating meaning."[256] In contrast, Toscano argued that the "representations of female desire" are the likely product of "male fantasy and male fear shaped by the cultural systems of the makers of the pots, who were undoubtedly almost all male",[257] suggesting that no authentic female-created desire exists in the evidence. However, these harvest scenes and their intended female consumers and viewers insert facets of female identity into a male-dominated sphere,[258] reflective of or inspired by, at least, one female's (Sappho) construction and consideration of female identity. The inclusion of a female potter (Fig. 10) is suggestive of female-created and consumed imagery. In addition to the apple-girl's choice to wait until a suitor of her choice presents himself, Lewis argues that the imagery on vases, which could include the giving of apples and fruit, indicates women might not want to be gifts that are simply given in marriage. Rather, it is possible that women aspired to being persuaded or wooed, through gifts and attention.[259] In the

[253] Stigers 1977, 91; Gomme 1957, 260.
[254] Griffith 1989, 55-61; Wilson 1996, 96; du Bois 1995, 42; Johnson and Ryan 2006, 69.
[255] Hom.*Il.*18.561-68; Arist.*Rh.*1.5.6; Phil.6.247; Anon.6.284; Hom.*Il.*3.125-28; Hom.*Od.*7.108-10; Hom.*Od.*4.130-35.
[256] Deacy 2013, 403. Lewis 2002, 88-90 finds female influence, viewership and co-creation of meaning in harvest scene depictions.
[257] Toscano 2013, 4-5.
[258] As Lewis 2002, *ibid* interprets concerning the appearance of these vases in female Etruscan graves.
[259] Lewis 2002, 193.

case of women presenting and giving apples to others (Fig. 2),[260] these scenes reflect female desire to choose, to be involved in the process of selecting a partner and to express their desires. The apple indicates that women have desires of their own. Far from being a passive object only, as Wilson claims, the apple and the females it represents exist as both active and passive, viewer and viewed, pursuer and pursued, creator and created.

Artistic evidence offers a different interpretation of female skin tone that challenges female seclusion. Previous scholarship argued that pale skin is evidence of women's physical or ideological seclusion.[261] In contrast, I demonstrate that the representations of light skin have more to do with conventions of female beauty than evidence for female seclusion. For example, Fowler finds that the lightness of colours in textual evidence communicates qualities such as delicacy, softness, suppleness and youthfulness.[262] These same aesthetic qualities are at play in representations of skin tone in ceramic evidence, whereby the light tones are representative of female delicacy and beauty (Fig. 8). Xenophon attests to this convention of beautifying one's skin in his criticisms of women (and men) who use cosmetics to alter and enhance their appearances.[263] Scholarship can no longer rely heavily on pale skin as a firm indicator of female seclusion. Ancient evidence reveals that skin tone is representative of conventions of female beauty that are not necessarily at odds with a life involved with the outdoors.

[260] Cf. BAPD 211760 (*ARV*[2] 892.9), Athenian red-figure cup, 475-425 B.C., provenance unknown, Paris, Musee de Louvre, G453; BAPD 208376 (*ARV*[2] 698.46), Athenian red-figure lekythos, 475-425 B.C., Italy, Nola, London, British Museum, E606; BAPD 29939, Athenian red-figure lekythos, squat fragment, 450-400 B.C., Athens, Agora, Athens, Agora Museum, P16884.
[261] Rabinowitz 2002, 108; Eaverly 2013, 125.
[262] Fowler 1984, 119-48, espc. 121-22, 127-33.
[263] Xen.*Oec.*10.5-8; Xen.*Cyr.*3.2, 8.20.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions

> "Ancient Greek communities inhabited three landscapes: the natural, the human and the imagined."
>
> Cole 2004, 7.

In the quotation above, Cole identifies three kinds of landscapes which ancient Greeks inhabited. Females exist in all three landscapes, but this is not always obvious and is poorly recognised in scholarship. Hence, the need for my study. I have sought to demonstrate the richness and widespread use of landscape and its features in the representations of females in ancient Greek evidence. The key words are ἀγρός (field), ἄλσος (grove), ἀλωή (vineyard, orchard), ἄρουρα (fertile field, fertile earth), κῆπος (garden), λειμών (meadow), ὄρχατος (orchard) and ὕλη (forest, wood). Analysis of the use of these words shows that landscape is deeply intertwined with ancient Greek representations of females. To study one is to study the other. In the examination of landscape, I have found considerations of what ancient Greeks thought represented the female; and to study the representations of females, I have found abundant evidence of the use of landscape words, spaces, connotations, and processes relating to cultivation and vegetation.

To expand and deepen scholarly understanding of the connections between females and real and imagined landscape, I have consulted and examined a wide-ranging corpus of evidence. The corpus encompasses the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Greek periods, and shines light on different places, focussing on Athens and Lesbos, but as far afield as Sardis. The corpus includes various genres such as epic poetry (Homer, Hesiod, *Homeric Hymns*), lyric, bucolic and other poetry (such as Sappho, Ibycus, Theocritus, Meleager, Lycophron); philosophical, civic, cultivational and legal treatises (including Demosthenes, Isocrates, Xenophon, Plato, Theophrastus); comedy and tragedy (Aeschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Euripides); travel and geography (Scylax, Timaeus); and artistic representations of harvest scenes, females and flowers on Athenian-made vases. Inscriptions are important inclusions in the corpus because they provide other historical points of contact between real, idealised and imaginary representations of females.

Through my study of the ancient words, a multifaceted picture of ancient Greek landscapes is unearthed. The denotations of the words ἀγρός, ἄλσος, ἀλωή, ἄρουρα, κῆπος, λειμών, ὄρχατος and ὕλη reveal an ancient sophistication and complexity of use, context and nuance. However,

spaces have features that remain consistent. For example, κῆπος denotes a cultivated space, though ancient sources recognise different kinds of gardens under the same word. The Homeric κῆπος of Alcinoös belongs to this classification of space as much as the planted area around Classical Greek houses in Demosthenes and Plato.[1] These examples show that scholars must be careful in their considerations of a word and how it is used.

A study of λειμών spaces reveals that strict classification and restriction of spatial use differs from meadow to meadow. In some cases, an area is considered a λειμών if it is untouched, uncultivated and pure, as Osborne argues.[2] Classical evidence, such as Euripides' *Hippolytus,* supports Osborne's assessment, which accounts for restrictions placed upon meadows that do not allow human alteration or livestock use. However, other meadows across Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic evidence are classified as λειμῶνες even when they are used for pasturing animals and the collection of flowers and vegetation. A meadow can remain pure provided human contact and use does not facilitate permanent, negative change.[3] The same argument that Osborne posits for κῆπος—that different people use words like κῆπος in different ways[4]—applies to other landscapes. Scholarship must accommodate differences in use and denotation when interpreting the evidence.

Studying ancient landscapes reveals that certain practices and ideologies are used across the wide chronology from Archaic to Hellenistic Greece. Practices include land division between urban and rural space, the use of city-walls, and the cultivation of land immediately surrounding a *polis*. The practices of land division and spatial arrangement are highlighted in, for example, the analysis of ἀγρός.[5] This word and others, including ἄρουρα *fertile field,* γεωργία *cultivation*, γεωργός *cultivator* and κηπουρός *gardener*, provide interesting ways of investigating other aspects of Greek history, such as water irrigation methods and the domestication of plants.[6] In the ancient evidence, cultivated spaces, produce and the people whose efforts and knowledge cultivate the earth represent important cultural ideologies: livelihood (Hesiod and Demosthenes);[7] inheritance (Homer and Aesop);[8] and the physical demonstration of a person's

[1] Hom.*Od.*7.112-132; Dem.47.53; Dem.50.61; Pl.*Ep.*7.347a.
[2] Osborne 1992, 381.
[3] Archaic evidence: h.Hom.4.70-72; h.Hom.3.117-19; h.Hom.2.5-7. Classical evidence: Soph.*Aj.*143-45; Aesch.*Fr.(Europa* or *Carians*)99; Thphr.*Caus.pl.*3.6.8, 3.11.3. Hellenistic evidence: Theoc.25.15-17; Arat.*Phaen.*1120.
[4] Osborne 1992, 377.
[5] E.g. Hom.*Il.*18.541ff; the location of Alcinoös' τέμενος outside the walled *polis*, Hom.*Od.*6.291-99, 7.44-45; 13.268, 14.5-16, 15.370; Hes.*Theog.*26, 1196-1201; Hes.*Op.*46.
[6] Aesop.32; Hom.*Il.*21.258-62; Thphr.*Hist.pl.*3.2.2; Hippoc.*Aër.*12.20-23 (*TLG*).
[7] Hes.*Op.*601; Dem.50.61.

character and expertise (Homer, Xenophon, Plato and Theophrastus).[9] The practice of cultivation and shepherding animals in metaphorical landscapes reflects a poet's skill and debt to the gods who inspire them (Hesiod, Pindar and Simonides).[10]

The words for females (θεά, κόρη, παρθένος, νύμφη, ἄκοιτις, δάμαρ, γυνή) substantiate sophistication and complexity of denotation, use and nuance. Female characterisations may utilise traits from more than one word. Examples include Persephone, who has characteristics of κόρη *girl*, παρθένος *maiden*, νύμφη *nymph/bride* and ἄκοιτις *wife,* in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*;[11] and Aphrodite, who is a θεά/θεός but appears as a παρθένος *maiden* and pretends to be καταθνητή *mortal* in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite.*[12] Scholarly interpretations of landscape and female words must pay close and careful attention to how a word is used, what the possible denotations and connotations are and what the poet's intentions might be. In short, one must consider context. Context markers include the purpose of the text (humour, warning, euphemism, praise, validation); and the appropriateness of an activity in a space at a certain point in time (such as meadows that are cultivated and those that restrict human and animal activity). Nuances are determined by the kind of female (immortal, mortal, real, idealised, imaginary and combinations thereof) and the female experience and/or persona that a poet or author represents in or through the landscape. Identity and experience qualifiers include transition between life-stages, sexual awakening, young, married, unmarried, whether interested or not in male attention.

Just as κῆπος denotes different kinds of gardens depending on the author or poet, so scholars must anticipate nuance and complexity when approaching the representations of females. Nuances in denotation, context and uses of theme, scene or representation over time highlights the difficulties inherent in the study of females in landscape, and the study of females in the ancient world more widely. Particularly, difficulties arise in determining the historical basis for imaginary and idealised female representations and behaviour because, as Lewis asserts regarding Athenian vases,[13] literary evidence purports certain versions and idealisations of females, and epigraphy and material evidence present others.

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[8] Hom.*Od.*24.336-44; Aesop.42.
[9] Hom.*Od.*4.735-37, 11.191, 24.335-45; Xen.*Oec.*4.24-25.1, 8.9; Pl.*Phae.*276b; Thphr.*Hist.pl.*7.2.5; Pl.*Minos.*316e.
[10] Pi.*Pyth.*6.1-3; Simon.6.1-4 (*TLG*); Hes.*Theog.*22-34.
[11] h.Hom.2.8, 2.343.
[12] h.Hom.5.82 (παρθένος), 5.110 (καταθνητή).
[13] Lewis 2002, 192, 212.

Despite these difficulties, my analysis illuminates four themes in the evidence that have significant bearing on current views of real, idealised and imaginary ancient Greek females. These themes are 1) ancient validation of female experiences and the expressions of these experiences in landscape; 2) female self-worth and the assessment of a person's own value; 3) female empowerment and agency; and 4) the complexity of female characterisations and personas. I will now summarise each theme.

The first theme is ancient validation of female experiences through the landscape, such as in real and imaginary orchards and vineyards. In Archaic evidence, the purpose of Homer's simile of Thetis as a gardener in the *Iliad* is to praise the goddess for her maternal devotion to her son, Achilles. Her role as a mother continues to hold relevancy for women in ritual, as Lycophron's Hellenistic poem, *Alexandra,* demonstrates.[14] The simile retains its relevancy because Theocritus adapts it to praise Alkmene for her role in raising Herakles. These are examples where authors and poets highlight female worth and value through maternal roles. The significance and point of interest of this vegetal simile is that the poets use a masculinised image of a gardener tending his young shoots in an ἀλωή to convey the importance of a traditionally 'feminine' role. It shows that society values a woman's role as a mother and considers motherhood as equally important to familial livelihood as cultivation. The detailed medical documents attributed to Hippocrates attest to ancient attention paid to mothers.[15] The evidence shows that mothers are valued for their influence in the lives and upbringing of their children.[16] This simile also challenges the strict classification of certain tasks as male or female, especially since the evidence attests to females who work in cultivation.[17]

The study of sacred ἀλωή and ritual reveals that ancient Classical sources recognise the reality of female anxiety and difficulties inherent in puberty, and that communities hold a crucial role in looking after their young female members. Through rituals like the Aiora, communities provide

[14] Hornblower 2015, 95, 330-31 notes the formalised features of the ritual such as the restrictions on dress and adornment; Cf. Cole 2004, 94.
[15] The treatments that use pomegranates designed to assist with women's reproductive systems and functions, which highlights the importance of supporting women in their roles as mothers. Hippoc.*Nat.mul.*356 (a cleaning drink for the uterus/female body), 418 (a douche/gynaecological cleanser), 342 (a wine drink containing five pomegranate seeds for loosening the uterus after childbirth), 324 (a drink containing pomegranate seeds to improve menstrual blood flow). All of these Hippocratic treatments encourage the loosening or cleansing of the uterus or with increasing menstrual flow. So Nixon 1995, 86 argues.
[16] A point which Demand 1994, 2-4, 7-8 supports.
[17] Hes.*Op.*403-6; Dem.57.45; Pl.*Leg.*789e; *BGU* VI 129.11, *PMich.*iv.23.G; *IG* II^2 1559 (face A, column III lines 59-60 and 63); : *IG* II^2 1559 (face B column I line 90); Heracleid.Lemb.*Fr.*53.

city-sanctioned opportunities designed to support females in an enjoyable way.[18] Though the appeasement of Erigone's spirit was part of the ritual, the Aiora prioritises the experiences of living, prepubescent and pubescent girls.[19] As Rabinowitz writes, "women were brought together with other women on many occasions and in many settings."[20] In the case of the Aiora, the ritual validates girls' transitional experiences and feelings, encourages them to connect with others around them and indicates that they are important members of the community. It is this final point that seems most remarkable, since scholars, such as Demand, argue that girls are never fully accepted members in their natal families,[21] let alone the wider Greek community. Yet, here is an annual ritual that prioritises female experience and supports girls at a particularly significant and difficult period in their lives.

Hellenistic evidence demonstrates that female experiences are worth representing and uses pastoral landscapes and meadow vegetation to do so. Similar to the recognition that the Aiora pays to girls in Classical Greece, Theocritus tries to convey how young women might feel during significant transitional experiences through his characterisation of Acrotime. His consideration of Acrotime's thoughts, concerns and feelings leading up to, during and after her first sexual experience with Daphnis is significant because Theocritus shows that her experience is worth representing and mentioning. The poet's representation of Acrotime's experience shares similarities with elements of Sappho's Archaic poetry. In his interpretation of Sappho's adaption of Helen and her travels, Whitmarsh remarks, "[h]ardly the traditional Greek view of feminine propriety. This is a poem that confronts, even affronts, the male-centred literary tradition."[22] Theocritus' representation of a girl's first sexual experience functions in a similar way to Sappho's Helen because Theocritus highlights Acrotime's behaviour and feelings so explicitly. His representation of her experience certainly confronts the male-centred focus on sexual experience in other poetry because he consciously includes Acrotime's feelings. It is confrontational especially in comparison to Archaic poets such as Pindar and Archilochus, who represent only the male's thoughts or feelings about a sexual encounter.[23]

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[18] Parker 2005, 184 suggests that the ritual swinging evidences 'fun'.
[19] Boys were also present at the rite, according to artistic evidence, though the emphasis is on the young female participants. See Dillon 2004, 69-70; Goff 2004, 39; Dietrich 1961, 37; Demand 1994, 11, 55, 103; Robertson 1993, 238; Parker 2005, 184.
[20] Rabinowitz 2002, 2.
[21] Demand 1994, 2-4.
[22] Whitmarsh 2004, 182.
[23] Pi.*Pyth*.9.36-61 (Apollo's seduction of Cyrene); Archil.196a.1-53 (the male narrator's sexual gratification and enjoyment of a girl's 'ποηφόρος κῆπος' *grassy garden*). Neither poet considers how the female felt or what her thoughts were concerning the experience.

The use of meadow flowers as representative of female traits and experiences is prominent in evidence across all periods of the study. The Archaic metaphorical model of Persephone gathering flowers like crocuses and lilies in a meadow is a popular representation that resurfaces in Hellenistic poetry and iconography. Meleager utilises the crocus flower's connotations to represent the young female poet, Erinna. The connotations that the crocus has with other females (Europa and Persephone) and the allure of meadows and female beauty suits well the lovely young female poet and her παρθενόχρωτα *maiden-complexioned* crocus.[24] The flower represents the themes explored in her poem the *Distaff* such as girlhood friendships, the loss of innocence and the (regrettable) allure of Aphrodite's 'works'. The Hellenistic funerary stele that the deme of Sardis erected for Menophila also pertains to the metaphorical meadow experience. A lily represents her *daimon* whom Death rips away (ληΐζομαι), meaning that her life was taken too soon. Like Persephone, Menophila's lily represents the young female whom the male forcibly abducts from the 'meadow' at the cusp of her womanly sexual and social awakening.

An important feature of landscape experiences is sensory delight, as evidenced extensively in Archaic poetry. The study of the senses is significant to the study of females and landscape because it adds to the richness of analysis and gives depth to the representations of experience. Poets pay special attention to include the senses of sight, smell, touch and hearing in descriptions of landscapes and experiences. The senses are prominent in many different experiences including: female activities that evidence the senses associated with play and touch (Persephone picking flowers; the girls and their floral dances);[25] the sexual encounters between individuals as expressed in the sensual features of landscape (Hera and Zeus);[26] the alluring and enrapturing sensory delights that captivate visitors (Hermes in Calypso's garden);[27] and the pleasure and enjoyment of festive female activities in Aphrodite's sanctuary.[28] In Ibycus' poem, the narrator uses meteorological processes like searing lightning and wind to communicate his physically torturous desire for all of the beautiful παρθένοι, who are represented as vines and fruiting trees.[29] The sensory descriptions make these experiences relatable and seem real because readers or audiences, like the characters, are called to participate (θεάομαι) with their minds and imaginations. According to Privitera, non-verbal behaviour, which I argue includes sensory experience, is a powerful "communicative tool" and shows that imaginary characters are

[24] Mel.4.1.12 (Erinna); Hes.*Cat.*89 and Mosch.*Eur.*162-6 (Europa); h.Hom.2.6, 2.426 (Persephone).
[25] h.Hom.2.426-29; h.Hom.30.14-15.
[26] Hom.*Il.*14.346-51.
[27] Hom.*Od.*5.55-80.
[28] Sapph.2.
[29] Ibyc.5-6.4.

"complex, multi-modal, and sophisticated."[30] Characters, such as Hermes, Persephone, Hera, Zeus and Ibycus' narrator, who experience sensory stimuli, are complex and sophisticated. So are characters, like Calypso, who elicit the sensual, pleasurable experience through divine influence over their surroundings.

The second theme is that poets create female characterisations that use products of landscape, such as fruit and flowers, and pastoral imagery to represent female persona, worth and assessment of one's own value in family and marriage (Figs. 7 and 8 in Chapter Seven). These characters exist in Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic evidence, which reveal an acceptance of these kinds of representations across these three periods in Greek history. For example, Sappho places her apple-girl on a high branch,[31] which shows that such a girl deserves only the best suitor and that she waits until he presents himself. My argument builds upon the work of scholars including du Bois, Griffith, Johnson and Ryan.[32] Also her 'ripening', meaning her readiness for marriage, is according to her own development which none can hurry or rush. This positive interpretation of the Sapphic apple-girl challenges Stigers and Gomme, who interpret the apple's position as a girl at risk of missing her opportunity for marriage.[33]

Sappho's representation of female agency, value and her freedom of expression is different to Demosthenes' and Xenophon's androcentric view of women. However, Hellenistic poetry reveals similar female characters to Sappho's, who are free, agentic and recognise their value. For example, Theocritus' creation of Acrotime suggests that girls are aware of their value in marriage. Her characterisation suggests that girls have knowledge of pre-nuptial arrangements, and like Acrotime, realise they are valuable both to a prospective husband and their natal family. The poet conveys this self-awareness through Acrotime's direct question of Daphnis: "καὶ τί μοι ἔδνον ἄγεις γάμου ἄξιον, ἢν ἐπινεύσω; *And what is the gift that you bring to me that is deserving of marriage, if I agree*?"[34] A gift that is deserving and appropriate refers to the economic value of a daughter in marriage to both her husband's and natal families. This economic value is conveyed in Aphrodite's character in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite.* She describes her own value through the expression "ἀλφεσίβοιαι *bring in oxen*",[35] which is suggestive of the livestock

[30] Privitera 2015, 223-24.
[31] Sapph.105a.
[32] du Bois 1995, 42; Griffith 1989, 55-61; and Johnson and Ryan 2006, 69; Wilson 1996, 96.
[33] Stigers 1977, 91; Gomme 1957, 260.
[34] Theoc.27.33.
[35] h.Hom.5.119.

that is given or received for a daughter in marriage.[36] Aphrodite's use of this expression of herself is similar to Acrotime's question, and reveals that girls are aware of their value in a prospective marriage arrangement.

Though these narratives and characters are imaginary, they show that daughters are valuable and important to their families. Their familial value and connection are not negated through marriage. As Nixon argues, wives still retain a strong link to their natal families,[37] and Foxhall asserts that girls remained attached to their families, despite their physical relocation to their husband and his family.[38] These characterisations from Homer, Sappho and Theocritus challenge Demand's assertion again,[39] because girls provide the means for economic and societal links between families. Girls retain familial value because, as the evidence indicates, they keep their connection to family and remarry if circumstances require.[40] Menophila's Hellenistic stele provides historical evidence of female value. Menophila held the public office of a *stephanophoros,* which is a position of leadership. The fact that the *demos* erected the stele shows that females could be such highly valued members in their communities as to deserve this honour.[41]

The third theme to which the evidence attests is female empowerment. Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic sources elucidate empowered females, which demonstrates that female empowerment should be an important area of consideration in scholarship. Notable examples derive from the Archaic poets, Sappho and Ibycus, Classical vase paintings of women holding or presenting fruit, and Theocritus' Acrotime. Sappho's apple-girl fragment features a female empowered with her own choice to wait for the most desirable of suitors. Female empowerment is subtler in Ibycus' poem, though equally significant as Sappho's apple-girl. Ibycus describes the painful, torturous experience of seeing and desiring all the beautiful maidens around him. He finds no rest from his desire, or fulfilment; he is utterly powerless while the garden-maidens are empowered and pay him no attention. In Classical artistic evidence, Lewis asserts that courting scenes on vases depict girls who have choice about prospective partners. This female choice places more onus on the male suitor to present himself as a desirable option. A girl wants to be

[36] "ἀλφεσίβοιαι" s.v. *LSJ* online 2017.
[37] Nixon 1995, 89-91.
[38] Foxhall 1995, 106-7.
[39] Demand 1994, 2-4.
[40] Hyp.*Lyc.*1.fr.4b cited in Lewis 2002, 192.
[41] Sardis 7,1 111 (PH263228).

persuaded and desired, not simply selected.[42] Vase depictions that show a woman presenting an apple to another person reveals female desire and choice.[43] In an Athenian red-figure cup,[44] a woman's body positioning and a direct look that is ἐμβλέπω represent her seductive, beautiful, yet confronting look,[45] which reflects "women as desiring subject as well as desired object."[46]

Theocritus' Hellenistic character, Acrotime, reflects female empowerment because Daphnis' sexual fulfilment relies on her conditions being met and her anxiety put at ease. Her direct question about a worthy gift shows that her knowledge is power because she will not agree to a relationship with him sans a marriage gift. Consider Ibycus' fragment alongside Sappho's apple-girl, vase depictions of women and fruit, and Theocritus' Acrotime. These sources attest to a girl's decision to accept or ignore (or even disregard) the men in front of her. They are individuals with a certain degree of autonomy who do not exist solely to serve male sexual gratification or the enactment or enforcement of male will.

The degree of reality or actual practice in these imaginary representations is unclear. However, as Foxhall argues in regards to female ritual activities, "… the general unease in the sources about what girls got up to strongly suggests that women did not necessarily passively accept men's ideas about how they ought to behave."[47] The examples above may reveal more flexible, negotiable dynamics between men and women than certain uneasy, patriarchal voices offer.[48]

The fourth theme is the complexity and sophistication with which ancient poets and authors represent female characterisations and personas. This theme is significant because it expands scholarly interpretations of female characterisations and Greek views of females, landscape and

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[42] Lewis 2002, 193.
[43] BAPD 210229 (*ARV²* 825.12), Athenian red-figure cup (kylix), 475-425 BC, Wurzburg, Universität, Wagner Museum, L490; BAPD 29939, Athenian red-figure lekythos, squat fragment, 450-400 B.C., Athens, Agora, Athens, Agora Museum, P16884; BAPD 50011, Athenian red-figure alabastron, 475-425 B.C., provenance unknown, Utrecht, University, 12; BAPD 207263 (*ARV²* 626.107), Athenian red-figure cup, 475-425 B.C., provenance unknown, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, B1535; BAPD 208376 (*ARV²* 698.46), Athenian red-figure lekythos, 475-425 B.C., Italy, Nola, London, British Museum, E606; BAPD 275416 (*ARV²* 1675.94BIS; *LIMC* 203019), Athenian red-figure, white ground pyxis, 475-425 B.C., provenance unknown, Toledo (OH), Museum of Art, 63.29.
[44] BAPD 211760 (*ARV²* 892.9), Athenian red-figure cup, 475-425 B.C., provenance unknown, Paris, Musee de Louvre, G453.
[45] Cazzato 2016, 185.
[46] Toscano 2013, 3.
[47] Foxhall 1994, 106.
[48] Cf. Xen.*Oec.*7.22; Arist.*Pol.*1.2.1254b. Scholars Detienne and Vernant 1989, 129, 144-5, Burkert 1985, 244 and Goff 2004, 1-2 misconstrue women in outdoor areas during festivals and ritual as transgressive and as evidence of temporary gender inversion. Whereas, modern views should expand to include ritual and festival roles 'outdoors' as part of women's regular and accepted roles. See Guzman 2014, 56-57, 76-79.

the natural world. It challenges scholars such as Giesecke, who argue ancient Greek society limits females from having any connection to the natural world via their seclusion indoors because the female was "more physically attuned to the rhythms and mysterious powers of Nature."[49] Female seclusion, according to Giesecke, is a means of rendering Nature's (and women's) menace impotent.[50] Eaverly interprets the artistic convention of pale skin as representative of ideological female seclusion.[51] However, I propose that women are represented with pale skin simply to differentiate them from males and as a standard marker of female beauty. Giesecke's and Eaverly's interpretations present incomplete pictures of women's lived experiences. They overlook the evidence that pertains to female contributions to cultivation, field labour, animal shepherding and the required movement of women between the ἀγροί, ἱερά and οἴκοι.[52] Female metics, slaves and citizens all contribute to these areas. Scholars who do not acknowledge these contributions marginalise women and ignore the empowerment and visibility of women in the evidence.

The fourth theme refutes the over-simplified interpretations of female characterisations and representations. Females and their bodies or experiences constitute meadows, gardens, fields and orchards. They are compared to, or represented by, these spaces but also simultaneously use and cultivate the spaces. Females are comparable to the flowers they pick and are themselves the pickers.[53] Classical vases represent women as the holders, givers and pickers of fruit (Figs. 2, 6, 7, 8 in Chapter Seven) while Archaic poetry and Attic Comedy says that women and their bodies are fruit.[54] Wilson classifies the apple in Sapphic poetry as a passive object only.[55] However, as

[49] Giesecke 2007, 75, citing Carroll-Spillecke 1989, 82.
[50] Giesecke 2007, 75.
[51] Eaverly 2013, 125.
[52] Hes.*Op.*403-6; Hes.*Op.*597-603; Pl.*Leg.*789e; *BGU* VI 129.11, *PMich.*iv.23.G, translation cited in Lefkowitz and Fant 2016, 292; *IG* II^2 1559 (face A, column III lines 59-60 and 63), translation cited in Lefkowitz and Fant 2016, 292;: *IG* II^2 1559 (face B column I line 90), translation cited in Lefkowitz and Fant 2016, 292; Dem.57.45 (even though Demosthenes is critical of citizen women working in these areas); "τρυγητήρ" s.v. *LSJ* online 2017; Theoc.3.31.
[53] Flower qualities describing a woman's/goddess' beauty and girls collecting flowers: B.*Dith.*17.95, Hom.*Il.*13.830, Hes.*Theog.*41, Sapph.30.6, Sapph.96.8, Sapph.122, Mel.5.144, h.Hom.2.5-16, 2.416-48. Cf. vases with females holding flowers: BAPD 14644, Athenian red-figure cup, 425-375 B.C., provenance unknown, Chicago (IL), University of Chicago, D.&A. Smart Gallery; BAPD 3615, Athenian black-figure amphora, date unknown, provenance unknown, Sotheby's market, London, 4.5.1970, PL.OPP.52, No.146; BPAD 591 (*CVA* PL.(680) 58.6, Athenian black-figure amphora fragment, 550-500 BC, provenance unknown, Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 03.849; BAPD 28955, Athenian red-figure pelike, 500-450 B.C., provenance unknown, Christie's market, London, sale catalogue 8.6.1988, 67, No.259; Grave stele of Menophila, Sardis, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum I 4033. Persephone's 'plukability in Deacy 2013, 399; Fowler 1984, 141; Powell 2010, 233.
[54] Sapph.105a; Ar.*Lys.*155-56. Cf. vases: BAPD 210229 (*ARV*^{2} 825.12), Athenian red-figure cup (kylix), 475-425 BC, Wurzburg, Universität, Wagner Museum, L490; BPAD 215554 (*ARV*^{2} 1173; *LIMC* 6028), Athenian red-figure oinochoe, 450-400 BC, Italy, Etruria, Vulci, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, H525; BAPD 305485, Athenian black-figure lekythos, 525-475 B.C., (Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, 6.1908; BAPD 3065, Athenian black-figure lekythos, 525-475 B.C., (Palermo), Mormino Collection, 684;

females are both active and passive, the interpretation of fruit should represent this plurality of being. To understand females and fruit as only passive fails to recognise the rich picture of female representations and persona in ancient Greek evidence, and limits interpretations of ancient Greek women.

The Greeks perceived profoundly powerful goddesses in the landscape around them. Demeter and Gaia provide and control the essence of life (καρποί *fruits, cereals*), and their powers are manifest in the growth and success of crops and vegetation.[56] In the scholarly interpretation of females in Homeric poetry, however, complex and powerful goddesses are misrepresented and overly-simplified. Calypso and Circe, whose divine influences extend to the appearance and atmosphere of the landscapes surrounding them, are inadequately summarised in scholarship. Scholars represent Circe as a "man-eater" and "dreaded goddess",[57] "a witch in the woods",[58] and Calypso as a "concealer" and a destructive, threatening female to the Greek 'civilised' male.[59] Yet, Homer describes these goddesses in ways that show their characters have many positive traits and abilities. Calypso is called a θεά *goddess* and νύμφη *nymph* and *bride* or *marriageable woman*,[60] and has complete κυρία over her space.[61] The poet describes her cave as a house and a home.[62] Her house is a dwelling fit for a god,[63] with cultural markers such as the sweet-smelling wood that connotes other sacred spaces.[64] As a nature deity (νύμφη), she lives near a fragrant forest and thriving meadows which excite and evoke the senses.[65]

BAPD 14644, Athenian red-figure cup, 425-375 B.C., provenance unknown, Chicago (IL), University of Chicago, D.&A. Smart Gallery; BAPD 12590 (*CVA* 1, 35-36, PL.(1242) 30.8-10), Athenian red-figure lekythos, squat, 425-375 B.C., provenance unknown, Stuttgart, Wurttembergisches Landesmuseum, 128.

[55] Wilson 1996, 96.

[56] Hes.*Op.*604-5; Hdt.1.193; Hom.30.7-16.

[57] So Schein 1995, 19 says of Circe.

[58] Roessel 1989, 34 citing Page 1973, 56-65. See also Hill 1941, 119-122 and Coulter 1925, 48 for similar sentiments concerning Circe.

[59] Vernant 1986, 61-64 view Calypso as the destructive, threatening female to Odysseus' κλέος and immortalisation in epic. Giesecke 2007 (a), 17-19, 36 citing Carroll-Spillecke 1989, 82 and Giesecke 2007 (b), 201 claims Calypso is a threatening matriarchal force against Odysseus' patriarchal world and social order. Haller 2007, 162 and Giesecke 2007 (a), 35 use an evolutionary perspective towards Calypso and represents her as the primitive, non-civilised place from which the Greek male leaves as he becomes civilised. Schein 1995, 19-20 and Bergren 1980, 109-11 interpret Calypso and her name as "the concealer" of Odysseus.

[60] Nymph and goddess: Hom.*Od.*1.14; Nymph: Hom.*Od.*4.557*,* 5.14, 5.57, 5.230, 17.143, 23.333; Goddess: Hom.*Od.*5.78, 5.85, 5.116, 5.173, 5.178, 5.180, 5.192, 5.193, 5.202, 5.215, 5.242*,* 5.246*,* 5.276, 7.245, 7.255, 9.29, 12.449.

[61] As represented in her occupation of the main hall with her loom, according to Bertolín 2008, 92.

[62] As a δῶμα, see Hom.*Od.*5.6; Hom.*Od.*5.80; Hom.*Od.*5.208; Hom.*Od.*5.241; Hom.*Od.*8.453. For the other features of Calypso's house and home, see Chapter Four.

[63] God-inhabited δώματα: Hes.*Cat.*25; Hom.*Od.*11.571 and 12.21. Though, Homer uses δόμος for Hades' house more than δῶμα in the *Odyssey* (δόμος: Hom.*Od.*4.834, 9.524, 10.175, 10.491, 10.512, 11.69, 11.150, 11.627, 14.208, 15.350, 20.208, 23.252, 24.204, 24.264, 24.322); h.hom.3.2, 3.187 (Zeus's house); Hom.18.369 (Poseidon's great house).

[64] For example, the εὐώδης *sweet-smelling* wood burning on Calypso's hearth and the forest growing outside her house (Hom.*Od.*5.59-61, 5.64) is comparable to Aphrodite's θυώδεα νηός *fragrant temple* on εὐώδης Κύπρος

Calypso's house also corresponds to her identity as a νύμφη, as one who wants to be Odysseus' wife and 'keep house with him'.[66] Calypso desires that she and Odysseus be together, revealing the two primary functions of a dwelling: the physical, functional house; and the conceptual, familial household.[67] As Crane argues, Calypso is like a "proper Greek lady or goddess" who sings at her loom, while the cultivated vine that grows around her cave implies viticulture.[68] Her characterisation and other 'proper' (meaning idealised or traditional) females and their households in the epic challenge the strict designation of separate female-male spaces because female presence is identifiable in all areas of Homeric Greek households.[69] Instead, these houses and families reveal that Homeric household space is divided between areas that guests and family/household all use, and areas only the family/household may access.[70]

Circe is a δεινή θεός *powerful goddess* who lives in a goddess' dwelling surrounded by ἱερά βῆσσα and ὕλη *sacred woods,* and she can transform the bodies of others. Her agency to exercise her powers upon the male intruders is, according to Brilliant, comparable to Penelope's cunning plans to deceive the suitors who intrude on her space and life.[71] Penelope, like Circe, has sophisticated female μῆτις which conceals her deception from the suitors for three years until one of her own handmaids betrays her.[72] Both Circe and Calypso are accommodating hosts, expert weavers, sing beautifully, can control the winds, have knowledge of sea navigation and possess the power of prophecy.[73] Summarising these goddesses with simplistic labels like man-

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sweet-smelling Cyprus (h.Hom.5.58, 66). For other examples of the sacredness of Calypso's surroundings and their similarities to other sacred landscape, see Chapter Four.

[65] Hom.*Od.*5.55-80. Larson notes the special connection between nature deity and landscape in Larson 2001, 9, 24-25, 27-28, 35; Larson 2007, 56-70.

[66] Hom.*Od.*5.208.

[67] The primary and secondary functions of the house, according to Sanders 1990, 43-72, and Antonaccio 2000, 520.

[68] Crane 1988, 25 n.15 in which he cites and supports Harder 1960, 155.

[69] Such spatial differentiation is supported by Nevett 1999, 68-74 (cited in Lewis 2002, 135-36) whose archaeological investigations of pottery remains and Greek dwellings suggest the presence of women throughout the house.

[70] Telemachus' room: Hom.*Od.*1.425, into which Eurycleia enters; Penelope's chamber in Hom.*Od.*4.718 and 4.802;the storeroom, into which Eurycleia also enters: Hom.*Od.*2.337-41 and 380; Homer describes other private rooms with the word, such as in Nestor's house in Hom.*Od.*3.413, Helen's chamber in Hom.*Od.*4.121, and Menelaos' chamber in Hom.*Od.*4.310.

[71] Brilliant 1995, 171.

[72] Holmberg 1997, 2 characterises female μῆτις with sexuality, deception, persuasion and concealment. Penelope's clever deception and her handmaid's betrayal in Hom.*Od.*2.87-110.

[73] Circe: Hom.*Od.*10.538-40 (prophecy); Hom.*Od.*11.6-8 (controls the winds); Hom.*Od.*10.221-23 (beautiful singing voice and a weaver); Hom.*Od.*10.508-15 (sea navigation). Calypso: Hom.*Od.*5.268 (power over the winds); Hom.*Od.*5.62, 5.258-59 (skilled in weaving); Hom.*Od.*5.237-40 (knowledge in carpentry, specifically the appropriate timbers for raft and ship building); Hom.*Od.*5.276-77 (knowledge in star navigation for sea travel).

eater and concealer misconstrues their complex and multi-shaded characterisations,[74] and does a disservice to Homer's sophisticated female representations.

My approach and study are not without their limitations. In my investigation of female associations with landscape, I have not considered all landscapes and geographical settings, such as mountains, deserts and seascapes. Not all of the metaphorical, idealised or imaginary female representations can be mapped neatly to historical, real women. In addition to these limitations, the wealth of evidence concerning each landscape could constitute a dedicated, in-depth dissertation of its own. However, future research could provide more detailed and focused treatments of each of these three shortcomings, transforming them from limitations into insightful investigations.

The significance of my research is that it highlights the value of studying females in landscape. It is a 'fruitful' approach for two reasons. Firstly, the analysis demonstrates that the evidence pertains to the reality of women's work and visibility of women in ancient Greek societies. The sources state explicitly that females, including slaves, citizen women and metics, are involved in cultivation, shepherding, child-rearing.[75] The nouns τρυγήτρια, παραβάτις and ποάστρια attest to female fruit-pickers, weeders and gleaners, and indicate that these occupations for women were known well enough to warrant feminised nouns.[76] Women were active in many areas of life including public space, landscapes and religion. The recognition of and commentary on women's roles, experiences and tasks in the evidence attests to women's presence and visibility, and reveals much about what ancient Greek society thought about females. Some ancient authors and poets try to understand female experiences; others praise women for their roles; while others appreciate and comprehend the female body through landscape. The identification of these viewpoints does not mean all evidence is positive. Some writers, especially in the Classical period such as Xenophon and Demosthenes, are critical and judgemental of women who work in cultivation because they exist outside their images of ideal womanhood and female roles. In fact, their very criticism proves what women were doing, but much modern scholarship has tended to follow their elite, androcentric perspectives. For example, du Bois interprets female field representations as pertaining to women's subjugation under males in patriarchal society.[77] I have

[74] The word multi-shaded is inspired by Yarnall's reference to Circe's many "shades." See Yarnall 1994, 11.
[75] Hes.*Op.*403-6; Hes.*Op.*597-603; Pl.*Leg.*789e; *BGU* VI 129.11, *PMich.*iv.23.G, translation cited in Lefkowitz and Fant 2016, 292; *IG* II^2 1559 (face A, column III lines 59-60 and 63), translation cited in Lefkowitz and Fant 2016, 292;: *IG* II^2 1559 (face B column I line 90), translation cited in Lefkowitz and Fant 2016, 292; Dem.57.45.
[76] Dem.57.45; Magn.*fr.*5; Archipp.*fr.*44; Theoc.3.31.
[77] du Bois 1988, 45-49.

demonstrated that these negative views about females are not the only views worth considering, and that they cannot keep the presence of women in outdoor landscapes hidden. Artistic representations reveal that conventions of female beauty and the differentiation between males and females are represented with pale skin tones (Fig. 8 in Chapter Seven). My interpretation of female skin tone challenges the assignment of women to seclusion because these beauty conventions in ceramic evidence do not necessarily discount women's lived experiences in outdoor landscapes.

Secondly, my research shows that landscapes become gendered spaces when they represent or are associated with females in extant evidence from Archaic and Hellenistic Greece. A girl's "ποηφόρος κῆπος *grassy garden"* in Archilochus' fragment*,* Ibycus' garden of παρθένοι and Aphrodite's sensual apple-grove sanctuary in Archaic evidence,[78] ploughed female ἀγροί and ἄρουραι *fields* in late Archaic and Classical sources,[79] and the representation of Erinna as a "παρθενόχρωτα κρόκον *maiden-complexioned crocus"*[80] in Hellenistic poetry substantiate Gilhuly's point that "[t]he eroticisation of place always entails the gendering of that place."[81] Meleager's poem attests to the eroticisation and gendering of landscape, because the meadow flowers that represent male poets in his *Garland* lack the erotic, sexual connotations that he attributes to female poets and their meadow flowers. The Archaic poetic, mythic image of Persephone gathering flowers in and abduction from a meadow speaks to this gendering of space,[82] and is a way that others could approach a female's development into adulthood. Similar to Persephone, Hellenistic evidence represents the *daimon* of Menophila as a meadow flower and visitor.[83] My findings highlight the prevalence of landscape connotations in the representations of females, which reveals a long association between females and outdoor spaces.

My project provides useful approaches applicable to other areas of research. For example, the simile of Thetis and Achilles, and Telemachus in Homer, Sappho's sapling bride-groom and Alkmene and Herakles in Theocritus reveal the representation of males as plants and vegetation.[84] Future research concerning male associations with landscape would also reveal insightful, rich commentary and findings about the roles, ideals and representations of ancient Greek males. Experiences, such as war, politics and death could benefit from the approaches I

[78] Archil.196a.23-24; Ibyc.5-6.4; Sapph.2.
[79] A.*Th.*754; Soph.*OT.*1256-57; Pl.*Leg.*839a.
[80] Mel.4.1.12.
[81] Gilhuly 2018, 5.
[82] h.Hom.2.6-21, 2.425-29.
[83] Sardis 7,1 111 (PH263228).
[84] Sapph.115; Hom.*Il.*18.56-57 (Achilles and Thetis); Hom.*Od.*14.175 (Telemachus); Theoc.24.103 (Herakles).

have taken. The evidence collected for my study attests to at least two of these experiences—death and war.[85] The thesis has touched on ritual and religion (the Aiora, and the women's mourning ritual in Lycophron). However, the role and importance of landscape in Greek religion, rituals and festivals deserves further attention and consideration.

The Classical period provided fewer examples of females who explicitly challenge patriarchal systems and androcentric perspectives through landscape than their counterparts in Archaic and Hellenistic times. A closer examination of female representations in Classical Greek sources may help to uncover more about female agency and empowerment. Notable females, such as Lysistrata and other agentic women in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* and *Ecclesiazusae*, point the way for further research in this area. A closer study may also reveal the ways in which the dominance of Classical Greece in scholarly studies has shaped modern views of ancient women, at the possible expense of females in other periods of Greek history.

Another area of scholarly research to which my approach is applicable is the representation of animals through landscape. A fragment attributed to Agatharchides describes a κῆπος as having "τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον λέοντι παραπλήσιον, τὸ δὲ σῶμα πάνθηρι, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος δορκάδι, κατὰ τὴν ποικιλίαν καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβών, *the countenance resembling a lion, and to a spotted panther the body, and to a deer in stature, possessing the same patterning and name."*[86] Such a tantalising fragment has the potential to transport the scholar and student into the animal kingdom and to a different way of thinking about ancient Greek landscapes.

[85] Death: Hom.*Il.*17.55. War: the comparison of a warrior whose head hangs heavy like poppy in a garden in Hom.*Il.*8.306-308.
[86] Agatharch.*Fr.*75.

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