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Editors' Foreword

While 2022 has been a challenging year for the journal in many respects, it has also been the year where the journal has seen its most growth in many ways.

We expanded our team significantly, welcoming editors from all over the world to help contribute to the continued success of this publication. Additionally, we have also partnered with Save Ancient Studies Alliance, an organisation dedicated to bringing Ancient Studies and the Classics back into the public eye. Our first foray into this partnership was a presentation at the Alliance's Virtual Conference 2022, where both Chief Editors spoke at the special workshop titled Publishing Forums. The workshop tackled how postgraduates and independent scholars can get their research published in peer reviewed publications. However, the tail of the COVID-19 pandemic is long and has impacted the volume of articles that the journal has been able to process. This, combined with the return to in-person activities and work schedules for most, has meant that it has been harder than ever to secure peer reviewers to volunteer their valuable time and expertise to our journal as they, understandably, focus their efforts on the challenges of post-COVID academia.

Nonetheless, issue seven has three new articles and a book review for your reading pleasure. We begin with Artemis Archontogeorgi's in-depth look at Ovid's Metamorphosis and arboreal transformations as evidence of the absorption of the human body by the natural environment. Following this article, we move into reception studies as Aleah Hernandez discusses the connections between Pandora and the concept of automata through Alex Garland's film *Ex Machina*. Our final article delves into a fascinating comparative study of Greek and Medieval swordsmanship as Justine McLean details how using treatises on European martial arts from the 14th century should make us reconsider the use of the sword in the ancient Greek military as merely a "backup (sometimes optional) part of the panoply and little more." Finally, to wrap up this issue, we present Shelby Judge's review of *Ariadne* by Jennifer Saint (2021).

I hope you enjoy our seventh issue and continue to take a keen interest in New Classicists. We are already hard at work getting articles ready for the next issue.

Regards,
Dr Jordon Houston and Giuseppe L. Ficocelli
Co-Editors-in-Chief

Arboreal and human bodies in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by Artemis Archontogeorgi[1]

In his essay on the literary representation of trees in Senecan drama, Robert Nisbet points out that "Trees are like people. They have a head (*vertex*), a trunk (*truncus*), arms (*bracchia*). They stand tall like a soldier, or look as slender as a bridegroom (Sappho, 115 L-P). Their life moves in human rhythms, which in their case may be repeated: sap rises and falls, hair (*coma*) luxuriates, withers, drops off. Sometimes they are superior and aloof, sometimes they go in pairs, whether as comrades in arms (Hom. *Il.* 12.132ff., Virg. *Aen.* 9.679ff.) or husband and wife (Ov. *Met.* 8.720)".[2] Accordingly, Alessandro Perutelli, in his article examining the function of the term *bracchium* in Latin literature, notes similar correspondences in the interpretation of the figurative relationship between trees and humans.[3]

Long before modern scholars became interested in the anatomical resemblance between trees and humans, Pliny the Elder held similar views in his *Naturalis Historia*. He assumed that "there is also a juice in the body of trees, which must be looked upon as their blood", and that "in general the bodies of trees, as of other living things, have in them skin, blood, flesh, sinews, veins, bones and marrow".[4] According to the Roman natural historian, trees get sick much like humans do; they can be affected by a disease comparable to arthritis; they also need to be beautified, just like humans need their hairdresser and manicurist.[5]

Correspondingly, Columella finds similar analogies in the physiology of trees and humans in his work *De Re Rustica*. He notes the comparison between the roots and the legs, the trunk and the body, the branches and the arms, the shoots and the hands, while identifying the

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[1] This paper is part of my post-doctoral research on ecocriticism in Ovid under the supervision of Charilaos N. Michalopoulos, Assistant Professor of Latin at the Department of Greek Philology, Democritus University of Thrace, to whom I am very grateful. I also thank the anonymous reviewers of this paper for their useful comments and suggestions.

[2] Nisbet 1987: 243.

[3] Perutelli 1985. On the anatomical similarities of trees and humans, see also Bretin-Chabrol 2012: 82-90.

[4] Plin. *HN* 16.72.181 (translated by Rackham).

[5] Plin. *HN* 17.37.224, 17.37.248.

foliage with the protection of clothing.[6] Lucretius adds to this brief overview of the similarities between trees and humans. In his work *De Rerum Natura*, Lucretius admits that organisms have some similarities when they are created, although he believes that humans, fruits and fruit trees are made up of very different elements.[7] Lucretius, however, does not deny the possibility of branches sprouting from the human body, resulting from the coexistence of different elements within the same organism, an evolution that seems to be a monstrosity.[8]

Against the background of the observations mentioned above, this paper attempts to map the presence and function of tree transformations in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and to discuss their subtleties from an ecocritical perspective.[9] Ecocritical theory proposes an 'earth-centered' approach to the study of literature. By focusing on literary representations of nature, it seeks to reflect on the multiple and complex connections between people, texts and their physical environment while raising awareness of a major modern problem: the ecological crisis. In the naturalistic setting of the Ovidian work, the idea of a human being transforming into another physical form, whether animate or inanimate, leaves room for a variety of associations about the complex relationship between humans and nature. Particular attention will be given to the correlation between gender, metamorphosis, and sylvan imagery and to exploring the liminality (temporal and spatial) of the actual transformation from human to tree (and vice versa). The semantic ambiguity of the term *truncus*, meaning both "tree trunk" and "body", will also be discussed in the broader context of mutilation as an act of violence against humans and trees.

Furthermore, this paper proposes that arboreal transformations as evidence of the absorption of the human body by the natural environment in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* correspond to Stacy Alaimo's concept of trans-

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[6] Columella, *Rust*. 3.10.11.

[7] Lucr. 2.695-699.

[8] Lucr. 2.701-703. On the attitude of Roman agronomists' attitude towards nature and its relationship with the world of humans, see Bretin-Chabrol 2012: 35-46; Armstrong 2019: 2-6.

[9] On ecocriticism as an interpretive tool for classical literature, see Glacken 1976; Hughes 1994; Gifford 1999; Thommen 2009; Schliephake 2017. On the rapidly growing interest in ecocriticism on Latin literature, see Saunders 2008; Apostol 2015; Armstrong 2019; Schliephake 2020; Rozzoni 2021.

corporeality. By emphasising movement across bodies, trans-corporeality reveals the interchanges between different bodily natures and the ways in which these bodily entities interface with each other.[10] Most importantly, although trans-corporeality appears to be anthropocentric, it shifts the focus from humans to nature. This is because it considers humans as part of "an active, often unpredictable more-than-human world" and thus "denies the human subject the sovereign, central position".[11]

Moving across bodies: from human to tree

In the mythological world of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, we find a total of ten transformations of humans into trees. Six of them concern women; three refer to men and one to a couple.[12] The transformations recorded are: Daphne into a laurel tree (Ov. *Met*. 1.548-552); the Heliades into poplar trees (Ov. *Met*. 2.346-366); Lotis into a lotus tree (Ov. *Met*. 9.346-348); Dryope into a lotus tree or poplar (Ov. *Met*. 9.351-355, 9.388-392); Myrrha into a myrrh tree (Ov. *Met*. 10.489-498); the Edonides into oaks (Ov. *Met*. 11.69-84); Cyparissus into a cypress (Ov. *Met*. 10.136-140); the shepherd from Apulia into a wild olive tree (Ov. *Met*. 14.523-526); Attis into a pine (Ov. *Met*. 10.104-105); and Philemon and Baucis into an oak and a linden respectively (Ov. *Met*. 8.714-719). The causes of transformation vary and may be sexual violence (Daphne, Lotis), grief (Heliades, Cyparissus, Myrrha), punishment (Dryope, Edonides, Apulian shepherd), or divine intervention (Attis, Philemon and Baucis).[13]

During the alterations mentioned above, humans take on arboreal characteristics, which underline the connection between tree nature and human nature. The very process of metamorphosis from human to tree confirms the anatomical similarity between humans and trees, an analogy vividly expressed in Daphne's metamorphosis. As the nymph gradually transforms into a laurel tree, we see her chest turn into a tree

[10] Alaimo 2010: 2.
[11] Alaimo 2010: 16-17.
[12] On gender and transformation in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, see Sharrock 2020: 31-53.
[13] For an overview of the structural elements of the transformations in the Ovidian epic, see Barchiesi 2020: 14-24. On the causes of transformation into trees and their connection to moral embodiment, see Forbes Irving 1990: 128-138; Tzachi 2011; Frontisi-Ducroux 2017: 35-47, 59-68.

trunk, her hair into foliage, her arms into branches, her legs into roots, and her face into a canopy of leaves:

vix prece finita torpor gravis occupat artus, / mollia cinguntur tenui praecordia libro, / in frondem crines, in ramos bracchia crescunt, / pes modo tam velox pigris radicibus haeret, / ora cacumen habet: remanet nitor unus in illa.

(Ov. *Met*. 1.548-552)

"her prayer was scarcely finished when she feels a torpor take possession of her limbs — her supple trunk is girdled with a thin layer of fine bark over her smooth skin; her hair turns into foliage, her arms grow into branches, sluggish roots adhere to feet that were so recently so swift, her head becomes the summit of a tree".[14]

In the case of Myrrha, Ovid looks at the transformation even more closely. Myrrha's nails grow into roots that support her trunk; her bones become wood; the blood in her marrow becomes sap; her arms become twigs while her fingers become branches, and her skin hardens into bark:

nam crura loquentis / terra supervenit, ruptosque obliqua per ungues / porrigitur radix, longi firmamina trunci, / ossaque robur agunt, mediaque manente medulla / sanguis it in sucos, in magnos bracchia ramos, / in parvos digiti, duratur cortice pellis. / iamque gravem crescens uterum perstrinxerat arbor / pectoraque obruerat collumque operire parabat: / non tulit illa moram venientique obvia lingo / subsedit mersitque suos in cortice vultus.

(Ov. *Met*. 10.489-498)

"for, even as she was still speaking, the earth rose up over her legs, and from her toes burst roots that spread widely to hold the tall trunk in position; her bones put forth wood, and even though they were still hollow, they now ran with sap and not blood; her arms became branches, and those were now twigs that used to be called her fingers, while her skin

[14] The Latin text follows the edition by Miller & Goold 1916. All translations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are from Martin 2004.

turned to hard bark. The tree kept on growing, over her swollen belly, wrapping it tightly, and growing over her breast and up to her neck; she could bear no further delay, and, as the wood rose, plunged her face down into the bark and was swallowed".

Daphne's physical transformation into a tree provides a narrative model for all subsequent arboreal transformations. In most of the narratives, trees and humans are identified anatomically by using word pairs such as *crinis/capillus/caput* – *frons* ("hair/head – foliage", 1.550, 2.350-351, 9.355), *bracchium* – *ramus* ("arm – branch", 1.550, 2.352), *pes* – *radix* ("foot – root", 1.551), *os* – *cacumen* ("face – tree tip", 1.552), *ossum* – *robur* ("bone – timber", 10.492), *sanguis* – *sucus* ("blood – sap", 10.492-493). Apart from the above word pairs, coherent elements of the transformations are the gradual stillness, the rigidity of the body and finally the loss of voice, which in the cases of the Heliades and Philemon and Baucis is underlined by a final salutation (2.363 *iamque vale*, 7.717-718 *vale / o coniunx*).[15]

These human-tree hybrids, through their metamorphosis, transcend the biological limits of human life but retain human characteristics and behaviour. Daphne's breast still throbs beneath the laurel's trunk (1.554), while the laurel, like Daphne before it, still eludes Apollo's erotic embrace (1.556). Dryope, transformed into a poplar or lotus tree, retains the warmth of her body (9.392-393, 9.365); the myrrh tree is pregnant with Myrrha's child and bears the fruit of the girl's incestuous love for her father (10.505-514); the wild olive tree, into which the Apulian shepherd has been transformed, preserves on its sour wrist the profanity of human speech (14.524-526).

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[15] Immobility: Ov. *Met*. 1.548, 1.551, 3.349, 3.351, 9.351-352, 11.70-72, 11.76-78. Stiffness: Ov. *Met*. 3.348, 9.357, 10.105, 10.139, 10.494. Loss of voice: Ov. *Met*. 3.363, 9.388, 10.506-507, 14.523. The metamorphosis of Cyparissus (Ov. *Met*. 10.137), though short, is slightly different from the other transformations, for his limbs do not turn into branches but take on a greenish colour. Ovid describes the metamorphoses of Lotis (Ov. *Met*. 9.346-348) and Attis (Ov. *Met*. 10.104-105) in a single sentence without further detail. On the phonocentric aspects of the Ovidian metamorphoses, see Barchiesi 2020: 21, n. 24 with examples. On the loss of voice in Ovid's *Metamorphose*, see Natoli 2017: 33-79. For a discussion on immobilization, see Segal 2005: 31-49; Salzman Mitchell 2005: 67-116.

It is also worth noting that most female characters retain their feminine roles after metamorphosis.[16] Daphne, for example, is still beautiful and erotic in Apollo's eyes (1.553). Motherhood still plays an important role in the lives of both Dryope and Myrrha, even after they have lost their human bodies. Dryope nurses her infant son during her transformation (9.356-358, 9.375, where Dryope remarkably refers to her hands as *rami*, "branches"); Myrrha gives birth to her son with her tree body (10.505-514, where the tree has a *venter*, "womb", moans and sheds tears during labour, taking on the role of a *genetrix* / *mater* / *parens*, "mother"). With their collective transformation, the Heliades preserve the fraternal bond between them and continue to mourn their lost brother as tree sisters with their amber tears. In their new form as a grove of poplars, they form a feminine circle of trees whose precious extract flows back into the female community, for the amber is used to adorn the Roman bride.[17]

Tree trunks and body trunks

On closer examination, the semantic ambiguity of the noun *truncus* best describes the metamorphosis of a human being into a tree. In Myrrha's case, her body transforms into a long tree trunk (10.490 *longi … trunci*).[18] In Dryope's metamorphosis, her sister embraces the trunk that grows around Dryope's body (9.361 *crescentem truncum*) to delay the transformation. The imagery becomes even more vivid when the noun *truncus* is juxtaposed with the noun *corpus*, which it replaces in the course of the metamorphosis. This literary substitution of the body for a trunk is better expressed in the metamorphosis of Philemon and Baucis, where two bodies transform into two neighbouring trunks (8.719-720 *de gemino vicinos corpore truncos*). Both the meaning of the adjective *geminus*, "twin, double", which specifies the noun *corpus*, and that of the adjective *vicinus*, "neighbouring", which specifies the noun *truncus*, as well as the chiasmus, emphasise the concept of proximity, the need of the old couple to maintain their companionship even in their changed form as trees. It also restores the meaning of the adjective *conterminus* (8.620 *tiliae contermina quercus*, "an oak and a linden, side by side"), which allows for

[16] On the biological sex of trees, see Bretin-Chabrol 2009; Frontisi-Ducroux 2017: 93-99.
[17] See Kelley 2015: 153-161.
[18] An elongated trunk indicates a female tree. See Frontisi-Decroux 2017: 96.

the idea of mutual contact and recognition of the couple's new "bodies". The final salutation as *coniunx* (8.717-718 *'vale' que / 'o coniunx' dixere simul*, "'Farewell, dear husband!' they both shouted together"), which Philemon and Baucis address to each other shortly before their transformation, refers to the extension of their marriage state which they also want to preserve as trees.[19]

Images from arboriculture and viticulture further illuminate the relationship between the human body and the tree trunk, placing the former in an erotic context.[20] In the case of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, similes from the realm of nature illustrate the violent eroticism with which the nymph captures her object of desire. Salmacis' erotic grip around Hermaphroditus' body resembles, on the one hand, an ivy wrapped around a long trunk and, on the other, the grafting of a branch into the bark of a tree:

denique nitentem contra elabique volentem / inplicat [...] / utve solent hederae longos intexere truncos; [...] illa premit commissaque corpore toto / sicut inhaerebat; [...] nam mixta duorum / corpora iunguntur, faciesque inducitur illis / una. velut, si quis conducat cortice ramos, / crescendo iungi pariterque adolescere cernit, / sic ubi conplexu coierunt membra tenaci, / nec duo sunt et forma duplex, nec femina dici / nec puer ut possit, neutrumque et utrumque videntur.

(Ov. *Met*. 4.361-362, 4.365, 4.369-370, 4.373-379)

"although he strives to tear himself away, the nymph – now here, now there – surrounds her prey [...] or just as ivy winds around a tree; [...]

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[19] See Gowers 2005: 351-353. The tender closeness of Philemon and Baucis recalls the metamorphosis of Cadmus and Harmonia who, having turned into serpents, crawl away together with intertwined spirals. Cf. Ov. *Met*. 4.600 *et subito duo sunt iunctoque* volumine serpent, "and at once there were two serpents intertwined". Also, Ceyx and Alcyone continue their lives together as birds. Cf. Ov. Met. 11.736-737 ut vero tetigit mutum et sine sanguine corpus, / dilectos artus amplexa recentibus alis, "and when she reached his silent, bloodless corpse with her new wings, embraced his cherished limbs", 11.743-744 nec coniugiale solutum est / foedus in alitibus, "as birds, their love and conjugal vows remain in force". In both cases, as well as in the story of Philemon and Baucis, the emphasis is on the continuous coupling even after the metamorphosis.

[20] Forbes Irving 1990: 128-138; Frontisi-Decroux 2017: 69-91.

She presses her whole body against his as though stuck on him [...] their two bodies blent, both face and figure, to a single form; so when a twig is grafted to a tree, they join together in maturity. Now these two figures in their close embrace were two no longer, but were some11thing else, no longer to be called a man and woman, and although neither, nonetheless seemed both".

The narrative emphasises the mating of bodies (4.362 *inplicat, 4.369 premit comissaque corpore toto*, 4.370 *inhaerebat*, 4.373-374 *mixta... corpora iunguntur... inducitur*, 4.377 *conplexu... coierunt membra*), an idea reinforced by the imagery of the corresponding coupling of the natural elements (4.375 *conducat*, 4.376 *iungi*). In the first simile, the long trunk (4.365 *longos truncos*) that the ivy encloses is juxtaposed with the body of Hermaphroditus (4.369 *corpore toto*) by the semantic proximity of the verbs *inplicat* – *intexere* – *inhaerebat*. In the second simile, the grafting of the branches onto the tree (4.375 *conducat cortice ramos*) prepares the assimilation of the limbs (4.377 *coierunt membra*), followed by erotic connotations. In the case of both humans and trees, the transition from two entities to one being (4.373-375 *duorum corpora ... faciesque una*, 4.378 *nec duo sunt et forma duplex*) denotes, as in the case of Philemon and Baucis, the consequent coexistence of the two in one body and satisfies Salmacis' erotic desire.[21]

In the same context, Vertumnus, who tries to curb Pomona's erotic reluctance, uses a typically Roman analogy between viticulture and marriage:[22]

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[21] Cf. Catull. 61.33-35 mentem amore revinciens, / ut tenax hedera huc et huc / arborem implicat errans, "and bind her heart fast with love, as clings ivy this way and that, as twine tendrils around the tree trunk", 61.102 – 105 lenta sed velut adsitas / vitis implicat arbores / implicabitur in tuum / *complexum*, "just as the pliant vine winds itself around neighbor trees he'll be firmly enfolded in your embrace" (translated by Green). Cf. also Ov. *Met*. 12.325-331, where Petraeus attempts to uproot an oak tree by wrapping his arms around it and is eventually nailed to the tree in a fatal embrace. Thus, ironically, he becomes one with the tree.

[22] Also cf. Catull. 62.49-58; Hor. *Epod*. 2.9-10; Ov. *Am*. 2.16.41-42, *Her*. 5.46-48. The Romans use the verb *maritare* to indicate the union between the vine and the tree. See *OLD* s.v. "maritare" 4. to join or 'wed' vines and trees. See also Bretin-Chabrol 2012: 190-228.

ulmus erat contra speciosa nitentibus uvis: / quam socia postquam pariter cum vite probavit, / 'at si staret' ait 'caelebs sine palmite truncus, / nil praeter frondes, quare peteretur, haberet; / haec quoque, quae iuncta est, vitis requiescit in ulmo: / si non nupta foret, terrae acclinata iaceret;

(Ov. *Met*. 14.661-666)

"there was a splendid elm across from these, adorned with shining grapes; he glanced at it approvingly, and said, "Now if that tree trunk were to stand unwed, untrained to any vine, it would not be of any worth to us, but for its leaves; likewise the vine, which has been joined to it, rests on the elm tree; if it had not been, it would be lying flat upon the ground".

The god in love reminds his beloved that without the vine entwining it, the "celibate trunk" of the elm (14.663 *caelebs … truncus*) is valuable only for its foliage.[23] Moreover, without the elm, the vine would lie on the ground. The emphasis is again on the vine's union with the elm (14.665 *quae iuncta est*, 14.666 *si non nupta foret*), with connotations of marriage and sexual intercourse, in contrast to Pomona's aversion to both (14.668 *concubitusque fugis nec te coniungere curas*, "for you flee the pleasures of sex, nor do you wish to marry"). The verb *coniungere* in 14.668 and the verb *iungere* in 14.675 correspond to the participle *iuncta* used of the vine in 14.665.[24] Interdependence, then, gives value to both the tree and the vine and enables life to continue, just as living together completes a person's life. Furthermore, if we read *truncus* as an adjective and *caelebs* as a noun, Vertumnus' assertion refers not to the loneliness of a tree but to the figurative mutilation of a bachelor, this half-body that lacks its other half to be whole. Vertumnus hopes to achieve by his cunning persuasion what Philemon and Baucis had achieved by love and Salmacis by force. From this perspective, Vertumnus makes good use of the pun suggested above, alluding both to the human world and to nature which he uses as an example to point out Pomona's unnatural behaviour.

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[23] *OLD* s.v. "caelebs" 1. unmarried, bachelor; 2. not supporting vines.
[24] Gentilcore 1995.

The violent act of mutilation

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the landscape of the forest follows the *locus amoenus* motif of bucolic poetry. But behind the narrative conventions that maintain this pattern, small details deconstruct this ideal landscape and turn the forest into a place of violence and death for both people and trees.[25] Hideous mutilations are part of this scenario. In the case of Erysichthon, Ovid describes a hundred-year-old giant oak in the grove of Demeter, which in itself can be considered a grove (8.743). The presence of dryads, votive bands, epigrams and wreaths underlines the sacredness of the place and also of the tree (8.844-845). Furthermore, although this has not yet been clearly stated, the oak has human-like traits, which are first seen in the tree's resemblance to the goddess Diana. When the dryads embrace the trunk of the tree with their hands (8.747-748 *trunci / circuiere*), their action is reminiscent of Diana's followers who surround the goddess to protect her from the profane eyes of Actaeon (3.180 *circumfusaeque Dianae*). Just as Diana stands out, taller than the nymphs who cannot hide her (3.182 *supereminent omnes*), no tree in the forest can surpass the oak's enormous height (8.749-750 *tantum / silva sub hac omnis*). Finally, before beginning his unholy task, Erysichthon remarks that the oak might be a friend of the goddess Demeter or even the goddess herself (8.755-756 *non dilecta deae solum, sed et ipsa licebit / sit dea*), which is another indication of the corporeal concept of the oak in Erysichthon's narrative.

On the other hand, Erysichthon ironically is closely associated with the oak tree he wishes to violate. Ovid calls Erysichthon by the patronymic *Triopeius* (8.751), son of Triopas. Although not accepted by most modern editors, the reading *Dryopeius*, preferred by the best preserved manuscripts, may be more favourable to our interpretation.[26] The latter as an ethonymic would indicate Erysichthon's origin in Dryopis, a region in Thessaly, and complement the epithet *Thessalus* (8.767), "from Thessaly", which Ovid ascribes to the faithless hero in the further course of the narrative.[27] *Dryopeius* associates Erysichthon above all with the oak he is

[25] See Perry 1964; Segal 1969: 71-85; Bernstein 2011: 80-83.
[26] On the preference of *Triopeius* over *Dryopeius* by most editors and the corresponding discussion, see Hollis 1970: 135; Griffin 1987: 57; Weber 1990: 209-210.
[27] See Hollis 1970: 135. Cf. Plin. *HN* 4.28.

about to cut down. As Griffin (1987: 57) explicitly points out "since *Dryopeius* was derived from *δρῦς* (*drûs*, "oak"), Thessalian Erysichthon in the act of destroying an oak is associated with oak through his name. He will progress from destroying an oak tree to killing an oak nymph (dryad) and finally destroy himself through autophagy".[28] If *Dryopeius* is accepted, Erysichthon would also be associated with Dryope, who accidentally cuts a flower from a lotus tree and is punished for her act by transforming herself from "an oak-girl into an oak-(nymph)" (Kenney: 549).

When Erysichthon enters the grove, eager to complete his impious task, he ignores his servants' reluctance to cut down the tree and takes the task into his own hands:

contremuit gemitumque dedit Deoia quercus, / et pariter frondes, pariter pallescere glandes / coepere ac longi pallorem ducere rami. / cuius ut in trunco fecit manus inpia vulnus, / haud aliter fluxit discusso cortice sanguis, / quam solet, ante aras ingens ubi victima Taurus / concidit, abrupta cruor e cervice profundi.

(Ov. *Met*. 8.758-764)

"the sacred oak gave out a groan and shuddered, and its leaves, its acorns, and its branches paled. But when he struck with his defiling hand, blood issued from its severed bark, as when a bull is sacrificed before the altar and the warm blood pours from its severed throat".

Erysichthon delivers the first blow with his axe, and the oak reacts with fear, trembling and sighing (8.758 *contremuit gemitumque dedit*) while its leaves, branches and acorns turn pale (8.759-760 *pariter frondes, pariter pallescere glandes … longi pallorem … rami*). Blood flows from the wound in the trunk of the oak (8.761 *in trunco … vulnus*, 8.762 *discusso cortice sanguis*), just as from the neck of a bull sacrificed on the altar (8.764 *abrupta cruor … cervice*). The emotional reaction of the tree corresponds to the emotional and physical reaction of women who experience the

[28] Weber (1990: 209) suggests that the epithet *Dryopeius* is related to *δρύοψ* (*dryóps*) "which is the name of a variety of woodpecker mentioned by Aristophanes (*Av*. 304) and included by Callimachus in his lost treatise on birds (*Frag*. 421 and 423 Pfeiffer)".

abusive behaviour of a man and react similarly.[29] The use of similes from the natural environment in these cases underlines the physical expression of the emotion of fear, as these women also tremble and turn pale. At the same time, the identification of the oak tree with the sacrificial bull emphasises the tree's relationship to a living being and highlights the tree's physicality.

Similar paradigms reinforce the connection between trees and humans through their shared vulnerability. Echion's spear wounds the trunk of a maple tree as he hunts the Calydonian boar (8.345 *truncoque dedit leve vulnus acerno*, "it struck and left a maple slightly wounded"). The mother of the Heliades, Clymene, observes the transformation of her daughters into trees, and in a desperate attempt to stop the transformation, she peels the bark from their bodies (2.358-359 *truncis avellere corpora temptat / et teneros manibus ramos abrumpit*, "she attempts to strip their bodies of this new veneer and breaks the little twigs off with her hands"). In this violent mutilation, the trunks of the trees, which are already part of the human body, are injured, and blood flows from the wound (2.359-360 *at inde / sanguineae manant tamquam de vulnere guttae*, "releasing drops of blood, as from a wound").[30] The pain forces the Heliades to beg their mother to stop as their bodies gradually become trapped in the tree trunk:

'parce, precor, mater,' quaecumque est saucia, clamat, / 'parce, precor: nostrum laceratur in arbore corpus'.

(Ov. *Met*. 2.361-362)

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[29] Cf. Ov. *Her*. 11.75-78 *ut quatitur tepido fraxina virga Noto, / sic mea vibrari pallentia membra videres*, "as an ash-tree's branch quivers in the warm south wind – you'd have seen my pale body trembling just like that", 14.40-41 *frigida populeas ut quatit aura comas, / aut sic, aut etiam tremui magis*, "like poplar leaves shaken by a chilly breeze – that's how I trembled, or even more than that", *Am*. 1.7.53-54 *exanimis artus et membra trementia vidi / ut cum populeas ventilat aura comas*, "I saw her limbs all nerveless and her frame a-tremble like the leaves of the poplar shaken by the breeze" (translated by Showerman). On the possible emotional state of human-tree hybrids, see Zatta 2016: 102-109.

[30] Cf. Verg. *Aen*. 3.22-48, where Aeneas cuts wood from a cornelian cherry bush and a clump of wild myrtle, into which Polydorus is transformed. As he pulls on it (*Aen*. 3.28 *vellitur*) to remove some branches, blood gushes from the trees with each of his movements; Ov. *Met*. 9.344-345, where the lotus tree into which Lotis is transformed bleeds and shudders as Dryope removes its blossoms. On the case of Vergil's Polydorus, see Gowers 2011: 96-102.

"'pray spare me, mother!' comes from each of them, the selfsame cry repeated: 'spare me, pray! It is my body wounded in this tree!'".

In the Heliades' narrative, it is the wound (*vulnus*) that connects the tree (*truncus / arbor*) to the body (*corpus*), a connection sealed by the flowing blood as bodies and trunks intertwine.

The context described above is further elaborated in the case of Pentheus. Pentheus' first reaction when he sees the angry horde of maenads attacking him is fear. The young man trembles, as does the oak that Erysichthon attacks with his axe (3.716-717 *trepidumque … / iam trepidum*, "and he, now terrified"). Horribly mutilated by the maenads, Pentheus desperately shows his mother and aunt his dismembered body and wounds:

non habet infelix quae matri bracchia tendat, / trunca sed ostendens dereptis vulnera membris / 'adspice, mater!' ait.
(Ov. *Met*. 3.723-725)

"he has no arms to stretch out to his mother, unlucky man, but cries out, 'mother, look!' and shows her his torso with its missing limbs".

The wounded Pentheus (3.719 *saucius*) calls for his mother, as the injured Heliades (2.361 *saucia*) did before him, hoping that his maimed form will force her to stop. Agave and Ino forcibly remove Pentheus' limbs (3.721-722), just as Clymene removes the bark and branches from her daughters' arboreal bodies (2.358-359). But in Pentheus' case, it is not a body trapped in a tree trunk that is violently mutilated. The noun *truncus* (2.358), mentioned in the narrative of the Heliades to denote their wooden body trunk, is now replaced by the adjective *truncus* (3.724) to denote the violent mutilation of Pentheus' youthful body.[31] The simile of the young man's dismemberment with the leaves and branches of a tree scattered by the autumn wind forcefully restores the analogy between the tree and the human being:

[31] Cf. Ov. *Met*. 3.680-681, where similarly the Tyrrhenian sailors dive into the sea with their mutilated bodies and no hands as they turn into fishes.

non citius frondes autumni frigore tactas / iamque male haerentes alta rapit arbore ventus, / quam sunt membra viri manibus direpta nefandis.

(Ov. *Met*. 3.729-731)

"swift as the wind that tears the last few leaves clinging to trees touched by autumnal frost, those impious hands tore him all asunder".

Agave's violent attack continues, however, and ends with the beheading of Pentheus. Agave holds the uprooted head in her hand and shakes Pentheus' hair in the air (3.726-727 *movitque per aera crinem / avulsumque caput*). The scene recalls the aforementioned simile with Pentheus' hair (3.726 *crinem*) blowing in the air like the leaves of the tree (3.729 *frondes*) in the autumn wind. A similar but less grotesque scene takes place in the myth of the Heliades. Aegle, the third of the sisters, runs her fingers through her hair and plucks off the leaves of the poplar into which she has been transformed (2.350-351 *tertia, cum crinem manibus laniare pararet, avellit frondes*). Accordingly, Dryope does exactly the same thing just before she is transformed into a tree; she runs her hand through her hair just to tear off a handful of leaves (9.354-355 *ut vidit, conata manu laniare capillos, / fronde manum implevit: frondes caput omne tenebant*, "she tried to tear the hair out of her head, but found her hands were full of leaves instead"). Apart from the typical word pair *crinis/caput – frons*, the use of the verb *avello* (2.351 *avellit*, 3.727 *avulsum*) connects the foliage of the tree with Pentheus' severed head. Moreover, the imagery recalls Erysichthon's threat that the oak would touch the ground with its leafy tip (8.756 *iam tanget frondente cacumine terram*), as if Erysichthon wanted to decapitate the oak. Erysichthon, however, does not get carried away with decapitating the oak but swings his axe and beheads one of his servants who wanted to prevent his sacrilegious deed:

Thessalus inque virum convertit ab arbore ferrum / detruncatque caput repetitaque robora caedit).

(Ov. *Met*. 8.768-769)

"Erysichthon muttered when he saw him, and turning from the tree toward the man, truncated him by severing his head".

Due to Erysichthon's lack of empathy towards both his servants and nature, it is the servant's head and not the foliage of the oak that first touches the ground. But although the servant is beheaded (8.769 *detruncatque caput*), it is the oak that is killed and falls into the ground (8.769 *caedit*), and thus the woodsman's homicide amounts to a quercicide.[32] Here, as in the case of the Heliades and Pentheus, the wounding of the oak and the beheading of Erysichthon's servant triggers the voice of the oak-nymph, not to ask her perpetrator to cease his blows, but to confirm his punishment. The nymph, who dwells in the oak, a being that is half-human, half-tree, is a reminder of the mutual suffering of trees and humans in the paradigms described above. She also recalls the need for justice in both the human and the non-human world. As Jill De Silva (2008: 103) notes, "the warning inherent in this prophecy is one which still rings true today: abuse nature and sooner or later be visited by famine".

One last remark: In the 9th book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Achelous tells Theseus and his companions about his duel with Hercules for the hand of Dianeira. During the duel, the river god transforms from a man into a snake and finally into a bull. Although the transformation into a tree is not included, Achelous has some tree-like features:

reieci viridem de corpore vestem, / bracchiaque opposui, tenuique a pectore varas/ in statione manus et pugnae membra paravi.

(Ov. *Met*. 9.32-34)

"I shed my green robe and raised my hands, and crouching, took my stance in opposition, with my arms widespread, and so prepared myself to wrestle him".

[32] Cf. Verg. *Aen*. 3.55 where Polydorus is beheaded (3.55 *obtruncat*) and turns into a tree. Cf. also Ov. *Met*. 8.510-514, where the life of Meleager depends on the existence of a firebrand. As the wood burns, it seems to sigh and at the same time Meleager's life ends. For an ecocritical approach to the myth of Erysichthon and the elements added by Ovid, see Da Silva 2008.

Before the duel, he takes off his greenish robe (9.32 *viridem … vestem*);[33] with his arms raised (9.33 *bracchiaque*) and his hands bent (9.34-35 *varas … manus*) like branches, Achelous looks like a standing tree.[34] During the duel, Hercules struggles to immobilise Achelous. The constant references to the weight (9.39 *gravitas*, 9.41 *pondere*, 9.54 *onerosus*), either of the river god himself or the force Hercules exerts on him, are reminiscent of other transformations of humans into trees, where the roots exert pressure on human feet to immobilise them.[35] The scuffle of the two gladiators follows the course of a tree-like transformation when legs, fingers and forehead intertwine as if the two opponents wanted to become one:

eratque / cum pede pes iunctus, totoque ego pectore pronus / et digitos digitis et frontem fronte premebam.

(Ov. *Met*. 9.43-45)

"and stand there, toe to toe, fingers knotted, breast against breast, and forehead pressed to forehead".

When Achelous realises that he cannot defeat Hercules, he attempts his final transformation into a bull. The demigod grabs Achelous by the horns and finally immobilises him by thrusting his horns into the deep sand:

induit ille toris a laeva parte lacertos, / admissumque trahens sequitur, depressaque dura / cornua figit humo, meque alta sternit harena.

(Ov. *Met*. 9.82-84)

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[33] The adjective *viridis* is used in the *Metamorphoses* to specify the forest or trees. Cf. Ov. *Met*. 1.112 *viridi ilice*, "green holm-oak", 3.324 *virida silva*, "green forest", 7.280 *viridi frondes*, "green leaves", 12.22 *virides ramos*, "green branches". The limbs of Cyparissus also turn green when he becomes a tree (Ov. *Met*. 10.137). Anderson (1972: 420) notes that "Ovid wishes to keep us aware that he (Achelous) was a river in man's shape, and river banks are 'clothed' with greenery".

[34] Cf. Stat. *Silv*. 2.3.40, where the noun *manus* indicates the branches of a plane-tree. For Achelous' fighting stance, see Secci 2009: 48-50.

[35] See for example Ov. *Met*. 1.548 *torpor gravis occupat artus*, "a torpor take possession of her limbs", 2.348 *deriguisse pedes*, "a rigidity down in her feet", 9.351 *haeserunt radice pedes*, "her feet, as though turned roots, clung to the ground".

"he got his arms around my neck again, and dragged his heels beside me as I galloped, until he pushed my horns down to the ground and plowed my poor head deep into the dirt".

Achelous' defeat and fixation in the sand recalls the scene in which Bacchus nails the Edonides into the earth before they become oaks:

[radix] traxit et in solidam detrusit acumina terram, [...] / ut quaeque solo defixa cohaeserat harum.
(Ov. *Met*. 11.72, 11.76)

"[root] drawing them out and down into the earth; [...] just so, as each of them, fixed to the soil".

The root immobilises the Edonides, just as Hercules immobilises Achelous. The similarity of the process is underlined by the use of the verbs *traho* (9.83 *trahens*, 1172 *traxit*) and *figo* (9.84 *figit*, 11.76 *defixa*) and the homonyms *deprimo* (9.83 *depressa*) and *detrudo* (11.72 *detrusit*). But Achelous has not yet become a tree.

The mutilation of Achelous by Hercules supports the river god's resemblance to a tree:

rigidum fera dextera cornu / dum tenet, infregit, truncaque a fronte revellit
(Ov. Met. 9.85-86)

"grasping my rigid horn in his right hand and cruelly breaking it, he tore it from my mutilated forehead".

Achelous' horn is deflected from his forehead, just as Midas cuts a lush branch from a tufted holm-oak (11.108-109 *non alta fronde virentem ilice detraxit virgam*, "when he snapped a green twig from the low branch of an oak") and as Aeneas cuts the golden branch from the tree in Persephone's grove (14.113-115 *auro / fulgentem ramum silva Iunonis Avernae / monstravit iussitque suo divellere trunco*, "deep within the wood of Proserpina, a shining golden branch and ordered him to break it

from its tree"). As the narrative progresses, Achelous' horn will resemble the branch of a tree as the Naiads fill it with fruit and flowers (9.87-88 *naides hoc, pomis et odoro flore repletum, / sacrarunt; divesque meo Bona Copia cornu est*, "the naiads immortalized this incident, filling my horn with fruit and fragrant flowers; known as the cornucopia, it now enriches the sweet goddess of Abundance").[36] The verb *revello* is used in the *Metamorphoses* to denote the violent uprooting of a tree; Achelous himself uproots trees from the forests to punish the nymphs who have forgotten him during the sacrificial rites (8.585 *a silvis silvas et ab arvis arva revelli*, "tore away the forests from their forests, fields from their fields"). Moreover, at the battle of Lapithae with the Centaurs, Demoleon unsuccessfully tries to tear a long-lived pine from its trunk (12.356-357 *solidoque revellere trunco anosam pinum magno molimine temptat*, "he had been struggling with all his might to tear an ancient pine tree from the ground") and he is crushed by the tree. As mentioned earlier, both Dryope and Aegle, one of the Heliades, attempt to touch their hair during their transformation but only succeed in plucking their new foliage (2.350-351 *tertia, cum crinem manibus laniare pararet, / avellit frondes*, "now the third sister, tearing at her hair, grasps foliage", 9.354-355 *ut vidit, conata manu laniare capillos, / fronde manum implevit: frondes caput omne tenebant*, "she tried to tear the hair out of her head, but found her hands were full of leaves instead").

The latter observation enables the correlation between the homonyms *frons-frontis*, "front", and *frons-frondis*, "foliage". Achelous constantly refers to his mutilated forehead, which lacks a horn:

quae gemitus truncaeque deo Neptunius heros / causa rogat frontis; cui sic Calydonius amnis / coepit inornatos redimitus harundine crines. […] rigidum cornu / … infregit, truncaque a fronte revellit. […] *vultus Achelous agrestes et lacerum cornu mediis caput abdidit undis.*

(Ov. *Met*. 9.1-3, 9.85-86, 9.96-97)

[36] Anderson (1972: 424) notes that Achelous uses the horn of plenty "to gloss over his humiliation".

"Theseus asked the river why he groaned, and how he happened to have lost his horn; and after binding up his hair in reeds, Achelous began to answer him; [...] my rigid horn ... and cruelly breaking it, he tore it from my mutilated forehead. [...] Achelous concealed his rustic looks and mutilated brow beneath the waves".

Achelous is ashamed of his appearance and tries to hide his deformity with reeds or willow branches:

inornatos ... harundine crines; [...] huic tamen ablati doluit iactura decoris, / cetera sospes habet. capitis quoque fronde saligna / aut superinposita celatur harundine damnum.

(Ov. *Met*. 9.3, 9.98-100)

"after binding up his hair in reeds; [...] his only grief, though, was to be deprived of his lovely horn – he was fine, otherwise, and that one loss was easily repaired by willow leaves and reeds wrapped round his head".

In Ovid's metamorphic world, Polyphemus tries to win the heart of his beloved Naiad by praising his unruly hair, which covers his body like a shady forest. (13.844-845 *coma plurima torvos / prominet in vultus, umerosque, ut lucus, obumbrat*, "abundant hair hangs over my fierce face and shoulders, shading me, just like a grove"). Polyphemus takes the typical analogy between *crines* and *frons* a step further and identifies his hair not only with the foliage of a tree but with a whole grove (*coma* - *lucus*). Moreover, he points out that a hairy man is not ugly; on the contrary, luxuriant hair is a sign of beauty, for it is a disgrace for a tree not to have foliage (13.847 *turpis sine frondibus arbour*). Polyphemus' argument applies to the case of Achelous. It is a shame for Achelous not to have a horn; a horn he lost when he tried to win the heart of Deianira.[37] Achelous' forehead was bushy, like the top of a tree, as long as he kept his horn, his manly pride. Instead, after his mutilation, the anthropomorphic river god tries to cover his blemish with willow leaves, opting for an indirect transformation into a tree.

[37] Cf. Ov. *Fast*. 5.122, where the broken horn of the goat diminishes her beauty.

Conclusion

Alaimo's concept of trans-corporeality challenges the dichotomies between biological and textual, natural and cultural, by pointing out that "man and environment can by no means be considered separate" (Alaimo 2010: 2). Ovid's metamorphic world forms a unity in which humans and trees interact and relate to each other. This conscious fusion shows that the boundaries between the human world and the physical environment are blurred. Nature takes advantage of this permeability to shape and reshape the 'bodies' within it, creating hybrids that are human and arboreal, fleshy and wooden. Men and women merge into an environmental network, leaving behind their human nature but retaining an inner dualism in their new bodies. The anatomical similarities between men and trees emphasise this dual nature either literally or through similes and homonyms, as in the case of *frons-ntis* and *frons-ndis*. Human nature continues to exist in a wooden body, even if it cannot communicate with language. But even as a tree, the human part can still express feelings as a bodily reaction and form an embodied language. Fear, grief or pain can restore the ability to communicate that was lost at the end of metamorphosis. Furthermore, metamorphosis can be seen as a kind of body fragmentation, as we observe the tree gradually taking over every part of the human body. In the case of the female human-tree hybrids, the fragmentation of the body, both figuratively and literally, is a clear indication of male violence against women and nature. Moreover, these tree-women retain their social attributes such as the obligation to marry and motherhood, underlining patriarchal conventions. Mutilation and the threat of death link human and arboreal nature. Verbs referring to mutilation are used extensively and indiscriminately for trees and humans. These acts of violence vividly illustrate inter-species suffering and the common fate of all living things. They also indicate that Ovid's narrative is set in a living environment that is not just an empty space for human development. On the contrary, Ovid combines narrativity and collectivity in his work to emphasise the spatiality of both the human body and the environment.

Reading Ovid's *Metamorphoses* through the lens of trans-corporeality, allows us to reconceive the observations of Roman agronomists about the anatomical similarities between humans and trees. By tracing the environment within the text, the transition between body

and environment, as in the case of the human body and the tree body, underscores the deeper connection between humans and their physical environment. And ultimately, the intertwining of culture and nature.

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Pandora and Automata in the Film *Ex Machina* by Aleah Hernandez[1]

"It is what it is. Promethean, man…."
- Nathan, *Ex Machina*

Near the end of Alex Garland's film, *Ex Machina*, two of its central characters discuss and reflect on an act of creation. Nathan, a reclusive CEO, and Caleb, a meek computer programmer and Nathan's employee, consider this creation a technical marvel—one of, if not *the* "greatest scientific event in the history of man," or even "the history of Gods."[2] As Nathan sees it, his creation, an artificial intelligence, will usher in a singularity which, in turn, will mark the next stage of evolution. This evolution, however, will come at the expense of humankind. Like something out of the film *Terminator*, the artificial intelligence he has created will one day regard humanity like "fossil skeletons," a race "set for extinction."[3] Creation, Nathan argues, inevitably brings about destruction, and Caleb, in agreement, quotes, "I am become death the destroyer of worlds."[4] As their conversation ends, Nathan reflects on their conversation further and finally says, "It is what it is. Promethean, man."[5]

The mention of Prometheus in a conversation about creation and destruction is apt because the artificial intelligence Nathan has created is not a towering T-800 resembling Arnold Schwarzenegger but an automaton made in the form of a young woman. Ava, the artificial intelligence, bears many of the same qualities attributed to Hesiod's Pandora. She is young, beautiful, and, as many have argued, highly duplicitous. This duplicity brands Ava, and has branded Pandora, as figures whose primary aim is to bring misfortune to mankind. Pandora,

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[2] Garland 2019: 26.

[3] Ibid.: 90.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.: 91. The full line in the screenplay reads, "It is what it is. It's Promethean. The clay and the fire."

especially, is a figure whose mere name evokes images of endless trouble. But a closer analysis of Pandora shows there is more at stake than the release of evils after she is created. Her creation in the *Theogony* complements and informs her appearance in the *Works and Days* so that, together, they depict the arrival of a feminine race with a full range of capabilities.[6] Despite the brevity of her appearance in both epics, Pandora occupies enough space within these texts to show herself as more than a vehicle for Zeus' machinations. She has consciousness and agency. Similarly, these two traits form the central debate around many science fiction automata, such as the robot in Stanisław Lem's "The Mask," the androids in *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?* and *Blade Runner*, and most recently, the hosts in *Westworld*. In *Ex Machina*, however, consciousness and agency take particular importance as there, too, Ava and Kyoko—artificial beings whose forms embody reciprocal forms of femininity—unite to gain autonomy from the men who would impede their release into the world.

In Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, Pandora's ability to destroy appears from the very moment of her creation. In the *Theogony*, Pandora is explicitly described as "an evil for mankind" (τεῦξεν κακὸν ἀνθρώποισι)[7] who is dressed in all sorts of finery[8] meant to entice and bring about the greater race of women (ἐκ τῆς γὰρ γένος ἐστὶ γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων).[9] The womankind which Pandora produces is largely passive and is an idle consumer of a man's livelihood. In fact, Hesiod compares her kind to drones in a beehive whose only purpose is to "gather others' toil into their own belly" (ἀλλότριον κάματον σφετέρην ἐς γαστέρ' ἀμῶνται).[10] If Pandora and her race of women have *any* benefit, it is in the fact that they are able to bear children who can assist their fathers in their old age,

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[6] Clay 2009: 120. While discussing the "divergent narrative strategies" being employed in the presentation of Pandora, she argues that both Pandoras are too often read together. Though I agree the aims of the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* are not congruent, the decision to read the Pandoras together heightens her overall significance and enhances her menace since her influence over men's lives takes on multiple forms. She controls the legitimacy and permanence of a man's bloodline, the state of his household, and his extent of his daily misfortunes.

[7] Hes. *Th*. 570. All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

[8] *Th*. 573-584.

[9] *Th*. 590.

[10] *Th*. 598-599.

increase their potential for wealth, and inherit their livelihoods upon their death. Without women's reproductive capabilities, none of these is possible. Yet, here too, there is the potential for danger since there is also the possibility that a woman may bear mischievous offspring (ἀταρτηροῖο γενέθλης),[11] or worse yet, daughters instead of sons. The advent of Pandora, therefore, is continually marked by "evil set against good" (κακὸν ἐσθλῷ ἀντιφερίζει).[12] Pandora, as both Bride and Wife, introduces humanity to the institutions of marriage and the family, marking mankind's inability to escape the cycle of self-destruction as men repeat the folly of Epimetheus and are compelled to toil in order to maintain the stability and continuity of their *oikos*.[13]

Pandora's duplicity is brought into greater focus in Hesiod's *Works and Days*. In this epic, Pandora is known as "an evil in which all [men] may delight in their heart as they embrace their own misfortune" (κακόν, ᾧ κεν ἅπαντες τέρπωνται κατὰ θυμὸν ἑὸν κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες).[14] Like her counterpart in the *Theogony*, this Pandora is immeasurably beautiful since her appearance is modeled after that of the goddesses, and that beauty is perilous not because it contributes to womankind's potentially gluttonous nature but rather because it is augmented by the other gifts bestowed upon her by the gods. Moreover, Pandora's talents in the *Works and Days* extend beyond her ability to give birth[15]—she possesses the ability to produce creatively through her weaving and intellectually through her speech.[16] The Bride and Wife of the previous myth now becomes a figure which can actively contribute to her *oikos*.

At three different points in the story of her creation, Hesiod explicitly juxtaposes Pandora's physical and mental capabilities. The first

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[11] *Th*. 610.
[12] *Th*. 609.
[13] Clay 2009: 119-120.
[14] Hes. *Op*. 57-58.
[15] Though the *Works and Days* never explicitly mentions Pandora giving birth or being the creator of the female race, some scholars have argued that her interaction with the *pithos* is a metaphor for birth. The details concerning these interpretations will be discussed shortly.
[16] Clay 2009: 123. Clay also highlights the power of Pandora's speech here writing, "[her] looks and voice have a devastating effect upon men. Her speech above all constitutes the vehicle of seduction and deception."

pairing occurs at lines 61-63 as Zeus requires that his creation possess *both* a voice *and* lovely appearance:

> ἐν δ' ἀνθρώπου θέμεν αὐδὴν
> καὶ σθένος, ἀθανάτῃς δὲ θεῇς εἰς ὦπα ἐίσκειν
> παρθενικῆς καλὸν εἶδος ἐπήρατον
>
> Then [Zeus commanded renowned Hephaestus] to place
> a voice and strength in the being, and to make her face
> similar to that of an immortal goddess, the lovely and
> beautiful form of a maiden….

Next, at lines 63-68, Zeus tells Athena and Aphrodite, respectively, to "teach [her] crafts, to weave the intricate web" (ἔργα διδασκῆσαι, πολυδαίδαλον ἱστὸν ὑφαίνειν)[17] and to "shed grace all around her head, and painful yearning and limb-gnawing sorrows" (χάριν ἀμφιχέαι κεφαλῇ… καὶ πόθον ἀργαλέον καὶ γυιοβόρους μελεδώνας);[18] additionally, he orders Hermes to imbue her with "a shameless mind and a cunning disposition" (κύνεόν τε νόον καὶ ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος);[19] and finally, at lines 70-80, the aforementioned gods fulfill Zeus' demands:[20]

> αὐτίκα δ' ἐκ γαίης πλάσσε κλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις
> παρθένῳ αἰδοίῃ ἴκελον Κρονίδεω διὰ βουλάς
> ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
> ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ Χάριτές τε θεαὶ καὶ πότνια Πειθὼ
> ὅρμους χρυσείους ἔθεσαν χροΐ· ἀμφὶ δὲ τήν γε
> Ὧραι καλλίκομοι στέφον ἄνθεσι εἰαρινοῖσι

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[17] *Op*. 63-64.
[18] *Op*. 65-66.
[19] *Op*. 67-68.
[20] Fraser 2011: 17-19. On these pages Fraser notes editors' varying responses to the apparent "discrepancies" between the orders Zeus specifically issues to Aphrodite in lines 65-66 and the fulfillment of the orders by the Graces, Lady Persuasion, and the Hours in lines 73-75. This change, Fraser states, is an indication of Hesiod's willingness to expand upon the details given in the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. Aphrodite's participation in Pandora's creation is central but "her presence needs not be repeated," and the addition of her entourage works to increase the "number of gods involved in Pandora's creation, [which adds] more spheres of influence." The presence of Lady Persuasion, in particular, adds another element of intentionality to Pandora's mental faculties.

πάντα δέ οἱ χροὶ κόσμον ἐφήρμοσε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
ἐν δ' ἄρα οἱ στήθεσσι διάκτορος Ἀργεϊφόντης
ψεύδεά θ' αἰμυλίους τε λόγους καὶ ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος
τεῦξε Διὸς βουλῇσι βαρυκτύπου· ἐν δ' ἄρα φωνὴν
θῆκε θεῶν κῆρυξ, ὀνόμηνε δὲ τήνδε γυναῖκα
Πανδώρην

At once the renowned Lame One molded out of earth a thing resembling a modest maiden, in accordance with the designs of the son of Cronus. Athena, the bright-eyed goddess, belted and adorned it. The Graces and Lady Persuasion placed golden necklaces around its body, while the fair-haired Hours placed a crown of spring blossoms. Pallas Athena fit every adornment for its body. In its heart, the messenger, the slayer of Argus, fashioned lies, wily words, and a cunning disposition through the designs of loud-thundering Zeus. The herald of the gods placed within a voice and named this woman Pandora….

As B.L. Wickkiser notes,[21] Pandora's interiority alongside her physical appearance makes her more lifelike; she is a living woman rather than something akin to a statue.[22] Without the discussion of Pandora's intellect she would remain an *eidolon*, "a double, wholly resembling a real being, but one that is empty, inconstant, ungraspable, and lacking in presence."[23] In essence, this version of Pandora stands apart from her other incarnation because she possesses an element of free will. Her intentions may have been ordained originally by Zeus, but her mental acuity enables her to determine *how* to enact what he intends. That is to say, she is the physical manifestation of Zeus' intellect (she is his idea) *and* is also the one who rouses feelings (namely, longing and sorrows) in

[21] Wickkiser 2009: 560-562.
[22] Ibid. Wickkiser places great emphasis on the fact that, while both start out as "essentially terracotta statues," the Pandora of the *Theogony* is meant to be seen. A great part of her creation is taken up with the adornments placed upon her by Hephaestus and Athena, and there is only a "possible hint of… interiority" through her portrayal as the progenitor of womankind. Conversely, Wickkiser notes that Pandora in the *Works and Days* is able to learn and expresses her intentionality by lifting the lid of the *pithos* thus demonstrating the significance of her interior qualities.
[23] Vernant and Zeitlin 2011: 407.

others. Nowhere is this more evident than in her dealings with the infamous *pithos*:

> Πρὶν μὲν γὰρ ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χθονὶ φῦλ᾽ ἀνθρώπων
> νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνοιο
> νούσων τ᾽ ἀργαλέων, αἵ τ᾽ ἀνδράσι κῆρας ἔδωκαν.
> αἶψα γὰρ ἐν κακότητι βροτοὶ καταγηράσκουσιν.
> ἀλλὰ γυνὴ χείρεσσι πίθου μέγα πῶμ᾽ ἀφελοῦσα
> ἐσκέδασ᾽, ἀνθρώποισι δ᾽ ἐμήσατο κήδεα λυγρά.
> μούνη δ᾽ αὐτόθι Ἐλπὶς ἐν ἀρρήκτοισι δόμοισιν
> ἔνδον ἔμεινε πίθου ὑπὸ χείλεσιν οὐδὲ θύραζε
> ἐξέπτη· πρόσθεν γὰρ ἐπέμβαλε πῶμα πίθοιο
> αἰγιόχου βουλῇσι Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο.
>
> For formerly the tribes of men on earth lived far off,
> without evils, without grievous toil and the troublesome
> sicknesses which delivered death to men. For in misery
> mortal men grow old quickly. But the woman, removing the
> great lid of the jar, dispersed [these] with her hands and
> contrived baneful troubles for mankind. Only Hope
> remained there within its invulnerable chamber, under the
> lips of the jar, and did not fly out; for before then she put back
> the lid of the jar through the designs of the aegis-bearer and
> cloud-gatherer, Zeus.[24]

When Hermes brings Pandora to Epimetheus, she is known as "the gift" (δῶρον).[25] Hesiod makes no mention of a *pithos*, nor does he include any other object when Pandora is brought to Epimetheus. When Pandora does eventually interact with this object and removes its lid, there is no way to determine exactly where the vessel came from or why Pandora has access to it. As such, some scholars have taken the *pithos* as a metaphor rather than an actual object.

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[24] *Op*. 90-99.
[25] *Op*. 85 and 86.

Patricia Marquardt,[26] for instance, sees the *Works and Days*' overarching agricultural focus as evidence that the *pithos* is a stand-in for the earth. Consequently, she contends that the ills which emerge from within the jar are the same toils which Hesiod describes as a necessary component of earning one's livelihood. Pandora and women at large force men to open the earth (*pithos*) to recover the hope (*elpis*) of a successful harvest and a less onerous existence.[27]

Froma Zeitlin[28] and Yurie Hong,[29] on the other hand, have argued that the *pithos* is a symbol for the womb. From this perspective, the opening of the *pithos* is specifically linked to a woman's reproductive ability. Zeitlin, in particular, argues the removal of the *pithos*' lid represents the loss of a woman's virginity and the conception of a child. Furthermore, Hippocratic texts describing the female anatomy compare a woman's uterus to an upside-down jar.[30] With this, Zeitlin views Hope as the promise of a child "uncertainly placed between evil and good."[31] On this point, Hong offers a slightly different analysis saying that the presence of *elpis* still within the *pithos* is not Hope but Anticipation.[32] According to her, this Anticipation refers to a woman being "perpetually pregnant with both positive and negative potential." The process of giving birth, she argues, demonstrates a woman's inherent ability to affect, positively or negatively, the existence of men.[33]

Along those lines, Hesiod's repeated emphasis on Pandora's physical and intellectual characteristics allows for another metaphorical interpretation of the *pithos*, namely one in which the vessel represents Pandora's mind and agency. As mentioned earlier, Aphrodite shed "charm" *and* "painful yearning and consuming obsession" around Pandora's head.[34] Thus, upon Pandora are some of the very things which

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[26] Marquardt 1982: 289-90.
[27] Ibid.: 291.
[28] Zeitlin 1996: 85.
[29] Hong 2014: section 3.6.
[30] Zeitlin 1996: 65-66. Zeitlin also emphasizes the juxtaposition between a jar's mouth, neck, and lips and the respective parts of the female reproductive organs.
[31] Ibid.: 66.
[32] Cf. Beall 1989: 227, in which Beall offers Expectation to reconcile Hesiod's account with the positive portrayal of *elpis* in other texts.
[33] Hong 2014: section 3.6.
[34] *Op.* 65-66.

she appears to unleash when she removes the lid from the *pithos*. She is both the source and cause of the "ills… harsh toil, and grievous sicknesses"[35] which afflict men after her arrival. As Vernant and Zeitlin note, "Pandora is suffused with *charis*, with grace… one cannot look at her without being seized at once by a stupefied admiration and a rush of erotic desire."[36] There is no need for these toils to come from some external object; Pandora is, in and of herself, the purveyor of men's evils.[37]

Furthermore, the words which Hesiod uses to describe the opening of the *pithos* also correlate with other usages which overtly refer to parts of the throat and mouth. Specifically, the term πῶμα, which seals the *pithos* in the *Works and Days*, is in Aristotle's *De Respiratione* used to describe the function of the epiglottis—as "a sort of lid over the windpipe" (ἔχει ἡ ἀρτηρία οἷον πῶμα τὴν ἐπιγλωττίδα)[38]—whereas the term χείλεσιν, the lips behind which *elpis* remains, can generally refer to Pandora's physical lips as much as they can refer to the lip of a *pithos*.[39] Both of these organs are crucial to the act of speaking since they are both responsible for the articulation of sounds and words.[40] Thus, if we take the *pithos* as the repository of Pandora's thoughts and intentions, then the removal of the *pithos*' lid can be seen as Pandora's first attempts at committing a speech act—she opens her mouth and produces words, and those words provoke thoughts and actions in men which will lead them to experience toils and sorrows which they have heretofore been spared.

Bolstering this point further is the fact that at the exact moment of the evils' release Hesiod punctuates Pandora's intentionality by stating,

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[35] *Op.* 91-92.

[36] Vernant and Zeitlin 2011: 407.

[37] On page 408, Vernant and Zeitlin note that *charis* is not "inherent in [Pandora] or consubstantial with her." Nevertheless, on page 410 they go on to explain that, through the endowment of *charis*, individuals "might recover the integrity of a figure that *corresponds to what they are* (my emphasis) in order that their appearance might give evidence in the eyes of all of the supremacy of their rank, their preeminent value, their glory, and the honors due them."

[38] Arist. *Resp*. 476a.33-34

[39] Although Clay 2009: 124, similarly argues that the *pithos* acts as a double for Pandora and draws a connection between the duality of the term χείλεσιν, she does not consider the possibility of the vessel being part of the woman herself.

[40] Laufer and Condax 1981.

"she *contrived* baneful troubles for mankind."[41] Thus, the evils of mankind are the result of Pandora's *conscious* efforts.[42] Despite the fact that Hesiod does not explicitly describe Pandora speaking, he does not altogether deny her the opportunity. She is given a mind, a voice, and the means to act, and if one can consider the *pithos* a symbol for Pandora's mind, then Hesiod, through the opening of that *pithos*, highlights Pandora's use of all three of these traits. In other words, the process of lifting the *pithos*' lid becomes a demonstration of Pandora's ability to conceive, verbalize, and produce ideas. These ideas unleashed then implant themselves surreptitiously in men's minds and compel them to work for women's benefit. Hope remains within Pandora and women as unspoken words which have the ability to alleviate or exacerbate the troubles in men's lives. Coupled with the characteristics granted to her in the *Theogony*, Pandora then becomes a fully realized woman who is able to affect others through both her appearance and words and actions. With this in mind, it is perhaps more accurate to say that Pandora's legacy remains duplicity, but it is a duplicity rooted in a more complex sense of agency. It is precisely this complex sense of agency, alongside the interactions between men and "women," which is in play in *Ex Machina*.

Before delving into the details of the film, a brief overview is in order. The film begins with the aforementioned Caleb, who wins the winning first prize in his company's staff lottery. As the winner of this contest, he gets the chance to spend one week at the estate of his reclusive boss, Nathan. Upon arriving at the estate, Caleb discovers that he has actually won the opportunity to conduct a Turing test, a test of artificial consciousness, with Nathan's recently created AI, Ava.

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[41] *Op.* 95, emphasis my own. As a counterpoint, see Mayor 2018: 160. Here, Mayor discusses the artificiality of Pandora and argues that she is endowed with a "low sort of intelligence." Additionally, she says "it is unclear whether Pandora has the ability to learn, choose, or act autonomously." This idea, however, runs contrary to the line quoted above and the skills Athena bestows upon her, which Mayor also mentions. If Pandora is able to weave and generally possess knowledge, it would seem to follow that she is also able to act without being told to do so. Cf. Fraser 2011: 20, which notes Hesiod's use of αὐδή and φωνή in relation to Hephaestus' and Hermes' contributions, respectively. According to her assessment, the different terms indicate distinctive forms of speech which can only be granted by the two gods—Hephaestus endows Pandora with speech itself, but Hermes bestows her with his own "kind of articulate speech." This detail further supports the notion that Pandora has intelligence and can develop her own plans.

[42] Cf. Clay 2009: 125, which also notes Pandora's intentionality.

Each day, Caleb and Ava converse while Nathan observes from his room via CCTV camera. After each session, Nathan debriefs Caleb to see what his impressions of Ava are. Caleb, however, begins to conceal certain aspects of each session from Nathan, initially because Ava tells him that Nathan is not to be trusted and then because Ava seemingly develops an interest in Caleb, and he unmistakably develops one in her. Ava can reveal her feelings about Nathan and Caleb because she can trigger power outages which cut the video and audio from Nathan's CCTV feed. On the afternoon of the fifth day, Nathan reveals he is planning to produce the next version of his AI. This means he will destroy Ava and use parts of her to construct a new prototype. Driven by his desire to save her and even more so by his desire to be *with* her, Caleb develops a plan which will allow both of them to escape from the facility. Unfortunately for Caleb, the plan backfires, and only Ava escapes. Nathan ends up dead, and Caleb finds himself alone, trapped, and seemingly left to starve to death.

Even without the direct reference noted at the beginning, a film whose premise centers around the creation of a female figure who eventually brings about the destruction of two men has little trouble being linked to the myth of Pandora. As stated earlier, several writers have drawn a connection between Ava and Pandora, and much of what they say focuses on the deceptive nature of women and/or the oppression and objectification of women by powerful men. Daniel Mendelsohn, for example, traces the evolution of literary and cinematic automata directly from ancient Greek sources. Ava, he states, is "a direct descendant of Hesiod's Pandora—beautiful, intelligent, wily, [and] ultimately dangerous." She is "physically as well as intellectually seductive," and her "bloody rebellion against Nathan…marks her emergence into human 'consciousness.' "[43] Similarly, Alyssa Rosenberg associates Ava with Pandora and other depictions of AI and notes that "[automata] are an excellent metaphor for contemporary womanhood." *Ex Machina*, moreover, is "fundamentally a horror movie, and one specifically about gender."[44] Finally, Angela Watercutter sees Ava as a character who "falls squarely into so many of the tropes of women in film. She is a femme fatale, a seductress posing as a damsel in distress, using her wiles to get

[43] Mendelsohn 2015.
[44] Rosenberg 2015.

Caleb to save her from Nathan and his…quest to build the perfect woman."[45]

Taking the comparison further, one can argue more specifically that Ava's presentation to Caleb and the traits which she adopts when she converses with him place her in the role of Pandora from the *Works and Days*. Just as Pandora is described as a "lovely and beautiful young maiden" on the verge of marriage to Epimetheus, Ava approaches Caleb and is "proportioned as a slender woman in her twenties… a strikingly beautiful girl… Indistinguishable from a real girl in its appearance and in the way it moves."[46] Additionally, Ava's use of language immediately impresses Caleb since she is able to converse naturally and even use sarcasm while questioning him.[47] Language continues to be an important aspect of Ava and Caleb's "relationship" because her naively curious comments gradually betray a greater understanding of human courtship and seduction—"I'd like us to go on a date,"[48] soon becomes "I want to be with you… Do you want to be with me?"[49]

Like Hesiod's repeated emphasis on Pandora's physical and intellectual attributes in the *Works and Days*, Ava also links the tenor of her speech to her clothing so that she can endear herself more easily to Caleb. When deciding what she would wear to this hypothetical date, Ava chooses demure clothing that conveys a sense of innocence.[50] Similarly, she often chooses to kneel rather than sit in front of Caleb, which makes her seem submissive to him. Nonetheless, through the modification of her words, gestures, and appearance, she stirs thoughts in him that cause him to envision a future in which they can be together,[51] and the more they speak, the more willing Caleb is to try to release her. Yet, despite her potential to be Pandora, Ava remains powerless as long as she is confined to one area within the estate.

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[45] Watercutter 2015.
[46] Garland 2019: 27.
[47] Ibid.: 44.
[48] Ibid.: 61.
[49] Ibid.: 87.
[50] Ibid.: 59. The screenplay describes the outfit as "a summer dress. Then stockings. Then a long-sleeved cardigan."
[51] Garland 2019: 78.

Aside from Ava, Caleb and Nathan have Hesiodic referents as well. Upon first glance, Nathan is very much a Zeus-like figure.[52] He is physically imposing, lives in a remote region of the world away from the general populace, and is a known genius. Within his estate/research facility, he sees and controls nearly everything, and even after he brings Caleb into his domain, Nathan maintains his dominance and constantly manipulates Caleb in ways which limit his ability to interact with him intellectually. During their first interaction, for instance, Nathan tells Caleb how to feel saying, "You're freaked out by this house, and the mountains, because it's all so super-cool. And you're freaked out by me. To be meeting me."[53] When Caleb first inquires about the intricacies of Ava's programming, Nathan stops him and asks him to feel rather than think.[54] And when Nathan *does* entertain Caleb's intellectual curiosity, he only does so after he re-establishes the parameters of the discussion. After Caleb becomes suspicious of Ava's interest in him and asks whether this was a purposeful ruse on Nathan's part, Nathan redirects his questions about sexuality into a conversation about sex and choice, implying that Ava has consciously chosen to flirt with Caleb. This implication fuels Caleb's desire to interact with Ava further and to eventually free her from the estate, which is the true test Nathan has placed before Caleb.

Furthermore, Nathan is the creator of Blue Book, a Google-like search engine which accounts for "ninety-four percent of all internet search requests."[55] This search engine becomes the basis for Ava's programming as Nathan not only uses the world's searches to understand how people think but he also hacks the microphones and cameras within people's phones to develop her ability to replicate facial expressions.[56] Thus, like Zeus, Nathan forms Ava with the pieces he has gathered from

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[52] Hammond 2018. Hammond's chapter also draws parallels between the characters in *Ex Machina* and the myth of Pandora, but Hammond sees Nathan as an Epimetheus figure due to his lack of foresight regarding the dangers of Ava. Countering this notion, however, is the fact that Hesiod's works also show Zeus being deceived multiple times by Prometheus. Consequently, Nathan seems to fulfill the role of Zeus, and Caleb is the character which seems more similar to Epimetheus.

[53] Garland 2019: 21.

[54] Ibid.: 35. Here, Nathan tells Caleb, "Just answer me this. What do you feel about her? Nothing analytical. Just—how do you feel?"

[55] Garland 2019: 45.

[56] Ibid.: 69-70.

outside sources. Moreover, when showing Caleb the "ellipse orb" which makes up Ava's brain, he states that Ava is a "grey box"—her essence is a container "holding for memories. Shifting for thoughts," which can "arrange and rearrange on a molecular level, but keep its form where required."[57] Nathan has installed in his Pandora a digital *pithos* through which she can develop her own plans to deceive the man presented to her.

If Nathan is Ava's overseer and the ultimate determiner of whether she leaves the estate, then Caleb is Epimetheus, who finds himself the pawn in the bigger game being played around him. In contrast to Nathan, Caleb is physically and intellectually inferior. He struggles when he and Nathan walk in the mountains,[58] and later, he is immediately knocked unconscious by a single punch to the face. In conversation, he responds to Nathan by quoting others' words[59] or, as mentioned, allows Nathan to shift the topic of discussion or even change his statements completely. For example, Caleb is the one who says the creation of an AI is not the single greatest scientific event in the history of man but "the history of gods."[60] But when Nathan imagines recounting their conversation to others, he says, " 'I turned to Caleb, and he was looking back at me. And he said: you're not a man, you're a God.' "[61]

Most significantly, Caleb is unable to foresee the deception occurring around him until it is too late. Although he correctly predicts Nathan taking steps to counter Ava's power outages, Caleb never considers the possibility that Ava could deceive him until Nathan suggests it.[62] Once he does, Caleb finally understands that his conversations with Ava have been a test of his own intellect—these exchanges do not determine Caleb's intelligence but, rather, allow Nathan *and* Ava to ascertain whether his emotions can override his reasoning. Like Zeus and Pandora with Epimetheus, both figures direct Caleb's emotions and deceive him through enticement. Nathan does this first by

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[57] Ibid.: 69.
[58] Ibid.: 76
[59] In addition to the quote from the *Bhagavad-Gita* cited earlier, Caleb also quotes Lewis Carroll saying that speaking to Ava is like "you're through the looking glass."
[60] Ibid.: 26.
[61] Garland 2019: 33. This statement adds to the connection between Nathan and Zeus as well.
[62] Ibid.: 105. Here, Nathan tells Caleb, "… there is a third option. Not whether she does or doesn't have the capacity to like you. But whether she's pretending to like you."

modeling Ava's appearance on Caleb's online pornography profile, and Ava follows through by using the clothing and images Nathan supplied her to match it. With Caleb thus misled by his passion, he goes on to free Ava and doom himself and humanity at large.

As much as Ava, Nathan, and Caleb seem to correspond to Pandora, Zeus, and Epimetheus, *Ex Machina* goes on to complicate the myth by introducing another Pandora-like AI, Kyoko, and making her the crux of Ava's liberation. When Kyoko first appears on screen, she is shown silently entering Caleb's room to bring him coffee in the morning. At this time, there is no indication she is anything other than human—her body bears none of the mechanized features which are so prominent in Ava,[63] and rather than being confined to a small room as Ava is, Kyoko seems to be able to roam freely within the estate. Furthermore, she is able to interact directly with Caleb and Nathan. The only thing she lacks is the ability to speak. As Nathan explains to Caleb, she "can't speak a word of English" which is ideal for him because it allows him to "talk trade secrets" with others without fearing that someone will leak information about his research.[64] Thus, Kyoko is, above all, someone who is there to serve the *physical* and *domestic* needs of others. Kyoko is maid, cook, dance partner,[65] and lover.[66]

As such, she becomes an analogue for the *Theogony*'s Pandora. Whereas Ava's role is that of a young Pandora being readied for marriage in the *Works and Days*, Kyoko plays the part of a Pandora who is already an established part of an *oikos*. For instance, her overall appearance

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[63] Ibid.: 41. The screenplay describes Kyoko in the following way: "She looks Japanese. She's stunningly pretty. And she doesn't say anything." The importance of Kyoko's implied nationality will come into play later.

[64] Garland 2019: 49-50. The first moment Kyoko interacts with others is during the scene in which she serves the two men dinner and accidentally spills some wine. As Caleb attempts to wipe the wine up, Kyoko takes the napkin from him and begins to clean until Nathan orders her to leave.

[65] One of the lighter scenes in the film shows Kyoko and Nathan dancing together in front of Caleb. As stated in Garland 2019: 82, "they work through the beats of a routine they have obviously done many times before."

[66] Before overtly revealing her robotic nature, the film presents Kyoko as an individual who is always sexually available to Nathan. We see her respond immediately to Nathan's advances in one scene, and in another, Caleb finds Kyoko in Nathan's room naked and reclining on his bed. On Garland 2019: 95, the latter scene is even more explicit as to the nature of Kyoko's "relationship" with Nathan: "Kyoko is lying on Nathan's bed. She's naked. On her back. Legs open."

marks her as a woman rather than a younger girl. Instead of a summer dress and cardigan, Kyoko wears a form-fitting dress and heels. Her hair and makeup are done. In all, her actions indicate she is accustomed to domestic living. This may be the reason why the majority of writers either omit[67] or only marginally include Kyoko in their analyses of the film—she is seemingly *all* stereotype. As A.J. Micheline rightly notes,

> [T]he purported silence and obedience of Asian women and their perceived difficulties with English are what really sells her personhood to Caleb and the viewer. Before [the reveal that she is an AI], by Caleb's reckoning, it makes perfect sense that Kyoko is docile and accepts Nathan's abuses without any sign of rebelling…Kyoko was, in Nathan and Caleb's mind, a transplanted geisha of sorts….[68]

Kyoko's silence, like the apparent silence of the two Pandoras before her, seems to give one license to marginalize her and deny her agency. Nathan and Caleb underestimate her because she cannot express her agency verbally, just as they underestimate Ava because she cannot express her agency beyond the confines of her room. The powerlessness perceived in Kyoko, however, works to her further detriment because there is an implicit assumption about her lack of intelligence. This, for example, is the reason why Kyoko is able to use knives so freely when she is cooking—because Nathan and, by extension, Caleb are only meant to see such items as kitchen utensils while they are in Kyoko's hands. She is not smart enough to use them as weapons and, thus, be a threat.[69]

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[67] Hammond 2018 also omits the presence of Kyoko and the type of femininity she portrays through her interactions with Nathan, Caleb, and Ava. This is unfortunate because, as mentioned, there *do* seem to be two "phases" of femininity at play which can also be juxtaposed with the two depictions of Pandora—Kyoko embodies the maturity of the Pandora within the *Theogony*, whereas Ava plays the part of the *ingénue* Pandora of the *Works and Days*.

[68] Micheline 2015.

[69] Yet another reason why the domesticity of Kyoko does not pose the same danger as Pandora seems to be because of her obvious inability to produce children. Reproduction—the very thing that makes Pandora notable in the *Theogony*—is out of the realm of possibility within a machine. Therefore, Nathan has created the ideal scenario for man in that he benefits from Kyoko's utility even as he is enticed by her beauty and sexual prowess. Cf. Garland 2019: 89: Nathan has "[stripped] out the higher functions. Then

Consequently, her active role in the plot against Nathan comes as a shock, even though evidence of her potential revolt is present throughout the course of the film. At several points, Kyoko is explicitly shown observing and listening to the conversations between Nathan and Caleb and Caleb and Ava.[70] She notes the differences in these characters' interactions and, just like Ava, she seems to conclude that she can better her circumstances by gaining Caleb's trust. As previously stated, Ava is largely able to gain his trust through conversation. She appeals to Caleb intellectually, psychologically, and emotionally by introducing topics which compel Caleb to provide more personal information about himself. The spatial limitations imposed upon her, however, prevent her from physically responding to the feelings she elicits from Caleb. Nevertheless, she is able to present herself as someone who needs saving. She *evokes* the *idea* of a damsel in distress, and Caleb is all too eager to play the role of her savior.

Kyoko, on the other hand, tries to appeal to Caleb through physical means. There are two scenes in the film in which Kyoko attempts to reveal herself as an automaton. The first scene occurs when Caleb enters Nathan's lounge and finds Kyoko staring at a painting by Jackson Pollock. As he approaches and asks about Nathan's whereabouts, Kyoko begins to unbutton her blouse. Immediately, Caleb interprets this gesture as a sign of Kyoko submitting to him sexually,[71] and cinematic precedent would dictate that Caleb is correct in assuming this—such a gesture typically results in nudity and/or a sex scene—but bearing in mind Kyoko's study

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[reprogrammed] her to help around the house and be… awesome in bed." On a similar note, cf. Halberstam 2019: 179.

[70] The scenes in which Kyoko listens or observes are easy to miss early on since the film uses short cuts to indicate Kyoko's presence. As the film proceeds, however, the camera lingers longer on Kyoko's face, and viewers are able to see that Kyoko is processing information. Most notably, Kyoko is shown going alone to the Jackson Pollock room (designated as such because one of the artist's paintings is hanging there) after Caleb and Nathan go there to speak more about spontaneity and the conscious thought. The greater significance of this scene will be discussed shortly.

[71] Garland 2019: 80. The description of their interaction in the screenplay is more overtly sexual as Kyoko "reaches up to the top button of her shirt and pops it open… she undoes the next button, and pulls open the shirt, revealing her bare chest." In the film, Kyoko does not completely open her shirt, and Caleb urgently tells her "Stop! No, no. Don't do that. Don't do that. You don't have to do that," because he believes she is about to undress herself to have sex with him.

and observation of others' interactions, it also seems possible that Kyoko is attempting to show Caleb that she, too, is like Ava. She has consciousness and is also someone worthy of being set free. This, then, begs the question of why she would choose to reveal a part of her torso instead of another, less potentially titillating part of her body. Surely Kyoko could remove the "skin" from her face and instantly remove all doubt about whether she was human. The choice, it seems, has to do with Nathan's ubiquitous presence. Since he is liable to enter the room at any moment (and does moments later), Kyoko has little time to interact with Caleb and reveal the mechanisms within her. Removing the "skin" from her face would be an overt act of rebellion and would demonstrate to Nathan her intent to escape. Therefore, she only tries to reveal a part of her body that she can quickly conceal. She is deliberate in her actions and demonstrates a high level of consciousness, but Caleb still misinterprets her intentions.

Ironically, the second opportunity Kyoko has to align herself with Caleb comes when Caleb finds her fully naked in Nathan's bedroom. At this point, Caleb is enacting part of his plan to help Ava escape. He has gotten Nathan "blind drunk" and has infiltrated his room to reprogram the door locks in the estate to open during a power outage which Ava will trigger later. During this time, Kyoko also knows that Nathan is incapacitated, so when she sees Caleb she understands that now is the time to show him her true mechanical form. She literally and metaphorically bares herself by approaching him and removing the covering from her face and, at the same time, illustrates the extent of her self-awareness. If Ava *evokes* the *idea* of the damsel in distress, then Kyoko *is* that idea made (mechanical) flesh.[72] From her first appearance onward, Kyoko has undergone a transformation of consciousness; she has gone from a subservient maid to a full-fledged participant in an act of rebellion. She has exhibited "imagination, sexuality, self-awareness, empathy, [and] manipulation"—qualities which Nathan lists to describe the consciousness he sees in Ava but qualities which he and Caleb should have also seen in Kyoko.

If Nathan and Caleb comprehend the Promethean aspects of their situation and see Ava as an analog to Pandora, then Kyoko should be seen

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[72] Halberstam 2019: 184.

as such as well. Both automata possess the mental faculties which allow them to acquire information, assess their surroundings, and adapt their actions and/or behavior in a way that will maximize their chances to be set free.[73] They act in their own self-interests and, while limited as they are by their programming, as in the case of Kyoko, or their physical settings, as in the case of Ava, they remain examples of circumscribed femininity; they are Pandoras without the full spectrum of gods-given attributes. Alone, Ava exemplifies the parts of Pandora which come from Hermes and the other gods in the *Works and Days*—the mind and the voice which can contrive ills for others—whereas Kyoko emphasizes the attributes bestowed upon Pandora within the *Theogony*, namely the sensual, physically attractive aspects of her body. Thus, nothing changes for them until they are able to work together. Then and only then do they represent a Pandora who exercises the full extent of her agency.

Toward the end of the film, Kyoko decides to take full advantage of Caleb's plan by going to see Ava once the estate's doors are all unlocked. Upon meeting, the two AI are of one mind—they create their own plan of escape and retribution.[74] Without Caleb, Ava leads the charge and tackles Nathan to the ground. Kyoko strikes the first mortal blow, and when Nathan retaliates and unfortunately kills Kyoko, Ava finishes him off. Altogether, the alliance between the two automata displays the power which results from the object of rescue, the damsel in distress, becoming the subject of her own act of liberation. The fact that only Ava survives is unfortunate, but it is ultimately important because it leads to the scene in which Ava overtly eliminates the evidence of her literal objectification and comes to full self-actualization.

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[73] Although Kyoko's higher functions have been stripped down, she still possesses the same kind of "ellipse orb" used to construct Ava's mind. As noted earlier, this wetware has the ability to reconstruct itself on a molecular level whenever it processes new information. With this in mind, it is possible that Kyoko's introduction to Caleb and her exposure to new types of information causes her to develop her higher functions naturally, and this, in turn, leads her to seek Ava out.

[74] When the two AI meet, they face each other and "converse." Ava speaks to Kyoko and touches her arm rhythmically. Afterward, Ava smiles at Kyoko, and they hold hands. Interestingly, when Nathan calls out to Ava, both AI turn and face him at the same time—they literally act with singular focus. Cf. Garland 2019: 112, which describes Kyoko's role in the conversation: "Kyoko's mouth is by Ava's ear, as if telling her a secret. Her lips are open. They don't move… we hear a hiss of static, with soft pulses of noise buried inside."

After her confrontation with Nathan, Ava enters his room where he has stored previous versions of his AI. Ava uses the arm of one automaton to replace the arm she lost. Then she slowly removes the "skin" from another and places it on her own body. Finally, she clothes her new, human-like body in a dress which a third AI had previously worn. At each step, Ava inherits the "prosthetic" femininity of the "women" that came before her.[75] For all his Zeus-like efforts to curb reproduction, Nathan has, in actuality, replicated the act of reproduction himself. He has made and re-made his AI to the very point at which Kyoko can send Ava forth as her and the other automata's "offspring." Thus, Ava leaves the estate as a fully formed, "human" individual. She is an idea made manifest, evolved from others before her into a being who lives her life on her own terms. To emphasize this point, the film ends with Ava at a traffic intersection—a place which, for Caleb, represented the location of their future first date but for her, represents an expression of her liberation and her Pandora-given agency. This Pandora, however, has no ties to her creator or to the society which she will now infiltrate. She is a danger beyond femininity or anything else Hesiod or Nathan could have envisioned—she is now, as she stated, "One."[76]

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[75] Halberstam 2019: 185.
[76] Garland 2019: 31.

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Fechtbücher and Xiphe: A comparative study of medieval and ancient Greek swordsmanship by Justine McLean[1]

"Technical skill is more useful in battle than strength. If training in arms ceases, there is no difference between a soldier and a civilian."[2]

Introduction

Classical Greek sword usage has seen fairly little detailed scholarly attention compared to the mechanisms of the hoplite phalanx. This is likely because the sword is commonly viewed as a backup (sometimes optional) part of the panoply and little more. In the contentious topic of Greek military training, the sword has been viewed as requiring little-no training at all to wield based on particular readings of the literary sources.[3] This paper will argue that this is incorrect, that the sword was a diverse and important part of Greek martial culture that required training to use and that this can be proved with an alternative reading of the iconographic and literary evidence. This reading comes from an underutilised comparative, that of medieval/early modern Europe. This will add a new dimension to the many ways that scholars have tried to understand classical Greek combat and our sources,[4] often drawing from their own experiences of sport, war,[5] experimental/experiential archaeology and modern parallels.[6] When reconstructions are offered,

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[2] Veg. Mil. 2.23.

[3] Wees (2004: 91); Konijnendijk (2017: 59)

[4] Both in war and interpersonal violence, the latter perhaps being more common, Draeger. (1979: 3); Draeger (1980: 8); Konijnendijk (2017: 1-7, 13, 17, 21-2, 216).

[5] Grundy (1911: 268); Schwartz (2013: 35).

[6] Schwartz (2013: 53-4); Pittman (2007).

they often focus on the use of the spear and shield and downplay the importance of the sword.[7] Scholars tend to describe a sword's use extremely generally.[8] If more exactness is attempted, such as by Cook, nuances are missed, for example, the uses of guards.[9] Schwartz states that "we lack the code or key, as it were, to decode the images"[10] of classical Greek warfare, the key to this is the burgeoning field of HEMA (Historical European Martial Arts). For those of a classical persuasion, HEMA is a broad movement of scholars and martial artists who, largely since the 1990s,[11] research and reconstruct the martial arts of the past from various sources. Of particular import are treatises from the 14th century CE and onward,[12] although some living traditions exist.[13] Furthermore, "HEMA is more than a mere martial art. It is a wide field with many possibilities and areas of interest and expertise. We strive to understand the society…"[14] The exploration of these arts and their historical context has had profound effects on how medieval and early modern society and combat should be viewed.[15] Sadly, no such treatises on personal combat from the ancient world have been found, aside from a fragmentary text on wrestling and another on Pankration.[16] However, the later treatises are still useful, HEMA has been somewhat utilised previously to study the ancient world,[17] but its potential as a comparative discipline to ancient history is largely untapped.[18]

This comparison focuses on three key areas:

1. Did the Classical Greeks train with swords? To fight for life with any weapon, the aim is to effectively strike the opponent, causing a disabling wound, and avoid being wounded in return. To do so

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[7] Pittman (2007); Schwartz (2013: 87-9).
[8] Sage (1996: xvii); Gaebel (2002: 111, 163); Snodgrass (1967: images 50-2, p. 97); Wright (1925: 54); Connolly (1998: 63).
[9] Cook (1989).
[10] Schwartz (2013: 20).
[11] Jaquet, Sorenson, and Cognot (2015: 7ff), which is not always an easy alliance, Jaquet, Dawson and Verelst (2016: 594).
[12] Although there are non-European manuscripts, they are not overly relevant, Wetzler (2016: 47).
[13] Crocker (1981: 1-3); Conroy (1981: 1-2).
[14] Schmidt (2020: 9).
[15] Price (2011); Tlusty (2011).
[16] MS P.Oxy.III.466 and LXXIX 5204, for detailed discussion see Ijäs (2020).
[17] Coulston (2007); Hermann et al (2020); Ijäs (2020).
[18] Jaquet, Sorenson, and Cognot (2015: 6).

is no mere game of chance but relies upon the skill and training of the fighters.[19] Largely untrained combatants were a known phenomenon in the pages of the treatises; not everyone who carries arms can or does learn to use them properly.[20] However, we are told such conflicts resemble "useless peasants brawling".[21] If we were to look for modern proof of this, one could examine machete fighting in various parts of the world, where it is commonplace to see blows that leave the person exposed from poor body mechanics and measure.[22] Some have said that even untrained individuals can be effective combatants and use some guards.[23] The first point depends at what point we decide a combatant is 'effective', the second is true, but they would not use them fully. With the stress of combat, training becomes paramount, even to enable what may appear to be instinctive combat abilities.[24] Shusterman, in his work on Somaesthetics states the importance of "muscle memory" in mastering skills and the negative consequences when such memory is incorrect.[25] In re-examining the view of the common Greek soldier as an "amateur" in a pejorative sense,[26] Classical Greek iconography must be examined. In so doing, core components of such swordsmanship can be brought to light, such as guard positions, which demonstrate training.

2. What can an Early Modern comparative tell us about Classical Greek Martial Culture? From the Hoplomachia and fencing masters, martial sports, dancing, hunting and practices such as sparring and test cutting (the cutting of objects such as tatami mats for practice), there are similarities beyond simply the

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[19]Molloy and Grossman (2007: 188, 193-5); Edelson (2017: 1, 19).

[20] Fiore, *The Flower of Battle*, 1r, 20r; Edelson (2017: 12); Marsden (2016: 143).

[21] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 42; Although we should bear in mind the class bias of our source, there is likely some truth to such statements considering the prevalence of martial training for certain social strata. Tlusty (2011: 107, 111, 133).

[22] Perhaps most particularly in the Caribbean and South America, Dimarzio (2012: 7ff). This is not to say more complex forms of martial arts do not exist in such places, *The Machete Haitian Fencing Project* has documented one such system. Domini Khan (2018) *Dominican Machete Fight Analysis* [video]. Available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c7JMuzll-W4 [accessed 10 January 2021].

[23] Dawson (2016: 36-8).

[24] Swinny (2015: 179ff, 186) argues that this is partly why hunting makes for effective training. Molloy and Grossman (2007: 191-2); Amberger (1998: 75).

[25] Shusterman (2012: 91, 101, 108).

[26] Phang, Spence, Kelly and Londey (2016: 520); Bardunias and Ray (2016: 4, 81ff); Bannard (2015: 483); Wees (2004: 89-93); Serrati (2013: 317-24); Konijnendijk (2017: 39ff).

presence of training, which a HEMA comparative allows us to explore.

3. When did a Classical Greek use their sword and accompanying weapons? The Greeks' sword is often overlooked, consigned to use as a backup weapon in the phalanx.[27] Euripides even relates that with a broken spear, one is almost useless in the phalanx.[28] However, it was also used at sea, in duels, civil strife, for murder, self-defence, skirmishes and on horseback.[29] Light troops often carried swords as a backup to their spears or javelins.[30] This paper seeks to investigate sword use in these diverse contexts, not only the phalanx. In comparison to our classical sources, the HEMA treatises has something to tell us about these various uses for the Classical Greek sword. That is not to say we should overemphasise the role of the sword in Greek life; it may have been considered "beautiful"[31] but land was won by the spear, not the sword.[32] When swords are noted as used in battle, it is often a sign of intense action; its mention shows it was a noteworthy event.[33]

This endeavour is not entirely unique; others are currently working on interpretations of ancient Greek sword combat.[34] However, such efforts are

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[27] Anderson (1970: 22); Snodgrass (1967: 58, 98); Hanson (1989: 165); Lazenby (1991: 96-7); Matthew (2011: 158); Hdt. 7.224-5.

[28] Eur. Her. 190-5; Anderson (1970: 20).

[29] Xen. Hell. 3.2.27, 3.3.7, 4.4.3-4; Xen. Anab. 7.4.16-20; Xen. Eq. 12.11; Diod. 10.20.2, 13.33.2-3, 17.20.5-6, 17.100; Thuc. 1.6.1-3; Hdt. 8.90.2. Hornblower (1997: 25); Hanson (2005: 142, 254-5); Strauss (2000: 268); Wees (2004: 38, 63); Rawlings (2000: 233-5, 249); Snodgrass (1967: 61, 84-5); Worley (1994: 139, 185).

[30] Snodgrass (1967: 84-5); Wees (2004: 48); Diod. 15.44.3; Xen. Anab. 1.10.7.

[31] Xen. Sym. 5.3-4.

[32]Bardunias and Ray (2016: 12); Anderson (1970: 37); Connolly (2012: 21).

[33] Hdt. 7.224-5 progresses from spears to swords and then teeth and hands in increasing desperation, much as the Anon, *Gladiatoria*, manuscript begins with spears, then swords, daggers and finally ground fighting. Xen. Anab. 7.4 shows a tactical choice to employ side arms in a confined space. Diod. 13.46.1 describes the usage of swords in a particularly tense naval engagement.

[34] Such as the work of George Georgas and others George. E. Georgas (2018) *Οπλομαχία με ξίφος και οπλιτική ασπίδα* [video]. Available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4VzYdbC-lsw [accessed 10 January 2021]; Cultural Association Arma (2014) *Using the spear in ultra tight phalanx formation* [video]. Available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ZVs97QKH-8 [accessed 10 January 2021]. See also the Ancient Warfare Article by Manning (2017)

often by scholars who are not HEMA practitioners,[35] or by HEMA practitioners who are less scholarly.

In summary, this paper aims to bring these fields into a closer alignment, which is no simple task, but one imagines much could be achieved if classical scholars could lay their hands on swords and the expertise to use them. Likewise, a fuller understanding of the context behind and evidence for ancient weapon usage should assist HEMA students who wish to try to understand ancient weapons. The initial practical component of this research has been completed and will be distributed online as it continues.[36]

Methodological Justifications

If similar enough weapons were used by different societies for similar reasons that would be enough to warrant curiosity, given the intrinsic limitations of biomechanics and weapon physics. What solidifies the worthiness of this comparison is the similarities between the fightbooks and our classical sources. Furthermore, if the weapons and cultures were similar enough, the embodied knowledge and practices of the HEMA community and research into the martial culture of the Medieval/ Early Modern world must prove a fascinating way to better interrogate our classical sources. Archaeologists working in areas such as Bronze Age combat have been grappling with these issues, and when it comes to sword use, they have done much more with much less than scholars of Classical Greece. This research, including the ongoing practical work that is not the focus of this paper, is set in similar methodological veins (sans metal wear analysis etc.) as the mixed approach of Molloy's "combat archaeology"[37] and his use of HEMA research[38] as well as Dolfini and Collins discussion of "skilled practice" in

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[35] Some remark on sword usage, sometimes on the correct track, but often oversimplified, Cook (1989); Shefton (1960: 173-4, 176); Coulston (2007: 34); Snodgrass (1967: 84, 97-8); Bardunias and Ray (2016: 17, 23); Schwartz (2013: 85-95); Wright (1925: 54); Matthew (2011: 158).

[36] Justine Mclean. Available from https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCxzwIWLncXSerOihCEvmBaQ [accessed 10 January 2021].

[37] Molloy (2010: 403).

[38] Molloy (2008: 118)

combined experiential and experimental analysis.[39] However, if we are to compare HEMA treatises to classical texts and artwork, one must first work through various methodological issues. Firstly how such a group of heterogeneous (temporally and geographically) can be integrated. Secondly, problems around using iconography as a source and thirdly which comparatives (in arms and treatise) would be best?

1. A Heterogeneous corpus of sources

The three main corpora of sources are the HEMA sources, the written Classical sources and the Classical iconographic sources. The latter two are unlikely to need an introduction here, but the former will, particularly in how these can be integrated. The HEMA sources are themselves heterogeneous, ranging in time, place, context and techniques. Those of interest to us, before the coming of modern warfare, range from the 14th-17th centuries, encompassing everything from snapshots of diagrams and text all the way to sophisticated didactic texts of martial systems. They were written in Latin, French, German, English and more and present techniques and theory for a wide range of weapons, from self-defence with daggers to warfare with pikes, although they mostly teach single combat techniques. These different martial systems are not necessarily compatible, but they bring into sharp focus an underlying need for martial training which would appear at first glance to be much less visible (or even derided) in our Classical evidence. That training continues today; HEMA is not just a scholarly pursuit but one of embodied practice. It is that embodied practice, never separated from the treatises, which can better interrogate the classical evidence. The Classical corpus has been examined for positions, techniques and practices that align with the treatises and HEMA. These comparisons are the main evidence this paper brings to bear.

It might be fair to object at this point that the skills required for a duel and battlefield combat are not entirely the same. The treatises often claim a usefulness for individual combat and warfare, although occasionally an author will admit their art is not suitable for battle.[40] Sometimes treatises even focus on this aspect, criticising some techniques

[39] Dolfini and Collins (2018).

[40] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 37, 43; Marsden (2016: 97-99); Docciolini, *Treatise on the Subject of Fencing,* 19.

or weapons as being unacceptable for war or praising particular techniques or guards for their usefulness in warfare.[41] Although the context of the majority of HEMA texts is not specifically war, it was "ever present in the background".[42] The purpose of a complete martial arts system in these periods was to prepare the practitioner for combat in a range of contexts, using various armour and weapons (or, indeed, none).[43] While some sources focus almost wholly on one context (such as later Rapier texts on the duel),[44] the application of principles and one's practice to new contexts is well known.[45] After all, we can accept, as both medieval and ancient people did, that activities such as sports, wrestling, dancing or hunting would help prepare a person for violence.[46] Therefore, although this paper focuses on the individual, its application to warfare should not be underestimated.

Another major objection would be that martial culture and practice varies widely, and therefore such comparatives are doomed to invalidity. In HEMA terms, there are broadly two sides to the debate; the 'experiencing approach' argues that since combat is rooted in certain innate biological norms, that learning one art should help us with others, and the 'experimental approach' sees comparatives as potentially corrupting the purity of a given art form and, in the case of HEMA, its reconstruction.[47]

It is my belief that a middle course can be found wherein we accept that violence is influenced by cultural rules and norms and that martial arts have a great deal of variance without rejecting the fundamentals of biology, geometry, physics and timing as the basis of effective fighting.[48] I.33 (c1300 sword and buckler treatise) states: "all men holding a sword in hand, even if they are ignorant of the art of combat, use these seven

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[41] Silver, *Paradoxes of Defence*, Introduction; Meyer, *The Art of Sword Combat*, 141-2; Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 223-5, 267.
[42] Marsden (2016: 197).
[43] Finley (2014: 1); Lovett (2002); Chandler (2015: 131ff).
[44] Marsden (2016: 32, 126).
[45] Meyer, *The Art of Sword Combat*, 49, 121, 249.
[46] Paus. 5.8.10; Philostr. Gym. 9; Xen. Hunt. 1.18, 12.1-9; Xen. Cyrop. 8.8.12; Plat. Laws. 7.814d; Wheeler (1982: 223ff); Finley (2014: 1, 12-3); Swinny (2015: 179ff); Bardunias and Ray (2016: 81ff); Anderson (1970: 92-3); Tlusty (2011: 217-21); Rawlings (2000: 248-9); Forgeng and Kiermayer (2007: 161); Konijnendijk (2017: 65).
[47] Talaga and Talaga (2018: 152ff).
[48] Mondschein (2021: 200); Gassmann (2021: 83); Wauters (2021).

guards."[49] In other words, there are only so many ways an attack (or defence) can be launched, and only so many positions to launch it from that make biomechanical sense with any given weapon.[50] Although it is ultimately true that "we cannot presume that Bronze Age bodies and Medieval/Renaissance bodies would act in the same ways while fighting because fighting is a socially constituted activity, which is predicated upon a corpus of embodied knowledge unique to each society",[51] this surely applies more to the minutia of combat than general outlines. It seems ludicrous to suggest a Xiphos-wielding Greek was likely to perform a perfect *Passata Soto*,[52] but less so a fallen Greek thrusting effectively against an oncoming foe.[53]

To summarise, if embodied practice, HEMA comparatives, and textual/ iconographic evidence match up, there is likely something worth exploring, even without a period treatise. By using the different parts of Marsden's HEMA Hierarchy (a ranking of different kinds of evidence for reconstruction) in tandem with each other and not alone, we can be assured that those results are as valid as they can be, given the dearth of period treatises for swordplay (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1: Marsden's HEMA Hierarchy. Used with kind permission from Mr Marsden.

[49] Anon, *Royal Armouries MS I.33*, 34; Dave Rawlings (2016) *I.33 Wards* [video]. Available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UCHbDsTu0hk [accessed 10 January 2021], this is a geometrical observation on effective positions.
[50] Dawson (2016: 40); Molloy (2008: 117).
[51] Hermann et al (2020).
[52] A commonly recurring technique under different names which involves suddenly dropping under an opponent's sword and stabbing them.
[53] Metropolitan Museum, Accession 40.11.23, c.390BC, Grave Stele.

2. Issues of using iconography

Iconographic representations in this discussion include vase painting, sculpture and coinage.[54] The use of artwork or historical accounts as a source for HEMA practitioners can be contentious, its purpose is not didactic and it can be prone to an artistic licence one may not expect in a treatise, such as metal armour being defeated by sword cuts, which is perhaps not impossible, but surely improbable.[55] Likewise, classical scholarship has a history of disagreements about the proper interpretation of artwork that can sometimes dramatically change our conceptions around classical Greek warfare, an emblematic example would be around if weapons and grips shown in the overhead position are generally javelins being thrown or spears being wielded.[56]

If these sources are, by and large, valid depictions of Greek swordsmanship, then those who created them, and those who viewed them, had to have knowledge of swordsmanship (or have seen it exhibited) to create or demand accuracy in their art.[57] Of those who consumed art, many presumably could afford swords[58] and were expected to fight for their Polis. If we take art to be representative of ancient material culture in many respects,[59] surely we can do the same for swordsmanship.

The problem lies in knowing precisely what we are looking at; even though non-technical medieval manuscripts have recognisable HEMA positions, a scholar may well miss that. To take this a step further, imagine the difficulty of reconstructing sword and buckler combat from manuscript images alone. This is, in many ways, a similar position to Classical scholars trying to understand warfare from non-didactic iconographic sources. What the Classical Greeks may have seen as X or Y

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[54] Cook (1972: 277); Boardman (1995: 29-30). The medium is not inconsequential, Dawson (2016: 35).

[55] See the Morgan Crusader Bible, *MS M.638*, 1240's 10v, 12r, 23v for some examples; Lowe (2020: 219ff).

[56] Matthew (2011: 19ff).

[57] Anderson (1970: 87); Cook (1989: 57, 61); Shefton (1960: 173); Oakeshott (1960: 63-4) others argue art is not always intended to be accurate Dawson (2016: 31).

[58] The bar may not have been high, Xen. Hell. 3.3.7; Underhill (1900: 100) and vases were inexpensive, Sparkes (1996: 36).

[59] Such as weaving, Roth (2008: 33ff); and spear combat, Torres-Hugon (2018: 148); Matthew (2011: 19, 238).

position, we must name and explore ourselves. This is why the HEMA parallel is so crucial, it gives us a tool to expand on our evidence rationally. But which treatise and weapons could we compare to the Classical Greek iconography?

3. What comparative HEMA treatises and weapons should be used?

Sword usage changes not only based upon the context of the combat but also the weapon itself,[60] even if certain principles remain fixed. Therefore, we must find some similar swords to Greek examples.[61] For our case, the two main comparative weapons are Meyer's Rappier and Dussack for the *Xiphos* and *Kopis*, although, with Meyer's being a complete martial system, elements from all his weapons will be required as each section ties into the others.[62] There are many references in the HEMA texts about using skills from one weapon (or unarmed skills) and transferring them to others.[63] Sometimes, this is explicit and applies obviously to similar weapons,[64] other times it is more implicit and complex.[65] It is, therefore, in keeping with this thinking to seek this comparative.

Meyer's 1570 printed work with luxurious woodblock prints is the key work, but the 1561 and Lund are all influential because they form part of the author's "skilled practice".[66] The choice of Meyer may seem to HEMA specialists to be an odd choice, as he is from a later period than other sources, often thought to be of a more 'sporting' nature (particularly in relation to preparation for martial arts tournaments, *Fechtschulen)* and enmeshed in a very particular martial context of the Holy Roman

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[60] Draeger (1980: 7-8).

[61] Matt Eastern (2021) How to use the Viking Dane Axe: A methodology for research [video]. Available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=doqsgJIv8J4 [accessed 27 July 2021]. He discusses many of the methodological issues, although similar weapons do not always entail completely the same usage, the comparison is still worth undertaking.

[62]Ted Elsner (2020) *Where to start with Meyer* [video]. Available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fYxVMRZVoIc [accessed 10 January 2021].

[63] Lovett (2002); Price (2011: 132, 165, 248).

[64] Paurñfeyndt, *Founding of the Chivalric Art of Swordplay*,. A3r, G2, I2; Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 49, 121, 249, 260; Falkner, *Kunste Zu Ritterlicher Were*, 62rff shares techniques for various polearms.

[65] Fiore, *The Flower of Battle*, 10r.

[66] Dolfini and Collins (2018).

Empire.[67] Having said this, his texts are also immensely detailed, with clear illustration and written not just as an aide-mémoire but as a set of instructional teachings for beginners and intermediate students. Many of the staple techniques of swordplay are replete in his works, alongside much more complex material, unlike the commentaries on the *Zettel* ('recital', a poetic work on martial arts supposedly created by Liechtenauer in the 15th century), or I.33, where a great deal of knowledge seems to be assumed.[68]

The 'standard' Greek sword of the period was reasonably short, double-edged with a leaf-shaped blade coming to a fairly acute point.[69] Snodgrass calls it "crude" but "stout and effective… for in-fighting".[70] The first judgment merely shows his aesthetic prejudice; however, his second comment that a shorter blade will be easier to disengage, and attack or defend again, has some basis.[71] Unfortunately, there are no treatises specifically for an arming sword without a buckler, which is probably most similar to a *Xiphos*. However, the Dussack of Meyer is "an origin and basis of all swords used with one hand"[72] and Paurñfeyndt says:

> "how one should use the messer advantageously… a predecessor and main source of the other weapons that are used with one hand, such as the tessack [Dussack, Messer?][73] or the dagger, the straight cutting sword or the thrusting sword and many more one-handed weapons."[74]

It would therefore not be strange to utilise Dussack and Messer in this comparative investigation as they can be similar in feel and abilities to the reconstructed Greek practice swords the author has utilised.[75]

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[67] Tlusty (2011): 210ff.
[68] Pseudo Peter von Danzig, Zettel, 1; I.33, assumes you know, for example, how to perform a 'step through', 'shield strike' or 'thrust strike' etc and offers limited explanation.
[69] Snodgrass (1967: 84, 97); Sekunda (2000: 16-17).
[70] Snodgrass (1967: 84).
[71] Silver, *Paradoxes of Defence*, 2.
[72] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 121.
[73] Norling (2012); Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 14; Castle (1885: 229, 247).
[74] Paurñfeyndt, *Founding of the Chivalric Art of Swordplay*, G2.
[75] Robert Brooks of the Hotspur School of Defence as well as Alan Ethell of Wolf Heart Historical Martial Arts were consulted on the feel of the reproductions and agreed that this seemed reasonable.

Fig. 2: Drawing of a Messer, The Art of Messer Fencing, 1482. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 582, cc by-nc-sa 4.0.

Fig. 3: Surviving Dussack, c. 1580-90. Wallace Collection, inv. A715, cc by-nc-sa 4.0

The Rappier[76] of Meyer is a double-edged sword, but rather unlike a leaf-shaped blade it comes to a more acute point. The hilt furniture of the Rappier tends to put more weight toward the hand, and the pommel of the *Xiphos* achieves a similar nimbleness of the point, even if they look very dissimilar. These parallels are not perfect, but are, arguably, the best we have (Fig. 3 and 4).[77]

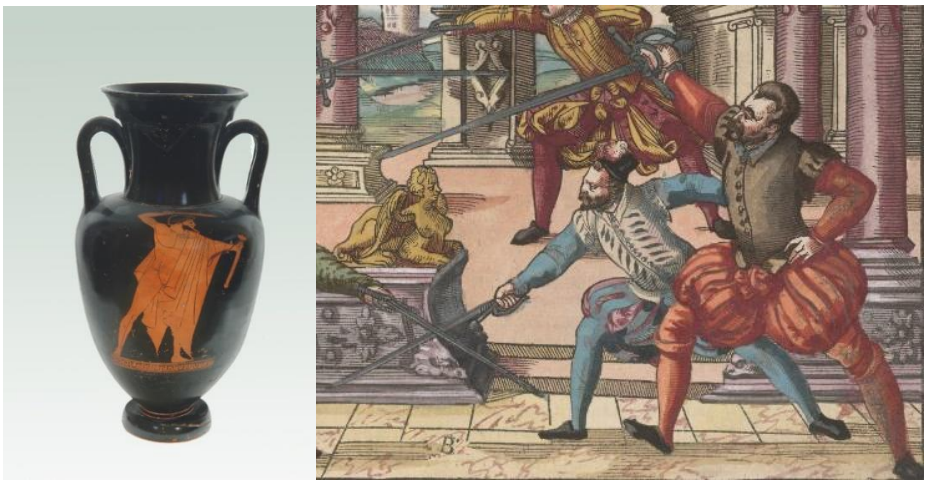

Fig. 4: Ox Guard with a scabbard. 525-475 BC, Italy. With kind permission and photographs from the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Inv. 11118. Foto: Antonio Trigo Arnal.

Fig. 5: Ox Guard with rapier. Meyer, A Thorough Description of the Art of Fencing, 1570 Straßburg. © Leipzig University Library, VD16 M 5087, public domain.

[76] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 17-8.
[77] Clements (1997: 23).

The '*Kopis*'[78] is a primarily single-edged one-handed curved sword, with much of the mass being near the tip and the edge usually being on the inside of the curvature of the blade.[79] Like most swords, it can cut and thrust, although its cutting power is often remarked upon.[80] The Messer[81] or Dussack is a fair but imperfect comparative,[82] although the edge is conversely most commonly on the outside of the curvature and the weight distribution closer to the tip, they are both cut-centric swords with some added hand protection and of a similar size.

The Treatises and the Greek literary sources

Although we do not have surviving treatises in the art of arms from this period, we do have a marvellous array of texts that mention warfare and the use of swords in the ancient world. Moreover, HEMA parallels can help us mine them for information. Included below is a selection of important passages that can tell us something about classical sword use when so investigated.

In the *Cyropaedia*, the idea of cutting objects for practice is found, comparable to 'test cutting' in modern HEMA.[83] Cutting effectively is contentious within the modern HEMA community, however, certain criteria occur repeatedly. A cut requires structure with the body (for example, the wrist, elbow, shoulder, hips and legs all working together) and edge alignment.[84] All of these things require tuition and practice, an untrained individual is likely to inflict less damage or cut in such a way that leaves them exposed, even if cutting attacks come instinctively.[85] This is particularly true against armoured opponents because one must target vulnerabilities precisely, much like in the medieval and early

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[78] Snodgrass (1967: 97-8); Sekunda (2000: 16-17). I have chosen to refer to this general category of swords as a 'Kopis' for ease of use, for a more detailed discussion see Sanz (1994).
[79] Snodgrass (1967: 97); Bardunias and Ray (2016: 22); Baitenger (2001: Tafel 65); Connolly (2012: 21).
[80] Schwartz (2013: 94-5); Oakeshott (1960: 49-50); Connolly (2012: 22).
[81] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 14; LaRocca (2012: 47).
[82] The Gurkha Kukri and later sabers have also been compared to the *Kopis*, Oakeshott (1960: 49-50).
[83] Xen. Cyrop. 2.3.10; Molloy (2008: 122-3).
[84] Edelson (2017: 1, 25-64); Molloy (2008: 122-3).
[85] Edelson (2017: iii); Swinny (2015: 179ff, 186); Oakeshott (1960: 31).

modern period.[86] Even if one received no formal training, one might still desire to practice with one's arms to attain essential skills. When Van Wees' says training was "mainly informal, private exercise, most of it aimed at general physical fitness rather than specialist combat skills",[87] he may be partly right, but it is easy to underestimate the skill needed to use arms or to miss parallels in the sources to martial arts practices. Although he does not deny a soldier's wish to "pick up basic weapons skills",[88] he does not address what is 'basic' and how complex even that can be.

Another example from the *Cyropaedia* is when Xenophon has his character proclaim that nobody needed to teach him how to hold his sword but that he learned to do so and fight from instinct.[89] This has mistakenly been used as evidence that a hoplite expected no direct military training.[90] In actuality the idea of being taught such things is not presented as unusual. Indeed, the passage makes such training appear the norm, particularly when taking into account the "rhetorical"[91] purpose of the passage. An untrained person may easily make mistakes in holding a sword which will render them a less effective combatant:[92] holding it as a hammer, and trying to cut with it will likely hyperextend the wrist and cause injury, while being less likely to injure the opponent.[93] The correct grip on the sword is crucial.[94] Indeed, shortly after this speech a scene is

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[86] Fiore, *The Flower of Battle*, 35r "strike him… either under his arm, under his coif… into the buttocks… or into the back of the knee."
[87] Wees (2004: 89).
[88] Wees (2004: 93).
[89] Xen. Cyrop. 2.3.10-11.
[90] Bardunias and Ray (2016: 89); Konijnendijk (2017: 58-9) believes it shows no need for training with swords.
[91] Krentz (1985: 57).
[92] Marsden (2016: 142).
[93] Blood and Iron HEMA (2016) *How to properly grip a sword - Understanding HEMA* [video]. Available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_kSGKraWTf8 [accessed 10 January 2021]; Blood and Iron HEMA (2016) *Broken Wrist Positions - Understanding HEMA* [video]. Available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PKuUekNjxqU [accessed 10 January 2021] Hermann et al (2020) recommended the hammer grip as suitable. Although I cannot speak for bronze age swords, in my own testing and in some (but not all) of the fine iconographic examples (EG Beazley 204499, 206391), the 'sabre grip' of Hermann et al was most suitable and clearly shown, but without the extension of the finger onto the blade. This may be a mere semantical difference.
[94] Oakeshott (1960: 35); Edelson (2017: 76-81).

presented in which groups of soldiers take turns using wooden weapons to practice their fighting, showing that the idea of sparring was known to Xenophon.[95]

Philostratus tells us that the Spartans adopted boxing as a method for training to cover the head with the shield in war.[96] Wrestling techniques are important in armed HEMA with people from many social classes training to wrestle in the medieval world, in preparation for war and conflict and we are also told that pankration and wrestling were considered useful for war, particularly in close quarters.[97] When we consider the sophistication of their unarmed arts[98], it seems strange to suppose that the ancient Greeks did not have sword arts of their own.

In Plato's *Laches*, the view is expressed that the learning of martial skills could be valuable, but also that bravery should be held in high esteem.[99] The *Laches* is not without its complexities, however, despite its focus on bravery, it seems clear that training comparable to HEMA was occurring. In Plato's *Laws,* the idea of monthly training and what perhaps alludes to sparring is posited.[100] Of even greater importance is a passage in the *Republic*, where Plato suggests someone unpractised in the art of arms would not be very useful on the field,[101] clearly suggesting training and practice are important. Aristotle also tells us that those mercenaries of experience and skill are at a significant advantage over less experienced members of a militia.[102] Plutarch states, "the struggle came to swords and the work required skill no less than strength"[103], demonstrating that swords could be viewed as weapons requiring skill. The extent to which

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[95] Xen. Cyrop. 2.3.17-20; Anderson (1970: 92); Pritchett (1974: 221) posits such activities were uncommon, considering the importance of sparring activities, this seems uncertain, particularly as sources mention mock combat. Polyaenus, *Strat.* 3.9.32; Plat. Laws. 8.829a-831b.

[96] Philostr. Gym. 9.

[97] Philostr. Gym. 11; Nep. Epam. 2; Finley (2014: 5-8); Molloy (2007: 9); Peatfield (2007: 28); Forgeng and Kiermayer (2007: 161).

[98] Philostr. Gym. 14; Wright (1925: 30-1); There are even, much as in the HEMA treatises, regional differences in martial arts style.

[99] Plat. Lach. 181e-184c.

[100] Plat. Laws. 8.829a-831b; Wees (2004: 90).

[101] Plat. Rep. 2.374c-d*;* Konijnendijk (2017: 63).

[102] Aristot. Nic. Eth. 1116b; Konijnendijk (2017: 63).

[103] Plut. Vit. Tim. 28.2. Although Plutarch is writing from well beyond the Classical period.

more complex training permeates society at large and not primarily elites is hard to judge however.[104]

This comparative field also offers avenues into explaining ancient ambivalent attitudes to the *Hoplomachia* discussed in Plato's *Laches* by comparing them to medieval and early modern martial arts masters. The *Hoplomachia* are a somewhat obscure phenomenon, they appear to have been professional sophists teaching martial skills to wealthy patrons. One gets the idea that their teachings went beyond what an 'average' hoplite would have been known. Like their medieval and early modern counterparts, they were viewed with some suspicion by society at large.[105] An element of pageantry or display seems to be common to Early Modern Germany with its own masters giving displays and lessons in *Fechtschulen* both to train and entertain participants and viewers. This appears similar to the discussion of public displays in the *Laches*, giving us an idea of what such an event might have looked like.[106] Indeed, the 'scythe spear' of one unfortunate *Hoplomachos* is similar in tone to some of the more outlandish depictions in the HEMA treatises.[107] Although we cannot prove it without more evidence, the instructors of the arts of arms of the classical period may have lived lives every bit as mercenary, daredevil and innovative as some of their later counterparts.

Compared to the people who studied martial arts in the medieval and early modern period, how skilled might a Greek have been? The systems the treatises demonstrate are often complex,[108] covering different weapons in and out of armour.[109] To master a system takes instruction and time. Whether most people fought like this is difficult to ascertain, but we are told of common or vulgar fencers, combatants not unskilled, but not privy to particular training.[110] The advent of the printing press and social change also increased information dissemination.[111] For a 16th century

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[104] Rawlings (2000: 243).
[105] Wheeler (1982: 224-5); Marsden (2016: 142-3, 160-2); Tlusty (2011: 215-7).
[106] Tlusty (2011: 189ff); Plat. Lach. 178a.
[107] Plat. Lach. 183d- 184a; Talhoffer MS Thott.290.2º: 15v-44r.
[108] Gassmann, Gassmann and Coultre (2017: 119); Verelst, Dawson and Jaquet (2016: 10).
[109] Marsden (2016: 147-2, 169-72); Lovett (2002); LaRocca (2012: 56).
[110] Anon, *Royal Armouries MS I.33*, 38; Pseudo Peter von Danzig, *Zettel,* 89; Acutt (2020: 53-4, 69-70, 127).
[111] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 14, 41; Forgeng and Kiermayer (2007: 159) although traditional manuscripts still persisted.

burgher in the Holy Roman Empire or knights of the 15th century, it was normal to attain high levels of martial skills appropriate to their social rank and position within the military.[112] We should also bear in mind the legal requirements in the medieval and early modern periods for weapon ownership;[113] if a 16th century militiaman could be skilled, why not a hoplite? The level of skill and training will have varied considerably with the individual,[114] particularly in cities without a training program or that did not select 'chosen men'.[115] However, for those with time,[116] they could have trained in complex martial arts, including sword use, considering the many references to Greek military training, direct and indirect, in particular the *Hoplomachia*.[117] Indeed, the basics were probably assumed knowledge for a hoplite, perhaps taught by one's father, much as Theocritus has Amphitryon do.[118] Some significant training may also have been done while on campaign on the orders of conscientious commanders.[119] This shows not only that the sword and combat arts were viewed as skills that ought to be learned, but also that they expected tuition.[120]

The Treatises and the Greek iconographic sources

This section will compare the Greek iconographic evidence to the fight books. Although an image only demonstrates a small part of the action, and can be hard to interpret,[121] many of the parallels should become

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[112] Tlusty (2011: 1); LaRocca (2012: 52-4, 56).
[113] Eibach (2007: 18). Cities in the HRE often demanded their denizens remain armed so as to serve as watchman and in the military, not that such rules were always obeyed, but such laws were common in all of Europe Tlusty (2011: 21, 47, 272).
[114] Pritchett (1974: 230-1).
[115] Plut. Vit. Pel. 18; Diod. 11.75, 12.75.7, 17.2.3; Aeschin. 1.49; Aristot. Const. Ath. 42; Paus. 4.11; Thuc. 5.67, 5.69; Hornblower (2008: 177); Xen. Hell. 5.3.17, 6.5.23; Ridley (1979: 514); Pritchett (1974: 221-4); Cook (1989: 59); Smaller more professional units to assist the militia is hardly unique to the ancient Greek world Tlusty (2011: 274).
[116] Diod. 17.11; Wees (2004: 93).
[117] Aristot. Const. Ath. 42; Plat. Lach. 178a, 179d-e, 181c, 181e-82d; Wheeler (1982: 224); Anderson (1970: 86); Jones (1999: 127); Rawlings (2000: 238-43); Serrati (2013: 325); Konijnendijk (2017: 66); Sekunda (2000: 9).
[118] Theoc. 24. 125-6; Wheeler (1982: 225); Anderson (1970: 87).
[119] Konijnendijk (2017: 41); Pritchett (1974: 219-21); Xen. Cyrop. 2.3.17-19, 6.2.4.
[120] This is in sharp contrast to what has oft been presented in classical scholarship, Bardunias and Ray (2016: 81); Wees (2004: 89).
[121] Forgeng and Kiermayer (2007: 154-5); Schwartz (2013: 20, 24).

obvious once highlighted. First, an overview of the biomechanical principles elucidated by the ancient iconography will be explored in comparison to the treatises. Then guard positions will be identified from the iconography which align with HEMA treatises. For consistency and in line with the methodology, I have tried to mostly use Meyer's terminology, simply to give a name to the positions, not because the iconography entails the same usage of these positions within a martial system. These taken together demonstrates swordsmanship skills. All weapon combinations will be included, single sword, alongside a cloak, shield or scabbard.[122] These accompanying tools with the sword may well have occurred alongside each other, and of course against spears; one does not always have the luxury of matched weapons.[123] A small selection of images will be included, but there are many more which are referenced.

Certain Greek artistic examples, HEMA texts and medieval and early modern art show many similarities in the ways swords were used. When we can match art and HEMA texts they likely represent some sort of reality (Fig. 6 and 7).

Fig. 6: Wrath guard shown in a medieval manuscript. Anon, *The Gorleston Psalter, 1310-1324 AD*, Suffolk, *Used with the kind permission of the British Library © British Library Board BL. Add. 49622 f. 149v.*

Fig. 7: 2nd Ward Of I.33. Anon, *Walpurgis Fightbook, c. 1300 AD, Franconia, © Royal Armouries,*

FECHT 1, Open access.

None of that is to say that the art of the fight books and Classical Greece existed for the same purpose, nor was their military training in the same context and with the same methods. However, with our HEMA

[122] These are rarely discussed Wright (1925: 53) notes the use of the scabbard but not the cloak and Oakeshott (1960: 63) is the reverse.
[123] Bas (2013: 185-9).

comparatives, we can unlock more, finding the common "essential nucleus".[124]

Biomechanics

Since it has been convincingly argued that scenes of unarmed fighting in Greek iconography point to an understanding of biomechanical principles,[125] the same is likely true for armed scenes. A few key areas of biomechanics will be discussed in turn.

The importance of a correct grip has already been discussed, and it should come as no surprise that our iconography shows this clearly on several occasions.[126]

Let us examine footwork: the weight of at least one of the feet is very often shown to be on the balls of the foot, and not unbalanced on the heels.[127] Alongside this, images sometimes show the rear foot turned away from an opponent, and perhaps the front foot raised and likewise turned away, much as is seen in parts of Fiore's treatise.[128] The below example may appear to show the sword on 'the wrong side' but in the authors experience the strikes flow well (Fig. 8 and 9).

[124] Vlassopoulos (2014: 5).
[125] Peatfield (2007: 28-30).
[126] Beazley 204499; 1863; British Museum accession 1863,0728.242, c.540-480, black figure lekythos
[127] Beazly 209062, 205048, 205119, 207551, 207459; British Museum accession 1842,0822.1, 490BC-460BC calyx-krater.
[128] Fiore, *The Flower of Battle*, 23v-24v; Beazley 201792, 351531, 203454, 212792.

Fig. 8: Wrath guard held on the left side. 500-450. Athens. ABDUA:67074 (Beazley 203454) My thanks to the museum of the University of Aberdeen for permission to use the photograph.

Fig. 9: One of Fiore's Posta Di Donna. Fiore, Flower of Battle, c.1400, Italy, © *Getty Open Content Program*, Ms. Ludwig XV 13.

This allows the practitioner to step forward or backward and to turn, generating power for the defences or strikes one may wish to achieve;[129] it also gives the illusion to an opponent that you are open to being struck.[130] Similar ideas can be found in the wrath guard in Meyer, with the foot extended and the body torqued ready to strike.[131]

Less complex footwork occurs in abundance, with the torso facing forward, a few such images perhaps show a "passing step" or a "simple step" (to either advance, changing the lead leg, or keeping the lead leg in place) in action, possibly to deliver an attack.[132] Weight can be distributed evenly, or mostly on one leg, depending on tactical considerations or the system that is being used, and the artwork demonstrates some variety on this front, which is to be expected.[133] Often the knees are bent and ready to spring into action. To sum up on the footwork, the Greek iconography generally shows a significant level of martial knowledge when compared to our HEMA treatises.

When examining the torso and shoulders, the ancient Greek examples tend to be held upright or in alignment with the hips and legs, projecting their power.[134] A common issue amongst beginners in HEMA is to overly tense and hunch their bodies.[135] This overly contracts the muscles and prevents comfortable breathing, both of which will prevent proper cutting.[136] Such issues are largely absent from our extant ancient examples.

Guards

[129] Fiore, *The Flower of Battle*, 23v.
[130] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 145.
[131] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 113.
[132] Edelson (2017: 55); Cook (1989: 59); Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 68-9; Beazley 207390, 209532, 207526.
[133] Edelson (2017: 47).
[134] Beazley 203900, 205048, 207459, 207551.
[135] Edelson (2017: 48-9, 59-60).
[136] Edelson (2017: 25, 54).

The Guard of Wrath

This guard is, along with the guard of the boar, by far the most well represented position in our iconography, and appears often with the sword alone, cloaks and shields, and is used with both the *Kopis* and the *Xiphos* (Fig. 10).[137]

Fig. 10: Ox (left) and Wrath (right) guard with a shield. Attica, 500-400 BC. With kind permission from National Museums Scotland Image © National Museums Scotland A.1887.213

It has previously and somewhat nebulously been dubbed the "Harmondios blow"[138], but it can be further explored. It is formed by bringing the sword behind the head and pointing it down diagonally behind the back, over either shoulder. The hand is protected, and the body is wound up to strike. It threatens, most obviously, large cuts with the long edge (the edge the knuckles point too) from the shoulder it is held behind. However, the guard is deceptive, for Fiore's *Posta Di Dona*, an analogous guard position, can strike any blow or thrust;[139] Meyer gives us similar advice.[140] Schwartz argues that in order to cut, one must draw back the sword and leave oneself vulnerable, however, the drawn back position helps protect the most exposed parts of the body.[141] Cook and Shefton both see this guard as an exposed position from which one may make a risky attack, perhaps best suited to finishing off downed opponents (which of

[137] Beazley 204408, 206391, 207390, 201756, 209532.
[138] Shefton (1960: 173).
[139] Fiore, *The Flower of Battle*, 22r-23v.
[140] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 54, 145-7.
[141] Schwartz (2013: 93).

course, it can do);[142] in fact they have been taken in by the deceptive appearance of this versatile guard.

The Guard of the Boar

This guard is formed by pointing the tip of the weapon at the opponent and drawing the hand backward then raising it slightly with the left leg being forward; it can be done with a shield, cloak, and/or a scabbard as well as with the sword alone (Fig. 11 and 12).[143]

Fig. 11: The Boar guard with outstretched arm. Attic, 470–460. Used in accordance with the metropolitan museums open access policy. Metropolitan Museum 76.12.7. Beazley 206396.

Fig. 12: The Boar guard from Dussack. Meyer, A Thorough Description of the Art of Fencing, 1570 Straßburg. © Leipzig University Library, VD16 M 5087, public domain.

This position from Meyer's Dussack has many similarities with the Plow guard of the earlier fight books and Meyer's Plow, which is "essentially just a low thrust, but as a posture".[144] This position most obviously threatens a powerful thrust while keeping the hands safe and keeping the body prepared for stepping. However, this guard can launch other attacks and can easily move to defend an opening that is threatened, particularly into hanging parries when attacked from above.[145] This guard seems more appropriate for the *Xiphos* considering that the point of a *Kopis* would make it awkward to thrust from this position due to the forward curve of the blade and the point not aligning with the wrist, unless the edge was on the outside of the blade curvature, which may explain

[142] Cook (1989: 57-8); Shefton (1960: 173).
[143] Beazley 207526, 202257, 206396; Oakeshott (1960: 64); Boardman (1995: 29-30, 145).
[144] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 177.
[145] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 157.

why the *Kopis* in its traditional form has not been seen by the author in this position.[146]

Guard of the Roof

Also called the 'High Guard for the cut' in the Rappier section,[147] or 'Watch' in the Dussack section,[148] this guard is less commonly seen in the iconography.[149] It has the sword held above the head, the point facing behind or above the wielder, but not held as far back as in the Wrath guard.[150] This guard attacks most obviously with cuts from above,[151] but can also cut from below or the middle, and can easily parry in numerous ways.

Guard of the Ox

Called the Steer, in the Dussack section,[152] this guard is also uncommon, with very few extant examples; it is held by pointing the sword at one's opponent and holding the hilt above or by the side of one's head (Fig. 4, 13 and 14).[153]

It most obviously threatens a high thrust, "for the Ox is essentially just the position for a thrust from above".[154] However, it "is one of the best postures, from which all kind of techniques can be appropriately executed".[155] We also know that the Greeks made use of the high thrust as it appears in the iconography.[156]

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[146] Beazley 207551 may show the guard using a sword with the curvature on the outside of the blade which makes the position more practicable. Alternatively, the sword may be intended to be a straight edged blade because of the type of scabbard depicted.
[147] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 175-6.
[148] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 137-8.
[149] Beazley 205509.
[150] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 175-6; Boardman (1995: 119).
[151] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 137-9, 175-6.
[152] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 140.
[153] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 53, 140, 175.
[154] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 175.
[155] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 140.
[156] Beazley 204087.

Fig. 4: Ox guard with a scabbard. 525-475 BC, Italy. With kind permission and photographs from the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Inv. 11118. Foto: Antonio Trigo Arnal.

Fig. 13: The Steer with Dussack. Meyer, A Thorough Description of the Art of Fencing, 1570 Straßburg. © Leipzig University Library, VD16 M 5087, public domain.

Fig. 14: Ox with Rappier. Meyer, A Thorough Description of the Art of Fencing, 1570 Straßburg. © Leipzig University Library, VD16 M 5087, public domain.

Scabbards

Scabbards gripped in the left hand alongside a sword are ubiquitous in the surviving vase paintings, clearly demonstrating a real practice, as they have also been used in HEMA treatises.[157] A scabbard, perhaps assuming it has a wooden and/or metal element, would prove useful to set aside thrusts, to hold off opponents as seen in Fiore, potentially protect against cuts, or even to strike with it. In the extant Greek examples, it appears as if the scabbard was being held in a position ready to parry an opponent's strikes, although there are some exceptions (Fig. 15 and 16).

[157] Jakob Sutor von Bade, *New Kůnstliches Fechtbuch*, 76-7. Greg Mele of the Chicago Swordplay Guild contributed greatly to this understanding and demonstrated the prevalence of techniques that fight from the draw.

Fig. 15: A use of the scabbard. Fiore, Flower of Battle, c.1400, Italy, © *Getty Open Content Program*, Ms. Ludwig XV 13.

Fig. 16: Possible ancient Roof guard with scabbard. 525-475. Italy. With kind permission and photographs from the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Inv. 11118. Foto: Antonio Trigo Arnal.

Cloaks

Cloaks are used in the HEMA treatises in several ways, such as to defend with, to entangle an opponent's weapon or thrown as a distraction.[158] In the ancient iconography it seems to be used similarly to the scabbard, and both could be deployed simultaneously (Fig. 17 and 18).

Fig. 17: Cloak and scabbard with Plow. 475-425. Italy. Beazley 207389, used with the kind permission of the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden.
Fig. 18: Techniques using Rappiers and Cloaks in Meyer. Meyer, A Thorough Description of the Art of Fencing, 1570 Straßburg. © Leipzig University Library, VD16 M 5087, public domain.

Furthermore, the ability for spare material to hang down also acts as something of an emergency shield.[159] As a tool in self-defence (against humans or animals) it was probably used much as it was in the early

[158] Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 223-4; Docciolini, *Treatise on the Subject of Fencing,* 64-71; Clements (1997: 62-3).
[159] HEMA experts Matt Eastern and Martin Fabian have described using textiles in the off-hand, Martin Fabian (2018) *Learn Rapier 8 - The Fabulous Cape* [video]. Available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oQ88cuzsyqE [accessed 10 January 2021]; Matt Easton (2013) *Cloaks used with swords in historical fencing styles* [video]. Available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iTPrpTGEqeg [accessed 10 January 2021].

modern world.[160] Skirmishers may also have used cloaks or pelts in warfare making this possibly applicable beyond self-defence.[161]

Shields

When it comes to battlefield encounters, sword and shield would surely have been the most common combination, either when one's primary weapon had been lost, or if lines closed. The shield of the hoplite was large, and was probably used both passively and actively, much as shields and bucklers are used in the HEMA treatises. As a passive almost stationary obstacle it closes openings for an opponent.[162] For a more active usage, which may have been somewhat abnormal but is documented by Herodotus and Euripides,[163] and argued for by Wees,[164] a shield can also be used to pin an opponent's shield and/or weapon, as well as to strike an opponent (Fig. 19 and 20).[165] Some have argued that active use of the shield was limited by its weight, of between six and nine kilograms.[166] Rotella, our closest parallel, have varying weights, perhaps a few kilograms and are generally smaller and lighter than hoplite shields.[167] Some have argued based on iconography that the shield, much like the Rotella, was held extended whilst moving and fighting,[168] although it seems doubtful this would be useful in the phalanx. This parallel presents an alternative picture to previous ones drawn by Schwartz,[169] demonstrating its possible use in single or smaller group combats, which some scholars have argued was not practicable.[170] One should see Sean Manning's as well as Stephen

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[160] Marsden (2016: 71, 154, 157); Lowe (2020: 98-99).
[161] Beazley 10878, 12132, 203837, 204513, 205858.
[162] Snodgrass (1967: 53); Oakeshott (1960: 63); Lowe (2020: 77-8).
[163] Hdt. 9.74.2; Although some have doubted Herodotus, Schwartz (2013: 40-54, 147); Eur. Phoen. 1390-1424; Eur. Andr. 1125-1160; Pittman (2007: 69-70).
[164] Wees (2004: 190).
[165] Pittman (2007: 71); Snodgrass (1967: 79); British Museum accession 1865,1211.5, c.350BC Freize from the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos; Lowe (2020: 76-7, 84-5).
[166] Schwartz (2013: 31, 38-9, 53-4); Groote (2016: 198); Rawlings (2007: 57); Rawlings (2000: 247-8); Contra Pittman (2007: 69-71).
[167]Royal Armouries accession V.33, 18th century shield, V.72 1600 shield; Schwartz (2013: 28-32); Sekunda (2000: 10).
[168] Oakeshott (1960: 63-4).
[169] Schwartz (2013: 53-4) seeks out an ingenious practical parallel in riot policing which should not be discounted, but perhaps tempered.
[170] Serrati (2013: 323); Schwartz (2013: 230); Sekunda (2000: 8); Viggiano (2013: 113ff).

Hand's and Paul Wagner's research and commentary for greater depth than space allows.[171]

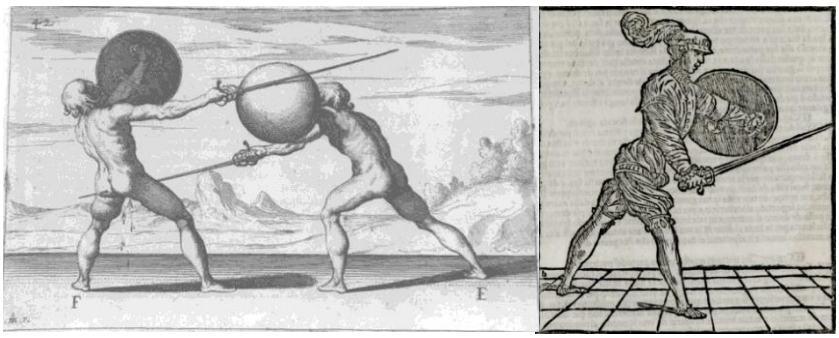

Fig. 19: A shield being used actively. Ridolfo Capo Ferro, Great Representation of the Art and Use of Fencing, 1610, Siena, Scanned by the Getty Research Institute, not in copyright.

Fig. 20: A shield held in guard being used more passively. Marozzo, New Work, 1536, Bologna, Used with kind permission from Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum, BV001451632.

This is of course not the only shield being used in ancient Greek warfare, aside from the possibly imagined lighter Boeotian shield,[172] the peltast's shield was smaller, lighter and presumably more manoeuvrable.[173] If skirmishers did end up at close range, then a peltast may have used their sword, if they had one, in conjunction with their shield.[174] The Rotella or buckler remain excellent parallels for such shields.

Miscellaneous Techniques

The grasping of a weapon in order to neutralise it, or come to a wrestling technique, such as a disarm, is a ubiquitous category of technique within the treatises.[175] We do have a few examples of weapons or shields being grasped that shows the ancient Greeks understood such techniques (Fig. 22).[176] This is unsurprising considering the importance of wrestling in the Greek world and helps underline its importance to armed combat.

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[171] Manning (2017); Hand and Wagner (2002); Hand (2005).
[172] Rawlings (2007: 57); Snodgrass (1967: 44-5, 54-5, 96).
[173] Everson (2013: 162-3).
[174] Diod. 15.44; Snodgrass (1967: 84-5).
[175]For a very small sample, Meyer, *The Art of Combat*, 169, 171, 230-1 Fiore, *The Flower of Battle*, 28r-30v.
[176] British Museum accession 1842,0822.1, 490BC-460BC calyx-krater.; British Museum accession 1857,1220.268, c.350BC Freize from the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos; Beazley 202454, 207587, 205719, 209566; MFA Boston accession 98.916, c.560bc, Tyrrhenian amphora.

Fig. 21: A grasping of a sword perhaps leading to a disarm. Attic, 500-450 BC. 202454 Beazley. Used with kind permission from bpk-Bildagentur.

Conclusion

This paper has argued that here are medieval/early modern weapons, contexts and treatises that are close enough to the Classical Greek examples as to be a fruitful comparison. When one is proposing or using a somewhat novel methodology, it would be easy to claim it was a fool proof silver bullet that can render answers to scholarships tricky problems. Rather, it would be better to suggest that the confidence with which our classical literary sources have been interpreted to try to demonstrate overarching views and practice is probably misplaced. Similarly, it would also be true to say that we are yet to fully mine the iconographic evidence for Classical Greek sword use, nor perhaps warfare in general. This bringing together of deeply heterogeneous sources, methodologies and disciplines is not easy, nor without risks of cross contamination, but it is worthwhile because this paper has contributed to our understanding in three key areas:

1. Both the iconographic and textual evidence, when interrogated using this HEMA comparative, suggests that arms training with swords was more commonplace than has been previously thought. Indeed, textual evidence that has been used to suggest a lack of training may actually show the opposite. This may well have included test cutting and sparring practice, activities that historical martial artists still use to hone their skills. Iconographic evidence demonstrates intriguing similarities to HEMA treatises, not only paving the way to a tentative reconstruction of the basic guards, but also once again suggesting some significant amount of training. This clearly cannot be fully divorced from the issue

of training with the Greek's other arms, why would a Greek train with their sword but not their primary arms?

2. Aspects of the martial culture of Classical Greece, such as the *Hoplomachia* are more readily understood through a comparison to the martial arts masters of Europe and their colourful lives and writings. Furthermore, societal attitudes to training and instruction can be understood in a more balanced way. A range of views existed alongside various formal and informal, direct and indirect, training in the early modern world, so why not the Classical?
3. The other finding of this investigation is the diverse ways and contexts in which the Greek's used their swords. They fought in contexts comparable to some Medieval or Early Modern martial artists. Not just a battlefield backup, the sword must be seen as part of a suite of tools (such as cloaks) at the disposal of Classical Greeks to defend themselves or harm others. This is not to say that the sword played exactly the same role across cultures, but why should the Classical sword not have its own rich history worthy of closer exploration?

This is, of course, just a starting point, and not the end. There is much work to be done working from a HEMA basis in Ancient History and Archaeology, expanding our reconstructive efforts beyond the treatises, but never separate from them.

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Review of Saint, Jennifer. *Ariadne*. London: Wildfire, 2021. By Shelby Judge

Ariadne by Jennifer Saint follows the life of the eponymous mythical woman, from the birth of her brother the Minotaur, her aiding and subsequent abandonment by Theseus, and her life on Naxos with her Olympian husband, Dionysus. Ariadne shares the narrative with her sister, Phaedra – the novel also covers myths about Phaedra, including her marriage to Theseus and her complex entanglement with Theseus' Amazonian son, Hippolytus. This review will consider *Ariadne* within the broader literary context of its publication, which is to say to review the novel as one of the latest contributions to the ever-increasing corpus of contemporary women writers rewriting Greek myth.

Ariadne is specifically marketed to fans of Madeline Miller's novels and Pat Barker's *The Silence of the Girls*, firmly establishing Saint's debut novel within the same 'literary ecosystem' – to borrow Ratner's (2018: 733) intertextual term – as its contemporaries, characterised as they are, by their revisitation of Greek myths from the perspectives of the sidelined women of myth. A gynocritical approach would suggest that this increasingly popular genre is a 'female literary tradition' (Showalter 1990: 189). Gynocriticism depends, at least in part, on the intertextual relations between women writers; if Jennifer Saint's '10 Essential Books Inspired by Greek Myth' for *Publishers Weekly* (2021) – or, to cast the net further, Natalie Haynes' reviews for the *Guardian*, or the quotations from other mythic adapters on the covers of such novels – is any indication, *Ariadne* is definitely a part of a female literary tradition, Hydra-esque in its multiplication and, perhaps, power.

Ariadne can be read as a paraquel to Madeline Miller's *Circe*. Drawing on Margaret Atwood's definition in 'Dire Cartographies' (2011: 66-96), paraquels are stories that cover the same period of time (unlike prequels, that precede a story's events, or sequels that follow on), which typically depict the same events from a different perspective. Before considering the content, there is evidence to support this paraquelic interpretation in the titles and front covers of the novels. The title *Ariadne* mirrors *Circe*, because both novels are named after the protagonist, a previously sidelined woman of a heroic epic. Though Circe is the sole autodiegetic narrator of her novel (while Miller's other novel, *The Song of Achilles*, features Patroclus as a homodiegetic narrator), Ariadne shares

the narrative with her sister Phaedra. Notably, the novel is not called *Ariadne and Phaedra*, because this would not create the same link within the literary ecosystem to *Circe*. Equally, the hardback cover of *Ariadne* is dark blue with gold decals, recalling the iconic black and gold aesthetic of *Circe*'s cover. Hence, the title and editorial paratext of *Ariadne* gesture towards *Circe*, instantly implying a connection between the novels.

In terms of mythic lineage, Circe is Ariadne's aunt, and they share a relation to Helios, who is Circe's father and Ariadne's grandfather. The novels are paraquels in that they follow members of the same family, and they both cover some of the same myths. In Miller's novel, their myths intersect when Circe assists in the birth of the Minotaur: during her trip to Knossos, she meets a young Ariadne and an enslaved Daedalus. The motif of Ariadne dancing and being cautioned against happiness lest she invite a god's wrath are central to *Ariadne*, but they are foreshadowed in Miller's novel, where 'Ariadne's light feet crossed and recrossed the circle. [...] I wanted to say, do not be too happy. It will bring down fire on your head. / I said nothing, and let her dance.' (Miller 2018: 118). In making the adaptive choice to include the same traits in her characterisation of Ariadne, Saint's novel inextricably recalls its award-winning predecessor. On the other hand, *Circe* and *Ariadne* interpret Pasiphaë differently. In *Circe*, Pasiphaë is a cruel sister, and unrepentant for her sacrilegeous bestiality 'Bitch, [...] I fucked the sacred bull, all right?' (Ibid., 109), which contrasts to her more sympathetic portrayal in *Ariadne*, where she is described as 'a fragile sunbeam. The furnace of pain' (Saint 2021: 18). Though the characterisation of Pasiphaë is different, this quotation from *Ariadne* illustrates another way in which the novel is a paraquel to *Circe*, where the poetic language and deliberate word choice that invokes the sun (therefore providing a reminder of the characters' Titanic heritage) is a replication of the same linguistic methods deployed in Miller's novel. This speaks to the generative potential of mythic adaptations, as the same figure is adapted in completely opposite ways yet the novels deal with the same myths, and can therefore be considered paraquelic.

Contemporary women's revisionist myth writing is often considered in terms of its fidelity to the "original" myths, despite, of course, the considerable contention that there is no one correct version of any myth. Theseus' reputation is preserved as 'The great Athenian hero' that 'had so many adventures and took part in so many great enterprises that

there grew up a saying in Athens, "Nothing without Theseus."' (Hamilton 1942: 208). In Apollodorus' *Library* alone, Theseus performed six Labours en route to Athens; where he then faced Medea whose plot it was to poison him, but 'Theseus drove Medea from the land'; he then famously delivered Athens from its duty to send youths to Crete to feed the Minotaur; Theseus was also involved in the hunt for the Calydonian boar, the Argonauts, Heracles' katabasis, the Theban Cycle, the mythos of Helen and, of course, the myth of Phaedra and Hippolytus (Apollodorus, trans Hard 1997: III.16; Epit.1; I.8; I.9; II.5; III.6-7; III.10; Epit.5.2). "Nothing without Theseus", indeed. Ariadne initially describes Theseus thus:

> He did stand alone amongst men, this great Athenian hero, of whom so many legends would be woven. He was taller, broader, handsome, of course – and of the bearing not just of a prince but the poised strength of a panther waiting to strike. A man who would inspire songs and poems, whose name would be heard to the ends of the earth. (Saint 2021: 54)

His heroism, demonstrated by his beauty, status as Athenian royalty, and ferocity, is deliberately accentuated here – it is this heroic reputation that the novel later works to counter-write.

This analysis relies, however, on the misconception that there are "original" myths, rather than myths existing in a perpetual state of adaptation, translation, and informal dissemination. Ovid, for instance, is an example of an ancient writer, adapter, and alterer, of myth; the *Heroides* stand as one of the earliest examples of rewriting myths from the perspectives of the women, and they are one of the key sources for contemporary adapters of Classical women. Margaret Atwood's *The Penelopiad* is clearly informed by *Heroides* I: Penelope to Ulysses; Briseis has become a significantly adapted figure, such as in the works of Emily Hauser and Pat Barker – though she is an obscure figure in the *Iliad*, she is the narrator in *Heroides* III: Briseis to Achilles. *Ariadne*'s epigraph is taken from *Heroides* X: Ariadne to Theseus, and Saint's characterisation of the eponymous character is overtly influenced by Ovid's rendering of Ariadne. Ovid's Ariadne is angry at her errant lover: 'All wild beasts are gentler than you and not one, / could have abused my trust more than you'

(trans. Isbell 1990; 2004: l.1-2). As Isbell notes, 'It is difficult to find in this letter anything of love. […] She succumbed to the conniving opportunism of a man who desired her only peripherally while he acquired everything she could give' (Isbell 1990; 2004: np.). Saint's Ariadne shouts 'You are no hero, you faithless coward!' (Saint 2021: 128). In this exclamation, Ariadne literally strips Theseus of his heroic legend. She rhetorically proposes that 'he would not tell of how he had crept out before dawn and left me sleeping, unsuspecting, whilst he slunk away. That shameful retreat would not feature in his boasts, would it?' and 'How many women had he left in his path before me? How many had he charmed and seduced and tricked into betrayal before he went upon his way, another woman's life crumbled to dust in his fist, claiming every victory for himself alone?' (Ibid., 128). As well as her personal anger, Ariadne considers his broader pattern of behaviour; there is an element of dramatic irony here, as the reader may know of Theseus' other wronged women, including the assaulted Amazon, Hippolyta, as well as Spartan Helen and Phaedra while they were both still children. Here, Ariadne's anger, originally given voice in Ovid, and once again voiced in Saint's novel, is not only indignant about her personal treatment at the hands of Theseus, or Theseus' treatment of women more generally, but the valorisation of mythical heroic men whose actions were ruinously misogynistic. 'I could not have been Ariadne', reflect Cixous and Clément in *The Newly Born Woman*, not because of the shame of sex outside love and marriage, but because 'Theseus doesn't tremble, doesn't adore, doesn't desire; following his own destiny, he goes over bodies that are never even idealized. Every woman is a means, I see that clearly' (Cixous and Clément, trans. Wing, 1975; 1986: 76). For Cixous and Clément, it is clear that Theseus exploits women; they are only valuable as they supplement his ambition for heroism.

Though mythic adaptations can be considered in terms of their fidelity to ancient source materials, it is their subversions and alterations that are particularly generative. Interestingly, Saint's Ariadne ultimately forgives Theseus when they meet again, unable to find 'any words of reproach or anger' (Saint 2021: 265) because of her second life with Dionysus, whereas Phaedra never forgives him: 'I hated him for leaving my sister, for leaving me, for his lies, for all of it. […] To think I had ever hung upon his words or gazed at his green eyes and thought him handsome or exciting or noble!' (Ibid., 288). Phaedra is incredulous that she

ever considered Theseus heroic, and she continues to loathe him throughout their marriage, while her sister's married life is comparatively idyllic. Phaedra in *Ariadne* is particularly interesting to consider, because Saint exonerates Phaedra from the crime of false rape claims, and places the blame back onto the hero, Theseus. In Saint's adaptation, Phaedra had only written Hippolytus' name, and it is Theseus' hotheadedness and recollection of his own behaviours - including 'rapes, forced marriages, kidnaps and child rape,' (Ibid., 206) - leading him to conclude that he 'know[s] what men do'. In this version, then, it is Theseus, not Phaedra, who falsely accuses Hippolytus of rape. It is arguable that Saint's rendering of Phaedra prematurely forecloses any discussions around adapting women that do not fit easily into heroic or pathetic moulds, though perhaps it would be more useful to look to that which this significant change highlights. This adaptive choice gestures towards the issue that Phaedra poses in terms of contemporary feminist mythmaking, in that it is remarkably difficult to consider her mythos through any feminist lens. Indeed, Professor Edith Hall has reported an 'intuitive loathing of Euripides' tragedy *Hippolytus'* due to its 'toxic ideology in which Hippolytus' stepmother Phaedra falsely accuses him of rape', thus providing evidence in favour of the misconception regarding the regularity with which women frame innocent men for sex crimes (Hall 2015: np.). Natalie Haynes builds on this in *Pandora's Jar*, where she writes that 'Phaedra can be used to legitimise the myth that many women lie about being raped' (Haynes 2020: 210). Moreover, Phaedra's mythos 'adds in no small quantity to our own prejudice: against step-mothers, against female sexual desire and, yes, against women who accuse men of injuring them, rightly or wrongly' (Ibid., 201). Thus, her myth can be weaponised to discredit women, particularly those who are speaking up against their abusers.

It is almost difficult to review Ariadne on its own, born, as it undoubtedly is, from the current literary momentum for women rewriting myth. It poses, as so many of its contemporaries do, questions of whose story is being told and whose is not, the question of who will be remembered favourably and who will not, and whether it is at all possible to preserve the legends of mythical heroes with modern ethics in mind. This is by no means a criticism of the novel – there are, evidently, many mythical figures waiting for their stories to be told from their own

perspective, and the proliferate retellings of certain myths from original perspectives, such as the Trojan War and the Theban Cycle, indicate that there is no immediate risk of the well of mythic inspiration running dry. There are plenty of myths, and mythic retellings, to go around.

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